



## Dreaming In Whispering Groves





Girl Reading by Corot the younger

image ArtToday

## Frontispiece



**Dreaming In Whispering Groves**

An inquiry into the reader's response to the book as a published physical object with reference to the rise of the eighteenth century novel, modern critical theory and the processes and technologies of production, transmission and reception.

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**D**id ever a poet image aught so fair,  
Dreaming in whispering groves, by the hoarse brook!  
James Thomson "To The Memory of Isaac Newton" (1727)





## Dedications



My husband Richard, son Kim & daughter Emma

Disney & Resolve, Jack & Beatrice





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## Contents

	Page
List of Illustrations	iii
Abstract	iv
Introduction	1
<b>Chapter One: Perspectives</b>	
Section 1 Critical Perspectives	19
Section 2 Reader Response & Rezeption-Aesthetik	21
Section 3 Memetics	38
Section 4 Textual Scholarship	44
<b>Chapter Two: Contexts</b>	
Section 1 Critical Contexts	51
Section 2 Social Contexts	56
Section 3 Symbolic Contexts	68
<b>Chapter Three: Productions</b>	
Section 1 Introduction	75
Section 2 Typefounder, Printer, Illustrator, Publisher, Editor	78
Section 3 A Reading Experience	101
Section 4 Comments, Editions, Critics	110
<b>Chapter Four: Transmissions</b>	
Section 1 Introduction	127
Section 2 Transmission And Reception: Three Publishers	129
Section 3 Modes Of Transmission	134
Section 4 Libraries And Transmission	138
Section 5 Patronage, Copyright And Transmission	148
Section 6 Looking For The Ideal Text	155





## Contents

	<b>Page</b>
<b>Chapter Five: Receptions</b>	
Section 1 Reception	159
Section 2 Comfortable Reading?	178
Section 3 Marks Of Ownership	191
<b>Chapter 6: Conclusions</b>	
Section 1	205
Section 2	208
Section 3	223
<b>Appendices:</b>	
A Web Questionnaire	226
B Publisher Questionnaire	258
C Session Report: John Williams	270
D Illustrations	272
E Images Of Readers	283
<b>Bibliography</b>	285
<b>Index</b>	308





## Illustrations

	Page
Traditional Papermaking At Wookey Hok	89
Paper Drying Racks	90
Title Pages:	107
<u>The Adventures Of Count De Vinevil</u>	119
<u>Robinson Crusoe</u>	119
<u>The Fortunes And Misfortunes Of Moll Flanders</u>	120
<u>Evelina</u>	120
<u>The Italian</u>	149
<u>Robinson Crusoe</u>	149
<u>Robinson Crusoe:</u>	170
Clark & Pine	170
Anonymous	170
"David Garrick as Richard III"	173
"The Bleeding Nun"	173
"Fashionable Dresses" 1776	182
"Costume 1770"	188
Bookplates from The Tatler 1747	193
Tom Wolfe "Electric Kool-Aid acid Test"	220





## Abstract

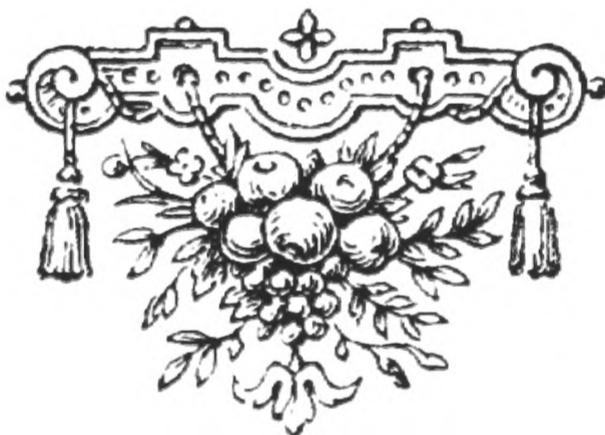
*Dreaming In Whispering Groves* is an investigation into the production, transmission and reception of the book-as-object with specific reference to nine eighteenth century novels over four centuries: Robinson Crusoe; The Adventures Of The Count de Vinevil; Pamela; David Simple; Amelia; Betsy Thoughtless; Evelina; The Monk and The Italian. I examine the relationship between the reader, the book-as-text and the book-as-object, approaching my topic from the standpoint of a Reader Response and Rezeption-aesthetic critic. Adopting a multi-disciplinary approach, I draw upon Art, History, Literature, Philosophy, Social Science, Technology and Textual Scholarship, in order to create a context for, and trace the development of the social and physical derivation, distribution, adoption and cultivation of the physical object book.

My contra-stance to reader-orientated theories is provided by Memetics. A relative newcomer to the critical scene which has evolved as a result of, and parallel to, the study of genetics. The purpose of this juxtaposition is that both Reader-orientated theories and Memetics are dependent upon the reading or interpretation of data - the words on the page or the material to be replicated (in the case of the meme). However, my perception is that both offer an explanation of the way in which 'culture' has evolved and will continue to evolve but perhaps most importantly for the purpose of this thesis they provide answers to questions with regard to the book-as-object.

Original empirical research in the form of a web-based questionnaire and a traditional paper-based one, and class-based role-play forms the foundation of an

investigation into readers' responses to the book as a physical object. The responses have provided substantial evidence to corroborate my original hypothesis (now thesis).

The mode of presentation for this thesis (including the use of fonts based on samples of 18th and early 19th century type and printer's ornaments that suggest the quirks of wood-cut and early metal type) is intended as an integral part of the way in which the argument is developed. The reader's/examiner's response to this 'book/thesis-as-object' is being sought, and the reader is therefore asked to engage with the contents bearing this in mind.





## Introduction





## INTRODUCTION

My thesis is a two-part exploration of the way in which the selection of the book as an aesthetic object and as a text may affect the reading experience, within the context of Reader-Response theory. For reasons to be explained later I will pay specific attention to the following eighteenth-century authors to support my argument: Daniel Defoe, Penelope Aubin, Eliza Haywood, Henry Fielding, Sarah Fielding, Samuel Richardson, Frances Burney, Ann Radcliffe and Matthew Lewis. With reference to Reader-orientated theorists (specifically, but not exclusively Norman Holland and his work on reading strategies) and to textual scholarship, I propose to assess the validity of Reader-orientated Theories to the book-as-object. The framework of my argument is that outlined by Holland in Five Readers Reading (1975). The canon of Holland's writing does not include an analysis of reader responses to the book as a physical object and it is my intention to extend Reader Response theory (and Rezeption-Aesthetik) to this subject. Susan Blackmore's The Meme Machine (1999) questions the validity of consciousness as a construction of self and therefore questions important aspects of Holland's critical approach. I will use meme theory to provide a contra stance to Reader-orientated Theories.

This thesis will examine the nature of reader responses prior to an engagement with the text as an object of literary worth. I will argue that the reader's initial selection of reading material is significantly influenced by his/her perception of the book-as-object, and further that such selection is influenced by the framework provided by the publication chain. Physical criteria that affect selection may include, size, shape, colour, texture and typefaces. Sensory perception (in particular touch) plays a

pivotal role during a reading response. Data drawn from a web-based questionnaire will provide empirical evidence to support or refute my argument. I have chosen to study eighteenth century prose fiction because significant developments in media and technology have occurred at either end of the timeline thus drawn between the eighteenth century and the twenty-first century. Within this context, I will be able to examine the influence of new technology and draw parallels between the roles of the book and the computer; and between the rise of the novel and that of the World Wide Web. In this way it is possible to enhance and extend our understanding of the processes of cultural production.

Whereas the book has a long and established tradition, the computer is still in its infancy, yet both have had a momentous impact on our lives. Each is an object of widespread adoption, but both have been viewed with suspicion in no small measure because both are inextricably linked to personal freedom. There are three main groups that may manifest technophobic reactions to new technologies. The first two, governments safeguarding internal interests and businesses protecting commercial concerns may present a public face of scepticism whilst exploiting the technology that they publicly decry. The third group is that section of the populace for whom the spectre of a 'Big Brother society' (described in Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four, (1949) seems genuinely to stem from anxieties engendered by new technologies.<sup>1</sup>

The book introduced the transmission of information to the populace, in a form that was potentially beyond the control of church or state.<sup>2</sup> Traditionally the writer was assured social prestige, a prestige that Pat Rogers, in The Augustan Vision

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<sup>1</sup> Of these three groups, the government has the capacity to manipulate new technologies in a way the others do not.

<sup>2</sup> Examples of early attempts to restrain publishers and authors include: the poisoning of Socrates (399BC) for the corruption of Greek youth; Shi Huang Ti (213BC) destroying all but agricultural and practical books, and Galileo Galilei (1632) forced to recant his scientific writings by the catholic church. In the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries, publishers required a license to print under the 'Prior Restraint Law'. Illegal printing led to forceful interrogation by the Star Chamber, which was disbanded in 1641. Gail Blasser Riley, "The History Of Censorship", Censorship. (NY: Facts On File, Inc, 1998). pp.3-36

(1974), observes was forfeited with the decline of patronage; this created a dependency on publishers who were middle-class tradesmen.<sup>3</sup> Since the eighteenth century, the Puritan work ethic has been subsumed by the pursuit of wealth, and the growth of multinational businesses has largely usurped the role of the church. Traditionally, religious belief played a significant role in eighteenth century Britain (as it may still do today in certain limited respects) but the potential influence of religion as a stabilising force had lost most of its impact. The importance of providing a unified Protestant religion (the Church of England) was paramount for a kingdom where fear of the intense Catholicism of Mary Tudor and the Stuarts still existed. In 1701, the Act Of Settlement secured continuous Protestant succession. During the late seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century continual wars and revolutions in Europe and internal conflict weakened England's stability. Rebellions at home, the struggle for religious freedom, dissenters and anti-Catholic riots all increased the drive to create a stable society -- one that reached its pinnacle in the power-obsessed empire building of the Victorians.<sup>4</sup> Social unrest in the eighteenth, nineteenth and late twentieth century may be compared by studying the impact of new technology in these periods. In modern society, riots and rebellions are viewed with an increasing paranoia because technology provides instant access to events as they happen. The political instability of eighteenth-century British society affected freedom of expression and an author (or publisher) would be pursued for publishing what were considered to be seditious or morally reprehensible writings. Despite the emphasis on freedom today, authors and publishers are challenged if writings are thought to transgress the existing code of censorship.

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<sup>3</sup> Pat Rogers, *The Augustan Vision* (London: Methuen, 1974), p.77

<sup>4</sup> War: 1689-1718 France; 1720-1731 Spain; 1743-1745 France; 1749-1756 France; 1757-1784 India; 1775-1783 American Revolution; 1779 France (Senegal); 1779 Spain; 1789 French Revolution and subsequent war with England. Civil unrest: 1685, 1688 (Glorious Revolution); 1690 (Boyne); 1692 (Glencoe); 1696 (strike of journeymen); 1708; 1715 (Jacobite Rebellion); 1736 (Porteous Riots); 1745; 1746 (Falkirk and Culloden); 1765-1773 (Colonies); 1780 (Gordon riots). Bernard Grun, *Timetables Of History* (NY: Touchstone, 1979), pp. 312-374

The computer currently provides freedom of access to infinite avenues of communication; yet there are those who for a variety of reasons distrust the motivation that lies behind its application. There exists a fear of the potential for misuse, and in particular, of the descent into anarchy by a virtual community that has evolved (in many respects) beyond the judiciary powers of existing governments.

Theodore Kaczynski provides an illustrative example of fundamental differences in attitude with regard to the transmission of seditious material. Kaczynski, a brilliant mathematician and technophobe, committed fourteen terrorist acts between 1978 and 1995 and was dubbed the Unabomber because he chose to target academic institutions. In 1993, he demanded that his manifesto Industrial Society and Its Future be published in the New York Times and Washington Post or he would continue with his bombing campaign. Whilst the establishment withheld publication for many months, HotWired, an online publication, were willing to publish immediately if they had access to a complete copy. They were at pains to make the reasons for doing this clear:

not to appease the bomber but to help catch him. In the global village, it ought to be obvious who is murdering people. We believe that open information about the facts of the Unabomber will help find him and stop him.<sup>5</sup>

The paradox is that Kaczynski (whose terrorist acts were targeted at the advance of technology) desired academic exposure through traditional media, but it was only the new technologists who were prepared to publish his manifesto. In the Internet society where freedom is considered to be paramount, self-policing ensures that ethics are always to the forefront. Yet, amongst academics the case of the Unabomber (and terrorism) sparked a controversy. Alan Liu (The Voice Of The Shuttle website) in an online essay highlights the issues surrounding the freedom of the press,

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<sup>5</sup> "The Unabomber's Manifesto: Old Thinking For A New Medium", HotWired, <http://HotWired.com/special/unabom/14/11/99>, part II

which he has extended to the World Wide Web, and the morality of referencing the Unabomber's treatise. Liu defends his position by presenting the complex issues surrounding on-line publications of, and web links to, scholarly publications which derive from violence and coercion and place ethics and freedom in diametrical opposition. Web links are neither publication nor re-publication:

Mounting the Manifesto on one's server can sensibly be called republication, but merely linking to it from another server cannot.<sup>6</sup>

He believes that despite murder

we need not be held hostage to that fact by thinking that our scholarly "Linkages" to him (linkages that can run from allusion through citation to quotation) need either transmit or repress him. We are beholden to reconfigure his act within intellectual contexts not of his choice so as to reflect upon, critique, protest, and perhaps finally even forget him (i.e. the proprietary "him", lord of luddites). Otherwise, what ultimately is the moral function of research?<sup>7</sup>

The point of Liu's conclusion seems to be that academics (and American Citizens) are compelled to discuss Kaczynski. Despite Liu's assertion that it may be possible to 'finally even forget him', the Unabomber is guaranteed immortality for the atrocities he has committed in his campaign against technological advance; moreover, he is immortalised by the very technology he condemns. A parallel (though not exact) may be drawn between the Unabomber and the Pentrich Revolutionaries (1799 - 1817).<sup>8</sup> Viewed in terms of human cost the desire of both was to halt what they perceived to be inhumane technological advance. Yet, for the purpose of this thesis, the significance of these events resides not in the acts committed, but in the recording of the events, the dissemination of information and the recreation of historical perspective.

For the traditional historian, history is derived from the study of data and events

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<sup>6</sup> Alan Liu, "Should We Link To The Unabomber? An Essay On Practical Web Ethics", <http://humanitas.ucbs.edu/liu/whyuna.htm> 14/11/99, part II

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Pentrich is commonly known as Pentridge and Isaac Ludlam as Ned Ludlum.

which are to be considered as fundamentally stable and objective, and are essentially linear in nature. The traditional historian reconstructs events from a mixture of political records, personal diaries, cultural artefacts, other history books and (in some cases) literary texts. Historicism and in particular, New Historicism challenges this methodology.<sup>9</sup> An historicist approach proposes that history is perceived as a series of contingent unstable episodes, and that stable and objective data may never be revealed because 'literary and non-literary texts circulate inseparably'.<sup>10</sup> Textual transmission is dependent on the social and economic contexts of both initial and subsequent audiences; moreover, it is subject to the interpretative strategies of numerous individual readers over time. Additionally, the history book has a special significance: the reader's response to a history book is typically coloured by the belief that it is a repository of historical 'fact'.<sup>11</sup> New Historicists tend to express an interest in the gaps, the silences, the lacunae, which are scattered through all apparently close-knit narratives.

Perceptions of the Luddite rebellion illustrate the difficulties of the interpretation and transmission of information. In British Economic And Social History (1957) the historian C. P. Hill contextualises the rebellion in terms of the effect on both the British government and the populace. England was at war with France and was the uncomfortable observer of the excesses of a revolution it had once supported.<sup>12</sup> Hill's reference to Ludd is of particular significance:

**The later years of war witnessed some sharp outbreaks of violence in the industrial areas. These were the Luddite Riots, so called because they, or some of them, were said to have been directed by one Ned Ludd, a mysterious figure whose headquarters were said to be in Sherwood Forest.**

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<sup>9</sup> Historicists include Kant, Hegel, Dilthey, Marx, Lacan, Foucault and Derrida. New Historicists include Greenblatt, McGann, Weimann, Butler and Levinson.

<sup>10</sup> The New Historicism Reader, ed., H. Aram Veenser (London: Routledge, 1994), p.16

<sup>11</sup> Equally the DNB is considered a repository of factual information regarding people of cultural significance and may itself be the subject of a dialogue regarding its accuracy.

<sup>12</sup> At this time, Pitt's Government suspended Habeas Corpus and introduced the Combination Acts (passed in 1709 and 1800) preventing attempts to decrease hours and increase pay. In addition trade unions and public meetings were outlawed and employers had recourse to punishment for the acts of an employee, which might damage the employers interests. C. P. Hill, British Economic And Social History 1700 - 1939 (London: Edward Arnold, 1957), pp.113 and 246

**His existence is very doubtful: if he lived at all he may only have been a half-witted boy who one day smashed up some machinery.<sup>13</sup>**

Hill provides no footnote to explain his 'half-witted boy' suggestion and it may be that this passage is a piece of creative writing on Hill's part to make a larger point about our lack of precise knowledge on this matter. However, Hill's statement was read and evidently taken as gospel by a contributor to Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, where the definition of a Luddite is 'a half-witted Leicestershire workman'.<sup>14</sup> However, the existence of Ludd is by no means clear, as John Rule illustrates in Albion's People (1992):

**In 1811 letters and proclamations signed 'Ned Ludd' or 'Captain Ludd' or even 'General Ludd' preceded or followed attacks on machinery in the framework-knitting districts of Nottingham.<sup>15</sup>**

Such documentary evidence serves to confuse rather than clarify history. Hill's account is directly contradicted by Rule's and there is no listing for Ned Ludd in The Concise Dictionary Of National Biography (1995) whereas one exists for Isaac Ludlam:

**(d.1817), rebel; prominent in the 'Derbyshire insurrection' promoted by Jeremiah Brandreth, 1817; arrested tried and executed.<sup>16</sup>**

Hill situates Ludd in Sherwood Forest (a setting normally associated with Robin Hood, England's most romantic folk hero) and by doing so confers a mythological status upon Ludd. Hill's account is a perpetuation of a myth beyond the mythical Ludd. Rule introduces the current debate surrounding the Pentrich Revolutionaries by foregrounding the political, social and economic factors of the conflict. Yet

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<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, p.113

<sup>14</sup> Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (Mass: Merriam-Webster, 1979), p. 677. The definition of Luddite is consistent across other reference books in defining the actions of the machine breakers. The term 'Luddite' is now commonly taken to mean one who eschews technology. However, not all technological innovation is viewed as detrimental. The Neo-Luddite Movement actively supports the use of the personal computer, which is seen 'a great emancipator' removing as it does the restrictions on personal enterprise and freedom and perhaps most importantly the demands of the employer.

"The Neo-Luddite Manifesto", <http://www.personal.psu.edu/users/a/f/afd108/neo-ludd.htm>. 30/11/99

<sup>15</sup> John Rule, Albion's People: English Society 1714 - 1815 (London: Longman, 1992), p.215

<sup>16</sup> The Concise Dictionary Of National Biography, vol. G-M (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p.1843

Rule's evidence, which suggests that Ned Ludd was a collective of rebels rather than an individual, further increases the gap between what is fact and what is myth by creating an image of heroism -- 'the man of the people' motif.

New technologies demand that we look again at how freedom and the concept of freedom within society is understood: as in the eighteenth century, so now, the applications and uses of the book and the computer extend from issues of personal choice and therefore freedom. Limitation to personal freedom is the price paid in return for the benefits of inclusion into cultural and social groupings and 'freedom' is a notoriously difficult word to define. To be free is to 'have the legal and political rights of a citizen'.<sup>17</sup> Webster's describes freedom as:

**The quality or state of being free: as a: the absence of necessity, coercion, or constraint in choice or action b: liberation from slavery or restraint or from the power of another.**

The dictionary echoes both Rousseau and Bentham's assessments of the human condition. Rousseau states that

**Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains. One thinks himself the master of others, and still remains a greater slave than they.**<sup>18</sup>

The concept of freedom within society is paradoxical, because society requires a sacrifice of personal interest for the common good, as both Rousseau and later Bentham observed in their discourses on the structure of society. Bentham's concept of Utility based on the principles of pain and pleasure (which he translates approximately as happiness and felicity) gives credence to Rousseau's view because

**On the one hand the standard of right and wrong, on the other the chain of causes and effects, are fastened to their throne. They govern us in all we do, in all we say, in all we think: every effort we can make to throw off our subjection, will serve but to demonstrate and confirm it. In words**

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<sup>17</sup> Webster's, p.453

<sup>18</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, The Social Contract And Discourses, ed., G. H. D. Cole (London: Everyman, 1973), p. 165

a man may pretend to abjure the empire: but in reality he will remain subject to it all the while.<sup>19</sup>

Society is fabricated from groups within a group. An illustrative microstructure can be seen in the University system, a society constructed from multiple societies. Established disciplines underpin and encourage intense individual focus. Whilst such a classification system has benefits it may also be judged to be a barrier for individual projects which cross disciplinary boundaries, a transition which may meet with entrenched attitudes and prejudice.<sup>20</sup> The perceived threat of disintegration creates a 'knee-jerk' reaction and critical adherents express their dogma using the terminology of their chosen theorists, creating exclusive self-perpetuating systems. This is clearly demonstrated by the problem, which *still* faces state-educated students applying for places in traditional Universities where the lack of kudos associated with state education encourages the application of misapprehension and prejudice regarding academic ability and potential.<sup>21</sup>

Rousseau, writing in 1762, offers a bleak picture of social order based on the maintenance of power by the strongest. Citing Aristotle, he describes how those enslaved conspire by their own cowardice to maintain the balance of power. The Social Contract recognises the limitations for the individual (with regard to freedom of action) in the course of social interaction. Society (for Rousseau) is a structure based on the acquisition of power, which unites individuals who relinquish personal freedoms to maintain the status quo. The interaction of individual members can be described as the ability to 'transform strength into right and obedience into duty', and in interacting

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<sup>19</sup> Jeremy Bentham, the Principles Of Morals And Legislation (NY: Prometheus Books, 1988), p.1

<sup>20</sup> "A Tale Of Cauliflower And Kings", The Times Higher Education Supplement (October 15, 1999), pp. 20-21 An article by Noel Annan, on Oxbridge Dons, describes the class system within higher education.

<sup>21</sup> "Letters & Opinions"(October 22, 1999), p.19. Continuing Annan's discussion, Howard Stones (Bradford College) provides statistics that show the divide between participants in HE from most affluent (50%) and least affluent areas (10%).

*Each of us puts his person and all his power under the supreme direction of the general will, and in our corporate capacity, we receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole.*<sup>22</sup>

Rousseau regards censorship as a 'declaration of public judgement' and the role of the censor is to administer the law based on public opinion. Moral judgements must be regulated, because judgements made based on what is *good* are not necessarily *moral*. Therefore, legislation pertaining to morality must, he feels, derive from judgements of honour, and censorship works by preventing public opinion from corruption. Legislation in decline manifests symptoms of moral degeneracy, which cannot be restored by the rules of censorship.

Issues of morality do not always take precedence in a climate of economic imperative. The publishing industry swiftly became an expanding source of revenue in Eighteenth Century England. Early attempts to control production created illegal routes of traffic, and publishers in Dublin and Edinburgh became major suppliers of pirated copies. Until 1700, the book trade understood by common law that the author or bookseller had continual copyright. England led the way in establishing a process which protected the rights of the author, who had to register with the Stationers' Company. The continent took longer to react, but by the end of the eighteenth century, the European author was granted the same consideration as his English counterpart.<sup>23</sup> The Act of copyright in 1709 changed the terms so that copyright could be held for a period between one and twenty years. Infringing copyright laws led to the seizing of the book and a payment of one penny for every sheet found in possession of the offending publisher.<sup>24</sup> Modern copyright

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<sup>22</sup> Rousseau, *The Social Contract And Discourses*, p.175. The italics are Rousseau's.

<sup>23</sup> Following the protracted and successful battle of la Fontaine's granddaughters to secure the copyright of *Fables and Contes*, the judiciary of France became more sensitive to the rights of the author. Diderot and Malesherbes, instructed to defend the publishers' interest, decided in favour of the writers. The judiciary finally issued a decree in 1778, which gave the author perpetual copyright. Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming Of The Book* (London: Verso, 1998), p.165.

<sup>24</sup> Sir Frank Mackinnon, "Notes On The History Of English Copyright", Appendix II, *The Oxford Companion TO English Literature*, ed., Sir Paul Harvey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp.921-931

laws give ownership to the author (supported by the EU directive 93/98 to prevent distortions of the market within member states) which lasts for seventy years after death. Infringements result in financial compensation for damages and pursuit for criminal offences for reproduction.<sup>25</sup>

Opening up routes of transmission proved as problematical for the eighteenth-century distributors and censor as it does today. Better roads and distribution networks led to more sales, but also abetted those willing to infringe copyright laws and distribute banned works:

**Banned books were the more sought after because forbidden. They were passed from hand to hand and commanded high prices. The trade became under such circumstances a highly paid one, and the number of pedlars increased, particularly in France, during the latter end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.**<sup>26</sup>

Information technology has re-introduced the problems that faced the eighteenth century publishers and authors. Gordon Graham, the internet:// a philosophical inquiry (1999) citing Neil Postman's question, which presupposes that new technology fulfils an a priori desire, suggests that advances in technology are viewed in the context of the problem they have been created to solve, and that attempts to make an appraisal from this context are inherently flawed.<sup>27</sup> Graham believes that technological innovation may be seen to fulfil requirements for the following criteria: 'nourishment, stimulation, entertainment, information, and recreation'.<sup>28</sup> Technological advances

**Do not create new desires in any deep or interesting sense. They only open up new ways of satisfying old ones, albeit old ones that admit of greater and more refined specification - holidays abroad and not just holidays, news pictures and not just news, and so on. The point contra**

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<sup>25</sup> The exception to the ownership rule is 'the copyright in a work made by an employee in the course of his or her employment', Writers And Artists Yearbook 1999 (London: A. C. Black Ltd., 1999), pp.641-650

<sup>26</sup> Febvre and Martin, The Coming Of The Book, p. 238

<sup>27</sup> Gordon Graham, the internet:// a philosophical inquiry (London: Routledge, 1999), pp.40-45.

<sup>28</sup> *ibid.*, p.42

my criticism of Postman, is that in as far as these more specific desires can be subsumed under the same general heading, they are not really new.<sup>29</sup>

Such advances may offer positive benefits, but transition may also have a negative impact on society. Advances in technology are often driven by business rather than ethical 'needs'. Whilst technological advance is usually rapid, changes within society (if any) are either minimal or occur slowly, because the legal system exists to protect society from anything which may threaten its future existence. The rapidity with which technologies change may mean that implementation is viewed cautiously. In addition, technology that appeals to the masses may not always be that of most significance. The invention of the telephone is significant; the mobile phone, whilst useful, is an extension of the original design.<sup>30</sup>

The pro-active exchange of ideas on the modern information highway encapsulates the spirit of the first printing presses, and the intellectual climate of the eighteenth century in which Samuel Johnson, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Jeremy Bentham were able to formulate their philosophies. In this climate, interdisciplinary constraints were non-existent; poets studied science, while philosophers studied the arts and biographers (like Boswell) studied Law. Thus far, the Internet society has blurred the boundaries between disciplines and to the greater part of its existence, followed Bentham's utilitarian model, and this seems to have evolved naturally. However, the Internet is now being scrutinised by governments who require the instigation of directives to control the way in which information is broadcast and sent. Duplicating the pattern established by the book trade in the eighteenth century, the economic potential of this medium is now being realised.<sup>31</sup> In December 1999, the Evening Standard carried an article about the sale of the domain address bank.com with a

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<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*, p.42

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*, p27. Graham compares the 'radically new and the merely novel'.

<sup>31</sup> The protracted battle between Microsoft and Netscape over the sale of computers carrying Microsoft software in the American courts illustrates how important the computing market is as a financial investment.

reserve price of one million pounds.<sup>32</sup> Squatting (speculative domain name purchasing and domain name blackmail), pornography and the protection of children are major concerns. In addition, opportunistic business interests are subsuming the free exchange of information, with the introduction of tariffs.<sup>33</sup> The attempt to exploit the internet audience is to misunderstand the motivation of this group, whose members believe in the *free* exchange of information and adhere to a naturally evolved form of Bentham's philosophy. Jeremy Bentham depicts society as

[.] a fictitious body composed of the individual persons constituting as it were its members. The interest of the community then is what? - the sum of the interests of the several members who compose it.<sup>34</sup>

The Internet consists of a series of societies, which mirror the society in which we live, but transcend the boundaries of state, country and class, as they existed in the eighteenth-century. There is no body of civil representatives (the police or army) to maintain order in this Community. It is self-regulatory. Individuals adhere to codes of conduct defined by each group, and individuals are expected to take responsibility for what they write or accept the consequences. Consensus is reasonable, and personally enforced. For Bentham, the rules governing society derive from the pain and pleasure principle: that people will maximise the experiences of pleasure and avoid actions that cause pain. He mistakenly assumes that *all* individuals will act with sufficient respect towards their fellow men to uphold the common good:

**It does not seem probable, that in any nation, which is in a state of tolerable civilization, in short [.] will so far recede from a coincidence with those of utility (that is of enlightened benevolence)[.]<sup>35</sup>**

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<sup>32</sup> Alan Gill, "Banks.com Set To Net A Million", Evening Standard, 6 December 1999, p.4

<sup>33</sup> Domain name purchase is granted on a first come, first serve basis. The web address is purchased to sell at an exorbitant price to a corporation or individual of the same name. Often this website is created using with potentially inflammatory material to guarantee a sale. The prefaces to many early eighteenth century books used a similar technique inviting the reader to imagine far worse things (Moll Flanders for example) than were actually written. The Federal Trade Commission in America are currently issuing guidelines for web-sites collecting information from children.

<sup>34</sup> Jeremy Bentham, "Of The Principle Of Utility", The Principles Of Morals And Social Legislation, NY: Prometheus Books, 1988), p.3, IV

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*, p.137, XVIII, 6.

Such sentiments are frequently applied to writing. Responsible authoring has been a subject for debate over many centuries. The classics were a continual source of reference for the eighteenth-century author and an examination of The Republic reveals Plato's disquiet with regard to the influence of the poet:

Since the minds of the young are very impressionable we must, if we are to educate them properly, make sure that the poetry on which they are brought up is suitable for that purpose.<sup>36</sup>

and the power of suggestion

They have said that unjust men are often happy, and just men wretched, and that wrong-doing pays if you can avoid being found out, and that justice is what is good for other people. We must forbid them to say this sort of thing, and require their poems and stories to have quite the opposite moral.<sup>37</sup>

Plato suggests that censoring poets and storytellers will protect the minds of readers. Johnson, writing in 1759, whilst not censoring, places a moral responsibility on the writer:

He [the poet] must write as the interpreter of nature, and the legislator of mankind, and consider himself as presiding over the thoughts and manners of future generations; as superior to time and place.<sup>38</sup>

If (as Rousseau claims) 'censorship upholds morality', who is elected to uphold censorship and by whom are they elected? Is the legislation governing morality something that must remain rigid or should it reflect the changing standards of morality, which occur with each generation? The court case of Lady Chatterley's Lover illustrates that shifts in perception in this area do take place from one generation to another.

D. H. Lawrence's fascination with sexuality (and indeed that of his audience) may be traced in the publication history of his novels. Lady Chatterley sees Lawrence

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<sup>36</sup> Plato, The Republic (London: Penguin, 1979), p.129

<sup>37</sup> *ibid.*, pp.148-9

<sup>38</sup> Samuel Johnson, Rasselas (1759) Ch. 10. Cf. Shelley 644:8. Taken from The Oxford Dictionary Of Quotations, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, ed., Angela Partington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 369

effecting a major break with the taboos of his cultural heritage. The realism with which he portrays the affair between Mellors and Constance is a poignant and explicit, if somewhat romanticised sexual coupling. Yet, by comparison to The Memoirs Of a Woman Of Pleasure by John Cleland, commonly known as Fanny Hill (1748), or to Night In A Moorish Harem (an anonymous, nineteenth-century novel), Lawrence's depiction of the love affair is not shocking.<sup>39</sup> Ostensibly, both the Memoirs and Moorish Harem are entertaining tales focussing on the sexual act. In defence of John Cleland, his story (akin to Defoe's Moll Flanders) is a picaresque tale of an inexperienced girl, which conforms to the literary conventions of an early eighteenth-century novel. Fanny is coerced into a life of prostitution, and the narrative concludes with the return of her first love and her sense of morality. Moorish Harem follows no such convention. The preface begins with a description of Lord George Herbert, the handsomest man in the English nobility; and therefore desirable. Piquancy is added by the claim (in conspiratorial tone) that this *secret* writing has been surrendered to the safekeeping of 'a fair and frail lady', who having read it is compelled to share the intelligence with you, the reader. It is little more than a series of priapic tales based on The Thousand And One Nights. Memoirs has never been out of print, although Cleland (unlike Lawrence) faced an obscenity trial.<sup>40</sup> Such examples provide evidence that whilst censorship exists to uphold agreed standards of morality, authors and readers will seek out and find material which transgresses the institutionalised moral code.

Lawrence's book, which places passion and sexuality within the context of a love affair, inspired sufficient outrage to prompt a trial for indecency in 1959. For post-war society in the dawn of the 'swinging sixties', there existed, in theory if

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<sup>39</sup> Fanny Hill is in fact an abbreviation: the correct title is Memoirs Of A Lady Of Pleasure. I am unable to secure a publication date for Moorish Harem.

<sup>40</sup> Memoirs has only been legally available in America since 1963 and in England since 1970. "Introduction", John Cleland, Memoirs Of A Woman Of Pleasure, ed., Peter Sabor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985)

not in reality, sexual freedom.<sup>41</sup> The real importance of the Lady Chatterley case resides in the challenge offered to sixties censorship. The defence may be seen as a defence for freedom of choice; a fight against the strictures of established concepts of morality sustained by censorship. The jury made a decision to uphold the artistic worth of this novel and in doing so may have contravened the *principles* of existing moral legislation defended by Rousseau, who believed that

Men always love what is good or what they find good; it is in judging what is good that they go wrong.<sup>42</sup>

The decision of the jury illustrates clearly the demarcation of boundaries between a society for whom the old values of sexual and religious propriety are paramount and a new generation establishing their own model for 'civilised' behaviour. Yet, Rousseau states:

Censorship upholds morality by preventing opinion from growing corrupt, by preserving its rectitude by means of wise applications.<sup>43</sup>

If indeed censorship exists to prevent corruption, what have been the consequences for society of this jury's decision, a decision that challenged the existing moral code? By adhering to the concept of freedom of choice, the jury opened the way for some exceptional writing to be published. Equally, it should be considered that, at the macroscopic level, this decision might also have led to the publication of material unfit for issue. At the specific level, however, Lawrence (whose book may have been controversial at the time) is now assessed on his skill as a writer.<sup>44</sup> If the premise that books are considered to be a measure of our civilisation holds true, can we really say with any justification that what has transpired in literature since this ruling has improved either society or morality? Or indeed that it has not?

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<sup>41</sup> In 1960, Penguin were prosecuted under The Obscene Publications Act, 1959. A not guilty verdict was returned.

<sup>42</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "The Censorship", The Social Contract, p. 267

<sup>43</sup> *ibid.*, p. 267

<sup>44</sup> Qualitative judgements may derive from individual opinions of high' and 'low' literature and influenced by teaching syllabi and inclusion into the canon.

I intend to show that Reader-orientated Theories, based on investigations into reading strategies, offer an insight into the complex issues surrounding reading, and that such theories will play an increasing role in the analysis of reading habits provoked by new technologies. In support of my argument, it is my intention to draw extensively from the works of theorists in this field, specifically Norman Holland who provides compelling evidence that:

**Readers differ radically about meanings, that is the intellectual, political, cultural or moral sense readers make of a text. Different critics will get Christian or Marxist or existential meanings from the same text. Even critics who share the same intellectual position arrive at different interpretations.<sup>45</sup>**

I will support my argument using selections from the novels of the forenamed eighteenth-century authors to illustrate how changes in technology affect physical appearance and therefore reading habits.<sup>46</sup> Whilst it may be argued that Reader Response theory appears to reduce the reading experience to little more than a series of isolated encounters, it is my belief that individual reading strategies extend and enrich our collective critical heritage. Moreover, it is the individual reader who creates and supports theoretical groupings and who in turn achieves status through interaction with the sub-structures of academic society - a society that assigns cultural significance to writings and so engenders critical expansion.<sup>47</sup> I will also argue that if these issues are applicable to reading, then they are also applicable to the way in which reading materials are selected. The psychology of personal preference brought to the selection of a book as physical artefact plays as valid a role in the interpretation of that artefact as it does in the interpretation of the text.

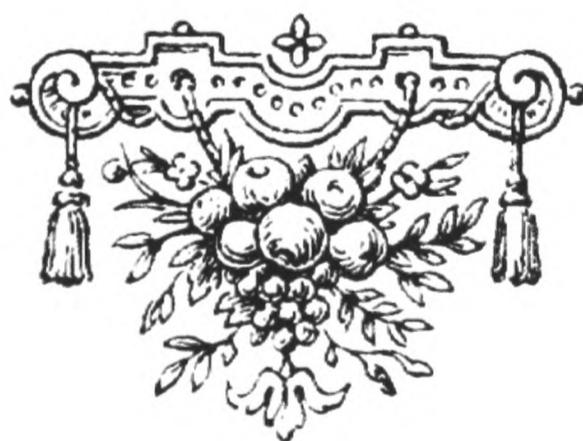
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<sup>45</sup> Norman Holland, "Preface", *The Dynamics Of Literary Response* (NY: Columbia, 1968, repr, 1989), p.ix. Subsequent research led to the publication of *5 Readers Reading* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1975). I have changed the word 'differed' to 'differ'.

<sup>46</sup> See page 1

<sup>47</sup> In this instance I use the phrase 'sub-structures of academic society' to mean academe, publishing houses, and other formal institutions that support the production of critical texts.

The format of this work does not adhere to the formal requirements for a doctoral thesis. I have been permitted to use my thesis as an illustrative example of how the presentation of a piece of writing can affect the response of the reader. A book from the eighteenth century is a rare and beautiful object. Printers and publishers used devices and ornaments and adhered to layouts (continuously replicated throughout the early to mid century) that were designed to catch the eye of the reader. The use of the ornament (usually woodblock) alerts the reader to the beginning and end of a section, or a chapter. Such ornaments were commonly used devices before illustrations became standard accessories to the story. I too present the reader of this thesis with this artifice. In addition, it is my intention that the reader should in part experience the typeface of an eighteenth century book, and for this purpose I have chosen to use fonts designed to replicate eighteenth century typefaces.





## Chapter One: Perspectives





## CHAPTER ONE: PERSPECTIVES

Reading is a culturally derived complex activity involving the receptive aspect of human intellectual intercourse through visually perceptive symbols directly related to the auditory symbols of speech.

D. H. Warner, "A Conversation", The Nature Of Reading (1972)

[ 1 ]

### CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES

The novel (as Margaret Anne Doody reveals in The Story Of The Novel, 1996) is not a new medium; it first appears in an embryonic form in ancient Greece and Rome.<sup>1</sup> However, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and throughout the eighteenth century, a series of events occurs which will affect readers for centuries to come. The novel emerges as a cultural *tour de force* and is assimilated globally into diverse cultures; those involved in the publication chain devise efficient tools of mass-production which instigate a process of systematic technological change. This in turn leads to the expansion of the distribution networks of the 'book-as-text' and therefore, the supply of books to a growing number of readers. The technologists of the nineteenth and twentieth-century have advanced production techniques, augmenting the numbers of books dispatched, although quality is often sacrificed for quantity. Through the World Wide Web, it is possible to transmit a text in seconds involving limited physical resources. Producing books in this way

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<sup>1</sup> Whilst Doody's focus is Greek and Roman she acknowledges that the Chinese and Japanese societies had their own version of the novel before contact with western society. Margaret Anne Doody, The True Story Of The Novel (London: Fontana Press, 1996), p. xix.

reduces labour-intensive production methods, by avoiding materials such as paper, ink and binding; there are significant reductions in the cost of manufacture, and this is reflected in the point-of-sale price.<sup>2</sup>

My investigation of 'the-book-as-object' requires that I examine theories which have evolved in parallel with the 'book-as-text'. This subject matter has, through necessity, prompted an inter-disciplinarian approach, incorporating literature, critical theory, philosophy, textual scholarship, history, social science and technology. In this chapter, I will outline the cardinal areas of the aforementioned critical theories, which provide the foundation for my inquiry into the 'book-as-object'.



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<sup>2</sup> Many e-book companies, such as Barnes & Noble, offer significant reductions and it is possible to buy classic texts for less than three pounds and indeed some, such as Robinson Crusoe are gratis. There are disadvantages, in that there is no indication of which edition has been used and there are no critical notes. However, e-book software is often provided free, as an added incentive for adoption.

## Reader Response Theory & Rezeption-Aesthetik

Reader orientated theories are considered to be a conception of the twentieth century. However, the canon of philosophical writing indicates this viewpoint to be mistaken. The rationalisation of a reader-orientated approach (bringing the reader to the fore in the interpretation of the text) is the result of cultural influences. The theorists of the twentieth-century, influenced by the philosophers of the past, have transformed centuries of research into a cohesive system, and will in turn influence the theorists of the future. The vestiges of reader-orientated theory appear under the auspices of aesthetics and phenomenology, during the long eighteenth century. Inquiries into the nature of perception by philosophers John Locke (1632-1704), George Berkeley (1685-1753), David Hume (1711-1776), Alexander Baumgarten (1714-1762), Edmund Burke (1729-1797) and Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) whose critical influences stretch further back, provide the groundwork for future hypotheses.

Current reader-based theory developed as a response to two critical theories: Russian Formalism and New Criticism. Both schools of thought emerged during the nineteen-twenties, but whilst New Criticism reached its peak during the forties and fifties, Russian Formalists were the recipients of state disapproval and the movement was concluded in Russia 1930. Formalism continued in Czechoslovakia until the late 1930s. Neither school should be seen as distinct or disconnected from the other for several reasons: Roman Jakobson and René Wellek joined the New Critics after the rise of Nazism led to their emigration. Each of the theories requires that textual analysis is conducted using methodologies which place the root of the interpretation in the meaning in the words on the page. Russian Formalists considered form alone to be the chief criterion for aesthetic value, and sought to analyse what it is in a text that is perceived as literariness. Formalists examined

the methods by which a writer constructs his art but avoided the symbolic use of language, the rhetoric of poetry, which was seen as proletarian. The exponents of New Criticism, however, directed the emphasis of the investigation towards the inherent literary value of a text, in an attempt to isolate and objectify literature. This group placed value on one text at the expense of others, which led to the alienation of authors and genres (such as the gothic) that did not fall within the New Critic's sphere of classification.

Reader orientated theory has two main critical branches: the Constanz School in Europe, which advocates Rezeption-Aesthetik (or Reception Theory) and the American School, which promotes Reader Response Theory. The principle theoreticians of Rezeption-Aesthetik are Wolfgang Iser and Hans Robert Jauss. The principle exponents of Reader Response Theory are David Bleich, Jonathan Culler, Stanley Fish, Norman Holland and Michael Riffaterre. Both schools share the same core premises, as summarised by Stephen Regan in the Open University's Postgraduate Foundation Module (1995):

- 📖 The kinds of readers that various texts seem to imply
- 📖 The codes and conventions to which readers refer in making sense of texts
- 📖 The mental processes that occur as the readers move through a text<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, each theorist introduces a uniquely liberal and individual approach inasmuch as the fundamental theoretical structure of reader-orientated theory is a synthesis of many critical stances: aesthetics, structuralism, deconstructionism, phenomenology, and psychology. In addition, Iser and Jauss, aver that the existence of sociological and historical differences present in individual readings must be determined in the analysis of a reader's response.

The study of the human mind is implicitly bound into the Reader-orientated Theories. In 1752, David Hume published A Treatise of Human Nature, in which

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<sup>3</sup> Stephen Regan, "Reader-Response Criticism And Reception Theory", MA In Humanities (Milton Keynes: Open University, 1995), pp. 139 -147

he argued that knowledge of the external world could only be derived from our own psychology, not based on sensory perception. Psychologically and philosophically, the individual psyche is proposed as the vantage point from which all else must be assessed. The psychology of the reader is the primary point of reference for current reader response theorists, who recognise that many different readings may occur within a single text and a single reader may derive multiple readings.<sup>4</sup>

Rezeption-Aesthetik may be seen to originate from Aesthetics and Phenomenology via Russian Formalism. The word *Aesthetic* derives from the Greek: *aisthetikós*, to perceive, and Alexander Baumgarten (*Aesthetica*, 1750-58) supplies a definition, which prevails today, defining aesthetics as the study of art as an embodiment of truth and knowledge.<sup>5</sup> The inference of the expression aesthetic provides the reader with the means to describe how they interact with a work of art or literature in terms of concepts, judgements and sensual appreciation. Nathan Drake, in his critique of *The Italian* in 1798, describes Ann Radcliffe's novel in explicitly aesthetic terms:

In the production of Mrs Radcliffe, the Shakespeare of Romance Writers, and who to the wild landscape of Salvator Rosa has added the softer graces of a Claudel...<sup>6</sup>

Aesthetics (and the language of aesthetics) plays a large part in the twin cultures of sensibility and the sublime, which arose during the mid-to-late eighteenth century and in the Romantic Movement during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Phenomenology, the study of consciousness and experience of self through shared observations, also evolved in the eighteenth century, and Johann Heinrich Lambert (1722-1777), was the first philosopher to use this word to describe his

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<sup>4</sup> It is possible that the reader will use multiples of theories within one reading for example, both a Feminist and a New Historicist reading.

<sup>5</sup> *A Dictionary Of Philosophy*, ed., Antony Flew (London: Pan Books, 1979), p36

<sup>6</sup> Nathan Drake, *Literary Hours: Or Sketches, Critical Narrative, and Poetical* (London: 1798)

<sup>7</sup> Jane Austen's *Sense And Sensibility* (1811) develops the theme of excess in aesthetic sensibility, specifically in her portrayal of the hyper-sensitive Marianne Dashwood

theory.<sup>8</sup> In an age where boundaries between disciplines were frequently ignored, the philosophical investigations of Immanuel Kant supplies the crucial link between aesthetics and phenomenology.<sup>9</sup>

Kant writing in 1783, attempted to prove that phenomena were physical manifestations defined by our perception and our experience of them:

**That there is something real outside us which not only corresponds but must correspond to our external perceptions can likewise be proved to be, not a connection of things in themselves, but for the sake of experience.<sup>10</sup>**

He continues

**Empirically outside me is that which is intuited in space; and space, together with all the appearances which it contains, belongs to representations whose connection, according to laws of experience, proves their objective truth [...].<sup>11</sup>**

Kant describes the inherent difference between objects and experiences, as they *actually* are, and how they are *perceived* to be.

Rezeption-Aesthetik is in essence a composite of phenomenological and aesthetic influences deriving from Kant's original theories but has been extended by Edmund Husserl (phenomenology, 1859-1938) and Roman Ingarden (aesthetics, 1893-1970) who are considered to be seminal influences on Wolfgang Iser. Husserl believed that philosophical investigations should be inwardly directed because the mind is the creator of meaning. Objects in the external world do not have a separate existence from consciousness. Husserl's hypothesis would seem to loop back to Bishop George Berkeley's The Principles Of Human Knowledge (1710) written in the Socratic tradition of question and answer, between master and pupil. Berkeley not only pre-dates Husserl, but also anticipates the enigma of sense perception raised by reader

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<sup>8</sup> The Oxford Dictionary Of Philosophy, ed., Simon Blackburn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994)

<sup>9</sup> Kant published the Critique Of Pure Reason in 1781 (Phenomenology) and the Critique Of Judgement in 1790 (Aesthetics).

<sup>10</sup> Immanuel Kant, Prolegomena To Any Future Metaphysics (Indiana: Hackett Publishing Company, 1977), pp.77-78

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*

response critic David Bleich. In three dialogues between Hylas and Philonous, Berkeley examines the symbolic object 'tree':

- Hylas:** As I was thinking of a tree in a solitary place, where no one was present to see it, methought that was to conceive a tree as existing unperceived or unthought of, not considering that I myself conceived it all the while. But now I plainly see, that all I can do is to frame ideas in my own mind.
- Philonous:** You acknowledge then that you cannot possibly conceive how any one corporeal sensible thing should exist otherwise than in the mind.<sup>12</sup>

Berkeley's position challenged mainstream thought (and in fact pre-dating Reader-orientated theories) he placed the emphasis of perception on the perceiver.<sup>13</sup>

Ingarden however, contends that the work of the author is only made concrete by the act of reading. Criticism therefore, has relevance only to the text as an 'object' perceived by consciousness and neither the reader, nor the book is important, except as instruments for the creation of the text.

### **Wolfgang Iser**

Iser's investigations stem from Ingarden and Husserl but, he locates the reader in a more direct proximity to the text, than do either of his predecessors:

The need to decipher gives us the chance to formulate our own deciphering capacity - i.e. we bring to the fore an element of our being of which we are not directly conscious. The production of the meaning of literary texts [...] does not merely entail the discovery of the unformulated, which can then be taken over by the active imagination of the reader; it also entails the possibility that we may formulate ourselves and so discover what previously seemed to elude our consciousness.<sup>14</sup>

For Iser, the reading experience is a synthesis of the text, reader, and literary work, since the text is created and given meaning by the reader. However, in the process of text generation, the reader will encounter gaps and blanks, which he or

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<sup>12</sup> Bishop George Berkeley, "Three Dialogues Between Hylas And Philonous", The Principles Of Human Knowledge (Glasgow: Fontana, 1981), pp.177-184

<sup>13</sup> A Dictionary Of Philosophy (London: Pan reference, 1979): 'Berkeley's readers have often thought his basic doctrine to be quite patently false', p. 40

<sup>14</sup> Wolfgang Iser, "The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach", 'The Reading Process', New Directions In Literary History, ed. R. Cohen, taken from Modern Literary Theory: A Reader, eds., Philip Rice and Patricia Waugh (London: Edward Arnold, 1992), pp. 77-83

she will then try to fill by projecting a sequence of events. If a sequence is found the reading continues, if not then gaps or blanks (referred to as 'blockages' by Ingarden) arise and the reader is unable to move forward to the next sequence of events. However, Iser views this hiatus as a chance to fill in the gaps and as a consequence, Iser's reader may only ever view the text in discrete segments. To evaluate the text the reader must participate in a process of perpetually re-evaluating the past in the context of the present. For Stephen Regan the flaw is

A concealed or undeclared politics in Iser's work, but this rarely proceeds beyond a vaguely defined liberalism. The text can prompt its readers to new levels of awareness, but in another way it also constrains its readers; it both allows the reader the active role in producing meanings and ultimately restricts the range of different interpretations.<sup>15</sup>

Regan suggests that whilst eighteenth-century fiction with its concerns of personal morality may lend itself to Iser's theory, literature from other periods may not be so easily assessed. Furthermore, Regan questions Iser's failure to investigate individual readings across literary history. For Regan, Iser's account of the reading process is 'an abstract, de-historicized performance'.<sup>16</sup>

### **Hans Robert Jauss**

The infrastructure of Hans Robert Jauss's theory is in essence hermeneutic. Adherents to Hermeneutics provide interpretations of texts (and the world) based on sociological, psychological and historical investigations. Hans-Georg Gadamer, under whom Jauss studied in Heidleburg, was a major influence. However, Gadamer sought to reject hermeneutics because he perceived that any argument based on this precept was inevitably flawed. Objectivity remains impossible to achieve because language and time limit human interpretation. Jauss, whilst acknowledging the constraints of hermeneutics, seeks to reunite literary history and the study of

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<sup>15</sup> Regan, "Reader-Response Criticism", p.144

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*

literature. For Jauss, the production and reception of a text are uniquely connected. The individual reception of a literary text is one that is read against a set of cultural criteria, furthermore criteria that are subject to change and it is this change, which constitutes history. The reader reconfigures history to match to his or her own cultural values and individual responses to the text:

**The historical life of a literary work is unthinkable without the active participation of its addressees. For it is only through the process of its mediation that the work enters into the changing horizon-of-experience of a continuity in which the perpetual inversion occurs from simple reception to critical understanding.<sup>17</sup>**

The literary work is not static but created by each reader in each period and gives rise to what Jauss calls the 'horizon of expectations'.

### **David Bleich**

David Bleich summarises the reader's response to a text as the need for self-knowledge, deriving from the psychology of the individual reader:

**The truth about literature has no meaning independent of the truth about the reader.<sup>18</sup>**

He contends that the literary work is a symbolic object which is firstly dependant on the author to write it and secondly upon the reader to read it:

**A symbolic object is wholly dependent on a perceiver for its existence. An object becomes a symbol only by being rendered so by a perceiver.<sup>19</sup>**

Bleich's central premise is that a work of literature has 'no function in its material existence'.<sup>20</sup> Yet to many book collectors, the 'book-as-object' does indeed have

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<sup>17</sup> Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward An Aesthetic Of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Brighton, 1992), pp. 18-45, taken from K. M. Newton, *Twentieth-Century Literary Theory: A Reader* (London: Macmillan, 1988), pp.221-226

<sup>18</sup> David Bleich, "The Subjective Character Of Critical Interpretation", reprinted from *College English*, 36 (1975), pp.739-55 in K. M. Newton, *Twentieth-Century Literary Theory*, (London Macmillan Press, 1988), p.233

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, p.233

<sup>20</sup> David Bleich, *Twentieth-Century Literary Theory*, p.233

'function in its material existence', possessing aesthetic and economic worth beyond its 'book-as-text' status. Herein lies a dichotomy; the book exists as a physical object without the presence of the reader, yet the book also exists as a Platonic ideal, called into existence by reading strategies deriving from the psychology of the reader. The reader is compelled to select a book on the basis of physical attributes, but such selection may be a concealed activity, which further blurs the boundaries between what is empirical or interpretative, subjective or objective. Furthermore, readers may use the term 'book' to describe what they actually mean to be the narrative. However, (perhaps) the most crucial aspect of Bleich's approach to reader-response is that the validity of any critical interpretation of a text is feasible *only* if it has social relevance. He says of his article "The Subjective Character Of Critical Interpretation": 'The truth of this essay will be decided by the community which reads it'.<sup>21</sup>

### **Jonathan Culler**

In Structuralist Poetics, Jonathan Culler begins the chapter entitled "Literary Competence" with a quote from Wittgenstein

**To understand a sentence means to understand a language. To understand a language means to be master of that technique.**<sup>22</sup>

Culler endorses Wittgenstein's statement and embraces semiotics, structuralism and post-structuralism, but he rejects the structuralist path presented by Roland Barthes, Roman Jakobson and Algirdas Greimas. Barthes, Jakobson and Greimas concentrate on the a priori linguistic knowledge of the reader, whilst Culler perceives all forms of writing to be symbolic, constructed using linguistic conventions that are defined by the user through application. He believes that the reader will acquire literary competence by learning pre-existing codes. Reading is therefore, a pre-meditated act

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<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*, p.233

<sup>22</sup> Jonathan Culler, Structuralist Poets, taken from Reader-Response Criticism: Formalism To Post-Structuralism, ed., Jane P. Tompkins (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), p.101

in which conventions and codes must be understood for a *correct* textual engagement to occur. The reader will approach a text, looking for a sequence that he or she will understand and that sequence will depend on the text to be interpreted. So that a text using densely allegorical language (such as poetry) or prose (such as the novel) will be defined using criteria dependant on the style of specific genres:

The easiest way to grasp the importance of these conventions is to take a piece of journalistic prose or a sentence from a novel and set it down on the page as a poem. The properties assigned to the sentence by a grammar of English remain unchanged, and the different meaning which the text acquires cannot therefore be attributed to one's knowledge of the language but must be ascribed to the special conventions for reading poetry which lead one to look at the language in new ways, to make relevant properties of the language which were previously unexploited, to subject the text to a different series of interpretive [sic] operations.<sup>23</sup>

How then, during the act of critical interpretation, does a reader settle upon a specific meaning in the text?

Culler insists that interpretation is the result of 'metaphorical coherence', achieved by recognising a pattern or thematic unity within the text, which culminates in the integration of the reader with the work as a whole. He does not dismiss the author, whom he perceives to be confined by an 'institutional context' but it is the analysis of the reader that gives clarity to the act of reading because

The meanings readers give to literary works and the effects they experience are much more open to observation.<sup>24</sup>

Literary conventions of reading or 'formal representations of implicit knowledge' have two distinct stages: 'to present sentences to oneself', and the interaction with colleagues, and arise from judgements, which incorporate elements of 'meaning, well-formedness, deviance, constituent structure, and ambiguity'. Culler clarifies the role of the reader as one of obligation, because the reader has a responsibility to define the rules that determine the text. The resultant collaboration between readers (specifically in academic circles) is instrumental in the creation of conventions that

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<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*, p.103

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*, p.105

result in scholarly traditions, and students who pass through the educational system inherit this cultural legacy. Culler presents his reader with a model, in which he illustrates that to read texts from a variety of genres, the reader will use divergent modes of operation. The student will develop not only an awareness of 'literature as an institution', but of 'its artifice' acquiring the ability to place literature in the context of a reading heritage. A heritage, at once unique and culturally driven, allows Culler (and the reader) to celebrate those texts, which are 'challenging and innovatory'.

### **Stanley Fish**

Stanley Fish is considered to be one of the leading exponents of reader-orientated theory, and his work provides an illustrative example of the difficulty of formulating a schematic hypothesis for reading responses, which are susceptible to variables. Initially, Fish observed that text is an object with encoded instructions for the reader. However, in 1980, he rejects this stance and introduces the concept of 'interpretative communities' in Is There a Text In This Class? and suggests that the role of the reader in fashioning the text is disregarded:

If at this moment someone were to ask, "What are you doing?" you would reply reading, and thereby acknowledge the fact that reading is an activity, something you do. No one would argue that the act of reading can take place in the absence of someone who reads -- how can you tell the dance from the dancer? -- but curiously enough when it comes to make analytical statements about the end product of reading (meaning or understanding), the reader is ignored.<sup>25</sup>

Exploring the concept of 'affective stylistics', he asks what the text does and how the reader is affected by it. He outlines a process whereby slowing the process of reading, shifting the emphasis from the text to the reader, creates a transformation in the process of interpretation, one in which the reader will look for implicit,

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<sup>25</sup> Stanley Fish, Is There A Text In This Class? The Authority Of Interpretative Communities (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), p.22

rather than explicit meanings. Whilst Fish gives credence to an author who writes with an ideal reader in mind, he concludes that the reader creates a strategy for the text, which is no longer fixed. The reader will look for and find significance in the text (and here there is a similarity to Culler's proposed reading conventions) as the result of interpretative strategies. In "Interpreting The Variorum" (1976) Fish states that

**Both the stability of interpretation among readers and the variety of interpretation in the career of a single reader would seem to argue for the existence of something independent of and prior to interpretive [sic] acts, something which produces them. I will answer this challenge by asserting that both the stability and the variety are functions of interpretive [sic] strategies rather than texts.<sup>26</sup>**

The reader will approach a poem knowing at least two facts, one, that it is a piece of poetry (and therefore will read differently to prose) and two, the identity of author.<sup>27</sup> These strategies may alter during a reading that places the significance not on the reading of, but on the writing of a text and Culler's model for examining prose as poetry would apply here.

Addressing the conundrum 'why will different readers execute the same interpretive (sic) strategy when faced with the "same" text?' Fish responds 'they don't have to' but they do and that this is a result of the bonding together in to 'interpretive communities'

**Interpretive [sic] communities are made up of those who share interpretive strategies not for reading (in the conventional sense) but for writing texts, for constituting their properties and assigning intentions**

Furthermore

**These strategies exist prior to the act of reading and therefore determine the shape of what is read rather than, as is usually assumed the other way round.<sup>28</sup>**

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<sup>26</sup> Stanley Fish, "Interpreting The Variorum", *Critical Inquiry*, 2 (1976) taken from *Twentieth-Century Literary Theory: A Reader*, ed., K. M. Newton (London: Macmillan Press, 1988). See also I. A. Richards, *Practical Criticism* (1929) in which reading responses to anonymously presented authors are analysed.

<sup>27</sup> In the case of the anonymous author a different set of criteria are established.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238

This assessment is applicable to the nature of academic conventions of reading strategies but does not provide a model for the way that a child might read. Whilst providing a cogent argument for reading clusters, Fish's theory has inherent weak points, most notably the assumption that an individual will always read a text sequentially.<sup>29</sup>

## Norman Holland

Holland's analysis of reading strategies has its origins in psychology, but it is ego-psychology that is proposed as the framework for investigation. In his early critical career, Holland was a New Critic:

I began teaching in 1956. Back then, I thought there were fairly fixed ways we respond to literature (the New Critical stance).<sup>30</sup>

Further research led him to reject the text alone approach,

I decided psychoanalysis was the best way to understand those responses. Testing this hypothesis, though, led to a revelation. Readers re-create texts in their own minds, sometimes very differently from what you might expect.<sup>31</sup>

His grounding in the techniques of New Criticism, particularly the technique of close reading, is influential in his approach to critical theory. His research and its documentation are thorough and he applies the skill acquired as a New Critic to his examination of the reader-response process. Furthermore, Holland is an exponent of the 'Delphi seminar' technique illustrated in his novel Death In A Delphi Seminar (1995) which is employed to explore an individual's critical stances and reaction to a

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<sup>29</sup> The reading practice of a fellow student on my MA course, who read the beginning and the end of Tom Jones before tackling the middle, typifies the difficulty of predicting reading patterns.

<sup>30</sup> Norman Holland's Home page, < <http://www.clas.ufl.edu/users/nnh/index.htm>>, 19/4/1999

<sup>31</sup> *ibid.*

text.<sup>32</sup> His seminar groups examine their reading responses, both in classroom-based and Internet environments. Holland exploits the computer medium unconditionally.<sup>33</sup> Holland's early research, which led to the publication of 5 Readers Reading (1975), provides evidence that an individual reading of a text is unique every time.<sup>34</sup> The fundamental principle is that an individual reader has the potential to invent, or suppress, in accordance with personal psychology, and consequently the creation of the text is ultimately as totem or taboo as the limits of the individual psyche. By extending Freud's theory of psychoanalysis but refraining from reducing the text to mere sexual totem, he demonstrates that each reader has the potential to open the text to an infinite variety of meanings. Holland defines infinite variety in the terms of identity themes. Every individual has an identity theme and it is this theme which allows the transactive process with the text to take place.

The transactive process is driven by the need for reassurance (the reader is continually seeking reassurance from the many anxieties, which he or she experiences). Holland refers to this by the acronym DEFT: Defence, Expectation, Fantasy and Transformation. There are four corresponding principles:

**STYLE SEEKS ITSELF:** each of us approaches a literary work with an economy of expectations (hopes, desires, fears, needs) that we require to act out in such a way as to net us pleasure (p114). If we perceive features in the work as acting out our hopes then we respond positively and are 'absorbed' in the literary work 'we willingly suspend our disbelief' (p.115).<sup>35</sup>

**DEFENCES MUST BE MATCHED:** If the reader has a favourable response to a work, he must have synthesised all or part of his characteristic structure of defense [sic] or adaptation (p.115).

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<sup>32</sup> Holland has published three articles in *College English*, which describe the process, "The Delphi Seminar" (1975), "Transactive Teaching: Cordelia's Death" (1977), "Poem Opening: An Invitation To Transactive Criticism" (1978)

<sup>33</sup> In 1988, with Laura Keyes, he co-designed a database that searches, counts and displays family relationships in Shakespeare's works. He has a website, and he posts extensive details of his lectures on the web for his students and other interested parties.

<sup>34</sup> Norman Holland, 5 Readers Reading (Yale: Yale University Press, 1975)

<sup>35</sup> Holland invokes Coleridge to illustrate his point: '..that willing suspension of disbelief for the moment, which constitutes poetic faith'. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Biographia Literaria (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1980), p.169

For empathy to occur, the ego must project, and by projecting, it will externalise danger and alternatively, will introject to internalise dangers. The synthesis of a personal defence and adaptation structure must concur with the text. Nevertheless, whichever mechanism prevails, forces are precipitated that will attempt to protect the ego from possible harm (p.115).<sup>36</sup>

**FANTASY PROJECTS FANTASIES:** Each reader uses the materials he has taken from the literary work to create a wish-fulfilling fantasy characteristic of himself (p.117).

Fantasy is not an attribute of the book but a projection of the individual. The relation between the reader and the text is a 'tricky and subtle' synthesis of defence structures. The story is a 'potentially dangerous external reality', which must be shaped and transformed into an acceptable fantasy. A creative relationship is instigated between the reader and the text, in which the reader defends against the work to protect the psyche from external reality. Furthermore, the psyche will manipulate the text so that the drive for gratification of pleasure (or pain) is satisfied (pp.117-121).

**CHARACTER TRANSFORMS CHARACTERISTICALLY:** The reader's adaptive strategies, make sense of the text by deploying higher ego-functions such as 'interpretative skills, literary experience and experience of human character' (p.122)., to match all or part of the text to the personal fantasy structure. The material is rearranged to coincide with his/her personal fantasy; that fantasy, is then translated into a literary interpretation -- the reader connects with the story. The reader will, finally, render the fantasy he has synthesised as an intellectual content that is characteristic -- and pleasing -- for him (p.122).

The reader will manipulate the text to confirm his psychological makeup:

The political man will confirm his interests in personality or leadership. The moralist will find a reinforcement of his ethical views. The scientifically minded man will see verifiable realities (p.125).

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<sup>36</sup> The defence system protects the ego from danger from inner or external dangers. Adaptation is the 'progressive mastery of inner drives and outer reality'.

Holland's hypothesis suggests that a reader approaches a text with certain expectations but will read only what he or she is able to project onto the text in the drive for wish fulfilment. Once this drive is activated and satisfied, then wish fulfilment (creating the text in a way that does not pose a threat to the reader's psyche) is a reflection of the reader's personal identity themes. If a response is negative (and the reality of the projection is a threat to the reader's psyche) the result may well be a hostile or dismissive response to the work, author, or genre, or indeed to the reader - it's my fault/I didn't understand/I don't like. If the response to the text is positive, the reader is able to assimilate the text into a personal reality. The book, author, genre are praised - very rarely the reader, as illustrated by responses to a questionnaire in previous research.<sup>37</sup>

### Michael Riffaterre

In Text Production (1983) Michael Riffaterre, citing the works of Baudelaire, Racine, Rabelais and Hugo, examines the function of literary criticism. He asks the question, 'what does it mean to explain a piece of literature?'<sup>38</sup> In his answer, he presupposes that the reader will continually reduce the text to generalisations and that such generalisations hide the 'uniqueness' of the writing.<sup>39</sup> For Riffaterre, language has two distinct mechanisms of use: one language for everyday use that is contextual, and, the other for poetry, which he observes to be an end in itself. The creation of the text however, is

always one of a kind, unique. And it seems to me that this *uniqueness* is the simplest definition of literariness that we can find.

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<sup>37</sup> In a previous questionnaire, three questions were posed in relation to triggers to emotional responses. Of the 50 selected for analysis, 65% of respondents believed that the author was able to create an emotional response in the reader. A further 73% believed that the reader created an emotional response, and 92% felt that what they read created this response. There is a high percentage for readers creating a response, yet respondents appear to credit the creation of the narrative with either the author or the book. Wendy Creed, "But Thou Read'st Black Where I read White": The Reader And The Gothic, M.A Dissertation (1998), p.70.

<sup>38</sup> Michael Riffaterre, Text Production, trans. Terese Lyons (NY: Columbia Press, 1983), p.1

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.* p.2 p.6

Furthermore, he views the text as

**disorienting, an exercise in alienation, a complete disruption of our usual thoughts, perceptions, and expressions.<sup>40</sup>**

Riffaterre's perception of the reading experience, which engenders this feeling of alienation, constitutes a single textual engagement but it does not represent the reading experience of all texts. Holland would acknowledge that Riffaterre is describing a valid reaction to text and whilst they concur that the reader shapes the text to fit their personal psyche the route to the creation of the text diverges.

For Riffaterre:

**the reader resists with all the strength of his personal temperament, taboos, and habits. He resists by rationalizing, and his rationalizations reduce everything that is strange in the text into something known and familiar.<sup>41</sup>**

The process is a battle between the reader and the text, a text, which is portrayed as an irritant, and one to be expunged or controlled, moulded into something acceptable. Holland's reading experience is one of unity, and a reflection of

**an identity theme on which the living organism plays out variations as a composer might.<sup>42</sup>**

Furthermore, without what Holland describes as our 'identity themes', our 'variations', we could not create (or reject) the text, we would read as a machine that scans an image, taking in detail but without the ability to comprehend. For Holland, the reading process is response-driven and through the basic drives of pleasure and pain, we *actively* seek that which is pleasurable, and *actively* avoid that which causes us pain. We seek what we want confirmed of ourselves (by projection) in the text, and hide what we deny, or do not want to find:

**Each reader uses the materials he has taken from the literary work to create a wish-fulfilling fantasy characteristic of himself.<sup>43</sup>**

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<sup>40</sup> *ibid.* p.2

<sup>41</sup> *Text Production*, p.2

<sup>42</sup> Norman Holland, *5 Readers Reading*, p.123

<sup>43</sup> *5 Readers Reading*, p.117

Holland's approach to the text is, therefore, a creative activity based on providing the reader (himself) with the maximum amount of pleasure. What Reader-Response will not provide is an analysis of the text. When Holland states that

**Psychoanalysis has nothing, nothing whatsoever to tell us about literature per se**

he is affirming the basic premise of all Reader-Response critics that by foregrounding the reader, the importance of the text is clarified from within social and cultural contexts.<sup>44</sup> Reader-based theories continually extend the parameters of criticism and this is achieved by placing the responsibility for the creation and interpretation of texts with the reader and by critics extending and developing their personal critical heritage, Holland writes:

**'Doing literary criticism in this postmodern era, we critics feel, regardless of our school, that the text no longer has limits. Anything goes as a response. What we differ about and we differ profoundly about it, is why?'**<sup>45</sup>



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<sup>44</sup> Norman Holland, "Why This Is Transference, Nor Am I yet Out Of It", Psychoanalysis And Contemporary Thought (1982), pp.27-34

<sup>45</sup> Norman Holland, The Critical I (NY: Columbia Press, 1992)

## Memetics

Above all, memetics is continually evolving. Its foundation is the perceived resemblance between Darwin's principle of biological selection and observed continuous change in cultural behaviour. The meme was first posited by Richard Dawkins, and the current principal exponents are Susan Blackmore, Richard Brodie, Daniel Dennett and Aaron Lynch. Each of these theorists approach memetics from very different disciplines, Dawkins, the Professor of Public Understanding Of Science at Oxford University, is a biologist, specialising in zoology, he is also an author. Blackmore, is a senior lecturer in psychology, whose corpus of research includes an investigation into psychic phenomena in borderline states of consciousness; she is also an author and journalist. Brodie was Bill Gates' personal technical assistant at Microsoft and is now an author; his approach to memetics is from the perspective of computer technology and corporate strategy. Dennett is a cognitive scientist and philosopher, who believes that the mind fills with memes in a way that is analogous to the programming of a computer. Finally, Lynch is a scientist whose perception of the meme encompasses a world view of memes or thought contagions as 'beliefs that "program" for their own spreading--ultimately affecting whole societies'.<sup>46</sup>

'Meme' derives from the Greek *mimeme* and it is first used by Dawkins in The Selfish Gene (1976), a study of genetics. As with reader response so with memetics: elements of this theory appear in earlier writings such as those of Rene Descartes (1591-1650), and Gabriel Tarde (1843-1904). It is apparent that the meme shares not only the diversity of the evolutionary study that it parallels, but has longevity or tradition too, being an inherent part of the culture it is purported to create.

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<sup>46</sup> Aaron Lynch, Thought Contagion Theory: The Science Of Spreading Beliefs (<http://www.mcs.net/~aaron/thoughtcontagion.html>), 27/11/00

Memetics would appear to offer a straightforward scientific description of a structure and process, yet defining the meme and its effect remains a continuing source of controversy amongst memeticists and their followers. A liberal description of memetics is that it is the study of cultural evolution but this definition is insufficient. This field is now so diverse that the rendering of the original premise does not encompass the variety inherent in the application to computer sciences, culture, language, economy, evolutionary selection, learning theories of humans, institutions, and philosophy. Furthermore, the study of memetics raises fundamental questions about the nature of the meme. Is it (as some memeticists think) an autonomous unit of transmission, or does it in fact have a basis in ego-psychology (because if the latter is true then the meme becomes an issue of reader response)? However, the meme is not unique to man, and nor should it be understood in terms of biological advantage. Dawkins and Blackmore both perceive the meme to be a unit of cultural transmission that has an evolutionary imperative and suggest that language is not a pre-requisite for memetic transference nor need the organism be human; birds, in particular, display signs of memetic programming. Dawkins:

**The meme is, by analogy, anything that replicates itself from brain to brain, via any available means of copying.<sup>47</sup>**

Memetic transference is more than a simplistic duplication.

The commonest forms may include music, catch-phrases and fashion, but perhaps the most tenacious vehicle, language, is the primary host for the transmission of the meme, and there are two efficient ways to transmit language: speech and publication.<sup>48</sup> The book and the computer are therefore perfect secondary hosts. Blackmore suggests that the transmission of a meme may occur vertically (parent to child), laterally (one person to another), or horizontally (parental and societal).<sup>49</sup> If we apply her reasoning to the publication of 'book-as-text', or 'book-as-object', it

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<sup>47</sup> Richard Dawkins, *Unweaving The Rainbow* (London: Penguin, 1998), p. 302.

<sup>48</sup> I also include sign language, and any form that the transmission of language may take.

becomes apparent that the meme may also be reproduced cyclically through the processes of production, transmission and reception.

In The Meme Machine (1999), Blackmore discusses the process of memetic transference in relation to other types of learning. She refers specifically to two psychological models: classic conditioning (Pavlov's dog or stimulus-response) and operant conditioning (behaviour modification through reward and punishment). However, it is evolutionary psychology, a fusion of evolutionary biology and cognitive psychology, which provides the key to understanding the meme because it

[.]is not a specific sub field of psychology, such as the study of vision, reasoning, or social behavior [sic]. It is a way of thinking about psychology that can be applied to any topic within it.<sup>50</sup>

Evolutionary psychology describes the way in which the brain has evolved:

The focus of study is on psychological or mental mechanisms, also referred to as decision processes, information processes, or Darwinian algorithms. Darwinian algorithms are defined as: "Innate specialized [sic] learning mechanisms that evolved in ancestral populations for organizing [sic] experience into adaptively meaningful schemes or frames."<sup>51</sup>

Typically, by aligning themselves to psychology (and in particular, this branch of psychology) memeticists have opened themselves up to the charge of condensing the complexity of human existence to little more than reductionism and inappropriate comparisons have provoked a critical backlash. It is the element of evolutionary psychology that has met with most resistance and Hilary and Steven Rose (Alas, Poor Darwin, 2000) seek to redress the notion that human response is little more than memetic and genetic imperatives:

The historical record documenting the profound continuities of the ideology of 'biology as destiny' is formidable. Historically eugenics has been the other side of the coin of genetics. History as surely we know has to be confronted not denied. In consequence eugenic denial is no solution for

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<sup>49</sup> Blackmore, Meme Machine, pp. 132-134

<sup>50</sup> W. Spriggs, "What is Evolutionary Psychology?" (<http://www.evoyage.com/WhatIs.html>, 27/11/00)

<sup>51</sup> The SFU Evolutionary Psychology Research Group Homepage, (<http://www.sfu.ca/~janicki/defn.htm>, 27/11/00)

either contemporary geneticists or for evolutionary psychologists who draw so heavily on a geneticised [sic] narrative.<sup>52</sup>

Resistance to new ideas has plentiful historical antecedents and despite the fact that Reader Response and Rezeption-Aesthetik have earned their spurs in the critical arena, reader-orientated theories are still regarded by many as reductive and anarchic. Current metaphors for the meme are 'mind virus' or 'thought contagion'. Such analogies summarise the process of replication. The meme mimics a 'real' virus's survival mechanism (using the same biological criteria that Dawkins applies to the gene: longevity, fecundity and copying fidelity) and is transmitted to another host. The new wave of memeticists who describe the meme in terms of 'virus' or 'thought contagion' are split into two camps: the doomsday theorists, who believe that the human mind in its present state will cease to exist in the future; and those who believe that it is possible to de-programme the mind and control the input too. Although Brodie does not mention either Descartes or Tarde, his book (Virus Of The Mind, 1996) carries elements of both theorists and Brodie himself advocates Descartes' need for control, and echoes the fear of the corrupting influence of poets, who held such sway over Athenian youth:

We can [...] consciously choose which memes to program ourselves with and which memes we want to spread.<sup>53</sup>

It is this fear of corruption that seems to drive society: hence the creation of the judiciary, which could be considered a meme in itself and which derives from perhaps the most powerful western meme of all, biblical law.

In The Meditations (1641) written in French rather than Latin so that the populace could read it, Descartes advocates purging the mind before considering new ideas because

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<sup>52</sup> This was written in response to a review of their book, Alas Poor Darwin on 10/07/00. <http://www.amazon.co.uk/exec/obidos/ASIN/0224060309/qid=975407828/sr=1-1/026-9317809-1227619>, (28/11/00).

<sup>53</sup> Richard Brodie, Virus Of The Mind: The New Science Of The Meme (Seattle: Integral Press, 1996), p. 215

[.] those old and customary opinions still recur often in my mind, long and familiar usage giving them the right to occupy my mind against my will, as it were, to dominate my mind [.]<sup>54</sup>

In 1890, the lawyer Tarde, made similar observations:

[.] every discovery consists of the interference in somebody's mind of certain old pieces of information that have generally been handed down by others.<sup>55</sup>

Tarde is considered to be one of the founding fathers of sociology. His commentary on the pattern of crimes (that they appear to 'spread in waves through society as if they were fashion') illustrates the memeticists' belief that the meme is a constantly evolving and transmittable element in societies.<sup>56</sup>

Reader-response and memetics may each appear to be the antithesis of the other; yet paradoxically, like a Venn diagram, they have areas of overlap. The reader not the 'book-as-text' is the focus for one, and the meme not the host is the focus for the other. Both are culturally derived anthropological studies of their subject with core premises, but neither reader response theorists nor memeticists have been able to define absolutes in their subject matter. Both the individual reader and the meme remain enigmas because of the difficulties of describing an exact pattern of behaviour of both, when no two readers (or two memetic units) are the same. Interpretation is crucial -- the experience of the 'book-as-text' is dependent upon interpretation. The reader creates their response to the 'book-as-text' and the interpretation of that work may differ dramatically from the auctorial intention and/or that of the social and cultural group's interpretative strategies with which the reader has aligned himself. The replication of a meme is similarly dependent upon interpretation or the fidelity with which it is replicated.

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<sup>54</sup> Rene Descartes, *Discourse On Method And The Meditations* (London: Penguin, 1980), p. 99

<sup>55</sup>Paul Marsden, "Forefathers Of memetics: Gabriel Tarde And The Laws Of Imitation", *Journal Of Memetics - Evolutionary Models Of Information Transmission* [http://www.cpm.mmu.ac.uk/jom-emit/2000/vol4/marsden\\_p.html](http://www.cpm.mmu.ac.uk/jom-emit/2000/vol4/marsden_p.html), 27/11/00

<sup>56</sup> *ibid*

With regard to the subject of this thesis, the dissemination of ideas is dependent upon the publication chain (production, transmission and reception) and therefore ultimately, upon the reader. The dispersal of the meme is dependent upon its host and transmission may be intentional or accidental. Either route will result in a stable web of cause and effect, but in both instances (during the process of transfer from one host to another) the potential for incorrect 'readings' and therefore incorrect replication exists. The 'book-as-text' should in theory be a static host but in practice errors or editorial/auctorial changes modify or mutate the original unit of transference. Does this create a new 'book-as-text'? Do equivalent changes create a new meme? On balance, any such change (either intentional or in error with regard to the reader) will depend on the type of reader and the extent of the error. Certainly in the area of textual scholarship there are scholars who believe that any alteration to a 'book-as-text' creates a new artefact and furthermore, the 'book-as-object' may create similar conundrums where there is variance from the original design. With regard to memetics, this question is an irrelevancy because such change is consistent with evolutionary imperatives.

In summing up, reader-orientated theories and memetics provoke hostile reactions in readers and specifically in those who require control, order and stability. Those who censor Reader Response and Rezeption-Aesthetik theories, perceive that both offer little more than a free-for-all in which the models of literary criticism will be debased, and which will culminate in the 'dumbing down' of academic standards. Whilst those who oppose memetics do so because it is a theory that is perceived as offering a worldview of little more than pre-determined action, such a standpoint seems to deny free choice and individualism.



## Textual Scholarship

Textual scholarship provides the mechanism with which to analyse the 'book-as-object' from the perspective of technical, cultural and social environments and has an historical antecedent in Philology, or the study of historical perspective. In Textual Scholarship: An Introduction (1994) D. C. Greetham outlines a strategy for editorial practice. He uses classifications which include: analytical bibliography (the manufacturing process for printed texts); codicology (manuscript or codex); enumerative bibliography (the listing of books); descriptive bibliography (ideal copy of a book) and stemmatics (genealogy of multiple copies of the same edition).<sup>57</sup> Greetham's objective is to provide the student of textual scholarship with a precise sequence for scholarly editing, which will illustrate the

disciplinary interrelatedness of all aspects of the study of the text of a book.<sup>58</sup>

The study of the 'book-as-object' reveals a unique relationship to the 'book-as-text' and therefore, of textual scholarship to literary criticism. Richard Altick and John Fenstermaker (The Art Of Literary Research, 1993) acknowledge this relationship and propose that

Neither criticism nor scholarship occupies exclusive territory; the centre of interest as well as the *raison d'être* for both is the literary work itself.<sup>59</sup>

This perception of literary criticism and scholarship is one of co-dependancy. Altick and Fenstermaker describe philology as 'plodding' but they accept the historical antecedents (as does Greetham), and suggest that literary research can never be an exact science because of the nature of 'human consciousness'. Yet, there are still

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<sup>57</sup> D. C. Greetham, Textual Scholarship: An Introduction (NY: Garland, 1994)

<sup>58</sup> *ibid.*, p.2

<sup>59</sup> Richard D. Altick and John J. Fenstermaker, The Art Of Literary Research, 4<sup>th</sup> Ed (NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 1993), p.2.

textual scholars who do not address the 'book-as-text' or 'book-as-object' from an interdisciplinary frame of reference and who refuse to validate such an approach. Greetham suggests that there are two main areas of discord in the approach to 'book-as-text': new scholarship

whose practitioners claim that eclectic or critical editing's concentration on a single, uniform 'final intention' is a chimera, and that a textual editor would be better employed describing the 'process' rather than the apparent 'product' of literary composition.

and social textual criticism:

which denies the automatic priority traditionally given to authors' intentions, preferring instead to regard textual creation and transmission as a collaborative, social act.<sup>60</sup>

Crucially, Greetham's presentation of his subject matter approximates to 'the interrelatedness of all aspects of the study of a book', but unlike Altick and Fenstermaker, does so with the rigour of a scientific investigation.

Greetham maintains that during collaborative editing of the text (to improve the physical and aesthetic standard of the work) editors adhere to principles, which derive from Sir Walter Greg and Professor Fredson Bowers.<sup>61</sup> Yet within such specific definition lies the potential for interpretative inaccuracy. The term 'text' provides a case in point; for Jerome J. McGann (The Beauty Of Inflection, 1985) this very word can be seen to exemplify

[.] one of the signal failures of modern criticism: its inability to distinguish clearly between a concept of the *poem* and a concept of *text*.<sup>62</sup>

Discipline-specific language provides cultural continuity and is expected to simplify the communication of ideas and understanding within its domain. However, the

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<sup>60</sup> Greetham, Textual Scholarship, p. 9

<sup>61</sup> For the purpose for this study, and specifically from chapter 3 onwards, I will refer to G. Thomas Tanselle and David Greetham, who are extending Greg and Bower's work in this field. I will be drawing on material by other textual scholars and critics as appropriate.

<sup>62</sup> Jerome J. McGann, "The Text, The Poem, And The Problem Of Historical Method", The Beauty Of Inflection, taken from Modern Literary Theory: A Reader, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., eds. Philip Rice And Patricia Waugh (London: Edward Arnold, 1992), p. 292

imperative for verbatim meanings excludes external interpretation, even though its adoption may be driven in part by external pressures. Overuse of subject-specific terminology creates ambiguity (and readers and in particular, literary critics) continue to refer (incorrectly) to the 'text' and 'textual interpretation' and such inaccuracy may expose Textual Scholarship and Literary Criticism to accusations of wooliness and imprecision.

G. Thomas Tanselle's article "The Varieties Of Scholarly Editing" (1995) in which he documents the varieties of scholarly approach, describes the location of a text to an artefact as the artefact providing a residual medium for preserving the text. He supplies the precise and correct *common* application of this word by defining text as 'the arrangements of words and marks of punctuation'.<sup>63</sup> His text is a physical attribute rather than the interpretative springboard and it would seem appropriate to refer to Tanselle's definition as metatext. I have been unable to find an existing word suitable for my definition and for the purpose of this investigation, I have constructed the word metatext as the closest approximation. Metatext derives from metadata, a computer term which means data which describes data. The term meta is defined by Collins English Dictionary (1992) as something occurring or situated behind and metatext would equate to Tanselle's rendering of the word 'text' to mean the supporting structure for a literary 'text'.<sup>64</sup>

The communication of a text cannot be separated from its presentation and is therefore, a composite of circumstance. The experienced reader will approach 'book-as-text' knowing that the words on the page will convey a series of codes and conventions to be interpreted. But in addition, as the 'book-as-object', a physical text, is the supporting structure for interpretative acts, the metatext is inseparable

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<sup>63</sup> G. Thomas Tanselle, "The varieties Of Scholarly Editing", taken from Scholarly Editing, ed., D. C. Greetham (NY: The Modern Languages Association Of America, 1995), p.10

<sup>64</sup> Collins English Dictionary (Glasgow: HarperCollins, 1992), p. 945. I will continue to use the term 'book-as-object' for the physical artefact and 'book-as-text' or 'text' for the content, but where necessary the word metatext will be substituted.

from the narrative. Additionally, a further supporting structure -- the way in which an author uses words and punctuation (which I define as metanarrative) -- sits behind the narrative. The print culture of the eighteenth-century exemplifies the metanarrative. Laurence Sterne's eccentric requirements for the text of Tristram Shandy make the point dramatically:

\_\_\_ he fixed and set apart the first *Sunday* night in the month, and the *Saturday* night which immediately preceded it, to argue over it, in bed with my mother: By which contrivance, if you consider, Sir, with yourself,  
\*\*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\*\*

These my father, humorously enough called his beds of justice:--.<sup>65</sup>

The metatext and the metanarrative originate with the author, who provides the framework, the catalyst for projection with which the reader interacts. However, the publishing process itself reveals that neither the metatext nor the metanarrative are the sole product of the author but are composites of interactive influences (for example compositors and editors).

It is clear therefore, that the process of writing is the result of interactive forces, which Altick and Fenstermaker suggest includes author, society and culture because

[.]no one writes in a vacuum. Whatever private influences are involved, authors whether conformists or rebels are the products of time and place, their mental set fatefully determined by the social and cultural environment.<sup>66</sup>

Their argument supports the creation of a metatext and metanarrative, which may be a reconstruction of the author in his time, but it will not necessarily reflect auctorial intention:

[.]a book has both antecedents and a history of its own. Not only can its content be related to more or less immediate models or sources of inspirations; it may belong to a tradition which stretches back for

<sup>65</sup> Laurence Sterne, Tristram Shandy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 350

<sup>66</sup> Their position is evocative of John Donne's 'No man is an island', "Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions", Meditation XVIII, (1624) taken from The Oxford Dictionary Of Quotations (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) and Richard D. Altick and John J. Fenstermaker, The Art Of Literary Research, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., (NY: W.W. Norton & co, 1993), p. 3

centuries or even millennia and can be traced in the literature of half a dozen countries.<sup>67</sup>

Auctorial intent is hidden and will remain so and discussions with the author would reveal no further insight because perception is based on the interpretation of a language system. McGann and Tanselle illustrate clearly that the fundamental standard of English usage is entirely derivative, dependant upon on the user. Language, as a structure for communication and interpretation, is therefore an unreliable medium and each generation of readers recycle, recreate, and devise new modes of communication within their cultural peer group. In addition, life changes and experience will alter the perception of the author himself.

To fully appreciate the significance of textual scholarship to the 'book-as-text', 'book-as-object' and the publication system, it is necessary to understand the process that brings the 'book-as-text' to the reader. To this end, during 1999, I approached fifteen publishing companies, of which three were willing to co-operate and complete a brief questionnaire (see appendix B). The questionnaire, divided into three main sections: 'The Author', 'The Book' and 'The Public', asks a series of questions to elicit responses that will provide an overview of the process leading to the production of the 'book-as-text'. The three respondents to the questionnaire describe a similar pattern of publication.

Production begins with the acquisition of a manuscript, which may be commissioned by the publishing house or sent either by the author (although certain houses refuse unsolicited manuscripts) or the author's literary agent. The manuscript (and this is different with each company) will be selected by a press editor or team comprising of readers, editors, sales people, marketing or publicity people. Acceptance of the manuscript and author are on the basis of literary worth, sale and 'commerciality', marketability, publicity and the reputation of the author, demand for the work (in the case of an historical text), academic merit and 'suitedness' to the publishing

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<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*, p.4



house. Once the author is 'signed' a contract is drawn up and the production process begins in earnest.

The manuscript passes through several draft stages, during which time, changes will be made to the text and may include 'plot changes, adding depth to characters and clarifying style' to the mutual satisfaction of the author and editor (Penguin). Once the draft is completed and delivered, copy editing, proof reading (and if necessary indexing) takes place and the final copy is then ready for marketing. Financial viability is of greater or lesser importance depending on the aims of the publishing company. The academic publisher expects high production costs because they cater for a small market with relatively small financial yields and as a consequence their books are generally more expensive to buy. However, for the commercial company a minimum of two thousand five hundred copies must be sold for the book to be considered financially viable.

The textual scholar will (from the context of their field of expertise) examine one or all aspects of the production, transmission and reception of a metatext and a metanarrative. The aim of the scholar may be to produce an edition of Penelope Aubin's Count de Vinevil that is most representative of the author's writing. After an extensive examination of the available existing copies of this work, that scholar may decide that the first edition is the most robust and a facsimile will be published. Alternatively, the resultant copy may be a composite of several existing editions inasmuch as the most compliant aspects will be combined to produce a robust text.

To further complicate the process, numerous stages within the production, transmission and reception of the 'book-as-text' rely upon sound critical judgement. The principal criterion for critical judgement is objectivity, and objectivity

expressing or involving facts without distortion by personal feelings or prejudices.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (Mass.: Merriam-Webster, 1979), p.785

may be hard to achieve because personal enthusiasms may indeed prejudice the production, transmission and reception of the metatext, the metanarrative, the 'book-as-text' and the 'book-as-object' because judgements derive from a reader's unique psychological profile. Francis Burney's selective editing of her father's diaries (evidence of her mother's pre-marital pregnancy with her sister Esther, for example, was removed) is not an isolated example.<sup>69</sup>

In addition, cultural influences affect the perceptions of the individual, who in turn, contributes to the forces that drive the culture. The establishment of social and cultural groups, with whom the reader aligns, creates a feedback loop, which in turn stimulates cultural creativity, but which are vindicated as objective judgements. Within a literary environment, a cultural feedback loop finds its ultimate expression in the formation of groups adhering to specific critical theories (feminism, marxism, structuralism) and it is equally visible in scientific circles (chaos, memes, and gaia). It is clear then that the book is not the sum total of the author's creativity but a culmination of creative, cultural and mercantile forces, which affect the reader too. Those involved in the production, transmission and reception of the metatext and text, metanarrative and narrative, 'book-as-text' and 'book-as-object' will influence not only culturally but will introduce changes that are influenced by, and indeed constructed from, psychological imperatives.

The importance of textual scholarship resides in the production of a significant history of both 'book-as-text' and 'book-as-object', whilst reflecting the changing nature of production, transmission and reception methods from a paper-based means to a hypertext one. The role of the textual scholar will be crucial to the documentation of the history of the book whilst recording its future.



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<sup>69</sup> Kate Chisholm, *Fanny Burney: Her Life* London: Chatto & Windus, 1998), p.8



## Chapter Two: Contexts





## Chapter Two: Contexts

'a restless spirit haunts over every book, till dust or worms have seized upon it'

Swift, Battle Of The Books (1697)

[ 1 ]

### Critical Context

In 1790 John Macdonald, a footman, published his book, The Life And Travels Of John Macdonald.<sup>1</sup> Whilst it attracted little attention at the time it is emblematic of an eighteenth-century social climate in which the individual felt inspired to pursue personal and artistic goals. It was also representative of the widespread social inclination towards self-expression in print that developed genres such as autobiography, biography, epistolary, memoir, pastoral, and the picaresque. Hunger for diversity in reading materials led to the development of the now familiar novelistic form in eighteenth-century England, a form that in particular, caught the imaginations of the author and the reading public alike. As writers developed the new medium of expression, an entrepreneurial section of a public that acknowledged the creative potential also recognised the *economic* potential, joining forces to share the cost of book production and the cost of purchase too. As a consequence, the meteoric rise of the novel in the eighteenth century connected the financial to the social aspects of reading: publishers, booksellers, congers, share

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<sup>1</sup> John Macdonald, Memoirs Of An Eighteenth-Century Footman (London: Century Publishing, 1985)

options, book clubs, reading societies, literary salons and libraries.

Samuel Richardson was an important figure in the early eighteenth-century publishing industry. Richardson's entrepreneurial career paralleled the rise of the novel, and his life encapsulated the social and economic themes of the early novels: survival, financial independence and respectability. Richardson began life as the son of an impoverished joiner, and at the age of thirteen acquired gainful employment writing letters for lovers. When he died in 1761, he was an author, printer and a publisher, who left behind a successful career that was representative of the artistic and economic synthesis of this era. On his death he bequeathed £14,000 to his dependants; in today's terms this seemingly modest sum equates to an amassed wealth of £840,000 and when his widow sold her shares in *Pamela* in 1766, they were worth £18.00 (or £1,080).<sup>2</sup> Richardson's death occurred at the peak of his social standing: he was successful, wealthy, and accepted as someone of status amongst his peers and because of Richardson and his ilk, the publishing industry became respectable and firmly middle-class.

In this chapter, I examine the book as an object in two ways. First, as indicated in the preceding paragraph, in its social and economic context. For six centuries, the 'book-as-text' is both the receptacle of and a medium for the communication of ideas, and as such contributes to the social environment which leads to the formation of modern society. Secondly, as a symbolic 'object' the 'book-as-object' (held in the hand, described within a book, represented in visual art) presents the audience with a framework for interpretation based upon visual and textual representation beyond 'book-as-text'. Symbolism has played and continues to play an important part in communication: from the development of language to the continual assigning of worth by individuals or by groups to objects and ideas.

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<sup>2</sup> Christopher Hibbert provides a formula to obtain a close approximation to today's prices in *George III: A Personal History* (London: Penguin, 1999). Before 1793 multiply by 60, during the Napoleonic Wars of 1793-1815 by 30, and post 1815 by 40.

In chapter one, I suggested that the meme may present possible implications for reader response theory with regard to the book-as-text because memetics challenges the validity of a sentient reader; and that this may also hold true for the book-as-object. The theories of Dawkins and Blackmore discussed in chapter one, suggest a further hypothesis. The linguistic agent known as 'meme', reproduced through the medium of book-as-text, is at once disseminated and enslaved by this method of reproduction. Once a book is published, memetic replication is dependent upon the transmission and reception mechanism, through advertising, reviews and word-of-mouth, to attract the reader. Such a book may be a phenomenal success or reach only a limited audience but the survival of the meme will be dependent upon the reader's ability to connect with the words on the page. I suggest that rather than existing as a unit of aggressive replication, the transference of a meme from one host to another follows a pattern of complex co-dependency. Notwithstanding, it is possible to apply Dawkins' and Blackmore's reasoning for dominant meme behaviour to the book-as-object. If we consider the construction of the physical format of the book -- front cover, endpapers, title page, chapters, back cover -- there is little change in over five hundred years and therefore a significantly strong memetic replication. This also holds true in the web-based incarnation of the book where convention dictates that the book follows the specific and traditional format. Such reluctance to change the familiar format has a number of feasible explanations that are captured succinctly by Holland in his explanation of group dynamics.

Holland's hypothetical reader is driven by his ego, super-ego and defence mechanisms, and the inclination towards collective agreement (for example in critical and political theories) is driven by the desire of the individual to belong. In Poems In Persons (1989) the reader is asked to visualise a situation in a theatre where one member of the audience feels isolated because his or her response differs from the

groups' response. Approval or disapproval by peer groups has a significant effect on the psyche:

The presence of an active (laughing, sighing, fidgeting, weeping) audience, as distinct from a mere critical reputation, thus exerts a doubly powerful pressure on disparate individuals toward a consensus, and it presses on the literary synthesis at precisely the most delicate point. Producers and directors sensed this state of affairs for centuries and hire clques and catcallers and "canned" laughter accordingly, but the concept of an identity theme and ego style explains psychologically how the collectivity of the audience works on the inner dynamics of individual response.<sup>3</sup>

In an environment where emotions are publicly displayed, deviation may heighten sensations of alienation, feelings of threat or 'loss of esteem', and defence mechanisms will place pressure on the individual to conform. What we perceive as 'freedom of choice' is the result of selection based on parameters predetermined by a psyche which must protect the individual from self, others and the environment. Holland's concept of a survival instinct as a collective dynamic encapsulates the principal cultural and economic elements of book production, because book production is driven as much by the reader, as it is by the publishing industry. Any deviation from reader expectation may result in the inner dynamic of the audience forcing publishers to conform to a particular style or pattern (influence through economics). As Samuel Johnson remarked (erroneously) in 1776, 'nothing odd will do long. *Tristram Shandy* did not last'.<sup>4</sup>

My research has thus far indicated that the 'book-as-object' has acquired significance well beyond its physical attributes; it is a manifestation of the social psyche, which has evolved into a metaphor for personal, social and economic fulfilment. Secondly, my research indicates that the reader's selection of the 'book-as-object' is as

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<sup>3</sup> Norman Holland, *Poems In Persons: An Introduction To The Psychoanalysis Of Literature* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1989), p.129

<sup>4</sup> James Boswell *Life Of Johnson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.696. Stephen King, the horror writer, failed in his attempt to publish his work in instalments on the web. This failure was in part due to the fact that his audience (although computer literate) was not necessarily interested in either the e-book format or a hypertext version on-line, and consequently not prepared to pay to read this way.

significant as the selection of a text.<sup>5</sup> To understand the significance of the literary phenomenon 'book-as-text' and the assigning of symbolic worth to the 'book-as-object', it is necessary to examine the social context of the eighteenth-century. Historians are generally agreed that the years between 1660 and 1830 reveal significant social unrest in the history of England: plagues, the Great Fire of London, abdication, religious intolerance, riots and wars. I hope to reveal that whilst supporting individualism, this society expedited change by presenting a united front desirous of stability, uniformity, and peace, striving above all else, to make manifest and belong to, an Augustan ideal of society. Furthermore, it is my contention that this desire resonates in the eighteenth-century's arrogation of the single most significant cultural artefact produced -- the book.



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<sup>5</sup> As stated in the Introduction, a prolonged discussion of the 'book-as-object' will take place in chapters three, four, and five where I also draw upon the results of a web-based questionnaire to illustrate my discussion

## Social Context

In A Polite And Commercial People (1989) Paul Langford provides a succinct overview of the eighteenth century through the interpretation of the phrase 'a polite and commercial people' coined by William Blackstone in Commentaries On The Laws Of England (1765-9):

**Politeness conveyed upper-class gentility, enlightenment, and sociability to a much wider elite whose only qualification was money, but who were glad to spend it on the status of gentleman. In theory politeness comprehended, even began with, morals, but in practice it was as much a question of material acquisition and urbane manners. It both permitted and controlled a relatively open competition for power, influence, jobs, wives and markets. Though it involved much emulation and admiration of aristocratic society. Britain in the eighteenth century was a plutocracy if anything, and even as a plutocracy one in which power was widely diffused, constantly contested, ever adjusting to new incursions of wealth, often modest wealth.<sup>6</sup>**

An analysis of societal activity during the long eighteenth century (particularly Samuel Richardson's rise through the social strata, from penman of love letters to rector warden of the Stationers Company) seems to confirm Langford's analysis. There was innovation in the sciences, the arts and, rising out of the chaos of the Stuart administration, a restructuring and consolidation of the political system, which in turn provided internal coherence and therefore internal stability, for Britain. A pre-occupation with the classics, Greek and Roman but specifically the structure of Athenian society, provided a template for the Augustan culture (architecture, art, literature) and politics, as the majority aspired to a democracy built upon government by consensus. Yet the system had manifest problems, the existence of rotten

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<sup>6</sup> Paul Langford, A Polite And Commercial People: England 1727 - 1783 (Oxford: Oxford University press, 1989), pp.4-5

boroughs and landowner-only votes, poverty, land enclosures, enforced homelessness and slavery.<sup>7</sup>

Nevertheless, in a society where a steady growth in economic stability is observed, a growth in humanist pursuits often follows, and the long eighteenth century reflects this pattern. In addition, the beginnings of the industrial revolution (which reached its zenith during the Victorian period) and the new industrial work patterns created a marked distinction between the employer and employee. Social and economic stability, specifically for the middle classes (for whom there was not only more free time but also a surfeit of monies for non-essential items and cultural activities) encouraged growth in the industries preying upon disposable incomes. Consequently, where there was a surfeit of income, commodities and activities emerged that not only sustained the cultural *status quo*, but also contributed to gradual social and cultural transformation. It is during this period that the book, linked to rising literacy levels and shifts in reading patterns (from intensive to extensive reading) inspired social interaction on an unprecedented scale. The book-as-text and book-as-object became a significant cultural and economic commodity. Moreover, this shift in status upholds the perception of a direct parallel with the rise of the current computer culture.<sup>8</sup>

Crucially, at the core of such activity (and attempting to manipulate the market) was a publishing industry involving authors, booksellers, illustrators, printers, and

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<sup>7</sup> The commonly acknowledged face of slavery, human trade was a legacy of the Assiento Guinea Company (1595-1750). Despite British involvement, the move towards abolition gathered speed during the eighteenth century. Judge William Murray declared slaves on English soil free in 1772 and William Wilberforce spearheaded the movement for the abolition of slavery in 1791, which was finally outlawed in England in 1807. Yet marriage also offered a form of social slavery as children of marriageable age were used to consolidate social position and wealth, women in particular, had few or no legal rights where there was a father, husband, brother or guardian. The cultural ethos supported class elevation but for the most part, the lower classes had little relief from the grinding poverty of their situation.

<sup>8</sup> Information on literacy is indeterminate as it incorporates two discrete skills, reading and writing. Some of the populace could write but not read whilst others could read but not write. The levels of literacy quoted are higher in the wealthy: 45% men, 25% of women by 1714 and in 1750 69% men, 40% of women, and 99% of shopkeepers were literate. The greatest rise in literacy levels (22% - 66%) for women occurred between the years-1670 - 1720 in London. John Brewer, Pleasures Of The Imagination (London: Harper Collins, 1997).

readers. Whether willingly gulled or no, the eighteenth-century reader provided an opportunity ripe for exploitation as literary salons, circulating libraries and book clubs encouraged the expansion of book production beyond the initial publication sequence of author, publisher, and customer. The most significant private library of the eighteenth century is that of King George III. Regarded with great affection by many of his people -- before he was gripped by the debilitating disease porphyria (and cruelly lampooned by the satirists of this period) -- he was the living embodiment of eighteenth-century sensibility. George is most often (understandably) remembered in relation to the dramatic political events that occurred towards the end of his reign. Yet, (according to Johnson) George was capable of, and took decisive action when kingship demanded. For example during the Gordon Riots:

The King said in council, "That the magistrates had not done their duty, but that he would do his own;" and a proclamation was published, directing us to keep our servants within doors, as the peace was now to be preserved by force.<sup>9</sup>

J. H. Plumb described George as 'a man of small vision, petty ideas, yet not lacking in a certain grandeur even in his madness'.<sup>10</sup> Historians are currently re-appraising the full extent of his influence and presenting a more holistic view of this king. Christopher Hibbert has revealed that George was an intelligent, sensitive man imbued with a strong sense of duty, to his family, to the Crown, and of his responsibilities to the nation. Above all else, the man 'who was eleven before he could read and at twenty (he) wrote like a child' had an abiding thirst for knowledge.<sup>11</sup> As patron of the arts, he founded the Royal Academy with Sir Joshua Reynolds and Sir William Chambers. In Buckingham Palace, he built four

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<sup>9</sup> Boswell *Life Of Johnson*, p.1054

<sup>10</sup> J. H. Plumb, *The First Four Georges* (London: Fontana, 1987)

<sup>11</sup> In addition to his donation of a library for the nation, George III made a significant contribution to the arts and sciences. He provided Handel's original scores for Charles Burney's research, awarded a pension to Rousseau, commissioned the Kew observatory. He collected clocks, commissioned William Herschel to build telescopes, and provided him with a pension to enable his research astronomy. He had an interest in new farming methods and contributed to agricultural debate as Mr Ralph Robinson of Windsor in Arthur Young's *Annals Of Agriculture* (1784-1808).

libraries around the King's bedchamber to hold his new collections and books from the old library, which had previously been housed in the Old Palace at Kew. In addition, from the 1780s Buckingham Palace had a bindery employing experts to both administer and maintain the fabric of the collection for posterity. When George died in 1820 he left his library (paid for out of personal funds) to the nation in perpetuity, for the use of scholars and the British Library now holds it in trust. Hibbert estimates that the library eventually contained sixty-five thousand books and four hundred and fifty manuscripts and Elaine Paintin estimates that towards the end of his reign, the King was spending approximately one fifth of his personal income on the library.<sup>12</sup> Cultural demand forces the advance of technology, and technology supports cultural change. Print culture contributes to such change by encouraging economic expansion and supporting cultural evolution. The king's obsession with books is a cogent example of the link between economy, culture and technology.<sup>13</sup>

The acquisition of reading material is dependent upon two factors: supply and demand. A shortage of raw materials in the early part of the century (specifically cloth for papermaking) precipitated a crisis for the publication chain, brought on by the increased demands of a voracious reading public. Faced with this crisis, scientists and technologists such as Jean Etienne Guettard (1715-86), Jacob Schäffer, Nicholas Robert, Henry Fourdrinier (1766-1854) and John Strange endeavoured to supply the means for efficient and cost-effective book production. Their successes provided the basis for current manufacturing techniques.<sup>14</sup> The rapid expansion of the book trade was supported by a feedback mechanism which in turn sustained the supply and demand cycle. Moreover, the possession of a disposable income and

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<sup>12</sup> Christopher Hibbert, *George III: A Personal History*, p.60. Elaine M Paintin, *The King's Library* (London: The British Library, 1989), p.12 -14. George IV tried to sell the library to the nation when he ascended to the throne.

<sup>13</sup> Trade links with Scotland, Ireland and the continent where the trade in raw materials for book production and the sale of books themselves provided a lucrative source of income for the book trade.

<sup>14</sup> For further information, see chapter three. Not all life dates are available at this stage.

literacy was crucial.<sup>15</sup> A volume such as Lætitia Atkins, an abridgement of Defoe's Moll Flanders, cost five shillings and for those who earned less than one hundred pounds, the purchase of such a volume demanded a significant proportion of the annual income. The eighteenth century reader with money either borrowed or purchased editions, whilst poorer readers had access to cheaper, abridged or pirated version, chapbooks and printed ballads, but not necessarily through purchase. The proliferation of chapbooks and printed ballads contributed to the steady increase of literacy in the poorer classes by the end of the century. A large number of novels were published in discrete volumes, extending not only the tales but the readers' desires for more, and accelerating the print culture still further, engendering much public debate in abundant periodicals with regard to the fates of the characters.<sup>16</sup>

The public response to two of Samuel Richardson's novels, Pamela, Or Virtue Rewarded (1740), and Clarissa, Or The History Of A Young Lady (1747-48) illustrates how readers 'willingly suspend disbelief' to give life to the characters on the page.<sup>17</sup> Gary Kennard:

We humans can invent the world from next to nothing. Fictional characters are an artist's construction whose basic premise is to fool the audience, by artful devices and stratagems, into the illusion of reality. Artists leave gaps in their constructions and we happily fill them in for them. It makes us part of the creative act and the resulting emanation more convincing as it is embedded in our own psyches.<sup>18</sup>

The eighteenth century reader found dramatic tension in Richardson's epistolary

<sup>15</sup> In 1688 average annual income ranges in England and Wales are stated as: peers £3200; Bishops £1300; Baronets £780; Esquires £450; Gentlemen £280; Lawyers £154; Persons professing liberal arts & sciences £60; Freeholders £91; Tenant Farmers £42.50; Overseas Merchants £400; Manufacturers & Artisans £38; Servants & labourers in town/country £15; Fishermen £20; Soldiers £14; Cottagers, small ale-house keepers & paupers £6.50. These figures are taken from Geoffrey Holmes and David Szechi, Foundations Of Modern Britain: The Age of Oligarchy Pre-Industrial Britain 1722-1783 (London: Longman, 1993), pp. 352-353. Holmes and Szechi cite Gregory King, genealogist and statesman (1648-1712) and Joseph Massie, author of treatises on economics, trade and commerce (d. 1748)

<sup>16</sup> A similar occurrence (to the eighteenth century audiences' excitement for new volumes) is the pre-publication fervour, which greeted J.K Rowling book, Harry Potter And The Goblet Of Fire. In addition, an analogous medium (requiring limited literacy) inspiring a similar intensity is television; viewers and tabloid newspapers dissect story lines on a daily basis.

<sup>17</sup> Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Biographia Literaria (London: Everyman, 1980)p.169

<sup>18</sup> This extract is from an email to the PSYart list discussing the responses of readers to fictional characters as if they were real, Garry Kennard, LISTS.UFL.EDU (21/02/01).

technique, which was heightened by the release of one or two volumes at a time (as was the custom). It is perhaps this delay that provides some explanation for the furore caused by these two novels; yet Pamela provoked a very different reaction to Clarissa, for Pamela divided the reading public into *Pamelists* and *anti-Pamelists*, whereas Clarissa's readers tended to a protagonist (Clarissa) or an antagonist, (Lovelace). Henry Fielding's inspired and amusing attack on Richardson's heroine in Shamela (1740) exposes the heroine's virtue as a ruse to improve her circumstance in life by the entrapment of the squire. Pamela is a novel in which the heroine is placed centre stage and Bernard Kreissman (Pamela-Shamela, 1960) suggests that this device allows Richardson the freedom to offer his opinions about society and morality through Pamela.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps, the innocent servant girl expressing sentiments argued with the wit of a middle-aged man was at the root of his audiences' response, because in Clarissa, where the focus is continually shifting, the author's moral inflection is not as apparent.

The collective response of the eighteenth century audience to novels, suggests a broader pattern, one that John Brewer documents in Pleasures Of The Imagination (1997). The impetus of an upward-gazing middle-class contributed to and carried forward culture, by a very public participation in discourse:

**High culture is less a set of discrete works of art than a phenomenon shaped by circles of conversation and criticism formed by its creators, distributors and consumers.<sup>20</sup>**

Salons, literary assemblies, and coffee-houses furnished the purveyor and purchaser with venues in which to propagate a 'polite' society and at the centre of this (as previously suggested) was the print culture, specifically the 'book-as-text' and the 'book-as-object'. Social activities stimulated by the print culture assisted in the cultivation of social interaction and created a feedback loop.

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<sup>19</sup> Bernard Kreissman, "Pamela-Shamela" (Nebraska: University Of Nebraska Press, 1960) included in Twentieth Century Interpretations Of Pamela, ed., Rosemary Cowler (NJ: Prentice Hall, 1969), p115

<sup>20</sup> Brewer, Pleasures Of The Imagination p.3

Holland (The Critical I, 1992) defines the feedback loop, an hierarchical structure that will 'set the reference levels for particular perceptions' and therefore interpretations.<sup>21</sup> Interpretative acts incorporate both individual and group responses, and in the eighteenth century salons, literary assemblies, and coffee-houses provided a means of interaction, whereby the individual could mingle with others to discuss, debate and interpret the 'book-as-text' or the book-as-object'. Blackmore would perhaps observe that in the transmission of 'book-as-text' and 'book-as-object' the meme provides a mechanism by which the host (or reader) wants to, or is compelled to repeat the experience. Such compulsion is the result of the attraction or excitement offered by the meme, but the meme cannot exist without a host.<sup>22</sup> Print culture and the existence of salons, literary assemblies, and coffee-houses assisted memetic replication and transference through conversation. Holland's description of participation and displacement is also a description of compulsion. However, unlike the meme's endeavours to survive, this compulsion arises out of a sequence of complex psychological processes, borne of the desire to belong.<sup>23</sup> An underlying theme of many eighteenth century novels, reflecting reader and author perception, is the fear, on the part of one or more characters, of exclusion from polite society. Success or failure to connect to the dominant social group may have an impact on the individual's social education or status, or even their mental or physical health. Ultimately, alienation often results in death -- social or physical (Clarissa) -- or compliance (Moll Flanders). Daniel Defoe's Moll Flanders operates for the most part outside of society but she too must conform and at the end of her tale, she is rewarded with wealth and marriage to the man with whom she is in love. For Richardson, there can be no such reward and certainly no justification to spare Clarissa's life. She must die rather than live an ignominious life with a

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<sup>21</sup> Norman Holland The Critical I (NY: Columbia Press, 1992), p.54. See Chapter One pages 13-14

<sup>22</sup> Blackmore, Meme Machine p.41. See Chapter One pp.38-43 for a fuller discussion of this theory.

<sup>23</sup> See above page 54

<sup>24</sup> Samuel Richardson, Clarissa (London: Penguin, 1985), p.36

reformed rake (Lovelace). To accept a rapist into 'polite society' in print, would be to call into question the moral values that Richardson was trying to encourage his readers to uphold in reality:

**It is one of the principle views of publication: to caution parents against the undue exertion of their natural authority over their children in the great article of marriage: and children preferring a man of pleasure to a man of probity, upon the dangerous but too commonly received notion that a reformed rake makes the best husband.<sup>24</sup>**

Richardson was not the only author to tackle the themes of social rejection. In 1771, T. Lowdnes, published Sophia Briscoe's Miss Melmoth or The New Clarrisa, but it is Richardson's tale that endures. A meme not transmitted becomes defunct and remains buried in the host, and the social aspects of eighteenth-century print culture seems to provide ample evidence now for both memetic transference and participation/compulsion, as fashions for authors consign many to remain on the shelves whilst others are selected for wider circulation. Significant numbers of these novels dealt with social and sexual mores and broadening social activity led to the evolution of etiquette. It is in the conduct literature of the time that we find the classical blueprint for William Blackstone's 'polite and commercial people'. John Playford's The Dancing Master (1651) suggests that men acquire the skill of dancing because

**This art has been anciently handled by Athenæus, Julius Pollux, Cælius Rhodiginus, and others, and much commend it to be excellent for recreation, after more serious studies, making the body active and strong, graceful in deportment, and a quality very much beseeming a gentleman.<sup>25</sup>**

and the emphasis is on the word gentleman. Beau Nash, aspiring to *gentleman* and succeeding Captain Webster as Master Of Ceremonies, developed Bath, and later Tunbridge Wells, into places of refinement and elegance. Vetting the accommodation, Nash insisted that proprietors extensively refurbish their properties and that visitors are charged a fixed tariff, which he set. His word was absolute and the revelries were supported by a list of eleven rules, transgression of which led

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<sup>25</sup> John Playford, The English Dancing Master (London, 1651)

to humiliation (as in the case of the Duchess of Queensbury) or expulsion.<sup>26</sup> Nash's gentrification of these two spa towns (and himself, for he became known as 'the count') was an attempt to attract the 'better sort' not least because Nash wanted their monies circulating at his gaming tables. His improvements ensured a steady stream of visitors to Bath -- in 1715 nearly eight thousand came to take the waters and participate in the festivities:

**'He found out' (wrote Dr King) 'the happy secret of uniting the vulgar and the great, the poor and the rich, the learned and the ignorant, the cowardly and the brave, in the bonds of society'.<sup>27</sup>**

Dr King's tribute after Nash's death in 1761 is kind and Nash was respected by many. Nevertheless, during his reign in these popular spas, the egocentric Nash ensured that he was constantly in demand, and despite his refusal of a knighthood from William III, he was treated as a member of the elite.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless Nash's achievement is astounding; his careful transformation levelled class barriers, securing a place in the social calendar for both Bath and 'The Wells', that endured long after his death in 1761.

Despite the air of refinement suggested by artists and architects such as Nash (whose artistic vision transformed Bath and Tunbridge Wells) Reynolds and Chambers, eighteenth century society is revealed to us as a paradox. Images gaze back from books and portraits, which encapsulate equal measures of elegance and the grotesque. The former masks the dirt, disease, the lack of hygiene, the vermin and the discomfort of the clothes; and the latter (in squalor) the dreams and desires of the artists' subjects. Images (from the work of Gainsborough, Reynolds, Hogarth

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<sup>26</sup> Nash had abolished the wearing of certain items of clothing, aprons on women and boots on men. When the Duchess of Queensberry, the indulged second daughter of the Earl of Clarendon, appeared at the Assembly rooms wearing a lace apron which had cost £200, he ripped it off and threw it away. Nash was not reprimanded for his liberty because the Duchess assumed it was part of the entertainment and indeed apologised to the Master Of Revels for disobeying the dress code.

<sup>27</sup> Willard Connelly, Beau Nash: Monarch Of Bath And Tunbridge Wells (London: Werner Laurie, 1955), p.173

<sup>28</sup> *ibid.*, p.14. Nash was offered a knighthood in 1695 after successfully staging the revels for William's accession to the throne on the death of his wife Mary. He refused on the grounds of poverty.

and Rowlandson) encapsulate the fusion of the artistic and hedonistic elements of Augustan culture, one that approximates to the Platonic notion of the Apollonian and Dionysian elements of man, and similar encapsulation is found in the book-as-text. Many eighteenth-century narratives (particularly those in the picaresque genre: Moll Flanders, Tom Jones, Betsy Thoughtless, Memoirs Of Woman Of Pleasure) are essentially Dionysian but directed by the Apollonian author's pen. Of necessity the wild and seemingly uncontrolled behaviour that takes place in the narrative is always brought to a satisfactory conclusion by the organising principle. The book-as-text (and through symbolic association) the book-as-object seems to play an increasingly complex role in the shaping of public morality in the eighteenth century. Perhaps this period is predominantly hedonistic despite the aspirations of the middle class to achieve the respectability, nobility and refinement that they perceived in the station of the aristocrat. Yet, in their quest for gentility, many adopted the worst attributes of the upper classes and this together with the pursuit of new experience, however vulgar, was caricatured by the writers of the time.

Henry Fielding's picaresque tale Tom Jones (1749) is one such novel. Fielding conveys the Augustan capacity for biting satire, bawdiness and humour as the omniscient author juxtaposes the bawdy with the enlightened in a work that has thesis, antithesis and synthesis. It is in itself a work of symmetry; the first six books deal with Tom's story before his ejection from his home, the second six his adventures on the road and the last six, in London. The tripartite setting of the novel (country, highway, and town) provides scope to examine human nature against a variety of settings where country equates to virtue, the town with vice and the highways and byways, the link forged between them. The characterisation of the two squires illustrates the counterpoint of the vulgar with the refined as Fielding allows antiquated conduct to cede to the new. The character of Mr Allworthy is commonly acknowledged to be based upon Ralph Allen (friend to both Fielding and

Nash and involved with the design to improve Bath), a man who 'bore his affluence with humility'.<sup>29</sup> Allworthy is a quiet, thoughtful and intelligent man, mindful of his duty to mankind. Moreover, in acknowledgement of his superiority he is only ever addressed as *Mr Allworthy*, whereas the hard-drinking, opinionated Western is always *Squire Western*.

In Frances Burney's courtship narrative *Evelina*, the young heroine is aware that improper conduct will attract public censure and therefore damage her prospect of marriage, and finds the conduct of her grandmother's acquaintances at Vauxhall mortifying

**To the room, therefore, I would have gone; but the sisters agreed that they first would have a *little pleasure*, and they tittered, and talked so loud, that they attracted universal notice.**<sup>30</sup>

This particular episode ends with Evelina's reputation indeed compromised. Her acquaintances lead Evelina into a situation where Lord Orville, her love interest, might well question her virtue and she is jostled by a riotous and high-spirited group of young men. Sir Clement Willoughby, who is one of the young men, recognises her and comes to her rescue. His intentions are not entirely honourable, salvation turns to further comprise with his unwarranted attention, and her mortification is greater still when he discovers that the vulgar French woman, Madame Duvall, is her grandmother.

The most biting observations of middle-class aspiration are those in the novels of Jane Austen, and in particular, in *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) through her characterisations of Eliza Bennet's mother and her father's heir, Mr Collins. Austen describes Mr. Collins who is obsessed by his overbearing patron Lady Catherine de Bourgh:

**His veneration for her as his patroness, mingling with a very good opinion of himself, of his authority as a clergyman, and his rights as a rector,**

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p.129

<sup>30</sup> Frances Burney *Evelina* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 195

made him altogether a mixture of pride and obsequiousness, self-importance and humility.<sup>31</sup>

Mr Collins is at once a figure of fun and a source of acute embarrassment to the Bennet family, but none escape Austen's cool assessment of the flaws in their character. Austen's satirical tone is unequivocal; nobility and refinement are not attributes of class but of person, and their acquisition involves the eschewing of ignorance and vulgarity. Imitation must involve the employment of common sense. Yet, James Boswell's Life of Johnson (1791) reveals the great author to be a contrary mixture of social graciousness (especially to those less fortunate than himself) and social gracelessness. When expressing his opinion, he is often rude or haughty and he is without a doubt, an intellectual snob:

**Great abilities (said he) are not requisite for an Historian; for in historical composition, all the greatest powers of human mind are quiescent. He has his facts ready to hand; so there is no exercise of invention. Imagination is not required in any high degree; only as much as is used in the lower kinds of poetry.**<sup>32</sup>

However, in exoneration of Johnson, the reader does not know what emphasis he gave to his expressions. There is no way of knowing the real Johnson through Boswell's reverent portrayal and reports from his contemporaries suggest that he was sensitive and compassionate. Many writers, in particular, Penelope Aubin, Samuel Richardson, Eliza Haywood and Henry Fielding took their roles as writers and the impact of their work very seriously. The novel was often used in the eighteenth century to suggest an archetype for conduct, and to illustrate the century's obsession with position. With this in mind, Holland's analysis of audience participation and individual displacement (p.54) seems particularly apposite. The middle-classes want to belong to such a society, but also want society to reflect their image of it.



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<sup>31</sup> Jane Austen, Pride And Prejudice (London: Fontana, 1980), p.59

<sup>32</sup> James Boswell, Life Of Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.301

## Symbolic Contexts

Historically the book is one of the most potent emblems that we as a society possess. Much of the value that we attribute to the book-as-object stems from individual or group response to the rendering of this object by our forebears (but viewed from within the context of our own cultural environment). The significance of the book as a symbol is found throughout our culture; in this section, I examine the book-as-object reflected in the portraiture of the eighteenth century beginning with a brief explanation of symbolism.

It is commonly acknowledged that language is the most persistent vehicle for symbolism and that it is crucial to both the book and (in our own time) the transmission of text via computer networks. Relationships and associations with the real world are described using language, which substitutes letters, words and phrases for concepts that may be concrete or abstract (as exemplified by the table of chemical elements or the printer's signatures in the construction of a book).<sup>33</sup> Symbolism supplies the means to communicate complex concepts simply. The word 'chair' allows the communication of the common properties and functions of an object 'chair' without detailed explanation or physical recognition. Similarly when Descartes' abstract concept of existence is reduced to the phrase 'I think therefore I am', it is linguistic shorthand for his extended argument.<sup>34</sup> Symbolism is inevitably dependent upon the personal interpretative strategies of the reader and the Reader Response critic David Bleich describes the symbolic thus:

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<sup>33</sup> There many forms which may be substituted for written language -- Braille, Morse code, flags, binary coding -- mankind has the ingenuity to adapt written language to a further symbolic representation in accordance with prevailing circumstances.

<sup>34</sup> Rene Descartes, Discourse On Method And The Meditations, p.53

A symbolic object is wholly dependent upon the perceiver for its existence.  
A symbol becomes a symbol only by being rendered so by a perceiver.<sup>35</sup>

Moreover, two additional elements modify the way in which symbolism works: the interpretative strategies that the reader is exposed to and in fact concurs with, and the social/critical groupings in whom the reader locates a similarity of thought. In Poems in Person (1989), Holland, outlining the role of the teacher of literature, describes this exposure as

the situation in which one person affects the degree and manner with which someone else achieves a literary work for himself.<sup>36</sup>

In poetry, the language of everyday use is transformed into a denser, symbolic formula for communication by the application of metaphor, simile and allegory. There are many examples where the reader interprets such poetic devices as a sub-text: the nationalistic symbolism of the courtier-poet Edmund Spenser, the political satire of John Dryden, or the social satire of Alexander Pope.<sup>37</sup>

Reader Response Theorists aver that the reader projects meaning onto the text, and it is reasonable to speculate that a reader will project meaning onto the book at least in part to the extent that it is an object. In many ways, the image of the book invoked by the epithet 'book' seems to offer the purity of a platonic ideal, but the projection will in fact be dependent upon what Holland describes as

[.] a dialectic or feedback in which a reader shapes a text by feeding personal and group hypotheses through it.<sup>38</sup>

It is viable to substitute the word 'object' for Holland's 'text' because the individual places interpretative meanings on sensory input received by the brain. The book as an 'object' is a complex symbol inviting the reader to project a diversity of meaning

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<sup>35</sup> David Bleich, "The Subjective Character Of Critical Interpretation", K. M. Newton, Twentieth-Century Literary Theory (London: Macmillan Press, 1988), p. 233

<sup>36</sup> Norman Holland, Poems In Persons (NY: Columbia University Press, 1988), p. 130

<sup>37</sup> Edmund Spenser's medieval allegory Faerie Queen (1589) written in Ireland was a paean to Elizabeth I and to England. John Dryden's Absalom and Achitophel (1681-1682) was a satire on the Earl of Shaftesbury and James, Duke of Monmouth. Pope's Dunciad was an attack on those negative aspects of living that threaten civilised society.

<sup>38</sup> Norman Holland, The Dynamics Of Literary Response (NY: Columbia University Press, 1975, repr1989), p. xi

beyond the complexities of the writing; it is the sum and substance of personal and social desire. W. C. Hazlitt writing in 1903 suggests that the book is significant because

A taste for improved or fine books is one of the least equivocal marks of the progress of civilisation.<sup>39</sup>

Hazlitt's 'progress of civilisation' is substantiated by the use of the book in the portraiture of the eighteenth century. The book in portraiture is traditionally used to convey something about the sitter, social standing, wealth, education, employment or religious belief. However, during the eighteenth century the traditional representation of the book-as-object was extended to include statements about the book itself. The ubiquity of the book in the eighteenth century would inevitably lead to the public developing notions of what reading and owning books signified. Painters in particular have communicated multiple meanings of the popular perceptions of book ownership, in co-operation with popular culture, through peer group response. Examples include "Sir Thomas More, His Household and Descendants" (by Rowland Lockey, 1593); "Still Life Of Dessert" (by Jan De Heem, 1640); "Charles Townley's Library in Park Street" (by Johann Zoffany, 1783); "The Awakening Conscience" (by William Holman Hunt, 1853) and "Pablo Picasso" (by Henri Cartier-Bresson, 1946). To understand how eighteenth century attitudes to the book-as-object shifted focus it is necessary to examine how other artists in history have portrayed the book-as-object.

In the preceding Stuart rule, books were rarely present in the portraits. The meaning of subject, pose or setting was implicit and it was assumed that the 'reader' would understand the allegorical and mythological references. For example, Rubens was commissioned in 1634 to paint Charles I's father, in the state of deification (The Apotheosis of James I) on the ceiling of the Whitehall Banqueting House. When

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<sup>39</sup> W. C. Hazlitt, The Book Collector: A General Survey Of The Pursuit And Of Those Who Have Engaged In It At Home And Abroad From The Earliest Period To The Present Time (London: John Grant, 1904), p.3

Sir John Vanbrugh designed Blenheim palace for the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, Sir John Thornhill painted a mural in which the Duke is shown kneeling before Britannia. In 1682, the artist, Pierre Mignard, depicted Charles II's aristocratic mistress Louise de K roualle, Duchess of Portsmouth, as the sea-nymph 'Thetis' (as befitted her title).<sup>40</sup> One portrait from this period, John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester (artist unknown, 1665-70) does use the book as a prop. The subject is captured crowning his monkey with the symbol of his position -- the laurel crown of the poet laureate, whilst the monkey rips pages from Rochester's book of verse -- a symbol of Rochester's vanity. Examinations of other periods in art history reveal how influential the book as a symbol of human qualities was. Two thematically related paintings, Simone Martini's The Annunciation (1333) and Dante Gabriel Rossetti's The Girlhood Of The Virgin Mary (1848), portray the book (one of two symbols -- the other being the lily associated with Mary and the annunciation) in very different ways.<sup>41</sup> Martini's painting seems to imply activity: Gabriel's appearance coincides with the reader's gaze, his wings are unfurled; Mary seated in the foreground of the lilies has been surprised in the act of reading. She is educated and independent and whilst the sudden appearance of the Angel Gabriel causes her to recoil, she will not relinquish the page she has been studying and her hand continues to clasp the small half-opened book. By contrast, Rossetti's painting suggests stillness. Mary contributes to a larger scene of perfect domesticity and saintliness, the sense of piety intensified by the halo of the white dove perched on the window frame and the haloes of the family. Mary is seated

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<sup>40</sup> Neptune and Jupiter courted Thetis, daughter of Nereus and Doris, until they discovered that she would bare a child that would be greater than the father. She married Peleus, and bore several children, but she killed all except one by fire as a test to see if any were immortal. Achilles was spared because his father snatched him from her hands and his mother to make him invulnerable bathed Achilles in the Styx. J. Lempriere, Lempriere's Classical Dictionary (London: Bracken Books, 1994), p.678

<sup>41</sup> "The Annunciation" (1333) by Simone Martini, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. "The Girlhood Of The Virgin Mary" (1848-9) by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Tate Gallery, London

close to her mother, gazing into the middle distance, her hand poised above her sewing frame. The oversized and richly decorated volumes are in the foreground, transformed into a table to support the lily. An androgynous and child-like angel, (possibly Gabriel) rests his or her right hand expressively on the uppermost book while the left clasps a leaf on the lily between finger and thumb.<sup>42</sup> The reading matter supports Mary's piety, but this is a simple, uncomplicated Mary, unlikely to clasp her book protectively to her bosom in the presence of a messenger from God. Perhaps the use of symbolism is best understood in the context of Renaissance art and Pedro Berruguete provides a characteristic example. Berruguete's Portrait of Duke Frederico And His Son Guidubaldo (1476-7) was commissioned as an official portrait and it presents the Duke

with all his symbols - not only of his noble rank (The Order Of The Ermine at his neck, which he received from Ferdinand II of Aragon the King of Naples, the Order of the Garter placed on his leg conferred upon him by the King Edward IV of England) but also more strictly personal attributes: his military prowess, underlined by the armor [sic] worn, and his humanistic qualities testified by the book he is reading. Finally it should be noted that the presence of his son Guidubaldo, who is holding the paternal sceptre of command, underlines the continuing of the dynasty.<sup>43</sup>

By the eighteenth century, the book had acquired as solid a respectability as the subjects themselves. Moreover, as the book became an integral part of the culture its representation (from formal to informal) may be mapped from the portrait. The degree of formality is in some part influenced by the formality of the artist or the subject. In addition, the earlier portraits tend show both author and title of the books, whereas the later period it is not what the book is but how it used. As a 'prop' the book is mesmerising; the gaze is drawn to it; it may be a richly bound folio volume or a plain octavo, the title visible (Jonathan Swift, by Charles Jervais,

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<sup>42</sup> In a court of Law the bible is placed in the right hand as a symbol of truth.

<sup>43</sup> Urbino: A Historical And Artistic Guide, ed., Giuseppe Cucco (Urbino: L'Alfiere Urbino, 1999). The library of the Duke, built on the ground floor had a symbolic message for visitors to the castle -- that learning was an important part of life and that in his castle the library occupied a place of honour. The design of his study continues this theme. The trompe l'oeil marquetry panelling presents an image of books carelessly stacked on shelves.

1718) or absent (Sir Isaac Newton, Enoch Seeman, 1726). The reader may sit in front of symmetrically aligned volumes on shelves (Sir John Hawkins, by James Roberts, 1786) or books that are carelessly arranged to suggest use (John Hawkesworth by James Watson, 1773). Yet there is romance: the subject may be reading, surprised *in* the act of reading, or staring dreamily ahead in contemplation of what has been read. It may be the single volume held carelessly against a voluminous silk dress (Elizabeth Carter by Joseph Highmore, 1745) or close to the short-sighted reader's face (Joseph Baretta by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1773).<sup>44</sup>

As John Brewer states in Pleasures Of The Imagination:

The book had ceased to be merely a text and had become an icon and object which conveyed a sense of its owner. In genteel portraits books -- and a book was almost as common a prop as a spouse, a house or an animal -- no longer associated the sitter with a vocation or profession'.<sup>45</sup>

Many portraits do associate the sitter with their 'vocation or profession'. Godfrey Kneller has Jacob Tonson the publisher posed with a copy of Milton's Paradise Lost, the publication that brought Tonson fame and fortune. Stephen Slaughter's "Hans Sloane" (1736) holds a drawing of a plant from his book on the West Indies and James Northcote's portrait of Edward Jenner (1803) juxtaposes the author with his treatise on cow-pox. Nevertheless, Brewer is correct in his assessment of the book as an icon. Authors and readers of the eighteenth-century were adamant in the way that they projected their vision of a polite society. The book-as-text plays a considerable part in the attempt to establish a paradigm for acceptable patterns of behaviour. Boswell records Johnson's views on reading:

He then took occasion to enlarge on the advantages of reading and combated the idle superficial notion, that knowledge enough may be acquired in conversation. General principles must be had from books, which, however, must be brought to the test of real life. In conversation you never get a system.<sup>46</sup>

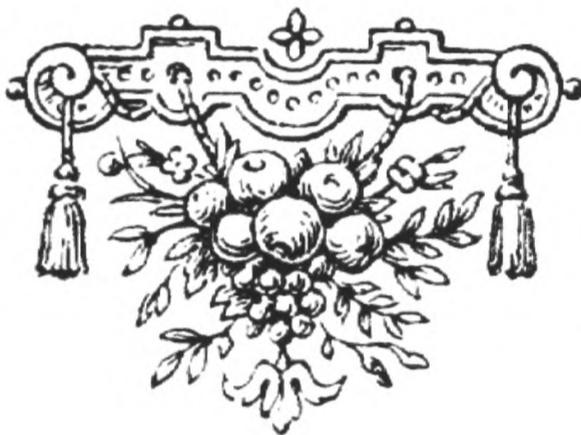
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<sup>44</sup> See Appendix E for Isaac Newton and Joseph Baretta

<sup>45</sup> John Brewer, Pleasures Of The Imagination (London: Harper Collins, 1997), pp. 189-190

<sup>46</sup> James Boswell, The life Of Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.624

The book as a device for communication was pivotal for a society determined to create a civilised, genteel environment and the book-as-object was a central element of this. As an eighteenth-century icon it is as succinct an exposition of their humanity as it was for Frederico, Duke of Urbino in 1476.





## Chapter Three: Productions





## CHAPTER THREE: PRODUCTIONS

I was in a printing house in hell, and saw the method in which knowledge  
is transmitted from generation to generation

William Blake, *The Marriage Of Heaven And Hell* (1790-3)

[ 1 ]

### Introduction

In the antecedent chapters I place the book-as-object in context, as an artefact that is used to supply and extend the boundaries of society. In this chapter I investigate the constituent parts of the book-as-object and discuss the advances in technology that support the creation of the object book, which in turn contribute to and expand reading cultures. I examine aspects of book production in an historical and contemporary setting in both traditional and hypertext formats. My analysis, with regard to the processes of the production of the book as an aesthetic object, will consider criteria (including typeface, paper, illustrations and bindings that influence size, shape, colour, and texture) as elements that are likely to affect a reader's aesthetic engagement with the book-as-object. Moreover it is an engagement, which may cause the reader to accept or reject the book before the relationship with the narrative has begun, and I will draw upon the results of a web-based questionnaire designed specifically for this purpose.<sup>1</sup> I have selected two of my nine authors, Daniel Defoe and Frances Burney, to provide a framework for discussion. Robinson Crusoe (1719) and to a lesser degree Evelina (1778) have been in print since the

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A for a copy of the questionnaire.

first editions appeared, and have met with powerful audience acclaim. The remaining seven writers: Penelope Aubin, Eliza Haywood Samuel Richardson, Henry Fielding, Sarah Fielding, Ann Radcliffe and Matthew Lewis, although equally popular in the years immediately following initial publication have been subject to the vagaries of reading trends and are used as illustrative examples.<sup>2</sup> The following analysis of selected publications will follow neither a genealogical nor a linear path. Modern critical editions provide an immediate insight into the debatable issues surrounding the attempt to produce an 'ideal' text and therefore the problems that exist for the publisher. For example is the best text to be a so-called 'scholarly' edition, or an uncluttered text aimed at the general reader?

The quotation, which precedes this chapter, suggests how the printing house may have seemed to its inhabitants in the early years of printing. Blake is perhaps one of the eighteenth century's most prolific innovators. His application of the traditional techniques of etching and engraving takes his work beyond the commonplace and he produced uniquely beautiful and often surreal illustrations for his works

by printing in the infernal method, by corrosives, which in Hell are salutary and medicinal, melting apparent surfaces away, and displaying the infinite which was hid.<sup>3</sup>

When Blake was printing 'in the infernal method' the face of printing had already changed significantly. Although his approach reflects his desire for artistic and economic freedom, he provides an apposite illustration of the demands placed upon the skills of an eighteenth century printer.

My analysis of the book-as-object necessarily begins with an historical overview of printing, (Europe, but England, specifically and which by necessity must be brief) because from within the context of production such an overview provides the

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<sup>2</sup> Penelope Aubin, in particular, was an extremely popular writer and translator during her lifetime, and for some years after her death but her work seems to vanish after the mid-eighteenth century. Her reappearance occurred when Garland Publishing reproduced a joint facsimile edition in 1973 of *The Life of Madame de Beaumont and Adventures Of Count de Vinevil*.

<sup>3</sup> William Blake, "A Memorable fancy", *The Marriage Of Heaven And Hell*, ed., J. Bronowski (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958, repr., 1979), p.101

starting point for examining my selected texts across the technological advance of three centuries. In particular, the role of the printer was a complex aggregate of occupations, at least in the earliest stages of printing. It is not until the middle of the eighteenth century that a separation of tasks occurs, but the nineteenth century onwards they are for the most part completely independent activities. It is my intention to illustrate the complexity of the activities that furnish the reader with the book-as-text and the book-as-object.



**Typesetter, printer, illustrator, publisher, editor, bookseller**

There are four key components to the physical and traditional format of a book: type, paper, ink, and binding and the earliest incarnations of materials used today arose in different cultures and during different epochs. The first book printed (and bound) in Europe appeared around the middle of the fifteenth century in Germany, but the technology of the German printing press did not spread to the remainder of Europe, and eventually the world, until after 1460.

In Five Hundred Years Of Printing (1955) Sigfrid Steinberg suggests that the history of printing can be divided into five periods: 1450-1550 (invention); 1550-1800 (consolidation); 1800-1900 (mechanisation); 1900-1950 (private presses and paperbacks) and the postwar world. In chapter one, Steinberg admits that historical periods are 'makeshift expedients: people did not go to bed in the Middle Ages and wake up in modern times'.<sup>1</sup> He illustrates his point through the common usage of the term 'incunabulum'. Incunabulum (from the Latin, *cunae*, 'cradles' or swaddling clothes) is a collective term for printed books published during the earliest period of printing. Steinberg contends that this overused term is restricted in application to books from the date of Johannes Gensfleisch Zum Gutenberg's first creation to the 31 December 1500'. Such narrow application causes a rift in perspective of the works of some of the greatest practitioners working prior to this date: Anton Koberger, Aldus Manutius, Henry Estienne and Geofroy Tory. Book history (indeed history itself) provides ample evidence to support Steinberg's wry comment and Steinberg's principle may be applied in a general sense. The reader seems compelled to assign boundaries to external data, disassembling the whole into smaller

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<sup>1</sup> S. H. Steinberg, Five Hundred Years Of Printing (London: Penguin, 1955), p.3. This book is recently revised and re-published by the British Library Press, 1996.

manageable segments of information. Literature for example, is divided into such genres as the pastoral, the epistolary, the memoir or the gothic. Whilst genre categorisation is a useful linguistic shorthand to alert the reader to a specific style, it is possible that one work will cross several such genres. Furthermore timelines themselves are misleading, particularly where authors (such as Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) or Jane Austen (1775-1817)) are born mid to late century. Many academics (such as Frank O'Gorman) now take into account earlier experience and influence and prefer to view centuries in a series of overlaps. Steinberg's assessment is particularly germane: to rigidly apply perimeters is to lose a sense of the holistic nature of culture and society, an approach supported by the advances in technology and illustrated here by the substance of Gutenberg's invention.

Gutenberg, a goldsmith, did not invent the printing press *per se*, though as Steinberg remarks

To nine out of ten readers the sentence that 'Gutenberg invented printing' is a shortened form of 'Gutenberg invented the printing of books'.<sup>2</sup>

Such statements, he claims, are fallacious. In partnership with Johann Furst, a merchant, Gutenberg pulled together the elements already in common use: woodblock printing in relief (China) separate or moveable parts (Korea) and the screwpress for oil, linen and wine (Europe) and thus created the mechanism for printing. The mechanism that he used to print the 42-line Mazarin bible in Mainz in 1455 was (for the most part) to remain in continuous use until the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Evidence suggests that printing using wood-blocks appeared in China during the T'ang dynasty (618-907). Moreover, wood-blocks and metal plates have remained popular throughout the typographic timeline amongst artisan printers (such as William Blake and William Morris) and had moveable type not been invented, the existing

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 6

<sup>3</sup> Gutenberg never made any capital out of his invention because Furst called in his loan and as a consequence Gutenberg had to forfeit his all equipment to repay the debt.

processes would have been improved and expanded upon. To further confound historical accuracy, evidence suggests that moveable type was invented during the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) but rejected by the Chinese on grounds of aesthetic sensibility.<sup>4</sup> During the latter half of the long eighteenth century, as the Industrial Revolution gathered speed, machines were introduced which shortened the production time although they did not necessarily improve the quality of the book produced. The machines used in printing are now classified into four categories: the platen (jobbing), the single cylinder, the double cylinder and the rotary (newspapers and periodicals and popular books).

Gutenberg's unique contribution to printing technology was the development of a method that enabled the mass production of texts, that allowed errors to be corrected before printing and therefore cultivated the skill of proof-reading. He invented the ink, which had to have a particular quality to stick to the type, yet leave a clear impression, and the matrix or the typesetting mould from which the individual letters were cast by punching brass with a relief form. The alloy, a mixture of lead, a base metal, antimony, which makes lead harder and tin, which melts easily, used for the typefaces, was developed by goldsmiths. The quality of this alloy was imperative because it had to melt at a low enough temperature to ensure that Gutenberg's matrices were not damaged, and it had to expand slightly when hardened so that the shape of the mould was evident. Gutenberg originally used over 300 letters but this has been reduced to the present day set of forty lower case, a slightly lower figure for upper case letters, and of the many ligatures, those retained are: ff, fi, fl, ffi, ffl, æ, and œ. It is important to note at this stage that early printed books were indistinguishable from manuscripts, and it was the technological advance made by typefounders that significantly contributed to the construction of the book-as-object as a 'modern' artefact.

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<sup>4</sup> Oxford Interactive Encyclopaedia (London: The Learning Company & Oxford University Press, 1997)

Yet the adoption of typeface was not universal, it was designed to suit the dominant alphabet and evolved as a result of geographical placement. Germans, Russians and Turks used the '*Fraktur*', '*Cyrillic*' and '*Arabic*' alphabets, whilst Western Europe used '*Roman*' and '*Italic*'. In addition, typeface was specific to the formality of the writing, so that (depending on the alphabetical series) a religious document would be presented in the *textura* (textura) font, whilst a legal document would be printed using *bastarda* (bastarda). The significance of such geographical anomalies is that they serve to illustrate on a larger scale the obstacles faced by the printer, publisher, translator, editor and bookseller, where regional diversity occurred within geographical borders.

In Mother Tongue (1990) Bill Bryson remarks upon the problems caused by regional dialects and the lack of a standard and common form of communication. English (as we understand the term today) did not exist, and up to and including the time of William Caxton (1421-1491), it was a composite of the French, Germanic, Danish and Celtic languages. For three hundred years, English monarchs and aristocrats spoke French, and until the reign of Richard III, the court also conversed in Latin, the vernacular of the church. The lower social orders spoke in regional 'English', which evolved as a random mixture of dialects taken from invading armies, and social and trading links. The combination of the two major languages led to the evolution of Anglo-Norman. It was through the offices of Caxton, a mercer, who set up the first printing press in England in the grounds of Westminster Abbey, that the printing of the first book in a formal and standardised English, The Recuyell Of The Historyes Of Troy (1475) occurred. Bryson, cites the preface to Caxton's Eneydos (1490), in which Caxton

related the story of a group of London sailors heading down the 'tamyse' for Holland who found themselves becalmed in Kent. Seeking food, one of them approached a farmer's wife and 'axed for mete and specyally he axyd after eggys' buyt was met with blank looks by the wife who answered that she 'could speke no frensh'. The sailors had travelled barely fifty miles and yet their language was scarcely recognizable [sic] to another

speaker of English. In Kent, eggs were *eyren* and would remain so for another fifty years.<sup>5</sup>

The ascension of the House of Hanover might well explain the adoption of Germanic words into the English language during the eighteenth century. In 1714, Queen Anne died and the Elector of the House of Hanover (from the Stuart line of James I) ascended the British throne.<sup>6</sup> It is said that whilst George I (1660-1727) did his duty, he loathed both the kingdom and the people. In fact, so great was his dislike, and so nostalgic was he for Hanover, that he refused to speak the mother-tongue of his new country, insisting that German was spoken at court. Over the centuries, Caxton's English has accommodated such additions and dropped many from use, and whilst some words have retained a regional emphasis, through Caxton's influence a standardised form of English persists.

In the intervening centuries, whilst the original mechanism of the printing press did not change in essence for nearly four hundred years, the introduction of new typefaces continued. In the years between 1720 and 1726 the work of one particular man contributed substantially to the modernisation of the book. The engraver, William Caslon (1692-1766) was one of the first Englishmen to work as a type-founder (the first was actually Benjamin Sympson, in 1579). Until Caslon began his career as a type-founder (and broke the foreign monopoly for the supply of the matrices from Holland) type-founding was the domain of Huguenot refugees.<sup>7</sup> Caslon's style of typeface was popular at home and in America, particularly with Benjamin Franklin, who is credited with introducing the first novel, Richardson's Pamela, to America in 1744, and who owned a printing house in Philadelphia. The specimen sheet that Caslon produced in 1734 helped him achieve enormous success and his typeface was used for the Declaration Of Independence in 1776. Today

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<sup>5</sup> Bill Bryson, Mother Tongue: The English language (London: Penguin, 1990), pp. 50-53

<sup>6</sup> George I was the great grandson of James I

<sup>7</sup> Steinberg, Five Hundred Years Of Printing, p. 78

graphical computer interfaces can supply many variants of Caslon's work and are common on windows based systems:

CaslonOldFace BT, **CaslonOldFace HvBT**, CaslonOpnface BT

#### Caslon Computer Fonts

Philip Gaskell (A New Introduction To Bibliography, 1995) describes Caslon's typefaces as 'types that were without serious blemish, but also without much life; they were tasteful, subdued, and rather dull'.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps Gaskell's comments are justified; the popularity of Caslon's typefaces certainly waned at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but they have now been revived and are still in use today. To the modern reader perhaps the typefaces are 'tasteful' though 'dull', or perhaps just 'old-fashioned' given the range of choices available today. To the researcher, scrutinising large quantities of books with idiosyncratic compositing styles, and the long 'S', those printed using a Caslon typeface are comfortable to read because the letters are rounded and well spaced.

Another individual of consequence in the history of printing is John Baskerville (1706-1775), who began his career as a teacher of calligraphy (1733-1737) and from around 1740, he ran a successful business in japanning and varnishing. During the 1750s, he began to experiment with different typecasts. It is said that Fournier Le Jeune (from the family of esteemed French printers) considered Baskerville's italic the best in Europe. After 1757, Baskerville began to produce editions of the classics that were notable for their quality. He was also an acquaintance of the paper manufacturers James Whatman and his son James, who invented wove (or vélin) which was considered a very high quality paper.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Philip Gaskell, A New Introduction To Bibliography(Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 1995)

<sup>9</sup> Wove or vélin paper is smooth and leaves no chain marks because a woven brass-wire cloth (woven on a textile loom) is used in the paper mould. The Whatman's initial experiments produced paper that had lines from the warp wires in the cover and was also quite rough, but within twenty years a loom had been designed to overcome these problems and post-eighteen hundred this process of manufacturing paper was adopted for general use. ([www.wovepaper.freeserve.co.uk](http://www.wovepaper.freeserve.co.uk), 30/01/01)

Dard Hunter (Papermaking, 1943) cites the reaction of the poet William Shenstone:

My neighbour, Baskerville, at the close of this month (March, 1757) will publish his fine edition of Virgil; it will for type and paper be a perfect curiosity.<sup>10</sup>

In 1758, Baskerville was appointed printer to Cambridge University and in 1763, he printed the folio bible (which Steinberg considered to be one of the finest books of the eighteenth century).<sup>11</sup> Although Baskerville produced many beautiful editions, his work was renowned for the use of an intensely black ink of his own design and a high gloss paper. In his pursuit of the ideal text, and specifically his production of the quarto Virgil, he would print two thousand copies, in order to obtain fifteen hundred copies that had the right clarity of print and depth of ink-colour.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps, because of his drive for perfection and as a consequence of the rising cost and provision of raw materials, his printing venture was not as successful as his japanning business. Baskerville's work was not widely esteemed in England, his typefaces were considered eccentric and harmful to the eyes.<sup>13</sup> When through poverty, his widow was forced to sell his matrices and presses, Pierre Beaumarchais (1732-1799) (author of The Marriage Of Figaro) purchased them, and used them to produce his *Kehl* edition of Voltaire. Equally Baskerville's design is represented in contemporary technology:

### **Baskerville BT**

#### **Baskerville Computer Font**

Economic necessity played a large part in the purchase of type stock, and although type produced by English foundries was cheaper than imported type, it was

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<sup>10</sup> Dard Hunter, Papermaking: The History And Technique Of An Ancient Craft (NY Dover Books, 1947, repr. 1974). Dard claims that Baskerville suggested the wove paper idea to the Whatmans

<sup>11</sup> His tenure with the university was not without restrictions, formal permission from the syndicate had to be obtained for printing editions of the bible and common prayer book other than those agreed upon, £20 was payable for each thousand copies printed. Michael Black, Cambridge University Press 1584-1984 (Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.111-112

<sup>12</sup> Ink was made from lampblack and varnish and had to be sticky enough to adhere to the type but not smudge under pressure.

<sup>13</sup> Gaskell, Introduction To Bibliography, p. 39

expensive to replace worn items. Gaskell suggests that whilst new designs were becoming more widely available, the printers were more inclined to buy a typeface that 'did not offend the conservatism of their customers, and one that was made of good hard-wearing metal'.<sup>14</sup>

With an eighteenth century audience keen for innovation, and willing to embrace the new it was circumstance rather conservatism that dictated the readers' choice of book, or indeed its suitability for reading in difficult or uncomfortable circumstances. During the eighteenth century, many of the old houses were either built with a minimal number of windows or had had them bricked up to avoid the window tax instigated in 1689, during William III's reign (Act of 7&8 Will. III). This was not repealed until 1851 (Victoria's reign).<sup>15</sup> Only the very wealthy could afford houses with a large surface area of glass, and to read after dusk required candlelight and candles, usually made from tallow (animal fat) that guttered and were smoky, as were the fires. Fashions too, particularly for women, would also have dictated the length of time spent reading, as costumes and hairpieces were restrictive, bulky and hot to wear.<sup>16</sup>

Yet despite the difficulties that readers faced during the long eighteenth century the trend towards reading as a solitary activity increased, and the demand for books, newspapers, journals, magazines, and broadsheets outstripped provision. Production methods had to change to meet demand, and change they did.

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> This act came into being to meet the expense of recoinning clipped money. For the next seven years the king was granted a tax of 2s on every house; if it had ten windows or more, the tax was 6s; if 20 windows or more, 10s. Oxford: Payers Of Window Tax, 1696 (<http://users.ox.ac.uk/~uzdh0149/oxfhistory/windowtax.htm>). A Copy of the return was retained for the Quarter sessions and another sent to the Exchequer. Further information is provided [www.Wolverhamptonarchives.com](http://www.Wolverhamptonarchives.com). The window tax replaced the hearth tax, collected on Lady day (25 March) and Michaelmas (29 September): 'in 1747, 10-14 windows at 6d per window 15-19 windows at 9d and 20 or more at 1s. By 1825 houses with less than 8 windows became exempt'. The person responsible for payment was the occupier rather than the owner and this tax was consolidated with the house tax and administered on the same forms as tax for shops, servants, horses, carriages, carts and wagons, and hair powder.

<sup>16</sup> Costume as a barrier to reading will be discussed in chapter 5.

Stereotyping (developed by William Gadd (1690-1749) and originating from Dutch printers) in which a plaster cast was made of the type and the mould used to create a plate, was a means of preserving type for future reprints and therefore cutting the time consuming activity of resetting. However, due to the protectionist attitudes of the Scottish printers, Gadd's machines were smashed and he returned to the traditional method of printing. It was sixty years before Firmin Didot, who made the metal casts from sunk faces, thereby decreasing costs, reintroduced the practice. In 1829 the moulds were made from papier-mâché and reduced both labour and the size of the mould. It was Charles Stanhope, third Earl Stanhope (1753-1816), politician and scientist who made stereotyping commercially viable at the Clarendon Press in 1805. Stanhope's crucial contribution to book production was the Stanhope Iron Press:

The key to Stanhope's invention was compound levers which considerably magnified the force acting on the pressure plate or *platen*, thus enabling a larger sheet to be printed.<sup>17</sup>

Apart from the Stanhope, there are two other significant machines, the Columbian and the Albion. In 1813 George Clymer, a Philadelphian, developed the Columbian, a press which used a beam and pistons to apply pressure on the *platen* and he introduced it into England in 1817.

Its most characteristic features were extravagant decoration and the American-eagle counterweight which rose and fell with every impression.<sup>18</sup>

The advantage of the Columbian Press was that it was suited to larger formes, posters *and* larger quantities of work. Richard Cope introduced the Albion Press in 1820 and instead of levers, the Albion 'had a steel toggle joint which the impression bar forced straight to create the downward thrust.'<sup>19</sup> The machine was

Compact, well wrought, and, finely finished, this press also works on the lever principle, but with less weight than the Columbian.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Graham Hudson, *The Victorian Printer* (Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications Ltd., 1996), pp. 4-5

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, p.5

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, pp6-7

<sup>20</sup> W. S. Murphy, "The Printing Of Books", *Harmsworth Self-Educator*, ed., Arthur Mee (London:1907)

The advantage of mechanisation is twofold: speed of production, and labour costs. The hand press produced up to 300 sheets per hour but the initial steam-powered ones could produce 1100, and by 1828 this figure had risen to 4,000 sheets. By 1939, forty thousand sheets per minute were recorded. Strahan's purchases during the period 1800 to 1812 illustrate how costly the printing business could be. A large Stanhope cost £80, a smaller machine, £60, eight wooden presses £25, and type, 469 pounds of double *pica* could be purchased at £2,600 prior to the Napoleonic Wars, yet quadrupled in value during the wars to between £7000 and £9000.<sup>21</sup>

The arrival of the machine also changed the face of the workplace. When Spottiswoode bought his Applegarth Cylinder Perfector, the room subdivided into the pressroom and the machine room. Spottiswoode seems to have enjoyed the industrialisation of printing because

the inventory of the pressrooms reads like a salesman's catalogue: the Spottiswoodes appear to have decided to try one of every make of iron press: a Gouking, a Russell, a Columbian -- which was worth £50. Two steam engines were valued at over £550, and the machinery alone was valued at £2,622 -- roughly, the figure set on the cast type in 1800, only thirty years before.<sup>22</sup>

It is during the introduction of the steam engines that the overseer of the printing process acquired a separate room from the workforce, supporting the split between employer and employees, white-collar workers and blue-collar workers. At this time another important change occurred. Originally the printer/bookmaker had been a jack-of-all-trades: typesetter, printer, illustrator, publisher, editor, bookseller. Now this role became less skilled and for the most part consisted of a machine operative's duty. Yet, as P. M. Handover Printing In London From 1476 To Modern Times, 1960) is quick to point out, the expense of these machines meant that the

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<sup>21</sup> Prior to 1793 multiply by 60, during the Napoleonic Wars of 1793-1815 by 30 and post 1815 by 40 so that the type was worth between £156,000 and £280,000

<sup>22</sup> P. M. Handover, Printing In London From 1476 To Modern Times (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1960), pp. 209-210

changeover from traditional methods was slow, not least because such machinery required larger premises. The proliferation of machines to aid the printer and typographer from the onset of the Industrial revolution had one distinct advantage for the reader; mass production meant cheaper books. This benefit was compounded to obvious effect by the supply of cheaper paper. Cheaper paper led to publishers such as James Lackington, who selling books on a cash only basis and by reducing his overall profit (and incidentally netting him his fortune), was able to sell books at a significantly lower cost to the public. Such enterprise was not without criticism however; he was denounced as a charlatan and rumour had it that his books were inferior

**I often received letters from the country, to know if such and such articles were REALLY as I stated them in my catalogues, and if they REALLY were the best editions, if REALLY in calf; and REALLY elegantly bound, with many other REALLYS.<sup>23</sup>**

Cheaper paper was critical to the production of cheaper volumes. Paper (according to Chinese tradition) was first made in AD105, by Ts'ai Lun, a eunuch, at the court of Emperor Ho Ti and spread to Europe when Arab soldiers captured Chinese papermakers in a battle near Samarkand in AD751.<sup>24</sup> Ts'ai Lun's invention used fibre from fishing nets and rags, which he boiled, pulped and dried over a straining frame, which allowed the fluid to drain but left a tissue-thin 'paper', which was then weighted down. Dard Hunter explains that in over two thousand years the basic principle of making paper has not changed and that

**To be classed as true paper the thin sheets must be made from fibre that has been macerated until each individual filament is a separate unit; the fibres intermixed with water, and by the use of a sieve-like screen, the fibres lifted from the water in the form of a thin stratum, the water draining through the small openings of the screen, leaving a sheet of**

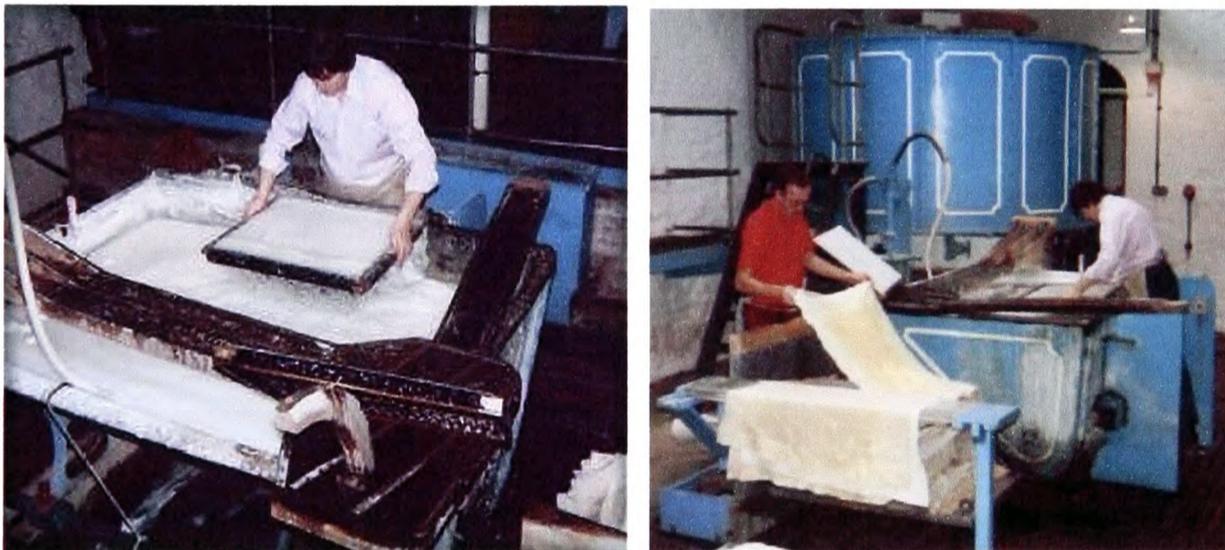
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<sup>23</sup> James Lackington, *Memoirs Of The First Forty-five Years Of The Life Of James Lackington* (1791). The seventh edition of *Life* was sold by Lackington for 2s 6d in boards and bound 3s at that time the price of a book in boards could be 5s 6d or more.

<sup>24</sup> It spread to Spain in 1056, Italy, 1255, Germany 1390, Belgium 1407 and Great Britain in 1494. Wynken de Worde mentions the Hertfordshire paper mill in 1495.

matted fibre upon the screen's surface. This thin layer of intertwined fibre is paper.<sup>25</sup>

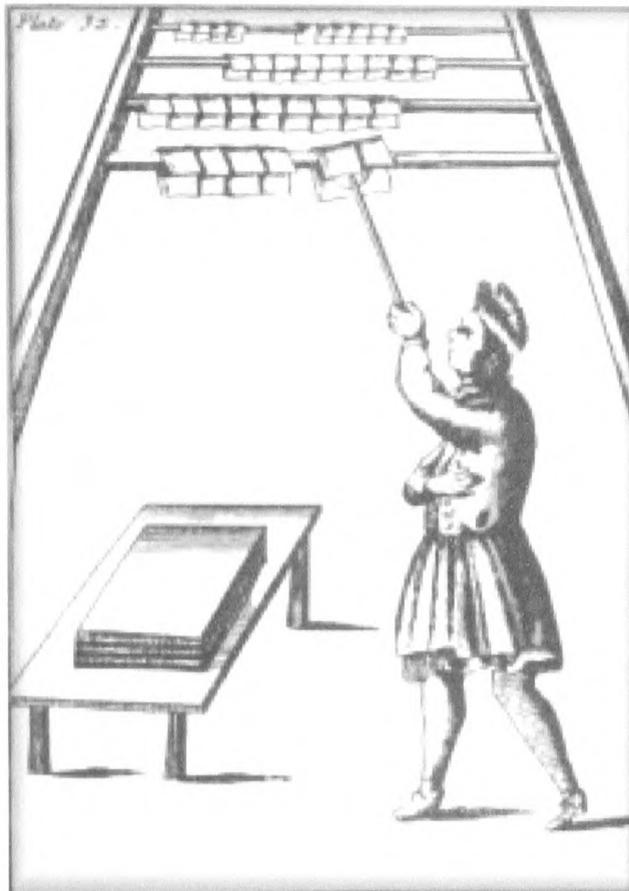
The sieve-like screen mentioned by Hunter was secured by a frame or 'deckle', which has a raised edge to prevent the pulp draining away, and it forms a feathery edge known as a 'deckle-edge'. This edging is often seen in pre-1800 books, but may occur in more modern books, although usually as an artifice. Paper production was labour and resource intensive. It required a maker or vatman, a coucher (Koocher) and a layer, a vat, a pair of moulds (twins), rectangular pieces of felt that were larger than the moulds, and a standing press. It also required a constant free-flowing source of water and the facility to dry quantities of paper. The vatman dipped the tray approximately a third of the way into the pulped mixture, removed and shook it to ensure that the fibrous material covered the base, placed the deckle over the screen and passed it along to the coucher. The coucher turned the mould over onto the felt and returned the empty screen to the vatman.



**Traditional Paper Making at Wookey Hole**  
(Images courtesy of the British Association Of Paper Historians)

This process continued until a substantial pile of felt and paper was ready for pressing in the standing press. As many as six men turned the handle to extract the water, and then the 'paper' was hung on frames to dry.

<sup>25</sup> Dard Hunter, Papermaking: The History And Technique Of An Ancient Craft (NY: Dover Books, 1943, rep 1978), p. 127



Paper drying racks  
(Image courtesy of the British Association Of Paper Historians)

Once dried, the paper (known as waterleaf because of its blotting paper-like consistency) was dipped into the hot-sink, containing gelatine boiled down from leather and vellum shavings. This solution coated the paper making it less absorbent and it was once again hung on racks to dry. The paper was then graded. Paper for printing was sold as was, but writing paper had to be smoothed, which was done by rubbing or hammering. Consequently, when Nicholas-Louis Robert invented his papermaking machine (which contained the process and made sheets of paper that were 12-15 metres in length) the printing *cognoscenti* and specifically the Didots (the French printing and papermaking dynasty who employed and supported Robert) immediately saw the potential of such a machine. It was the Didots who were responsible for its adoption in England; Didot's son-in-law John Gamble and the London stationers Henry and Sealy Fourdrinier had machines built according to Robert's design by Bryan Donkin, and by 1807, 'paper-machines were being manufactured in England ranging in price from £715 to £1,040.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Hunter, *Papermaking*, pp.342-349

Whilst the change prompted by the steady increase in readers was a by-product of the supply and demand cycle, the immediacy of that change was precipitated by the crisis in raw materials during a particular period in the history of papermaking. The dependency on linen and cotton rags meant that the industry built up around these materials, although lucrative (and resourceful), it was a high risk one and depended upon the willingness of people to part with old clothes. Clothes, as Defoe often points out in his novels, might be the sum total of a person's wealth.

In Moll Flanders, Moll's 'Gentleman-Tradesman' husband, a draper, flees to France to escape debtors prison. Moll sells the material that he has pawned to provide her with some brief financial security

*My husband was so civil to me, for I still say, he was much of a Gentleman, that in the first letter he wrote me from France, he let me know where he had Pawn'd 20 pieces of fine Holland for 30 l. which were really worth above 90 l. And enclos'd me the Token, and an order for taking them up, paying the money, which I did and in time above 100 l. of them, having Leisure to cut them and sell them [...]*<sup>27</sup>

Theft of material goods occurs repeatedly in Defoe's stories. The street urchin, Colonel Jack, describes his business of going to Bartholomew Fair, as 'in short, to pick pockets' and specifically targets material goods that can be sold on. The list of items he obtains are: a white handkerchief, a coloured handkerchief, a riband purse and finally a silk handkerchief.<sup>28</sup> It is a scene echoed in A Christmas Carol (1843) by Charles Dickens. Mrs Dilber robs Scrooge's corpse not only of his bed hangings but of his shroud too; clearly the reward was worth the risk of disease. Even if the cloth stolen were sold on unmodified by a 'fence' it would be likely to end up in the vat at a paper factory.<sup>29</sup>

Understandably, therefore crises in the supply of materials were not exceptional in printing history. The industry was dependant on a single source material, rags (for

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<sup>27</sup> Daniel Defoe, Moll Flanders (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 63

<sup>28</sup> Daniel Defoe, The History And Remarkable Life Of The Truly Honourable Colonel Jack (London: Folio Society, 1967), pp25-26

<sup>29</sup> A 'fence' is a colloquialism for a receiver of stolen goods.

the most part imported) until a widespread shortage prompted a cessation of imports from the continent, because the process of papermaking was laborious and slow. The impetus of the Industrial revolution and therefore, technological advance, in the eighteenth century, provided the opportunity to implement change and make the mass production of books a reality.

However, if the industry was to survive, the dependency on cloth as a raw material had to be broken, and this prompted research into the creation of paper from other materials. The first treatise on papermaking was published in England in 1716, by the Society Of Gentlemen, who suggested not only the use of hemp but the floating of mill barges on the Thames. Experiments with amianthus (asbestos with fine silky fibres) specifically by Franz Ernest Bruckman (1697-1753) who published several editions of a geology book in this material in 1727, proved to be unsuccessful since the paper created was brittle and coarse. René Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur (1683-1757) observing the nests made by the wasp *Hymenopterous* suggested that paper could be made from wasp nests, but as Hunter suggests there is no evidence that he actually made paper using this method. Thomas Greaves Of Warrington, was awarded a silver medal from The Society For The Encouragement Of Arts, Manufacture And Commerce, London, for his successful production of paper from 'the bark of withins (? *Salix alba* or *Salix nigra*)'.<sup>30</sup>

But it is Matthias Koops who is considered to be the founder of modern paper production methods. In 1801 Koops had been granted three patents, one to extract writing ink from paper before pulping the recycled material and the other two to produce paper from such vegetable material as hemp, flax, straw, hay, and other kinds of wood and bark. During the last quarter of the long eighteenth century Koops and his partners in the Straw Paper Company, Samuel Lister and James Forbes, and after 1804 J. W. Tate and twenty four others, built one of the

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<sup>30</sup> Hunter, *Papermaking*, p.330

biggest paper mills in the United Kingdom at Millbank, London.<sup>31</sup>

The final stage in creating the physical object book involves binding. Greetham suggests that during the early history of the book it was the responsibility of the binder to ensure that the new printed books were indistinguishable from the scribe's work. It is an inspired piece of early marketing that the printer used type that mimicked the scribe's writing, and for the most part there was no apparent difference from the real article in terms of presentation. By creating ornate covers they overcame the prejudice against printed material. The choice of materials for the modern bookbinder is crucial, if the book is to survive with the minimum of deterioration. The book that sits on the shelf gives the impression of being inert yet it is a cauldron of chemical reactions. In consequence, that many of our rare books have survived the ravages of time is thanks to good fortune rather than good management. Discussing the results of the investigations of the Arts Committee, Douglas Cockerell (Bookbinding And The Care Of Books, 1901) reveals the fragility of the object which the reader takes so much for granted:

An extensive series of experiments was carried out with a view of determining the causes of the decay of bindings. The sub-committee find that this is caused by both mechanical and chemical influences. Of the latter, some are due to mistakes of leather manufacturers and the bookbinder, others to want of ventilation and to improper heating and lighting in libraries.<sup>32</sup>

The skill of the binder resides not so much in his ability to finish the book but to understand the substances that he is working with. During the early history of the book, bindings were leather; paper covers were not commonly used until after 1820, when the machine binder replaced traditional bookbinding methods. Leather remains for the most part a luxury item (with the exception of footwear) and until

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<sup>31</sup> The documentation for this mill is owned by the Massachusetts Institute Of Technology. The cost of it was staggering: each of the shareholders advanced £45,000 pounds for the building and supplies. Hunter provides a breakdown of costs for this massive mill in Papermaking, pp.332-340.

<sup>32</sup> Douglas Cockerell, Bookbinding And The Care Of Books (NY: Lyons & Burford, 1901, repr.1991), p.270

1830, the leather trade was subject to the Customs and Excise department's levies. Taxes were often as high as 3d per pound of leather and in 1837, it was estimated that the total revenue from leather production was £5 million.

Leather is dead skin; it is host to a myriad of bacteria and is in a state of decay until treated. Early attempts to halt this decay employed fat and smoke, but they proved to be imperfect means of preservation and skins continued to deteriorate. Experiments with acid secretions of trees and plants yielded better results. The process up until 1906 remains in essence the same process as that carried out today by machine. Hides arrived at the leather manufacturers in one of two ways, dried and salted from abroad, or fresh from the home market. The dried hides were treated to reconstitute them and then washed to remove blood and dirt. The next stage was 'sweating', the hides were soaked in lime and then scraped with a blunt knife to remove the hair and epidermis (containing sweat glands, fat glands and hair). Once the lime was cleaned off, the process of preservation began in earnest and the process followed one of several methods: oil tanning, alum tanning, chrome or mineral tanning and oak-bark tanning. Once the tanning process was completed the leather was dressed. Dressing leather is the process by which the leather is flattened, smoothed and buffed to give its final appearance.<sup>33</sup>

Modern treatment follows the same sequence but is more controlled and has two distinct stages Wet-Blue processing and Finishing. During the Wet-Blue stage, the hides are 'fleshed' to remove fatty tissue, before being loaded into rotating wooden drums, which can hold up to 10,000kg. They are soaked for three to four hours in a sodium carbonate mixture to raise acidity levels or pH to between 8 and 9 to restore moisture.<sup>34</sup> The next stage takes between four and six hours and water, lime and sulphide are added to remove hair, which is later recovered to be used as

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<sup>33</sup> W. S. Murphy, "Leather Manufacture", *Harmsworth Self-Educator*, vol. IV ed., Arthur Mee (London, 1906), pp. 2851-2856

<sup>34</sup> pH is the negative logarithm of hydrogen ion concentration for which a scale is used to measure acidity and alkalinity 0-14 (where less than 7 is acid, 7 is neutral, and more than 7 is alkaline).

fertiliser. Liming takes ten to sixteen hours and with periodic adding of further quantities of water lime and sulphide. The hides swell, absorbing more water and excreting proteins. De-liming takes three to six hours, carbon dioxide and ammonium salts are added to remove the lime and alkaline chemicals, and the temperature is raised in the vats, which causes the hides to shrink and expel water. Once this stage is complete proteolytic enzymes are used to clean the surface and remove any remaining hair structures, and the hides are then pickled for two to three hours using a mixture of salt, sulphuric acid and water. It is after this stage of tanning that the hides are considered to be in a preserved state.

Two final elements of this process complete the Wet-Blue stage of leather production. Tanning and balsification requires chrome powder and magnesium oxide, chrome powder to form crosslinks with the collagen and therefore stabilise the hides. Once the hide is proven to be heat resistant (no shrinkage at 100°C) it is considered fully tanned. Sammying is the process of rolling the hides until the excess moisture is removed. The final process in hide preparation is Finishing. Finishing is also subdivided into a series of processes: splitting and shaving (selecting the required width of material), retanning (removing the acids and adding vegetable extracts to give the required feel), faliquoring (adding oil to keep the leather flexible once dried), drying (to reduce moisture to between 15-20%), staking (a mechanical process to soften the leather), buffing (mechanical sanding to smooth the surface), after which a finishing polymer or wax finish is applied by machine or spray gun and then, finally, the leather is embossed (stamping an artificial grain on the surface of the leather).<sup>35</sup>

The common leathers used in binding are calfskin (soft and smooth) also known as 'Russia' and popular during the latter half of the eighteenth century, goatskin or

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<sup>35</sup>Leather Manufacture The Processing Of Hides To Make Leather Parts 1 & 2., <http://www.tft.csiro.au/leather/manufacture.html>

morocco' (grainy and susceptible to dyes), pigskin, sheepskin or 'Roan' (cheap and used for books sold bound) and sealskin (although books in this material are rare).<sup>36</sup>

Binding a book has more complexity than the treatment of the materials used to cover it. The role of the binder is to assemble the composite parts, and there are many styles in which this can be done, such as French groove, Greek style and tight and hollow back. The pages are folded, collated, sewn, bound (either with a limp binding or boards); the book is given endbands, a lining and backing. The covering may be full, half or quarter, leather, cloth or paper, and the leaves are sunk into the cover and glued together. The machine superceded hand binding, using a technique known as 'casing', in which the leaves are glued rather than 'sunk'. The advent of mechanical binding almost resulted in the extinction of the bookbinder, who today is viewed very much as a specialist in a field distinct from the publishing industry and akin to arts and craft.

Traditionally, books were sold bound or unbound. Books that were bound were generally for the poorer readers who could not afford the binders fees.<sup>37</sup> Bindings in the long eighteenth century could be simple or elaborate depending upon the imagination of the reader for whom the book was to be bound, and skill of the binder. Many private libraries that were established during this time had unique liveries that seemed to serve two purposes. Firstly, books were expensive objects and therefore (like cloth) likely to be stolen and a distinctive livery meant that a book was easily identifiable. Secondly, having the binding done privately provided the owner with a continuity in the design, one that matched the house-style of library where the book was destined to reside and which provided a visible reflection of the taste and delicacy of the owner.

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<sup>36</sup> Information on leather types: Cockerell, *Bookbinding* and P. J. M. Marks, *Bookbinding: History And Techniques*, p. 263-279

<sup>37</sup> Aldine Manutius (1450-1515) was the first to produce popular Greek and Roman classics in standard covers

From 1820 and throughout the Victorian era, when paper covers began to replace leather, tooled and gilded abstract designs were replaced by line drawings depicting a scene from the narrative. The 1892 edition of Robinson Crusoe has an elaborate Morris-like green, red and gilt front cover and spine. The inset line drawings show Crusoe on his raft, salvaging goods from the wreck and walking with his dog along the strand adorned in skins, clutching his skin parasol. Increasingly after 1890 the adornment of book boards gave way to book jackets, which by 1906 were used to advertise other works in the publisher's portfolio.<sup>38</sup> Illustration plays an increasingly important role in the history of the book. As with the typefounder, printer, publisher, editor, and bookseller, the role of the illustrator changed during the eighteenth century from jobbing engraver to artist/illustrator. In the early stages, the illustrator was part of an hierarchical structure, which separated the skilled engraver assigned delicate work (usually French or Dutch immigrants) from the native British worker, assigned less skilled ornamentation, head and tail pieces:

**At the upper level were the continental immigrants moving for mixed reasons from the continent, mainly France and Holland, often to work in the first instance on fine-art picture projects. [...] The native engravers were generally allotted a lower status, though individuals, particularly the mezzotinters of the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, achieved high levels of reputation and financial success.<sup>39</sup>**

William Hogarth (1697-1764) began his career as an engraver and supplied the decorative pieces for Henry Fielding's Jacobite Journal. By the close of the century an illustrator such as Thomas Rowlandson (1757-1827) has acquired the status of an artist and caricaturist. By the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, artists such as George Cruikshank, Phiz (H. K. Brown), John Butler Yeats, Philip Ross, and George Tute were sought by publishers to illustrate their books. The tradition

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<sup>38</sup> Binding and presentation will be considered with regard to each of my chosen authors in the following section

<sup>39</sup> Michael Harris, "Engravers, Printsellers, And The London Book trade", The Book Trade And Its Customers 1450-1900, ed., Arnold Hunt, Giles Mandelbrote and Alison Shell (London: St Paul's, 1997), p.96

continues today where publishers (such as the Folio Society) produce superior volumes to the paperback editions aimed at the mass market.

Modern technology presents us with a new vision of the book. It is now possible to download and read a book on a personal computer and there are several companies who provide free software to do this.

Perhaps the most remarkable innovation is one that has been reported by Paul Trueman in Personal Computer World (1998). Two rival research and development institutions (MIT and Xerox PARC) are about to change the way we interact with book both as the physical object *and* the written word:

**There are numerous competing technologies heading our way in the next few years, all united in their attempts to replace the common paper book.**

This innovation has been named the 'Last Book'. As an interactive object it has the potential to provide everything a reader requires in one electronic and handheld artefact. It is destined to incorporate certain features that will make it more than what readers now perceive of as 'book', for example the inclusion of video clips to illustrate a particular point. J Jacobson (one of the technologists working for MIT) suggests that

**The problem, of course, with traditional books is that they are not changeable. The goal of the electronic book project is to construct a compelling version of the book updated for modern use.** <sup>40</sup>

A book about Arabian horses therefore, may 'generate video clips showing the performance of certain classes of horses'. For Jacobson the 'Last Book' has an abundance of potential to expand the concept of a book as a tool to extend communication and therefore knowledge.

The format of this invention remains a paper-based construction, but the ink, a microparticle system that reacts to an electronic charge and has the ability to 'reconfigure itself infinitely', is known as e-ink. Trueman explains

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<sup>40</sup> [WWW.researchweb.watson.ibm.com/journal/sj/363/jacobson.html](http://WWW.researchweb.watson.ibm.com/journal/sj/363/jacobson.html)

The e-ink developed by Joseph Jacobson and his team consists of electrically susceptible two-colour micro-particles, suspended in a clear outer shell. The charge across the electrodes defines the position of the particle, flipping it over to display one or other colour.<sup>41</sup>

The new ink will have an impact on environmental issues surrounding book production (although the reasons for the development are more likely to be economically derived).

The books selected will be contained in a single volume. He continues

The spine of the book will contain a small display, from which the reader may choose the tome of their choice. At the touch of a button, the book will re-draw itself to whichever work the user requests, transforming it from Hamlet to Trainspotting and back.<sup>42</sup>

Initially the price of the Last Book may exclude certain income brackets, (the first books and computers were beyond the economic means of many but advances in production methods reduced cost). The cost of the Last Book was estimated at between one and ten dollars a page in 1998. The British Library has already embraced the new technology, if not the 'Last Book', as a means of safeguarding precious manuscripts applies a computer/book paradigm in the public gallery. The illusion of a book is maintained as the reader interacts with the screen to turn the pages.

The use of such technology raises questions not only for the future of books unused and growing dusty on the library shelves, but for defunct computer equipment outstripped by the technology that has created it. Yet, such innovations are crucial for the preservation of texts that would otherwise be lost. Book preservation is of paramount importance and if the 'Last Book' enters popular production it will form another link in the chain of publication history and should therefore be viewed as an integral part of the innovation and enterprise that has typified the publishing industry through five centuries.

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<sup>41</sup> Paul Trueman, "Pulp Fiction", *Personal Computer World* (December, 1998), p. 246

<sup>42</sup> *ibid.*, p. 246

How will the 'Last Book' compare to its predecessors? It is impossible to comment at this stage because it is not yet in the public domain. It is however, possible to speculate that the final design will mimic the traditional physical format of the object book. A format with which the reading public are already familiar, and have strong associations of comfort -- a reader will often admit to the pleasure of curling up in a chair with a 'good' book. The joy of this experience is for many a tactile one, which combines sensory and psychological responses. A book must ideally be the right shape and thickness, with paper and print of appropriate quality and size, whilst the story should engage and satisfy. It is difficult (but not impossible) to experience (or imagine) a similar tactile encounter with handheld computers or palmtops, and I suspect that initially, for some readers, the physical format may have an impact on the nature of their reading strategies. Strategies that they will either have to adapt to embrace the new technology, or risk rejecting the potential of what is on offer. Similar issues connected with the new book may have occurred to the scribes busy illuminating manuscripts as Gutenberg's first books appeared. But for the inventiveness of the typefounder, printer, illustrator, publisher, editor, bookseller, spread across four continents, the book as we know it might well have taken a different production route or indeed have become an obsolete object. The future of the 'Last Book' will depend upon the reader's willingness to engage with new technology and their financial freedom to do so.<sup>43</sup>



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<sup>43</sup> This last section on modern technology (with modifications) is taken from a paper presented to the research group at the University Of Greenwich, W. Creed, The Last Book (06/10/99)

## A reading experience

In A Passion For Books (1999), a compilation of essays, edited by Dale Salwak, a group of English and American authors, who have a lifelong love of books and reading, describe how their love affairs first began. I use the phrase 'love affair' because it perfectly describes the empathic relationship of those who read voraciously to the book as an object. It describes the way that such people may relate to the words on the page, and the freedom that reading brings them. It may also describe their relationship to the person who introduced them to this secret and joyous world. Furthermore, the reader initiates a sensory process that culminates in a synthesis of self and narrative, a relationship uniting the physical and the psychological; it is an holistic experience involving four of the five senses: touch, smell, sight, and sound. In G. Thomas Tanselle's essay, "Books In My Life", Tanselle describes a relationship to the book-as-object that is for the most part obscured or ignored when people talk about the experience of reading, unless they are specifically prompted. Yet from the very first moment a book becomes the focus of the gaze, there are factors which come into play that enrich the reading experience. I am now going to describe my encounter as I respond to one particular book during the course of my research. To convey an impression of the sensory experience requires a shift from the more formal style of this thesis to a style appropriate to the subject matter. I therefore ask the reader to engage with the following segment as they would a piece of creative writing.

To begin, I am in the Rare Reading Room of the British Library, which is gradually filling with people. The room is spacious and light and the architect of this building has captured the aura of the Round Reading Room at the British Museum, yet unlike that room the architecture does not distract. The silence of

the library is punctuated by the low murmur from the desk where books are delivered to the readers. Unexpected noises jar, reflex noises -- coughs, sneezes and throat clearing become increasingly irritating. One begins to have some sympathy with Mrs Bennett who tells her constantly coughing daughter Kitty to 'have a little compassion on my nerves. You tear them to pieces'.<sup>1</sup> Noise is met with a hard stare or an arched eyebrow but for the most part an air of tranquillity prevails; this is most notable towards the early evening as the library empties. After midday the heat can become mildly oppressive and as the air-conditioning dries the throat, sustained concentration is made difficult. A tea break becomes a necessity. The seats of green leather are generously proportioned and comfortable, but not too comfortable. Whilst the desks are a good size for writing, they become cramped if more than six books are viewed. Today I have called up twelve and the majority of the editions range from one to three volumes. The first thing I notice as I carry my books to the desk is the smell. Old books have a dry, musty and bitter-sweet smell, whereas new books smell clean, fresh and only slightly sweet. This scent is better or worse depending upon the quality of the paper used, and the degree of decay. Behind my stack of books the fragrance is often overpowering and it clings to me long after I have left the library. So I sit behind little stacks of aged tomes, some in special cases so parlous is their state, becoming increasingly worried as rust-coloured fragments of the spine crumble onto the desk and a spine-shaped trail begins to appear on the book support as I examine each book in turn.

Beyond my sense of tranquillity, I am aware that a proprietorial air persists but it is not overtly aggressive. Readers protect every inch of space allocated. If a book overlaps, papers are rustled and repositioned, behaviour which perhaps correlates with that of a territorial animal marking its boundaries. I glance around the room to take stock, to breathe in the atmosphere, to centre myself. I am horrified to see

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<sup>1</sup> Jane Austen, Pride And Prejudice, p.7

my immediate neighbour using a gel pen, transgressing the rules of the Rare Reading Room, clearly marked on each desk. It takes time to settle, to organise myself before I begin to examine my books. I am long-sighted so that when I use a computer I wear glasses, and although not necessary, I choose to wear them for prolonged close reading. Principally I do this to avoid tired eyes at the end of the day because typefaces can be of variable quality, size and clarity, and magnified vision assists in the inspection of poorer reproductions. If I glance beyond my book, my vision becomes blurred, so I am continually adjusting them as they perch on the end of my nose because if I need to look up my eyes need to re-focus. The magnification of the lenses helps with the small print of the early Victorian period, which I do not like, it is too church-like and fussy for my taste. Books from the later Victorian period dispense with ornate title pages although the print size remains small and sepulchral. My resistance to the print is overruled by other factors such as the highly ornate and beautifully worked covers and illustrations.

I smile as I gaze at my first book; it is a smile of affection tinged with sadness. The eighteenth-century volume in my hand is by Penelope Aubin, it is two hundred and eighty years old. The Adventures Of The Count de Vinevil And His Family is in very poor condition. The excitement I feel holding this book is something that is difficult to convey, not least because of the rarity of her novels (it is difficult to find any for sale, let alone in a library) and not least because I am aware that this book has a history. Two hundred and eighty years ago, Aubin was as popular an author as Defoe and perhaps for one reader this book was an old favourite, initially greeted with excitement, then perhaps with familiarity to be read and re-read. The joy of reading was perhaps tempered by indifferent environmental conditions.<sup>2</sup> As I pick up the book, I am aware that my breathing has become shallower. I feel a sense of animation, of privilege, of reverence, inspired in part by my surroundings. I am awe-struck, I sit wrapped in a cocoon

of tradition, a scholar using the library dedicated to scholars by his Royal Majesty King George III.

I am conscious that a security guard is hovering by my desk, curious, watching whilst I measure the book with a ruler, trying not to touch it. I feel as if I am doing something wrong, a feeling enhanced by the bank of monitors, camera flicking from row to row scanning for transgression, which I notice when my belongings are searched by the security guard as I enter or leave the room. It is also reinforced by the surprise of reprographics room staff, who when asked to scan the spines and covers of other editions, don't know if it can be done without damaging the book (it can). Readers rarely ask for this because they are actually reading the book or looking at other aspects such as the illustrations. Once a rapport is established, my requests are treated curiously, but helpfully and they try their best to oblige, suggesting how it may be done. An empathic soul has returned one scan of the 1797 edition of Anne Radcliffe's The Italian framed with green corduroy, a colour that finely compliments the rich walnut hue of the leather cover. I look at Vinevil and check the number against my list, 12604.bb.12, and confirm the date, 1721. I note that it is a 12° (twelvemo) that it is a duodecimo size and measures 16x10cm.<sup>3</sup> There are disparities between the actual size of this book and the standard for this classification, which is 12.7x19.1cm. During my research it has become quite clear that book sizes vary enormously from standard classifications and in many ways this technical information is unimportant beyond a desire to grasp the technicalities of textual scholarship. What is important, what interests me is the way a book fits into my hand, how it feels, its texture and the weight. It has to feel right in the hand, to have balance, which is why I'm drawn to so many original eighteenth century volumes, particularly the 8vo (octavo) and 12° size. These are small, compact, and the print is the right size, something

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<sup>2</sup> I will discuss environment in Chapter 5.

<sup>3</sup> Duodecimo is about the size of a modern paperback. The sheet of paper is folded twelve times so that each sheet yields twenty four leaves (both sides of the page) or 48 single pages

I appreciate, being long-sighted. The closest approximations in size today are Penguin and Oxford paperbacks, but in paperbacks publishers generally sacrifice quality for quantity. The paper is poor, the glue weak, the typeface variable (particularly the size) and the covers so flimsy that decay sets in very quickly. I do not believe that a modern paperback will last for two hundred and eighty years and still be as readable as this book, poor though its condition is.

Vinevil sits in my hand perfectly and I run my fingers gently over the plain calf-bound covers, whose only marks of ornamentation are double gold leaf frames. The covers feel smooth and waxy and are both separated from the spine. The spine has lost its covering but it allows me to see how the book has been sewn and glued together. The front endpaper has also become detached but the rear endpaper still hangs by a sturdy cotton thread. Endpapers are important; it is here that readers such as William Garden, in his copy of The Midnight Assassin (an abridgement of The Italian dated 1803) or the bookplate of 'Thomas James Wise His Book' (a rare first edition of Amelia 1752 and also signed Mary Horsley in all volumes) declare provenance.

Acts of ownership intrigue me and today, two hundred years later, William's mark precipitates a cascade of speculative thought in me. Who was William, why did he write his name on both front and rear endpapers, how old was he? I speculate that at the time of writing he is a young boy. The form of his script suggests youth as does the fact that he has copied out all the titles in that slim volume on the front endpaper. Books and history, specifically history that embraces the personal, are important to me. At this point in Vinevil's life story, I am part of a long chain of hands that have clutched this volume and I feel close to those first owners, whose phantoms look over my shoulder as I read.

I pick up my pencil and begin to make notes, my hand never losing contact with Vinevil as it sits on the book rest. The frontispiece is an engraving bearing the

legend J Pine.<sup>4</sup> John Pine (1690-1756), a high-class English engraver on copper and a close friend of Hogarth, trained as a silversmith's engraver and was considered to be the finest heraldic engraver in England. Pine is distinguished by his skills as an engraver, and also because he was one of the first black masons to be appointed. He was commissioned to engrave the annual list of Masonic lodges from 1725 to 1741, lists that were published as a pack of loose cards, detailing the arrangements for meetings including the sign of the tavern or inn where the lodge met.<sup>5</sup> Prior knowledge of Pine adds to the thrill of seeing an engraving by him, it is like discovering an old friend. Moreover Pine's membership of a 'secret' society adds an element of mystery.

Carefully turning the thick, coarse yet strangely smooth leaves, they crackle. The paper has an oatmeal flecking and in general, I know I am looking at a book that pre-dates Whatman's invention of wove paper when I see this. The typeface is large, 3cm for capitals and 2cm for body text. I check the page visually without my glasses and it is comfortable. The size of the letters and the density of ink are something I appreciate at the start of a long day's reading, even more so at the end of the day. I hold the book up to the light to look for any watermarks (the signature or mark of the paper manufacturer intertwined with the wires) or chaining (the mark of the wire on the wet pulp) that may be present. Such characteristics are rarely apparent in a modern book because production methods have changed and in the 'Last Book' they would be an affectation, if they could be reproduced at all.<sup>6</sup> I see that chaining is present and find a watermark, a star in a half-circle. I glance through the volume finding it representative of eighteenth-century print culture. It is littered with typographical peculiarities such as irregular capitalisation, italicised place names and single speech marks on the left-hand side only, line after

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<sup>4</sup> Michael Harris, "Engravers, Printsellers And The London Booktrade", The Book Trade And Its Customers, 1450-1900 (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), p.96

<sup>5</sup> Dr Charles H Wesley Masonic research Society, <http://www.phaohio.org/chwmrs/fbm.html> (05/12/2001)

line, although this too can be irregular. The last word of every page is one line further down and aligned to either the central fold (gutter) or to the edge, the same word repeated at the beginning of the continuing line on the next page. The long title is the eighteenth-century equivalent of the blurb on a modern edition's covers (see below). From the title I deduce that Vinevil is a memoir narrative. The inference is that the characters are real, a common device in early eighteenth-century fiction; that their lives are unusual (another of Aubin's stories has a character, Madame de Beaumont, living in a cave for fourteen years). Vinevil is set in Constantinople, a city far enough away from the normal environment of the provincial eighteenth century reader, to prompt artistic liberty with both the setting and the characters and to create a sense of mystery.

The Strange  
**A D V E N T U R E S**  
 O F T H E  
*Count de Vinevil*  
 And his Family.

Being an Account of what happen'd  
 to them whilst they resided at  
*Constantinople.*

And of Mademoiselle ARDELISA, his Daughter's being shipwreck'd on the Uninhabited Island *Delos*, in her Return to *France*, with VIOLETTA a *Venetian* Lady, the Captain of the Ship, a Priest, and five Sailors. The Manner of their living there, and strange Deliverance by the Arrival of a Ship commanded by VIOLETTA'S Father.

ARDELISA'S Entertainment at *Venice*, and safe Return to *France.*

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By Mrs. AUBIN.

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*Si Genus Humanum, & mortalia tenuis Arma,  
 At sperate Deos memores fandi atque nefandi.*  
 VIRGIL.

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L O N D O N,

Printed for E. BELL, J. DARBY, A. BETTESWORTH,  
 F. FAYRAM, J. PEMBERTON, J. HOOKE, C. RIVINGTON,  
 F. CLAY, J. BATLEY, and E. SYMON.  
 M, DCC, XXI.

The Adventures Of The Count de Vinevil, 1721

The title page has just enough information to tempt the reader (me). I note that

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<sup>6</sup> Watermarks are also used as a form of security for example in banknotes. The paper for the last book may contain some such device to prevent copying.

this edition is published in London and that the publishers number ten, indicating that this is a 'conger', a system that flourished until the mid-eighteenth century. P. M. Handover, Printing In London (1960) notes that Congers were 'powerful organisations', the name suggesting the power of a share-book system that

was supposed to be taken from the conger eel, that not only deprives smaller fish of food but even swallows them up.<sup>7</sup>

I notice familiar names, Bell, Hooke, Darby, Bettsworth and Rivington. The Preface, a formal introduction written by Aubin does not follow convention by dedicating the book to a patron. Yet she is conventional in her desire that the book have an overt moral objective, 'my design is to persuade you to be virtuous', and she infers the authenticity of her tale with delicious irony:

The Truth of what this Narrative contains, since Robinson Crusoe has been so well receiv'd, which is more improbable, I know no reason why this should be thought a fiction.<sup>8</sup>

Just what segment of the market Aubin hopes to capture is unclear. Is it the emerging middle classes who would choose to emulate her moral values or did she really hope to capture those in the moral abyss? Furthermore, Aubin seems to suggest that if the reader is gullible enough to take Crusoe at face value then why not her novel? Yet, she does not go so far as to claim that the work is not a work of fiction. That is left for the reader to decide.

Physically the preface is ornately presented; an ornamental woodblock print is centred under a parenthesised and centred page number. The eye is drawn to the upper-case title 'PREFACE TO THE READER'. The first letter in the body text is a decorative woodblock drop case, which takes up a third of the paragraph set on the first page. The body of the novel is justified and central to the page. There are 138 pages ((A3-f5) 5 -138) in total so that it is a book that can be read at one sitting. I note that the title of the novel is across both pages close to the body text throughout. Although I have read this story many times, I have to be strict

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<sup>7</sup> Handover, Printing In London, p.197.

<sup>8</sup> Aubin, Vinevil, 1721

with myself and ignore the urge to sit and fritter away my precious research time by reading it yet again, because today I must view this book as a stranger. Completing my examination: external, endpapers, title pages preface, leaves, text, paper and other features, my final note to myself reads 'simple edition light and easy to hold print nice to read'. I sadly place the book on the finished side of my desk, moving on to the next edition, smiling.

My response to Vinevil is unique to me, but love of reading and love of books is a concept shared by many. In section four I will examine the results of my research into the book as a physical object, the questionnaire (documented in Appendix A), and the critical theories which support this thesis.



### Comments, editions, critics

An edition of Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe has appeared every year since 1719. There are many reasons why this should be so, perhaps the most important one being that it is a good story. Despite Defoe having been selectively cast as an unsuitable author (Defoe's Moll Flanders disappeared from print for most of the nineteenth century) he was originally destined for a Dissenting ministry and his writing, in particular the social commentaries, indicate that he was a man who had strong humanitarian convictions. And new editions of Defoe's works, biographies and critiques seem to appear each year: as Sir Leslie Stephen and his daughter Virginia Woolf confirm, he is an exceptional storyteller. Crusoe, the subject of much critical debate, has been cited by Rousseau in Social Contract (1762), by Karl Marx in Das Kapital: A Critique of Political Economy (1867) and in David Copperfield (1849-50) by Charles Dickens. Yet, when we think of Crusoe we think of one book, the first volume, The Surprising Adventures Of Robinson Crusoe (and in fact one part of the story, his life on the island), although there are two further volumes. Whether it was Defoe's intention to write further on Crusoe's adventures or whether he was capitalising on the popularity of this work can only be the subject of speculation. The Further Adventures Of Robinson Crusoe was published the same year as the original story, 1719, and Serious Reflections Of Robinson Crusoe was published in 1720.

Crusoe is a perennial favourite. Stephens considers that

We may find out on examination, that Defoe had discovered in Robinson Crusoe precisely the field in which his talents could be most effectively applied.<sup>1</sup>

The many volumes of Robinson Crusoe that I have examined perfectly illustrate the

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Leslie Stephen, Hours In A Library (London: The Folio Society, 1991), p. 2

history of the book as an object ranging from the very plain to the excessively ornate. It is also a pertinent example of the novel as commodity, and the variety of formats in which this novel appears suggest that publishers have been very willing to invest in this book (which became a classic the year it was published). In the early nineteenth century, the publisher John Arliss saw the potential to market Crusoe as a book for children, and in 1818 he published The New Robinson Crusoe, subtitled 'an instructive & entertaining history for the use of children' edited and abridged by J. H. Campe. This edition is a 12° containing just 179 pages of the original 364. The popularity of this book in an abridged form for children has persisted through two centuries and has consequently been responsible for the creation of some of the most beautiful and well-crafted editions ever made.<sup>2</sup> As responses to my questionnaire frequently imply, physical characteristics play varying degrees of importance in the selection of a book and can be measured in terms of a positive affirmation of the object in its entirety:

**it affects the way I read the book; I like to feel comfortable with a book and if it is awkward-feeling, then that detracts from the whole experience; ease of opening the pages; binding style (I prefer sewn signatures rather than the glued, "perfect bound" style). (Response 7 Appendix A)**

Or indeed a rejection

**Choice made primarily by content; physical characteristics are secondary. (Response 15 Appendix A)**

The Routledge edition of Robinson Crusoe published in 1892 is a reissue of the 1883 edition, (but with fifty-two illustrations by J D Watson rather than the one hundred of the 1864 version) and is a beautiful example of a late Victorian children's book. It is thick, heavy and ornate. The front cover of red, green and black cloth on board carries an embossed impression of Crusoe steering his raft from the wreck, beneath the gold-framed and lettered title. The spine, equally ornate, captures animal-skin clad Crusoe walking with his cat, and holding the famous

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<sup>2</sup> Due to the quantity of editions available, with the exception of the edition loaned to me by John Williams, I have not examined any of the editions produced for children.

umbrella. The rear cover carries a simple line embossed flower. The cover design is evocative of a William Morris print.

Cover material and front cover illustration certainly do have significance for readers.<sup>3</sup>

For example:

**There is a current genre of books which are identifiable at 50 paces by their lurid covers. I don't bother going any closer. Usually depict décolletage heroines in the ruins of a burning city, surrounded by pirates and other virile protagonists.... (Response 32 Appendix A)**

Conversely colour is not recognised as having particular significance for the majority of respondents to the questionnaire (19.12% yes, 69.12% no), although one person felt that colour and cover material might well influence the purchase of their favourite novelist:

**In the past I have purchased novels because the cover had pictures of the stars from a movie version. This wasn't the only reason, but if I liked the film and the stars I would try the novel because I could already identify with some of the characters. Also if I liked the film I was sure to like the book because I have never found a movie to be better than the novel. Colour and cover affect me also. Kurt Vonnegut is my favourite author but the covers of his novels are very drab and gritty feeling. If I wasn't already familiar with his work I might not have purchased any more of his books. It seems that brightly coloured, smooth covers attract my attention. I am a writing major myself so that I know that you can't judge a book by its cover, but I have to say that if I were to purchase one of two novels by unfamiliar authors I would probably choose the more attractive cover. I also prefer soft cover books because they are easier to take with me. Print size seems to be a factor also because I will not purchase a novel with very tiny print. It gives me a headache. I do not like large print either, but if I want a certain novel and one store only has it in tiny print, I will search elsewhere for another with larger print. (Response 11 Appendix A)**

The pastedown and endpapers of this 1892 edition of Crusoe are peach-coloured and bear the pencil-marked legend 'for Tommy from Aunty Alice and Winnie Xmas 1899', to which the current owner has added his own name in a flourish of blue ink. A simple half-title page is followed by a full-page frontispiece colour illustration of Crusoe clutching his umbrella, whilst at his side are his faithful subjects: the dog, the goat and the parrot (intriguingly the cat is absent here). The

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<sup>3</sup> Cover material: 60.29% yes, 29.41% no; cover illustration: 55.88% yes, 35.29% no

title page is well proportioned, with a plain typeface, and carries a black and white engraving of Crusoe fleeing through the woods. A map of Crusoe's island precedes the novel. The illustrations are divided between full page and those set into the body of the text. They are thoughtful representations of the artist's interpretation of the story, they do not jar when reading; black and white predominates so when a colour illustration is chanced upon the effect is one of illumination. The typeface is typical of the standard Victorian style and with poor eyesight or poor lighting would be tiresome to read:

**I don't want to strain my eyes with small print, not lug around a heavy tome. I stopped trying to read tattered, yellow used books, spoils the experience. (Response 20 Appendix A)**

The book is heavy to hold, weighing 835 grammes, but is in its entirety a beautiful object

**I like older books much better than new books--the weight of the board, the feel of the paper and the bite of the metal type. (Response 63 Appendix A)**

Similarly designed books drew my attention as a child, their extravagant covers hinting at the world inside. Such elaborate designs made a big impression on me then, and the excitement of finding such a book at a jumble sale has stayed with me as an adult and I still experience a frisson of anticipation whenever I pick up a new book to read.

**There are some intangible measures of "quality" which come through in the "tangible" qualities of a book. The aesthetic quality of the illustration, even a simple one, is an indicator of the concern of the writer/publisher with the "wrapper" which in some way describes the contents. The paper, the print face, the "weight" of the tome are all similar indicators. I buy Folio books, for instance, not because of a "status" associated with them but, rather, because they are well made, works of art in their own right beyond the work they enclose. (Response 13 Appendix A)**

From a personal perspective, unless my reading is directed by a course of study, a specific reading path I have chosen or the limited availability of editions, my choice is heavily influenced by the physical attributes of a book, a view shared by

Tanselle. Tanselle believes that it is impossible to separate the physical object from the written word but

**The fact is that many otherwise intelligent people, who are able to think clearly about other kinds of artefacts, seem to have difficulty making sense of objects conveying verbal texts, such as books and manuscripts. They simply believe that the texts can be plucked from the objects containing them and that the containers are irrelevant to the process of using the contents --indeed, that other containers would do as well.<sup>4</sup>**

The statement 'that other containers would do as well' is a negation of the concept of a book for which I acknowledge that I have a Platonic ideal.

What Tanselle is describing is a classic example of the association-meme. If the meme is a unit of cultural transmission (such as an idea) then an association-meme is one that links several memes together. A cogent example of the association-meme is that employed by advertising agencies who link products with images that give pleasure. For example, Cadbury's flake and the nubile female. Cadbury's produced a series of adverts (shot in the nineteen-eighties) in the style of a Pirelli calendar, but with romantic overtones. The focus is the mouth and the eating of this particular chocolate in a sexually charged way, thus linking chocolate with feeling good. With regard to the book-as-object the physical characteristics have to equate to the inner notion of an ideal book, triggered by sensory association to give pleasure. We need to accept that pleasure is different for each reader, and that the 'continuing core of personality' or 'identity theme' described by Holland (The I, p.16) will lead each person to define the pleasure in their own terms

**It depends on the feelings I get when I actually hold the book in my hands [...] It should fit comfortably in my hands so that I can read it easily when I am curled up in bed, in the bath or sitting...If it's too big and heavy, and I need to lay the book down, it definitely detracts from its appeal. (Response 16 Appendix A)**

In this instance Respondent 16 describes the 'feelings' inspired by a tactile response to the physical object in direct relation to pleasurable physical situations all of which

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<sup>4</sup> G. Thomas Tanselle, "Books In My Life", A Passion For Books, ed., Dale Salwak (London: Macmillan Press, 1999), p49

may provide comfort and warmth, reinforcing perhaps the notion of the book as an equally comforting object. Brodie suggests that association-memes influence behaviour in much the same way as Pavlov's dog would respond to a ringing bell, and he acknowledges that such comparisons risk leaving memetics as little more than behavioural programming:

**If your being programmed with an association causes any change in your behaviour then it makes sense to consider that bit of programming a potential meme, looking to see if there's any possibility that the change in your behaviour will end up creating copies of association in others.<sup>5</sup>**

Memetics would appear to invoke the age-old philosophical dichotomy between free will and determinism. Whilst this determinism might appear at superficial odds with the freedom of the individual responses that Reader Response suggests, determinism and Reader Response are not mutually exclusive. Initiated by the ego, superego and id, the individual is driven towards pleasure and away from pain, and whilst the ego, superego and id may have varying degrees of mutability, it is significant that they provide the mechanisms by which the response is determined.

The platonic ideal of the book-as-object was to the fore during the course of my research. I acquired several newly published eighteenth century writers, in particular several editions of Evelina. Written anonymously by Frances Burney, Evelina was first published in 1778, and received immediate critical acclaim. The Monthly Review declares

**This novel has given us so much pleasure in the perusal, that we do not hesitate to pronounce it one of the most sprightly, entertaining and agreeable productions of its kind.<sup>6</sup>**

Whilst the Critical Review states that

**This performance deserves no common praise, whether we consider it in a moral or literary right.<sup>7</sup>**

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<sup>5</sup> Virus of The Mind, p.45

<sup>6</sup> Monthly Review 58 (April 1778)

<sup>7</sup> Critical Review 46 (September 1778)

Evelina has proven to be a popular novel and although not in print every year (as Robinson Crusoe has been) the British Library holds a collection that spans the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

A favourite acquisition is a two-volume printer's copy circa 1791, which I purchased from an antiquarian bookseller via the web. In poor condition, it sits encased in bubble wrap whilst the decision to rebind is made. This decision is currently weighted towards 'not', as my research into the book-as-object has led me to appreciate the value that such an edition provides unbound. Although its marbled boards are loose, the leather spines worn and the titles all but faded, it contributes significant information to my research because it is a pertinent example of how the book is constructed. This edition carries plates engraved by Thomas Stothard (1755-1834) and Burney's cousin Edward Francisco (1760-1848), whom Gainsborough considered to be an artist of considerable genius and whose three scenes from Evelina were exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1780.<sup>8</sup> Viewed side by side the contrast between the two plates is marked. Stothard's interpretation brings the characters of Evelina and Mr Branghton into sharp focus. Branghton on his knees as Evelina wrests the gun from his hands evokes the drama of the text in which Evelina, fraught with fear, urges him not to take his own life. By contrast, Burney delicately frames the reuniting of Evelina with her estranged father, Sir John Belmont, within a room festooned with thick curtains and with fine furniture. In many ways it invokes earlier images of Pamela painted by Joseph Highmore (1692-1780) where the protagonist is portrayed as obedient, virtuous and subservient to the male. My edition is a perfect match with the 1791 edition held by the British Library (12613.bbb.13) which has been rebound with dark blue leather spine

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<sup>8</sup> Examples of Stothard's work can be traced from the art dictionary at the site [http://www.artcyclopedia.com/artists/stothard\\_thomas.html](http://www.artcyclopedia.com/artists/stothard_thomas.html) and which includes the Tate, the Guildhall Art Gallery, London and at the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco. Examples of Burney's work can be found at the same site and includes the London Guildhall the National Portrait Gallery and the Tate Gallery, London

and corners, and lighter blue cloth on board. The gold leafed title is contained within gold leaf frames in a red leather inlay. A substantial rebind, it would look magnificent on the shelf, but it is too heavy and awkward in the hand to read comfortably.

Based on the volumes held in the British Library, it would seem that an edition of Evelina is published, on average, every five to ten years. The web also carries its own hypertext version, published on the Celebration Of Women Writers page at the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>9</sup> Most of the hypertext editions either depend on the goodwill of volunteers and donations (Project Gutenberg) or they are supported by university budgets (Celebration Of Women Writers).

The online Evelina has nineteen contributors to its publication and is reminiscent of a Conger, except that it is provided free. Hypertext versions may present problems for the reader inasmuch as the reader is affected by three factors. The first, the physical, incorporates such aspects as the quality of the computer (for example, reading on a screen which has varying degrees of flicker), the Internet connection, the physical comfort of the reader and physiological aspects such as posture and eyesight. Where there is poor eyesight, font size can be individually tailored by pre-setting the size in the browser (the programme that allows a computer to read html) -- a kind of environmental immediacy not possible with a physical book. Secondly, because of the resource limitations of current hypertext providers the text may not be as beautiful as that of a printed book and very few currently carry illustrations that follow the original format of paper-based novels. Text is presented as a series of hypertext links which take the reader from page to page and this format does not provide the sensual gratification of crisp paper as the page is turned, nor the sensory pleasure of holding the book as it is read. Twenty-seven

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<sup>9</sup> Francis Burney, Evelina, (<http://www.xoasis.com/~burney/etexts.html>), 21/01/2002, transcribed by Arizona Henze et al



people who responded to the questionnaire felt that paper was a significant factor in their choice of a book, and the tactile quality of paper was important:

**I like lots of text in small print on onion-skin paper. Also humorous contemporary covers. [Response 4 Appendix A]**

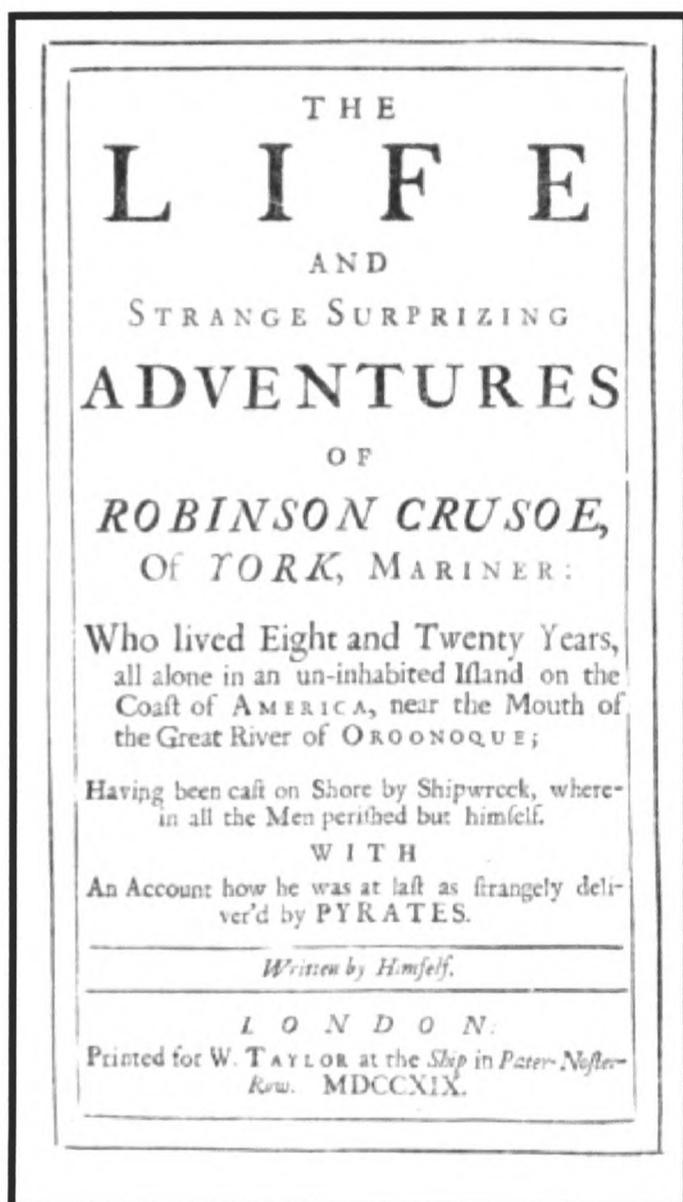
Finally, the transfer of text to hypertext is a time consuming manual operation. Theoretically, it takes one person with a scanner, a computer, and time, to proof read and to prepare a hypertext document for publication. The book may be scanned, using OCR (optical character recognition) software which may have variable results and require manual proof reading, or it be typed onto a computer. Both methods, like traditional printing methods, are less than 100% accurate. Hypertext authors very rarely provide information regarding the edition so that the reader takes on trust that the text reproduced is accurate, something that is generally accepted in a paper-based publication. The 1778 edition of Evelina posted on the Celebration of Women Writers web page is plainly presented and it is easy to manoeuvre through the links, but it has no traditional title page and therefore lacks even the most fundamental details of provenance. Although the purpose of the book-as-object is to provide a casing for the narrative, book history has become important to scholars because books, like paintings, confirm not only the aesthetic nature of man's creativity, but his technological achievements too. Moreover, because books were sold unbound, the title page was the first thing the potential buyer saw. Originally, title pages performed the task of the cover or dust-jacket of modern times, '(...) whipped at the cart's arse' (from a pirate edition of Moll Flanders), is the equivalent of ' "Superb... a drug-fuelled tale of apocalypse in paradise" Guardian'.<sup>10</sup>

Title pages from books of the eighteenth century are quite unlike modern editions with their one line titles and half titles and for the most part modern paperback editions carry facsimiles of the editions that they are reproducing.

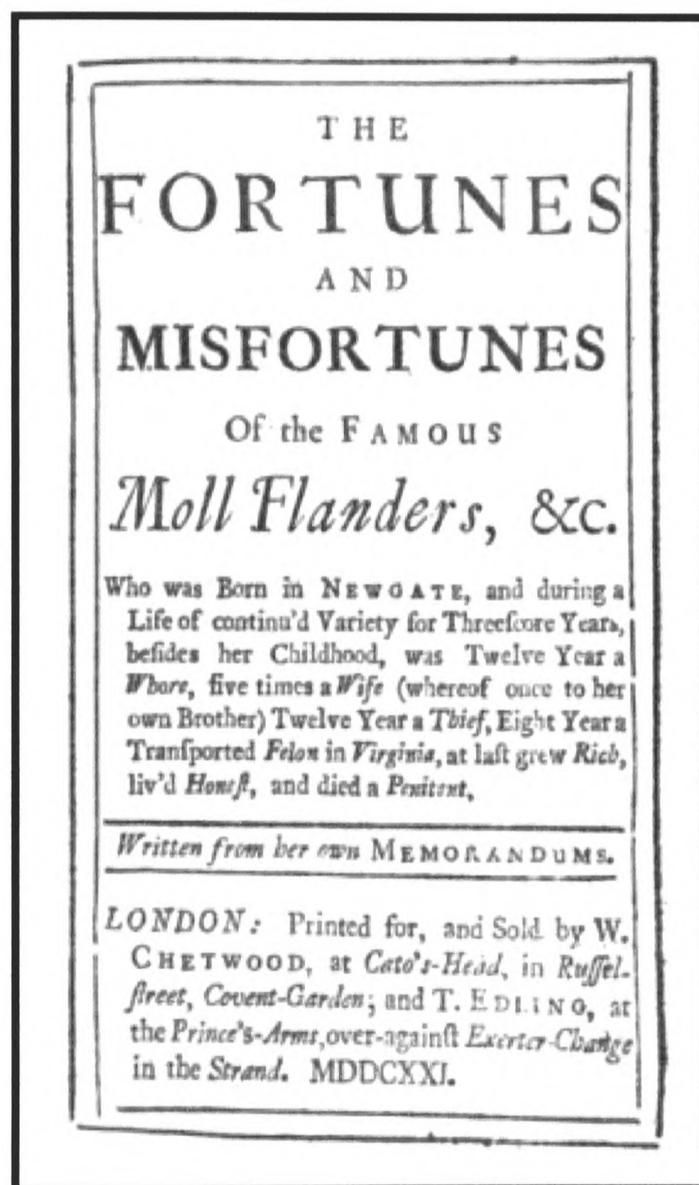
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<sup>10</sup> One of several back cover reviews of Alex Garland, The Beach (London: Penguin, 1997)

Often ornate, eighteenth century title pages may carry long meandering sentences that not only précis the story, but also draw the reader's attention with phrases such as 'remarkable life' or 'strangely delivered' and hopefully draw their money too. Defoe's title pages (see below) are pertinent examples; Moll Flander's incestuous marriage to her brother, how Crusoe was rescued by 'PYRATES', the excitement hinted at by the use of a bold typeface, such stratagems do spark an interest in the story within.



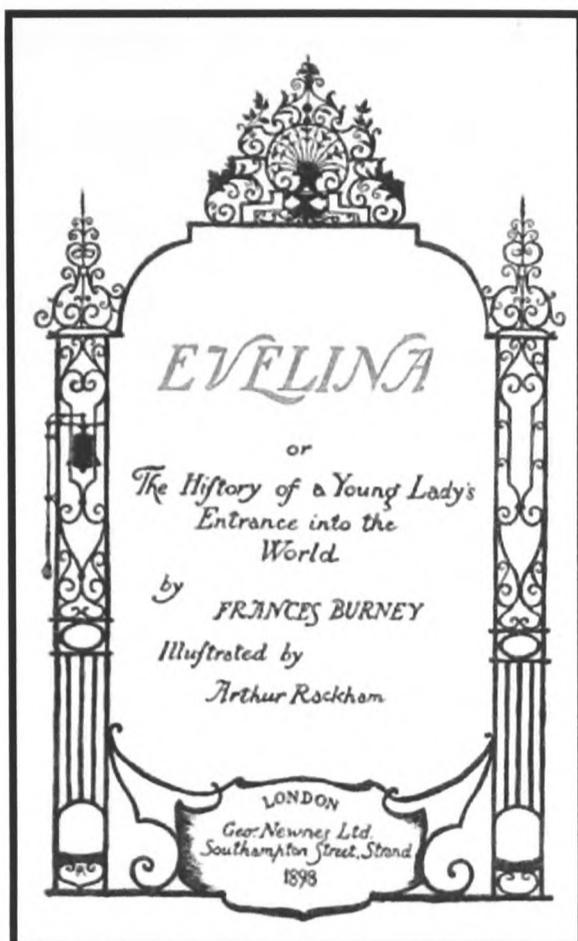
Robinson Crusoe (1719)



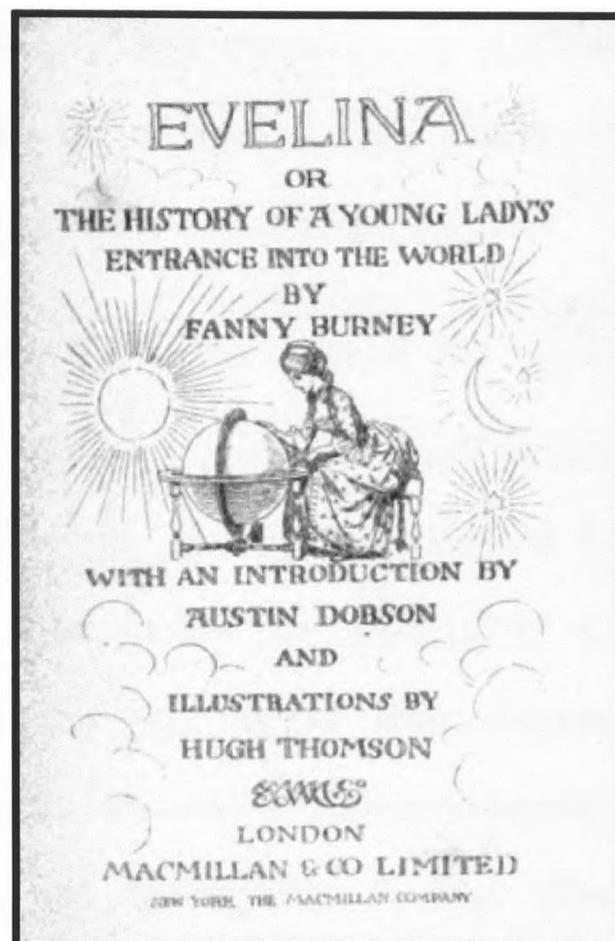
Moll Flanders (1722)

A concurrent fashion, which continued into the eighteen hundreds, is the use of phrases from Latin or Greek poets and chapter lead-ins. Latin and Greek verse was popular with classically educated authors such as Henry Fielding (*Amelia* carries both) these are rarely translated into English. Chapter lead-ins were very popular

with the Gothic authors. Radcliffe and Lewis, occasionally use their own poetry, and the more supernatural works of Shakespeare, Milton, and Collins proved popular.



Frances Burney, *Evelina* (1898)



Frances Burney, *Evelina* (1903)

Title pages can be stand-alone works of art. The 1898 edition of *Evelina* has an ornate and humorous frame penned by Arthur Rackham, and the 1903 Macmillan & Co edition, has the title foregrounded over *Evelina*, seated at a globe, surrounded by stars, the sun and the moon.

Yet, enticed by the allure of the physical object it would be easy to underplay the importance of the Hypertext edition. Although Hypertext may not be as portable or as convenient as a paper edition it will, nevertheless, continue to play an increasingly important role for the reader and, as some of our rarer books decay, it will keep the narrative circulating. Furthermore, as the history of books becomes a more rarefied pursuit, this new medium extends the boundaries for textual scholarship. The format of the hypertext edition is dictated by software capability and the creative vision of the person involved in the reproduction of the text. Presentation will vary from site to site and in this regard hypertext is no different

from traditional book production prior to post-war standardisation. There is no fixed model for the make-up of a book beyond cover, title page, dedication and preface in printed books before the twentieth century. In 1945 Oliver Simon published Introduction To Typography. For Simon printing is a complex process and the printer must be (as his eighteenth century counterpart was) cognisant of his craft

If he has not acquired a sufficient degree of scholarship, he cannot successfully attempt to be a book printer in the fullest sense of the term.<sup>11</sup>

The Broadview Press paperback edition takes Evelina into the twenty-first century and follows (in part) Simon's formula for construction (he lists eighteen elements) but within this short space of time the more formal approach has been modified to suit the publisher's requirements. Broadview's Evelina uses only ten of those elements: Half-title, Title, 'History' of the book' with imprint, Dedication, Acknowledgements, Contents, Introduction, Text of book, Appendix and Bibliography. A large glossy paperback, it is edited by Susan Kubica Howard and based upon the second edition published in 1779, which incorporates Burney's own corrections.

Critical editions combine what Tanselle refers to as 'books bought as research tools' and the novel.<sup>12</sup> In a well-observed introduction the Broadview Press edition begins with a contextual discussion of Burney, Evelina, the social mores of the late 1700s, and the concept of family. Appendices provide reviews by Burney's contemporaries and remarks upon the family by George Saville, Marquis of Halifax, William Fleetwood, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, John Hill and Samuel Richardson. From an academic perspective this volume is substantial but visually (for me) it is an irritant, and had it not been for my research it is possible that I would have rejected it in favour of a more physically pleasing format. Cover illustration plays

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<sup>11</sup> Oliver Simon, Introduction To Typography (London: Penguin, 1945), p.vii. Simon lists 18 elements of the 'make-up of a book': half-title, title, history, imprint, dedication, acknowledgement, contents, list of illustrations, list of abbreviations, preface, introduction, corrigenda, text, author's notes, glossary, bibliography, index

<sup>12</sup> Books In My Life, p.51. Tanselle is actually referring to books as research tools and to those which are collector's items, and finds that both refuse to stay in either category

a significant role in the choice of a book and 55% of those who responded to the questionnaire, indicated the cover influenced their choice:

**Despite the aphorism to the contrary, a pleasing or intriguing dust jacket does indeed influence my judgement of a book. It must be said however, that most cover paintings, at least for genre fiction, is bloody awful, being in that sorry over-rendered realistic style. (Response 19 Appendix A)**

and

**I can really fall prey to clever marketing techniques. I love that matte finished coated paper, that's very popular in paperbacks. It hits me at a level hard to decode, but I'm much more likely to buy the book if it feels pleasant when I'm holding it Those ragged edges on the hardcover -- I used to buy those more often. I guess I thought the book was more important! (Response 21 Appendix A)**

Broadview's edition is representative of the modern trend in glossy paperbacks such as those published by Norton and Dover. The Broadview Evelina appears to be a standard size for the new style (21.5x14cm) falling somewhere between 8vo but bigger than 12°, which does not fit into the traditional scale (Quarto to Folio). Heavier than the standard paperback because of the additional information, it is bigger and not as portable. During my Masters degree, much of my reading was undertaken during the wasted time spent in commuting and this book would not have been a first choice if as was so often the case, I had to stand in a crush of fellow commuters, whilst reading. One of the respondents had similar concerns:

**I like a novel that is portable--width and height matter more than volume when I am choosing one publisher's version over another. Can I wedge it into my school or beach bag? (Response 1 Appendix A)**

Physical considerations, such as comfort and convenience, would appear to play a significant part in the selection of a book for many of us.

Less elegant than either Norton or Dover, the Broadview cover illustration is a studio portrait by a Victorian photographer, William Notman and entitled, William Notman And Family (1859). The photograph shows a formal family grouping of three generations and for me is immediately at odds with my perception of this novel although I concede the context of the illustration. Evelina is a novel about

a young girl's entry into society and the importance of family and social standing within that society. *Evelina*, abandoned by her father Lord Belmont, is brought up by an anxious guardian -- the Reverend Mr. Villars and so is in many ways excluded from the level of society that is her birthright. The familial grouping chosen by Broadview portrays (for me) the exact opposite of *Evelina*'s alienation, a condition only addressed at the close of the novel when she is to marry Lord Orville. The photograph lacks the subtlety of the illustrations of earlier editions of *Evelina*, where the publishers' choices are more representative of the eighteenth century: the portrait of The Honorable Mrs Graham, by Gainsborough (Norton); or two paintings that show scenes from a common subject, Gainsborough's young ladies at The Mall in St James' Park (Oxford University) and the crush of fashionable society at St James' Park And The Mall by Joseph Nickolls (Penguin).

My response to these paintings is entirely subjective in that as I perceive *Evelina* the story, so I prefer the cover to reflect some aspect of my projection. The paintings mentioned above convey (for me) a sense of *Evelina* the girl, shy, graceful and timid. However, the preference to own a well-designed book is often over-ridden by factors such as good critical notes or the desire to read the story. Where reading is directed by a syllabus, textual validity, price or simple availability may usurp aesthetic considerations. Nevertheless, whilst the syllabus may drive formal reading, the questionnaire results indicate that for many readers, they must be drawn to the object, to create (or rather re-create) that special relationship between themselves and the book. The bonding process that occurs is physical, emotional and intellectual, and it is possible that the reader may form an attachment to the physical object (once the novel has been read) because of the sense of connection to the story or a preference for the author. Culler's perception of response (see page 28-30) is that the reader looks for a sequence of pre-existing codes in the text. If such a sequence is sought in the text then the reader will look for a similar sequence in the book-as-object. The expectation of the reader is prompted by a

blueprint that combines Simon's list with the physical characteristics of colour, size, shape, weight, typeface and paper quality.<sup>13</sup> It will not always be possible to adhere strictly to an internal register, so that depending upon their inability to marry the physical object to their ideal image the reader will either compromise, or reject a book, specifically where they find aspects disturbing:

**There is a current genre of books which are identifiable at 50 paces by their lurid covers. I don't bother going any closer. Usually depict décolletage heroines in the ruins of a burning city, surrounded by pirates and other virile protagonists.... (Response 31)**

Culler believes that the reader is responsible for defining the rules for interpreting the text. Such interpretation is the result of 'metaphysical coherence' whereby the reader will find a pattern or thematic unity within the narrative. How would this apply to the book-as-object? The reader will look for aspects that contribute to the desire for aesthetic satisfaction, and where these are not found, rejection may override the desire to read the book. Yet it is commonly acknowledged that physical presentation will impart an additional quality to the writing because

**Books with physical characteristic which are personally pleasing offer the promise of more of the same when read! (Response 9)**

Reader response theorists describe such projection. For Riffaterre it is 'always one of a kind, unique' (page 15), for Holland, it is a confirmation of the unique personality and for Jauss it is the 'horizon of expectations', where a reading is constrained by the barriers of time and place. So that when a publisher tries to 'invent' a best-seller, he has to find a common denominator that will appeal to as broad a section of the public as to possible and secure a profit. Conversely, publishers may aim to capture one section of the market, and tailor production accordingly. Rivalry between booksellers is commonplace, but in the eighteenth century reputations could be irreparably damaged. Lackington, who sold well-bound

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<sup>13</sup> For Simon's list see p.121 fn11 above

volumes cheaply, was subjected to a smear campaign by rival booksellers, but it was an abuse that was turned to advantage because whilst

**It is also worth observing that there were not wanting among the booksellers, some who were mean enough to assert that all my books were bound in sheep, and many other unmanly artifices were practised, all of which so far from injuring me, as basely intended, turned to my account; for when gentlemen were brought to my shop by their friends, to purchase one trifling artick, or were led to it by curiosity, they were often very much surprized to see thousands of volumes in elegant and superb bindings.<sup>14</sup>**

For memeticists the packaging of a meme must be robust or the meme will not survive. Blackmore states that language evolved to enable the propagation of the meme, thus enabling a change in the environment for the gene, and furthermore that the meme controls environmental factors.<sup>15</sup> A successful meme must have 'fidelity, fecundity, and longevity' and applying this to the rise of the novel, the change in the use of language to an informal prose style had an immediate impact, especially for those without a formal or classical education. Applied to the book-as-object, the individual meme is in a vicarious position, for the following reasons: firstly, physical format may attract or repulse a reader; secondly, an enormous number of books that are published in any given year (a book may fail to sell); and thirdly, because numerous genres and cross-genres exist. For example, one respondent will leave thrillers and the synthetic romances of Mills & Boon on the shelf because they have no appeal and at first glance

**An attractive cover may initially attract me to a book. However, I will already have made certain choices upon walking into a bookshop --i.e I will browse the classics and Women's Studies for example and will ignore thrillers, Mills & Boon and other sections. Also if attracted by a cover, I will only buy the book if it appeals to me once I have read the blurb on the back. So that a cover has limited influence. (Response 23 Appendix A)**

Despite the memeticists opinions to the contrary the meme would appear to be driven by the reader's response. Memes that prove viable in one century may die

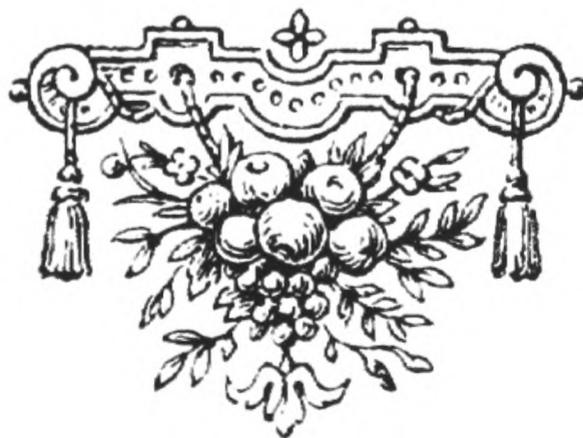
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<sup>14</sup> Lackington, *Memoirs* (1791), p.212

<sup>15</sup> Blackmore, *Meme Machine*, p.99

out in the next, perhaps to be re-animated at a later stage, where fashion dictates a revival. The only apparent constant in a meme's life is that supplied by institutionalised study within academe, be it the study of literature, or textual scholarship. Yet even institutionalised studies reveal that authors or books may prove to be more or less viable. For example eighteenth-century women authors (who disappear during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) are now being revisited by twentieth and twenty-first century academics, who seek to revise the traditional canon. Such revisionism is in part due to a section of society who feel that women writers have been ignored, or lost, and who need to be recovered. The change in modern society, where women feel empowered to facilitate such change may be ascribed, for instance, to a feminist meme. However, the re-appearance of a novel does not imply mass-market appeal and the packaging of the object is crucial. Eliza Fenwick's Secresy, first published in 1795, is another Broadview publication. It is in the same format as the Broadview Evelina, yet where Evelina's cover has a negative effect on this reader, Secresy has more appeal because the Victorian photograph of 'The Misses Binny And Miss Monro', evokes the spirit of title. It is clear therefore, that the reproduction of texts in a format that will appeal to a wider market (and individual response) is crucial for successful transmission and reception.

In the next chapter I examine transmission.





## Chapter Four: Transmissions





## CHAPTER FOUR: TRANSMISSIONS

First let us view the Form, the Size, the Dress;  
For, these the Manners, nay the Mind express;  
That Weight of Wood, with leathern Coat o'erlaid,  
Those ample Clasps of solid Metal made;  
The close-prest Leaves, unclos'd for many an age,  
The dull red Edging of the well-fill'd Page;  
On the broad Back the stubborn ridges roll'd  
Where yet the Title stands in tarnish'd gold:

George Crabbe, *The Library* (1781)

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### Introduction

In this chapter, it is my intention to explore the process of transmission with reference to the book-as-object, rather than to the usual application to the text. I will refer to responses from a brief questionnaire sent to British publishing houses and to librarians and examine the processes involved in the transmission of a book, with particular reference to the development of the libraries from the eighteenth century onwards, copyright, and patronage.<sup>1</sup> The transmission of a book involves more than just the passing from one hand to another.<sup>2</sup> Transmission is an intricate fusion of activities incorporating the publication process (types of edition, critical editors, impressions, advertising, copyright law) revisions of the text (author, family, publishers) and transmission groupings (patrons, publishers, libraries). It is important to consider the social context of the book as a physical object, and the implications of design and appearance

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<sup>1</sup> See page 48 and Appendix B.

<sup>2</sup> *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* (Mass: Merriam-Webster, 1979), p. 1232

on a buying public.

During the latter half of the long eighteenth century (with the development of new technologies in printing), there was a shift from the unbound book towards the sale of cheap, ready-bound books. In Chapter 1 (pages 48-49) I outline the basic mechanism for the production, transmission and reception of a book, which I now revisit, referring to information submitted by three publishing companies who replied to my questionnaire.



## Transmission And Reception: Three Publishers

My analysis of the publishers questionnaire clearly shows that Penguin, Early English Texts and Cambridge University Press conform (with varying degrees of modification) to the same basic pattern or process when they generate a work for the reading public. The basic process of transferring a manuscript to a published physical object has changed little over the centuries, except that there are possibly more teams of people involved in the conceptual stages of book production.

Initially the manuscript arrives in the post from one of three sources:

**All our publications are editions of texts. A potential editor submits a proposal, often with specimens. It is provisionally accepted, in due course a manuscript arrives (usually). These days, of course, it may be a disc with hard copy. (Early English Texts)**

or

**(1) An author submits it on spec by post.**

**(2) We approach an author and ask him/her to submit it.  
(Cambridge University Press)**

However, publishers now receive so many unsolicited manuscripts that certain establishments will only consider those vetted by a professional agency. Penguin, for example, will accept manuscripts that have come from literary agents, and will send un-represented scripts back to the author, with a card that states

**We are very sorry that we are unable to consider any unsolicited manuscripts or synopses but restrictions of time and resources make it impossible to give full attention to the 50-60 submissions we are receiving a week. We recommend that you try The Writers & Artists' Yearbook, which has a complete list of agents and publishers who do consider unsolicited manuscripts.**

Once a publisher has accepted a manuscript to read, acceptance (and this is different with each company) will be in the form of a commission by the press editor or team comprised of readers, editors, and sales people, marketing or publicity people. The criteria for the acceptance of the manuscript and author are dependent upon

the basis of in-house assessments and (to some degree) the status of the author. Cambridge University Press has just three criteria:

**Academic merit/quality**  
**Suitedness to our list,**  
**Saleability**

However, given the complexities of publishing house set-ups, assessments may involve (and perhaps conflict with) the interests of each department

**Readers/Editors -- literary worth, Sales --commerciability, marketing -- marketability, publicity -- the author themselves (interesting? Unusual? Famous?) (Penguin)**

Alternatively, where the publishing house is subject specific

**It must be an early English text of sufficient interest, it must not be too short, and above all the standard of editing, accuracy and scholarship must be high. (Early English Texts)**

The financial constraints of book production vary with each company, Penguin is obliged to sell at least two thousand five hundred copies and in addition, prefer not to have too many illustrations.

Illustrations may potentially increase production costs, format is important (size, black and white or colour), as are copyright charges, and when a book is more expensive to produce it is more expensive to buy and perhaps less attractive to the buyer. For the most part Penguin paperbacks (with uncomplicated front-cover designs) cost between seven and ten pounds and are therefore within the reach of the average buyer. However, the specialist book, for example, The Consumption Of Culture 1600-1800, a collection of essays written by academics working in the field of eighteenth century art, literature, and history, edited by John Brewer, is published by Routledge (1995) and costs £37.50. As a physical object, Consumption is unwieldy, being both large and heavy. A paperback, it has an attractive and glossy cover, but the typeface is small and it is printed on coarse paper. In the centre of the book are ninety-four black and white plates, which are referred to in the essays. The reader must interrupt the flow of reading by finding the appropriate plate in the centre block of illustrations. By contrast, Brewer's later work, The

Pleasures Of The Imagination, published by Fontana Press (1997) is also a large, heavy and glossy paperback, but it has a generous front cover illustration. It is printed on a high quality, smooth, crisp paper, because the illustrations are set into the text. The reading is steady and uninterrupted and there is no search for an illustration set somewhere else in the book. Curiously, it is much cheaper than the earlier work, costing only £19.99.

Cambridge University Press, also concerned with high production costs, will relate this to the size of the market in which the book will be released. Early English Texts are unusual inasmuch as they print for a subscribing readership. Subscription printing was a common practice up to and including the eighteenth century; Dr Johnson's Dictionary (1755) was printed in this way, as was Pope's translation of the Iliad (1720). Greetham explains

**Books published by subscription were, in effect, commissioned by the readers themselves, who supported the authors while they completed the work and saw it through the press. In a sense, it was a form of advance royalties paid to the printer-publisher on the author's account by the reading public.<sup>3</sup>**

Once the author is 'signed' a contract is drawn up and the production process begins in earnest. The manuscript passes through several draft stages, during which, changes will be made to the text. Perhaps the most important person in this process is the critical editor whose responsibilities are defined as

**Buying books, editing (suggesting plot changes, adding depth to characters, clarifying style). (Penguin)**

Although the role of a critical editor at both Penguin and Cambridge is substantially different to that at Early English Texts, the process of production remains the same. Once the draft is completed and delivered, copy editing, proof reading (and if necessary indexing) takes place. The format of the work is decided upon in one of two ways, either by team decisions (Penguin and Cambridge); or by an individual, such as an

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<sup>3</sup> Greetham, Textual Scholarship, p111

editorial secretary (Early English Texts). Cover illustration and graphic design are dependent upon

**Content of book, Market level, cost. (Penguin)**

In addition, the author may be asked to contribute his opinion or perhaps supply a suitable illustration. The photograph of the Shelley memorial in Christchurch Priory that adorns the book Mary Shelley: A Literary Life (Macmillan, now Palgrave, 2000) is supplied by the author and credited as such.<sup>4</sup> Penguin Classics and Oxford World Classics generally use paintings and engravings that are illustrative of the work itself. The 1983 OUP edition of Robinson Crusoe carries a coloured illustration of Crusoe discovering his goats and it is based on the black and white engraving from an 1869 edition. No engraver's details are given. Penguin's cover of Amelia (1987) carries a reproduction of the painting by Francis Wheatley (1747-1801) entitled Life Of A Country-Girl -- Married Life. Sitting by the fire, the wife, dressed in white, sews a white gown. Her husband, arm draped lovingly over his wife's shoulders, listens attentively to his two rosy-cheeked red-haired children (also in white). A dog, eyes gazing upward lies contentedly at his master's feet, and completes the family idyll. A picture that evokes pastoral fantasy, the composition of Life Of A Country-Girl is suggestive of one man's yearning for the perfect marriage in a seemingly dissolute society. However, the tale that unfolds in Amelia is rather a husband's failure, where his insecurity and doubt (because Amelia, is indeed the contented wife that her husband longs for) blinds him to the virtues of his wife and almost destroys his marriage. The cover material is, therefore, a matter of great importance because as

**A good front cover illustration can encourage me to read about the book on the back cover and hence be tempted to buy. (Response 24 Appendix A)**

Moreover, the reader will project meaning upon the chosen illustration even if it is a graphic illustration. For example, The University Of Kentucky Press publishes a series of eighteenth-century novels by women. In particular, The Excursion (1777) by Frances

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<sup>4</sup> John Williams, Mary Shelley: A Literary Life (London Macmillan Press, 2000)

Brooke (Kentucky Press, 1997), is a delicate pale green, with a darker green block print surround to the title frame and carries a vignette of two cherubs reading and writing. The whole effect is of elegance, and delicacy, and is suggestive of eighteenth century style, rather like an Adams interior.

However, artistic craftsmanship is not only costly but time consuming too, and the production of a book can take anything from six months to one year. Once the book has been successfully received (Penguin and Cambridge) it transfers to the more portable paperback format and usually does so within eighteen months. Financial viability is paramount and in certain circumstances, where high production costs and small markets yield relatively small financial returns, books are generally more expensive to buy.



### Modes of Transmission

As reading became more widespread, publishing became an increasingly lucrative industry. Nevertheless, it would not have become so without a culture that supported (and supplied) the skills through private and state education. In 1792, Charlotte Smith's only epistolary tale, Desmond illustrates how just how important reading had become. Anastatia Fairfax, a young woman of some standing in the story is an avid reader and has a reading master. The protagonist, Lionel Desmond, in a letter to his friend Mr Bethel, writes

Miss Fairfax told me, that, as soon as she had thrown for the jars, she went home, 'for Anastatia', said she, 'is excessively fond of reading and reciting -- and, her reading master is a celebrated actor at one of the theatres, happening to be here by accident, she would not lose the opportunity of receiving a lesson'.<sup>5</sup>

Rising literacy levels set in motion a demand for reading materials that today remains either unsatisfied, or over-indulged, depending upon personal viewpoints. But as reading skills became more widespread amongst the populace (during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century) readers were responsible for adding new dimensions to their social sphere because reading expanded social horizons. Coffee-houses and clubs first appeared towards the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century but really gained in popularity during the eighteenth century. Such establishments attracted the wits of the day: in Button's Coffee-house Addison and Steele met in 'large flowing flaxen wigs' to produce The Tatler and The Spectator.<sup>6</sup> The politically loyal flocked to The Cocoa Tree Club, the anti-establishment to The Calves Head Club, or those of dissolute tendencies subscribed to The Mohocks. Some with higher artistic aims were responsible for the pursuit of excellence in the sciences, art or literature. Clubs often assumed the role of unofficial patrons. The Kit Kat Club subscribed 400 guineas for the production of new and good comedies in 1709.

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<sup>5</sup> Charlotte Smith Desmond (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2001), p. 57. Miss Fairfax had taken part in a raffle and the jars were the prize.

<sup>6</sup> John Timbs, Clubs And Club Life In London (London: Chatto & Windus, 1898), p.328.

Coffee-houses frequently loaned books to their clientele for a small fee, a practice that was derided by the London Booksellers who complained (in 1742) that the coffee-houses would loan books to anybody. But they had to be read on the premises. Indeed many coffee-houses were attached to booksellers such as Tom Payne (whose establishment Tom's Coffee-House continued until the nineteenth century) or Jacob Tonson, bookseller and publisher (The Kit Kat Club).

The Literary Club became a popular name for institutions and one such club (from which comes the pejorative term for an intelligent woman) met at Mrs Montagu's in Portman Square, to debate literary matters. The name derives from a Mr Stillingfleet (the grandson of a Bishop) whose vanity inclined him towards the wearing of blue stockings. In his absence, it was once remarked that 'We can do nothing without the bluestockings' and the word bluestocking became the emblem for the club.<sup>7</sup> Another somewhat peripatetic Literary Club was born out of the association of Sir Joshua Reynolds and Samuel Johnson. A Mr Forster claimed that

**Its meetings were noised abroad; the fame of its conversations received eager addition, from the difficulty of obtaining admission to it; and it came to be as generally understood that Literature had fixed her headquarters here, as that politics reigned supreme at Wildman's, or the Cocoa Tree.<sup>8</sup>**

In the first instance, the coffee house played an important part in the transmission of a text and therefore of the book as an object. Modern American coffee shops (who supply books and journals for their customers, a practice which has been adopted in this country, and specifically in pubs) are a return to the Coffee-house of an earlier age. Brewer suggests that subscription libraries first appeared in or around the industrial towns of Britain such as Liverpool, Warrington, and Macclesfield and the clientele were mostly of the solid middle-class.<sup>9</sup> He believes that subscribers to the library saw

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<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, p.170. A bluestocking is a term used somewhat disparagingly to describe a woman who is intellectual or scholarly.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, p. 176

<sup>9</sup> Brewer, *Pleasures Of The Imagination*, p. 180

themselves as a link in the chain of burgeoning societies, which characterise English society from the seventeenth century onwards.

Another popular establishment in the eighteenth century was the literary assembly. Radcliffe's The Romance Of The Forest (1796) carries an advertisement by T. Hookham for a literary assembly which I am able to quote only in part, since the advertisement ends abruptly and the continuing page is missing from the book:

### HOOHAM

Whose most strenuous exertions have been uniformly and unremittedly directed to promote the interest of society by the encouragement and dissemination of literature has, at very great expense, fitted up an elegant suite of apartments for the establishment of a

#### LITERARY ASSEMBLY

Which he daily furnishes with the various publications of this and every foreign country, on all subjects; and including all the periodical and diurnal productions of repute.

His plan having received, independent of particular patronage, the sanction of public approbation, and his very respectable list of subscribers already convincing him that he was not too sanguine when he projected it, he now presumes to solicit the more immediate attention of *men of letters and travellers*. It is such he looks for its support, and from such he hopes that information which will tend to its perfection. Whatever improvements they may please to suggest, shall be thankfully adopted.

It is his highest ambition to render his Literary Assembly a centre of general communication, where patrons of curiosity may find the best company, the best books, the best intelligence, with the accommodations. He is confident, that when the scale and aim of his plan are fully known, it will be found beneficial to the community at large, and extremely convenient to all who wish to know the occurrences of the day, as it is in the most extensive institution of the kind ever attempted, and as he, though at an age when most men claim the privilege of retreating [...] <sup>10</sup>

Hookham was a well-established bookseller whose circulating library was set up in Bond Street. His idea for a literary establishment, ambitious as it was, confirms the popularity of reading as a public occupation. His advertisement plays very obviously upon (what he hopes) is the desire of the reader to belong to an exclusive (subscription

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<sup>10</sup> Anne Radcliffe, The Romance Of The Forest (London: 1796)

only) and largely academic club. Unhindered by the patron or sponsor, Hookham himself, with a personal stake in supplying the books, is the patron of an 'un-tied' club -- a stake that was often costly as the notice posted in The Oracle in 1795 illustrates. He requests help in the return of 'several thousand' books which had not been returned to his library in Bond Street and

The notice solicits the help of booksellers and pawnbrokers "to stop any Book or Books having the name of 'Hookham's Library', either on the back or within the cover", and it threatens legal action against offenders. Clearly, a black market in stolen library stock was operating during this era of extortionately high book prices, and librarians were anxious to protect their own business interests.<sup>11</sup>

Presumably, Hookham was more than willing to provide books, newspapers and journals from a multitude of publishing houses and no doubt furnished them at a good price. Hookham's establishment is typical of the ethos of the eighteenth century audience in that that they took advantage of reading at every public opportunity, and assembly rooms often had libraries beyond the dance floor. Bookshops were places of comfort with chairs and tables, and the point of going to such an establishment was as much to be seen as to buy a book.

In England, the larger chains of bookshops now provide sofas where the reader may sit and enjoy the prospective purchase in comfort. There are also annual cultural festivals and events, such as those at Chichester, Cheltenham or Ross-on-Wye, which combine literature and performance art. We can make a direct comparison here between Hookham, who was inspired to create a Literary Assembly to boost his sales, and the modern publishing group, which sponsors festivals to promote the latest books by popular authors.



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<sup>11</sup> Christopher Skelton-Foord "To Buy Or To Borrow? Circulating Libraries And Novel Reading In Britain, 1778-1828. Library Review, Volume 47, 1998. pp. 348-354  
<http://www.emeraldinsight.com/pdfs/03547gc2.pdf> (11/02/02)

### Libraries and Transmission

The rise of the library both as a private and as a social institution played, and continues to play, a significant role in the life of the reader. The evolution of the library, an organisation that has remained a crucial part of many readers' lives (for as long as a manuscript or book required a shelf) reflects the use of new technology in book production. Moreover, libraries benefit directly from such technology, which is utilised by the readers themselves. Most libraries now allow the public to use computer-based databases, and some take the use of technology further. The 'Turning The pages' exhibition of the British Library, which allows the reader to 'read' computer-generated copies of precious manuscripts on-line is one such innovation enjoyed by the reading public.

Circulating libraries, or subscription libraries, were features of some longevity and only replaced by the 'public library' in the twentieth century. Wherever space could be found or where customers might congregate a library appeared. Coffee-houses such as Moll's Coffee-house and Reading Room (1828) in Exeter; or Inns (such as the Gardenstone Arms started by Lord Gardenstone in Laurencekirk, 1760, and visited by Boswell and Johnson in 1773), were open to the public, albeit often only a select few who paid an annual fee for membership.

Privately-owned libraries were considered evidence of a gentleman's social standing and in many ways of his economic situation, because in the eighteenth century books were as much a financial investment as they were an educative one. In Fielding's Library: An Annotated Catalogue (1996) Frederick and Anne Ribble discuss how Henry Fielding often defines his characters by their reading material. For example, 'Amelia,

whose reading was confined to English plays, and poetry' is a demure, romantic, and a faithful, if somewhat impractical wife.<sup>12</sup>

The Auction of Fielding's library was held over four nights, commencing on the 10<sup>th</sup> February 1755. The catalogue lists six hundred and fifty three volumes and of those volumes, three hundred and fifty four were octavo, seventy-four were quarto, and the remaining two hundred and twenty five were folio. Fielding's widow, Mary Daniel, (his second wife, and ex-maid to his first wife Charlotte) whom he married when she was six months pregnant, realised a significant profit from the part sale of his books. Fielding's library was magnificent; a significant number of the books were first editions. The volumes listed in the catalogue are a reflection of Fielding's academic interest, and even on first glance it is clear why there were so many references to other works within his own.

Fielding is one of the century's most accomplished authors and placing the author, his library and novels in context illustrates the importance of the library to Fielding the author. Fielding's collection reflects his education and interests because it is that of a scholar, and obviously (if we consider Tom Jones and specifically the introductory essays to each chapter) a working library and resource. His extensive library contained editions spanning the years 1491 to 1754 and the collection was added to consistently up to the time of his death. It was a discriminating and learned accumulation, with such books as the Brodaei Epigrammata, a book of Greek epigrams (1660); Tyrell's General History Of England, in three 3 volumes (1698), and Harrington's Oceana And Other Works (1737). Many of his editions were in Greek or Latin, languages that Fielding would have been conversant with and which he uses liberally (often to the modern reader's frustration). Fluency in both would have been compulsory for his study of the classical literature at the University Of Leyden, in Holland. However, whilst

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<sup>12</sup> Frederick G. Ribble and Anne G. Ribble, Fielding's Library: An Annotated Catalogue (Virginia: The Bibliographical Society, 1996). Fielding's Amelia, p.256

there is a broad selection of poetry and drama there are few novels. The life Of Harriet Stuart (1750) and The Female Quixote (1752) by Charlotte Lennox are but two. It is feasible that the library had little interest for his wife, except as a means of realising money. We are not told if Mary could read, but she was left to care for Fielding's daughter from his first marriage, and for the seven children she bore him, five of whom survived. The first day's sale (noted in ink beside the titles for sale) netted (in today's terms) approximately £2920: £1,266 for the Octavos, £370 for the Quartos, and £1284 for the Folios.

Clive Wainwright ("The Library As A Living Room", 1996) states that the design of the domestic library was significant because

Naturally the form of the domestic library was also affected by changes in the expectations and habits of its users. Libraries have always been more than just repositories of books; for instance, collections of curiosities, sculpture and works of art have naturally gravitated towards them.<sup>13</sup>

Libraries became comfortable retreats that were often symbolic of the owner's aspirations, and the numbers of private libraries rose steadily from 1660 to 1840. Wainwright, citing William Stukeley, the antiquarian (1687-1765) illustrates just how potent the symbolism of the library had become

I have adorned my study with heads, bas-reliefs, bustos... I look upon myself as dead to London, & what passes in the learned world. My study is my Elysium.<sup>14</sup>

A custom established in the eighteenth century, and one that gained in popularity, was to serve afternoon tea in the library and by the early twentieth century (although with more formality) this was considered *de rigeur*. The library at Bowood house in Wiltshire (where Joseph Priestley discovered oxygen in 1774) has a stunning collection of leather-bound volumes, some of which are very simply bound whilst others are more

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<sup>13</sup> Clive Wainwright "The Library As A Living Room", Property Of A Gentleman: The Formation, Organisation And Dispersal Of The Private Library 1620-1920, ed., Robin Myers and Michael Harris ( Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1996), p. 15

<sup>14</sup> *ibid*, p. 15

elaborate. Everywhere the eye is drawn to some detail on a spine or cover and the shelves which house this collection were designed to display the books to their best advantage. In the libraries of large estates, the book is displayed as a symbol of wealth and education. Bowood's library is not atypical in this respect, but it also reflects a continuity in the use of the library as a room for socialising, and for showing off a collection of fine books:

**The decorative scheme dates to the early 19th century, when the 3rd Marquess employed C.R.Cockerell to replace the original Adam interior. The Wedgwood 'Etruscan-style' vases were commissioned specially for the room. The marble chimney-piece was designed by Adam and came from the drawing room in the Big House. The portrait above is of the 2nd Marquess. It was in this room that the great Bowood house parties would meet after dinner to read, play chess, sing, and talk about politics and other topics of the day. Talleyrand, Jeremy Bentham, Lord Macaulay and Irish poet Tom Moore were among the many visitors who enjoyed the stimulating Lansdowne hospitality.<sup>15</sup>**

For those unable to afford the luxury of a private library, the circulating and subscription libraries provided access to books.

The circulating library is the forerunner of today's public library. It seems to have appeared around the early 1700s, peaking in the mid-nineteenth century, although shops such as Harrods, W. H. Smiths and Boots also had libraries attached to their premises and these flourished in the early twentieth century and beyond. Boots, whose company was set up with the philanthropic aim of providing herbal remedies for the poor who could ill afford doctors fees, also set up a lending library in 1898. The Boots Book Lending Service was established by Florence Boot and the early libraries carried only second hand stock. By 1903, when Boots expanded their shops nationwide, 143 had a Library, six of which were in London and eight were in Nottingham:

**Members could take out a book at any one of the library branches and return it to any other. Membership fees were 10/6 a year for one volume up to 42/- for six and 7/- for each additional volume. Alternatively a borrower could take a book for half a crown (2/6) returnable deposit and a penny or two pence a week.**

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<sup>15</sup> [http://www.bowood.org/house\\_and\\_gardens/menu/frameset.htm](http://www.bowood.org/house_and_gardens/menu/frameset.htm) (11/03/002)

Library catalogues were issued and these stressed the library's reputation for the circulation of clean books and the beautifully fitted libraries. The libraries were placed on the first floor or at the back of the branch, thus drawing the customer through as many departments as possible on their way. Libraries in the larger stores such as those in Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Brighton, were fitted with wooden bookshelves, window seats, chairs, tables and sofas and even notepaper and fresh flowers.<sup>16</sup>

The Boots website has two black and white pictures of their flag-ship libraries. One of the rooms is well-lit with button-backed leather banquettes and floating gossamer curtains and they are reminiscent of the sets of Dame Anna Neagle films such as Spring In Park Lane (1948) and Maytime in Mayfair (1949). Such style adds an ambience of wealth and exclusivity to the reading experience, and perhaps increased the feelings of pleasure (and an appreciation of the object) when one of the liveried books was chosen from the Boots library.

On a personal note, my husband's maternal grandmother, a colonial army wife, returned to England and became a subscriber to the Boot's Booklover's Library from the nineteen-thirties to the nineteen-fifties. She kept a record of every book that she borrowed in an exercise book: date, author, and title were duly recorded along with comments about the book itself. This exercise book served two purposes: one, it stopped duplication of reading material and two, an author who merited an excellent became a future source of reading matter. Given her punctiliousness, it is possible that she made notes about the physical object too. However, although her notebooks have been lost and the precious information is irretrievable, any such thoughts (although deemed speculative) are important. They remind us that reading, for the most part is a solitary occupation that often invites discussion, opinions, transmitted by word of mouth, and may, in a number of cases, be recorded. The information (in letter form) provided by my husband's mother is second-generation documentary evidence that some readers

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<sup>16</sup> <http://www.boots-lc.com/information/info.asp?Level1ID=4&Level2ID=33&Level3ID=39>, 25/02/02

planned their reading with care.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, her daughter provides equally interesting information about her own reading habits, and her memories are a valid contribution to social history. This 'bluestocking' daughter not only read her mother's notebooks, but also, based on her mother's assessment, often stole the books to read before they were returned.

Since earliest times, libraries have become important symbols of our humanity. The great library at Alexandria (295 BC) acquired a mythical status throughout the Western world and today the British Library and university libraries such as the Bodleian, are no less revered as the repositories of British cultural heritage. The mission statement of the Library Association declares that

**Libraries are fundamental to a thriving democracy, culture, civilization and economy.**

Yet libraries open to the public were not always the hives of quiet and industry that the reader expects them to be today. Charlotte Smith's Desmond (1792) presents the library as a room for social interaction. A friend has given Lionel Desmond a letter of introduction to a Mrs Fairfax, which he intends to present to her at her home, but she is absent, and he subsequently finds her holding court in one of the libraries. Writing to his friend later, he recalls that

**My first introduction to her was not at her own house: for entering one of the libraries about two o' clock on Thursday noon, I observed, that the attention of the few people who so early in the season assemble there, was engrossed by a lady who was relating a very long story about herself, in a tone of voice, against which, whatever had been the subject, no degree of attention to any other could be a defence. I was compelled therefore, instead of reading the paper where I was anxious to see French news, to join the audience who were hearing -- how her lease was out, of an house she had in Harley-street [...]**<sup>18</sup>

Post-eighteenth century, the library acquired a *gravitas* and its environs became a place of quiet study. Furthermore, modern public and subscription libraries, in ensuring a

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<sup>17</sup> Information supplied by Mrs Judith Creed, who recalls seeing the Boot's library books (and distinctive shield logo) and her mother's exercise books, as a child

<sup>18</sup> Smith Desmond, p. 55

comprehensive supply of reading and reference material for the reader, have assumed the role of patron in the modern world. Inasmuch as they purchase books and make them available to the reading public providing a base-level guaranteed purchasing custom to the publishing houses.

Historically, to be a patron was to assert wealth and status. In the long eighteenth century, patronage took the form of social and political advancement, and tenured livings. Patronage was often a matter of political expediency to further 'causes in which the patron was engaged' but a necessity for the artist who needed to survive in a society where there was little provision for the poor.<sup>19</sup> It was common for the wealthiest patrons to support live-in artists: George Friderich Handel was the 'guest' of Richard, Earl Of Burlington at Burlington House Piccadilly between 1713 and 1714. In the literary sphere, traditional patronage was for the most part a private arrangement between individuals. Social niceties had to be observed to protect the reputation of the artist, however, because as Steinberg explains, to write for money in the early eighteenth century was a breach of good manners.<sup>20</sup> Society was strictly hierarchical in the eighteenth century and acceptance into such society was dependent upon reputation. Publicly authors wrote for reputation, and in the eighteenth century, public standing was often more significant than wealth, a fact that is echoed in Fielding's Amelia, or Richardson's Pamela. Amelia and Pamela illustrate that reputation (particularly for the female) is to be protected at all cost. The male protagonists suffer no real damage despite their appalling behaviour towards the heroine. Fielding was of course an impoverished gentleman, born at Sharpham park (the estate of his grandfather), whose father, a younger son, and destined for the army, ended his career as a Lieutenant-General. Richardson, however, was above all else a shrewd businessman who made a great deal of money and may therefore be described as *nouveau-riche*. He acquired his

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<sup>19</sup> Steinberg, Five Hundred Years, p. 109, he discusses the anti-Cecil faction at the court of Elizabeth I

<sup>20</sup> See chapter Two section 2, in which I cite Paul Langford's A Polite And Commercial People, Beau Nash and John Playford's Dancing Master

solid respectability through hard work and rising from the lower social order to become firmly middle-class. He earned his reputation by his professional and efficient working practices (as a printer and publisher), through the moral tone of novels, and for the most part, the quality of the editions that he produced.

However, despite the need for reputation, the author required the necessities of life, and a patron was often essential to defray the cost of publication and to provide social opportunities. Steinberg observes that in the early eighteenth century, a tariff for dedications was contrived to set fees between five and twenty guineas, and when the patron was royal, the fee was higher.

Not that every patron honoured their promise of assistance. The Earl Of Chesterfield undertook to support Johnson but failed to do so (although Johnson received one payment of ten pounds). Johnson's resentment was exacerbated by the death of his wife. His letter to Chesterfield explains

Is not a Patron, my Lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help? The notice which you have been pleased to take of my labours, had it been early, had been kind; but it has been delayed till I am indifferent, and cannot enjoy it; till I am solitary, and cannot impart it, and do not want it. I hope it is no very cynical asperity not to confess obligations where no benefit has been received, or to be unwilling that the Publick should consider me as owing that to a Patron, which Providence has enabled me to do for myself.<sup>21</sup>

The insecurities of authors, dependent upon an uncertain patronage system, were resolved and a degree of independence guaranteed with the advent of the bookseller-publishers, congers and book shares.

When Henry Fielding wrote Tom Jones (1749) and Amelia (1751) dedications in exchange for money were in the decline. Henry Fielding, an adept in social flattery, dedicates his Tom Jones to George Lyttleton Esq., Lord Commissioner of the Treasury. Fielding begins this paragraph with the word 'lastly', but the eulogy carries

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<sup>21</sup> Boswell Life Of Johnson, p.185

on for three further pages. He openly acknowledges that the Duke of Bedford is his benefactor, but claims that it is to Lyttleton that he owes the greater debt.

**Lastly, it is owing to you that the history appears what it now is. If there be in this work, as some have been pleased to say, a stronger picture of a truly benevolent mind than is to be found in any other, who that knows you, and a particular acquaintance of yours, will doubt whence that benevolence hath been copied.<sup>22</sup>**

In Fielding's defence, the introduction is as much an essay on the aim of his novel, as a letter of obligation. The modern reader does not necessarily feel comfortable with the convention of formal eighteenth-century language (and modern authors keep dedications brief). Yet Fielding's dedication to his dear friend Ralph Allen in Amelia, is less obsequious, and has a more heartfelt conclusion:

**Accept then, sir, this small token of that love, that gratitude, and that respect, with which I shall esteem it my GREATEST HONOUR to be,**

**Sir,**

**Your most obliged,**

**Your most obedient,**

**Humble Servant**

**Henry Fielding.<sup>23</sup>**

Fielding had good reason to be indebted to Ralph Allen. Theirs was a life-long friendship and Allen ensured that the Fielding family (specifically Sarah) was financially secure. Without Allen's support, Fielding would not have received the one thousand pounds subsequently paid for Amelia. A. Millar published the exquisite and now very rare first edition of Amelia, dedicated to Ralph Allen, in 1752. A copy is held in the British Library, and when a reader wishes to examine this edition, the book is brought to a special desk, where under the watchful gaze of the curator and the camera, the reader must sit. A red slipcase, lined with cream felt, holds all four volumes. An earlier owner, Mary Horsley, has signed her name in each. Uniquely, this slipcase carries a boxplate 'Thomas James Wise His Book' with the legend

**"Books bring me friends whe're on earth I be  
Source of solitude Bonds of society"**

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<sup>22</sup> "To the Honourable George Lyttleton, Esq., One Of The Lord Commissioners Of The Treasury", Tom Jones (London: Penguin, 1981), p. 35

<sup>23</sup> Henry Fielding, Amelia (London: Penguin, 1987)

Thomas James Wise (1859-1937), the English bibliographer and book collector, privately printed 300 works of English authors and he is perhaps best known for his forgeries. Wise proved to be remarkably successful at 'finding' new works of authors long dead. John Carter and Graham Pollard exposed some of his finds as forgeries in 1934.<sup>24</sup> Curiously, they now prove to be as valuable as the genuine works. His library of rare editions and manuscripts, the Ashley Library, from which this edition of Amelia derives, was acquired by the British Museum in 1937. Tucked into volume II is the catalogue leaflet for the edition. This edition appeared in an antiquarian bookshop in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The excitement of the owner, W. H. Robinson, is transparent

**A finer copy could hardly be desired.**

**First edition, 4 vols 8vo, original calf. Printed for A. Millar in the Strand 1752. £110.**

**No superlatives can exaggerate the condition of this copy. It is absolutely sound, unpressed, an untouched example almost as immaculate as on the day of publication. It contains the text of advertisement in vol 2, the omitted pagination at p. 22 and 38 of volume 1 and 2, and a different vignette or ornament on each title page. With page 95 vol 1, reading "her lovely nose was beat all to pieces" the earliest form.**

Robinson's catalogue is illustrative of the relationship between the trade in books for collectors and their private collections. Of the object itself, it is obvious from Robinson's description that Amelia has seen little wear in the hands of a reader. In addition, the distinction between the book bought to read and that purchased as a desirable object must be made because private collectors (and trade buyers) do not always buy books to read. If Ralph Allen saw this edition or possessed a similar one in his library, I suspect that he would have been happy to be Fielding's patron.



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<sup>24</sup> Wise had a successful career in the chemical industry, and it was using new chemical techniques that secured Carter and Pollard the evidence they need to prove the forgeries

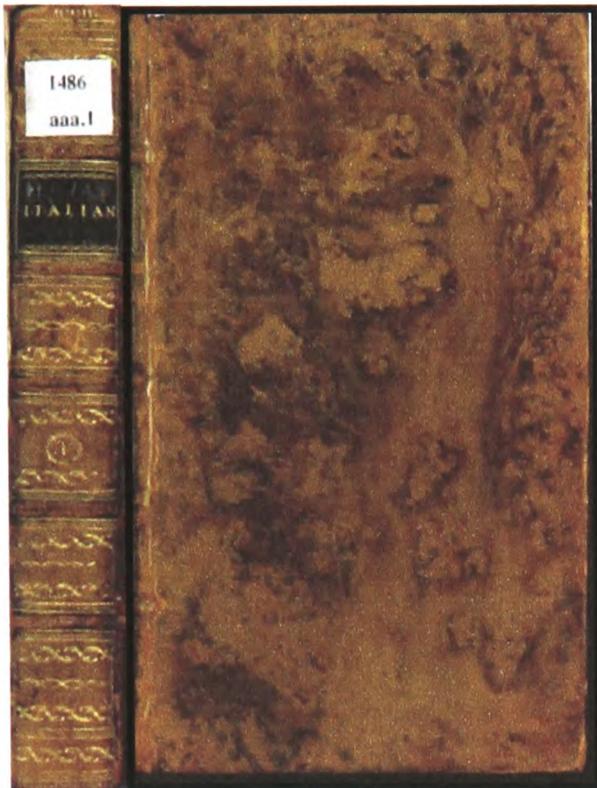
### Patronage, copyright and transmission

Patronage raises interesting questions about the nature of creative writing. Does the author write for himself as the first reader or to an ideal reader? If writing to attract a patron, is the author compelled to write with the patron in mind? For example, does the author have to consider political and social sensitivities, adopt a delicacy of style or self-censor the subject matter? Patronage did not vanish entirely but rather evolved into a system where the successful writer might publish by subscription. Alternatively, patronage could take the form of the successful writer providing a step-up for the new author. Publishers and Congers became the new patrons and for the most part approval was based upon the economic potential of a work. The biggest obstacle for the new system of publication was copyright.

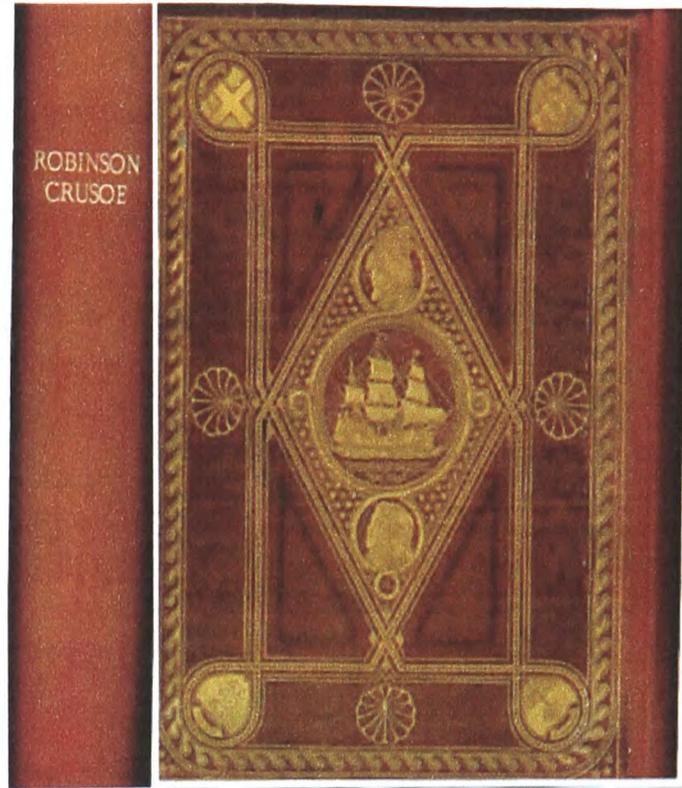
The copyright system has its own regulations for each country, and is now covered by international agreement to allow free trade between each border. It is complex, and made more so by the advent of technological innovations, such as the World Wide Web. Whilst the law protecting literary and dramatic works is clearly defined the regulations covering physical format appear to be more ambiguous. Cover and typographical layouts are protected for 25 years, but the law does not cover 'functional or industrial articles' and the bookbinder has to prove that the binding is the result of artistic craftsmanship.<sup>25</sup> This ruling seems unduly neglectful because the binder may be responsible for producing bindings of great technical skill and beauty (see below).

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<sup>25</sup> "What Is Protected By Copyright", Intellectual Property, [http://www.intellectual-property.gov.uk/std/faq/copyright/what\\_protected.htm](http://www.intellectual-property.gov.uk/std/faq/copyright/what_protected.htm) (06/02/02)



**The Italian (1797)**



**Robinson Crusoe (1864)**

The Italian was published in 1797 and the second edition featured above appeared in the same year. The cover is a beautifully grained calf and needs no adornment. The spine, designed to be noticed on the library shelf, perhaps even to suggest wealth, has an inset panel of navy blue leather and carries gold leaf lettering 'Italian'. A volume number appears centre spine and a simple twirled motif in gold repeats the length of the book.

The British Library tries to preserve the external fabric of the books, but sometimes harsh decisions are made in order to protect the reading material. A preservation order on this edition meant that it was to be removed from circulation once I had finished with it, and it is possible that it will undergo a radical change before it is returned to the catalogue. By contrast, the nineteenth century volume of Crusoe, of tan and brown embossed leather, has a simple spine but an elaborate cover, which is hidden whilst the book is on the shelf. Entirely in gold leaf, the cover illustration is both simple *and* ornate. The centre frame sets the fated ship between the young and the old Crusoe, and the corners carry the insignias of destinations from his travels. It is a handsome volume, into which the craftsman has poured both his energy and his artistry. There is no protection for the design created by the binder and to leave a craftsman possessed

of such expertise exposed to piracy is both a curious omission and unseemly. Perhaps it signifies an underlying snobbery that, as a society, we elevate the writer's work above that of the artisan, because the cerebral is perceived of as having more intrinsic worth. More pertinently it may be that in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, society has become inured to longevity, existing as we do in a culture of the disposable. Paperbacks may be attractive and serve their purpose, but they are machine-made and do not endure.

Copyright grants the exclusive right to produce copies and to control an original literary, musical or artistic work, for a specified number of years (in Britain this is usually fifty years from the death of the writer). It exists to protect

**original literary, dramatic, musical and artistic works, published editions of works, sound recordings, films (including videograms) and broadcasts (including cable and satellite broadcasts)**

which are recognised as valuable commodities.<sup>26</sup> Copyright regulation came in to existence in the early eighteenth century superceding the Licensing Act of 1609, which had lapsed. Until the 1709 English Copyright Act, ownership was a matter of registration with the Stationers Company or by the granting of a royal patent (14 years for new copyrights and 21 for those already in existence).<sup>27</sup> The 1709 Act, the first of its kind, was

**An Act for the encouragement of learning by vesting of the copies of printed books in the authors or purchasers of such copies therein mentioned.**<sup>28</sup>

The Statute Of Queen Anne secured the rights of the author, but gave only limited terms of copyright (prior to 1695 copyright was granted in perpetuity). The traditional patronage system ceding to trade meant that authors hitherto reliant upon the vagaries

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<sup>26</sup> "Copyright", The Patent Office, <http://www.patent.gov.uk/copy/indetail/morecopy.htm> (06/02/02)

<sup>27</sup> The Stationers' Company, a guild of booksellers and limners was set up in 1403. Printers were admitted as the manuscript trade declined in the sixteenth century, essentially a closed-shop, copyright disputes were internal matters. In 1556, the guild ruled that it was an offence not to register every article not covered by the royal grant. This register proved to be invaluable in copyright disputes. The Register closed in February 2000

<sup>28</sup> Cited by Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years*, p. 107, no reference given. The 1709 Act took effect from April 1710

of patrons, and increasingly on gentlemen's agreements with publishers and booksellers, now had recourse to law and could dispose of their property as they chose. Lawyers and booksellers commonly understood ownership of copy to mean for life.<sup>29</sup> In consequence, when the booksellers petitioned in 1703, 1706 and 1709, it was not to change their existing rights but to have an effective system introduced to curb piracy.

The question of literary property was finally resolved in 1774, when the House Of Lords decreed that the rights of the bookseller to perpetual copyright had no basis in Common Law. Although not immediately effective, perhaps the most significant long-term effect of the Copyright Act was that it contributed to the decline of the pirated copy. Piracy was a problem, it was rife on the continent because no international agreement existed, and publishers in England, Scotland and Ireland flouted the laws at home. Cheaper copies issued by rebel publishers were often abridged, amended, and physical presentation neglected. The impetus lay in getting the book off the press, either before the copyrighted edition appeared (especially where the edition was a new novel) or to make money on the back of the legal edition.<sup>30</sup>

Although piracy did not disappear completely, booksellers were able to fix prices, share some of the profit with the author, and ensure that for the most part, production standards were higher. In addition, whilst the law served to protect the rights of the author, sterner laws with regard to censorship were upheld vigorously for works considered obscene, blasphemous or seditious. Taxes on paper and advertisements served to further regulate potential output. The change in legislation led to the eventual decline of the Conger and contributed to the rise of publishing houses, some of which remain in existence today. P. M. Handover suggests that the Conger system (an offshoot of the book-share system) existed as

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<sup>29</sup> The Tonsons, to whom Milton assigned *Paradise Lost* in 1667, were universally considered to be the owners of the copy and therefore the copyright. In 1736, the Tonsons' right was successfully upheld in a court of law. Sir Frank Mackinnon, "The History Of English Copyright", *The Oxford Companion To English Literature*, ed., Sir Paul Harvey (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978)

<sup>30</sup> Piracy exists today but the market is typically software, videos, designer clothes and perfume.

a transition between the old copyright-owning bookseller or printer and the modern publisher who is neither a bookseller nor a printer, though he may have a separate printing works.<sup>31</sup>

Handover claims that in 1704, one Conger handled 47,000 books. Congers combined individually owned copyrights, and by publishing and selling collaboratively, saw substantial returns for their investments. In addition, each member would contribute a sum of money to purchase further copyrights. Production costs were shared and editions divided between members. Membership changed rarely but shares changed hands occasionally.

Copyrights held by members represented a considerable sum. A one-tenth share in the New Conger, for example, was bought in 1742 by James Hodges for £366/14/3.<sup>32</sup>

Few printers contracted to work for the Conger because they saw little in the way of profit. Samuel Richardson was the exception. He ran a successful printing house, was a published author, and became involved with two congers of some longevity, the "Old Conger" and the "New Conger", as a 'topping' printer.<sup>33</sup>

Samuel Richardson is perhaps one of the greatest publishing success stories of the eighteenth century. When Richardson published Pamela in 1740, it was one of the first epistolary novels to locate the story in the first person present. This technique (used by Richardson to great effect) adds a psychological frisson, the narrative appears to be written to the moment. It may be argued that it is the reader who creates 'the moment' whatever story or genre they read. However, because of the epistolary form and the choreography of the characters by the author (first person, present), the reader 'suspends disbelief' to collude with the illusion that the action takes place in concurrence with the process of reading.

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<sup>31</sup> Handover, Printing In London, p.197

<sup>32</sup> William Sale, Samuel Richardson Master Printer ( Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1977), p96.  
The figure quoted approximates to £21,975 in today's terms

<sup>33</sup> R. Bonwicke, T. Walthoe, B. and S. Tooke, R Wilkin and T. Ward set up the Old Conger in 1719. The New Conger formed by Bettsworth and Charles Rivington was established in 1736 as a rival. Its members included Daniel Law, Arthur Bettsworth, Charles Little, John Pemberton Jr., Richard Ware, Charles Rivington, John and Paul Knapton, Thomas Longman, Aaron Ward, Richard Hett, Stephen Austen, John Wood and Thomas Bowles.

Pamela, published anonymously (two duodecimo volumes, price six shillings) provoked immediate public interest, and ten editions were printed during Richardson's lifetime. The French translation of Pamela was denounced by the Catholic Church, who placed it on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* in 1744. It remained on the *Index* until 1900, when it was replaced by the English version. Richardson's authorship was concealed until numerous unauthorised continuations began to appear. Very quickly there arose the opposing factions of Pamela-ist's and the anti-Pamela-ists. Henry Fielding took the primary anti-Pamela-ist stance. His response to Pamela was an anonymous and piercing comic parody entitled An Apology For The Life Of Mrs Shamela Andrews (1741).

Shamela begins with a letter praising the book (as did Pamela, until Richardson was advised to remove it). The closing lines suggest rather acidly the writer's obligation to the patron

And now madam, I have done with you; it only remains to pay my acknowledgements to an author, whose stile I have exactley followed in this life, it being the properest for biography. The reader, I believe, easily guesses I mean Euclid's *Elements*; it was Euclid who taught me to write. It is you, madam, who pay me for writing. Therefore I am to both

A most obedient, and  
humble Servant

Conny Keyber

The letter is signed 'Conny Keyber'. By combining two similar sounding names, Fielding insinuates that Colly Cibber (1671-1757) and Conyers Middleton (1683-1750) were the culprits. Academics now accept that Shamela is the work of Henry Fielding because of certain idiosyncrasies of style that are his alone.

Fielding's Joseph Andrews (1742) is also commonly interpreted as a parody of Pamela. Yet it is also possible that Fielding wrote a more serious novel to illustrate how the subject matter could be handled with less proselytising. Alternatively, when he discovered that Richardson wrote Pamela, Fielding hoped that by publishing Joseph Andrews, the public furore surrounding the infamous Shamela would die down.

In "Richardson's Revisions Of *Pamela*" (1967), T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben Kimpel trace the (then) current editions of this work (Everyman, 1914 and Norton, 1958), through Sir Leslie Stephens and Ethel Mckenna, back to the 1811 edition of the Reverend Edward Mangin. Eaves and Kimpel note that although these editions follow the posthumous publication of the duodecimo *Pamela*, they also contain elements (including the misprints) of the octavo edition of 1742. The current edition of the Penguin *Pamela* (edited by Peter Sabor) follows the 1974 facsimile reprint by Garland of the 1801 edition. It incorporates the extensive revisions that Richardson made shortly before he died, and which was published posthumously in 1810.

The current Oxford University Press edition of *Pamela* (2001) is still more complex. This edition is based upon the first edition held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and makes further modifications to the text, for example, changing 'setting' to 'sitting'. For the most part revisions to the text include stylistic corrections, such as paragraph formatting, the exchange of the long 'ſ' for the modern 's', and the correction of past participles ending in 'd', 'tho' and 'thro'.



### Looking for the ideal text

What purpose is rendered by textual scholars tracing the lineage of Pamela (or indeed any novel) in this way, or by comparing extant texts to make corrections? The answer would seem to be that textual scholars seek the 'ideal text.' Eaves and Kimpel state that the purpose of their proposal for examining Richardson's revisions of Pamela, is to determine 'which text is to be regarded as the best text'.<sup>34</sup> The quest for such a text is justified by the wish to offer the best of possible readings for the reader, while remaining true to the spirit of the author's words.

The search for an ideal text may be made very difficult by a whole number of possible circumstances surrounding the production of the original published text. For example, complications may arise when a relative edits a writer's work either posthumously (to protect the author's reputation) or during the author's lifetime. As I have mentioned in Chapter 1 above (p.50), Francis Burney deleted any mention from her father's memoirs that indicated her mother's pregnancy prior to their marriage.<sup>35</sup> Currently, with the revision of the eighteenth-century canon extending to a greater number of women writers, one such case of editing caused much irritation amongst women readers -- Henry Fielding and his sister's work The Adventures Of David Simple.

Feminists accept Sarah Fielding as a scholar in her own right. She was the third sister of Henry, a 'bluestocking' and friend to both Ralph Allen and Samuel Richardson. The relationship between Henry and Sarah seems to have been harmonious. She was his housekeeper for three years until his second marriage, and collaborated with him on many occasions in print. David Simple was published in 1744 and Henry's revisions

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<sup>34</sup> T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben Kimpel "Richardson's Revisions Of *Pamela*", Studies In Bibliography, Volume 20 (1967), p. 62

<sup>35</sup> Kate Chisholm, Fanny Burney: Her Life (London: Chatto & Windus, 1998), p. 8

occurred the same year. In the Oxford University Press edition of 1987, Malcolm Kelsall states that

several hundred corrections were made for the second edition, most of them matters of punctuation, spelling, or grammar only. Henry particularly disliked his sister's characteristic form of punctuation -- the dash.<sup>36</sup>

There are two significant contributions to her work by Henry in relation to Augustan writing, one, a reference to *Don Quixote* (the parent of the picaresque novel) and the second, as Kelsall notes

The reference to the 'little community', so important in the final volume, is indicative too of another traditional element in the fiction which Fielding chooses to emphasize [sic]. The charmed but narrow circle of true friendship is a common Augustan theme, whether Horace, or Pope, or Sarah Fielding.<sup>37</sup>

The dangers of de-contextualising the author and their environment, in matters of publication history, becomes clear. When Henry edited his sister's work, it was not the perfidious act of a superior male (as so often interpreted). If a piece of writing requires editing, the author is not necessarily best placed to notice errors in the work itself, as there is too much partiality. The services of an impartial reader become essential, and Henry provides this for his sister. The irritation provoked by his corrections is perhaps an overreaction prompted by the seemingly arrogant (and typically eighteenth-century) Preface, in which Henry spends as much time talking about his own intentions as praising his sister.

Peter Sabor (University of Kentucky Press, 1998) banishes Henry's introduction to the Appendices and restores Sarah Fielding's spelling, punctuation and her print style, principally the length and style of her dashes, which have acquired some significance amongst twentieth century academics. Whilst such restoration is laudable, it is important that Henry's contribution, as a brother and as an author of some standing in the literary community, should not be rejected. Henry's intervention has relevance for book

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<sup>36</sup> Malcolm Kelsall, "Note On The Text", in Sarah Fielding, *The Adventures Of David Simple* (Oxford University Press, 1987), p. ix

<sup>37</sup> *ibid.*, p. ix-x

history, providing evidence of chronology, of influence (phrase, image, plot) and perhaps most importantly, it reveals the necessity of social interaction in the process of bringing a book into the public domain. So that the ambitions of Peter Sabor and the University of Kentucky Press, whilst laudable, raise serious questions about revisions to a text.

At a conference in 1996 for Open University Postgraduates, Bob Owens raised an interesting point about revisions to a text. If changes are made does this create a new and separate work? I would also ask in what way does change affect the meme, or the reader's response? If emendation significantly alters the text of a novel, it conceivably affects the reader's response, and has the potential to affect the successful transmission of a meme. From a personal perspective, I prefer to read a novel of the eighteenth-century with all the stylistic idiosyncrasies and compositor's errors intact. My edition of Penelope Aubin's Adventures Of The Count de Vinevil is a 1973 Garland facsimile of the 1721 edition. Reading a well-made hardback book, complete with reproductions of eighteenth-century print culture, adds to my enjoyment of the reading experience, not least because original copies of Aubin's books are so rare. Yet I acknowledge the difficulties inherent in such a reading, because whether reading aloud, or to oneself, it is often difficult to read the long 's' other than as an 'f'.<sup>38</sup>

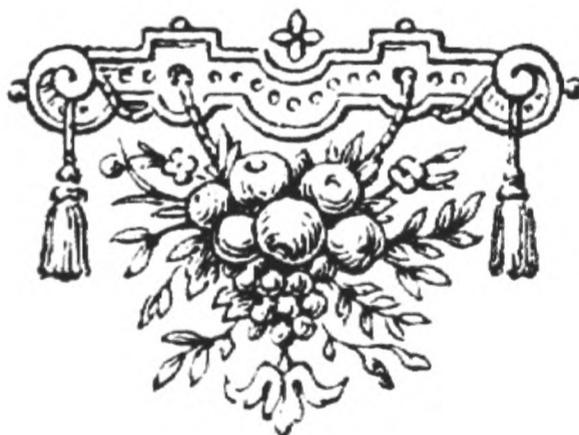
The argument for an ideal copy seems to have arisen with academe, and is coupled with auctorial intention. Auctorial intention, with regard to literary criticism, is elusive and entirely speculative. It is dependent upon individual or group interpretation. This touches upon all the aspects of transmission within this chapter. Auctorial intention, with regard to textual scholarship is conjectural. Textual scholars sift through chronological editions touched by the many hands involved in the production process, and face an infinitely difficult task because the original work may have been obscured

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<sup>38</sup> The difficulties that the modern reader faces with the long 'S' is parodied in the film Carry On Don't Lose Your Head (1966). The central character, Sir Sidney Ffing, is the host of a very grand ball. Greeted by a lady of rank, he is complimented thus, 'oh fir fidney, you have fuch magnififent ballf'.

by composite layers of error, personal preference, or technical constraint. Yet, to find true meaning or an ideal representation seems to haunt our cultural enclaves. Perhaps the best that can be said for this very natural ambition is that it is an obsession that we share with eighteenth century publishers and readers, patrons and library owners.

The transmission of a text is significantly dependent on the book-as-object. The transmission of the book-as-object is significantly dependent on its physical presentation. The distribution of books, be it by purchase, availability in private or public libraries or on-line, relies on the physical presentation (as individual responses to the questionnaire have revealed). Attempts to please patrons and to satisfy copyright requirements have led to significant variations in the presentation of the book-as-object beyond those created by the demands of physical production. The creation of the book is a process involving many variables not least the personal preferences of those people involved in the production chain. In much the same way as the author, the editor, the scholar -- or any reader -- might search for the ideal text, so those involved in the physical production of the book search for an ideal physical form that will maximise the effectiveness of transmission. A form that in itself is 'read' by the recipient of the text.





## CHAPTER FIVE: RECEPTIONS

Made of paper and ink, they lie where they are put until the moment someone shows an interest in them. They wait. Are they aware that an act of man might suddenly transform their existence? They appear to be lit up with hope. Read me they seem to say. I find it hard to resist their appeal. No, books are not just objects among others.

Georges Poulet, *Criticism And The Experience Of Interiority* (1972)

[ 1 ]

### Reception

What does the term 'reception' mean? To reception theorists such as Jauss, and Iser, reception is the process by which the reader engages with a piece of literature, to create a work that is uniquely their own. Jauss suggests that an 'horizon of expectations', or the series of personal and subjective references that the reader creates, exists until the reader is able to reach a critical understanding of the work. For Jauss, a literary work prompts the reader to build upon past experience, to look for familiar characteristics or signals in the text, and in doing so, initiate an unconscious process whereby they will read, review, revise and predict. Crucially, the 'horizon of Expectations' is that which will determine the effect of the work on an audience, whether a new work will be accepted or rejected.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hans Jauss, *Towards An Aesthetic Of Reception*, trans., Timothy Bahti (University Of Minnesota Press, 1982)

The writing of Daniel Defoe provides a pertinent example of the complexities involved in the issues of reception, and will lead us on to consider other writers (including Richardson and Haywood) in a similar light. Robinson Crusoe has remained in the public eye since it was first published in 1719. Moll Flanders, his racier tale of survival using any means available, drops out of circulation during the mid-to-late eighteenth century and is all but absent during the Victorian period. The canon of his work (and his popularity) has undergone a complete revival in the twentieth century, with his journals and pamphlets receiving as much re-examination as his novels.

A novelist such as Eliza Haywood, also currently undergoing a substantial revival of her writings, was considered a libertine during her lifetime and although a popular novelist, much of her work disappeared from print for a considerable length of time. Haywood, like Defoe, suffered at the hands of the critics (rather than the public) who thought her prurient. When Betsy Thoughtless appears mid-century, although it is easier to read than her earlier novels because it has a more cohesive structure and is a good story, it has not the inventiveness of early works, such as Eovaai (1736). Haywood's writing was considered unsuitable reading for impressionable young minds because for the most part she tackles sexual attraction and at the height of her popularity she is satirised by Pope in The Dunciad:

See in the circle next, Eliza placed  
Two babes of love close clinging to her waist  
Fair as before her works she stands confessed,  
In flowers and pearls by bounteous Kirkall dress'd.<sup>2</sup>

An acquaintance of Fielding, she too was in the anti-Pamela faction and published Anti-Pamela: Or Feign'd Innocence anonymously; it proved to be a popular book, and a second edition appeared in 1742.

Richardson (although he did not reply to Haywood's attack) makes his opinion of

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<sup>2</sup> Alexander Pope, "The Dunciad" taken from Collected Poems (London: J. M Dent, 1980)

her known in a letter to Sarah Chapone. In this letter, he attacks Tobias Smollett's Peregrine Pickle (1751) for a memoir inserted into the story entitled "Memoirs Of A Lady Of Quality" by Lady Vane. Implying that Vane is far worse than Aphra Behn, Delarivière Manley, and Eliza Haywood he writes

What a set of wretches, wishing to perpetuate their Infamy, have we --- to make the Behn's, the Manley's and the Heywood's, look white.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps with the author and bookseller's reputation at stake, the necessity for the Preface, which explains the author's intent, becomes clear. Richardson laboured his point with Pamela, whilst presumably hoping to attract a 'better sort' of reader. In the Preface he states that

*IF to Divert and Entertain, and at the same time Instruct and Improve the minds of YOUTH of both sexes.*

*IF to inculcate Religion and Morality in so easy and agreeable a manner, as shall render them equally delightful and profitable to the younger Class of Readers, as well as worthy of the Attention of maturer Years and Understandings:*

*IF so to set forth, in the most exemplary Lights, the Parental, the Filial, and the Social Duties, and that from low to high Life:*

*IF to paint VICE in its proper colours, to make it deservedly Odious: and set VIRTUE in its own amiable Light, to make it Lovely:*

*IF to draw characters justly, and support them equally:*

*IF to raise a Distress from natural Causes, and excite Compassion from proper Motives:*

*IF to teach the man of Fortune how to use it; the man of Passion how to subdue it; and the Man of Intrigue, how, gracefully, and with Honour to himself, to reclaim:*

*IF to give practical Examples, worthy to be followed in the most critical and affecting Cases, by the modest VIRGIN, the chaste BRIDE, and the obliging WIFE:*

*IF to effect all these good Ends, in so probable, so natural, so lively a manner, as shall engage the Passions of every sensible Reader, and strongly interest them in the edifying Story ...<sup>4</sup>*

To read this passage with all the emphases is exhausting, yet the irregular use of capitals and the overuse of italics intrigues. Is it a device of the editor? Or perhaps a sign of the compositor's handiwork? It might even be that the Preface was

<sup>3</sup> John Carroll, Selected Letters Of Samuel Richardson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p173

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Richardson, Pamela (London: 1719)

printed last after the lower case letters had been used up. Is this the emphasis of the author? Certainly it appears that Richardson has capitalised or italicised the words that the reader must not only emphasise, but find proper meaning in too. The 1814 version is even more laboured, but not only does the editor use underlining, capitalisation and italicising, he also changes the emphasis on certain words, often substituting his own for Richardson's and thereby changing the context. For example: 'justness' is substituted for 'justly' and 'distinctly' for 'equally' (line 12), 'from just ones' for 'from proper motives' (line 13) and 'man of fortune' becomes 'man of nurture' (line 15). In particular, the latter substitution changes the meaning of the sentence completely.

What do editorial changes to the preface such as these suggest to the researcher, or imply for the reader? Firstly, editorial change allows the researcher to trace the history of a text and place it not only within the context of the period of production but in a broader historical framework. The changes wrought in a single novel over time allow the researcher to infer (where appropriate) the relationship between the author, the publisher and the reader. For example, the common perception of Defoe is that he rarely edited his novels. Perhaps that is true because certainly Crusoe abounds with errors of continuity. For example, the reader is told

**I pull'd off my Clothes, for the Weather was hot to Extremity, and took to the water.**

Yet later Crusoe appears to be fully clothed because

**I went to the Bread-room and fill'd my Pockets with Bisket.<sup>5</sup>**

Perhaps the most amusing error introduces the reader to the concept of a one-legged Friday, as suggested by John Sutherland, in his essay 'why the single print of a foot?'.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps it is a function of academe and indeed literary criticism that by forcing the pace of analysis, the teacher or critic must go beyond the usual social,

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<sup>5</sup> Robinson Crusoe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 49-49

<sup>6</sup> John Sutherland "Why the 'Single Print Of A Foot'", Can Jane Eyre Be happy? More Puzzles In Classic Fiction (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 5

political and economic explorations to find new ground. However, it is possible that by deconstructing sentences, language, and plot structure, such analysis will occasion the collapse of the story for some readers. So the question must be asked, does literary criticism aid or defeat an author's reputation or reception?

One problem facing the student of literature is that the text is taken as a verbatim representation of the author. When we read, analyse, and discuss auctorial intent we assume that the narrative is presented as the author intended. Glaring mistakes such as Defoe's might conceivably be a rewriting of the story by the compositor or publisher, who short of typeface, changed the story to accommodate the use of the type left. However, the passages in which Friday's foot and Crusoe's coat appear are consistent with Defoe's style, and seem too well-integrated to be inserts from another's hand.

Crusoe has been a major influence on many other writers of note. A contemporary, Penelope Aubin, imitates his shipwreck scenario in several of her novels: The Strange Adventures Of The Count De Vinevil And His Family (1721), The Noble Slaves (1722), The Life Of Charlotta Du Pont (1723), and The Life And Adventures Of The Young Albertus (1728). Rousseau in the Social Contract (1721), Marx, in Das Kapital (1867), and David Copperfield (1849-50) by Charles Dickens also mention this novel. Yet the popular perception of Defoe remains one of a hack writer dashing off stories and passing on quickly to his next venture. When he died in 1731, his wife (like Fielding's) was forced through debt to sell his fine library, pursued as she was by creditors. Hack writing and a fine library seem incompatible. Defoe is even labelled liar by certain critics -- an opinion that is oft repeated in the nineteenth century. William Minto says that

We can hardly believe a word he says about himself without independent confirmation.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> William Minto, Defoe (London: Macmillan & Co., 1909)

A puzzling accolade for an author whose trade was telling stories. It is a view supposedly shared by Sir Leslie Stephen in Hours In A Library (1874). However, an alternative interpretation is that Stephen is being ironic and is actually impressed by Defoe's skill as a storyteller and subsequent readers of Stephen's work (and as Reader Response illustrates) have re-defined his words into an attack on Defoe.

The body of Defoe's work reveals an intelligent, creative mind. Yet much of his writing, particularly his journalism and the travelogues, are well written and presented, leaving the reader to ponder on the man with such a chequered life, who remains in many ways an enigma. He was unafraid of the consequences of writing about what he saw as injustice although it often caused him to be reprimanded by the authorities, even led to the pillory, or worse still, sent to prison. He was popular with the man in the street, as his experience of the pillory reveals (when arrested for seditious libel). Christopher Hibbert (The Road To Tyburn, 1957) writes

**Whenever it became known that a person was to be pilloried a crowd collected in front of the platform armed with dead dogs and cats, buckets of excrement or rotting vegetation, stones and sticks, rotten eggs and bottles.<sup>8</sup>**

It was not unusual for a miscreant to suffocate at the hands of the crowd and it adds significance to Defoe's treatment. The Shortest Way With Dissenters (1702), was a blistering satire attacking public attitudes to Dissenters, yet Defoe was not pelted with the brickbats usually aimed at felons (which might kill them where they stood) but with flowers. To the crowd's delight and with a masterly show of business acumen, he wrote a Hymn To the Pillory (1703) and it was sold as he stood there, incarcerated.

The issue of Defoe's reception was always therefore, controversial, and it continued to be so in the nineteenth century. The mistrust of Defoe seems to have deepened with Victorian and Edwardian literary critics. Such prejudice is perhaps an echo of

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<sup>8</sup> Christopher Hibbert, The Road To Tyburn (London: Penguin, 1957), p. 55

the suspicion inherited from some of his contemporaries about the nature of his employment with Robert Harley (1661-1724) and his 'secret' service, during the Tory administration. With the exception of Crusoe, Defoe's novels are about flawed individuals who will do what they have to to survive. Perhaps, to the middle and upperclasses in nineteenth and early twentieth century society (whose motto was 'play up and play the game') Defoe's abject realism was a little too raw. Virginia Woolf (a rebel of her time) reaffirmed Defoe's status as a writer, and the current school of Defoe scholars is revising Defoe's reception as a man, and an author.

With the reappraisal of the Defoe canon (presented with less flamboyance and in a less-prejudicial way), the modern reader can assign their own interpretations to the author, the volume of his work, and the complexity of his life history. In many cases, an interesting life history adds depth to the reading of the story, because the reader may respond to the story as a sub-text of their perception of the author's life. When Defoe (ever a shrewd if sometimes unsuccessful businessman) wrote the Robinson Crusoe trilogy, he combined the two most successful genres of the time. His amalgamation of the Sermon and travel literature created not just a bestseller in his own time, but one that has endured. The story has also inspired the publishers to create volumes that are works of art in themselves as plain books cede to the ornate, and illustrations become commonplace.

Reception should be understood as a two-way traffic. That Richardson was particularly in tune with his reading public is well-documented by Eaves and Kimpel. He responded to comments, making changes to the story (for example Pamela's dress, and language) when he deemed it appropriate. An anonymous letter (cited by Eaves and Kimpel), even entreats Richardson to drop references to Mr B's hands spanning Pamela's waist, because it would lead to ladies overly-tightening the laces of their corsets, to achieve Pamela's perfect size.<sup>9</sup> Richardson first published

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<sup>9</sup> Eaves And Kimpel, Samuel Richardson, p123

Pamela in two duodecimo volumes in 1740. All of the editions printed in Richardson's lifetime carried corrections and the fifth was perhaps the most extensively revised. In May 1740, the de luxe Octavo appears in which he has removed the letters of praise, which were parodied in Shamela, and were criticised by Ralph Allen.

The nature of the book as a physical object is also of great importance with respect to reception. If we consider the reader's response to the physical Pamela, the critical editors of the Oxford edition (2001), note that George Cheyne (1671-1743) complained that Pamela was an inferior publication with 'small type and so bad paper'.<sup>10</sup> Yet to a modern reader used to the short-life paperback editions, those held in the British Library, from 1741-1914, inspire a sense of awe at the degree of care and attention lavished on even the simplest of bindings. Those re-covered in the substantial, durable and standard livery for the British Library are objects of beauty too, because they illustrate how skilful is the hand of the binder. Many of these editions served as an advertisement for the printer too. The 1814 edition carries two title pages. The first is crammed with every ornate piece of typeface and decoration that the printer, J Walker, possesses. The second title page is crowded with fussy, small typeface and an overly long explication of the purpose of the novel, and is typical of the period.

Cheyne was not only expressing concerns about the quality of the object, he wrote to Richardson in 1741 advising him to avoid

**Fondling --- and Gallantry, Tender Expressions not becoming the Character of Wisdom, Piety and conjugal Chastity especially in the Sex.**<sup>11</sup>

Richardson politely but firmly rejected Cheyne's advice, because

**I am endeavouring to write a Story, which shall catch the young and airy Minds, and when Passions run high in them, to shew how they may be**

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<sup>10</sup> Pamela, p. xxxv. Cheyne was a physician who published his own works on diet, vegetarianism and natural theology.

<sup>11</sup> C. F. Mullett, "The Letters Of Dr George Cheyne To Samuel Richardson: 1733-1743", University Of Missouri Studies vol. 18, no 1 (Columbia: University Of Missouri, 1943), pp. 67-70

directed to laudable Meanings and Purposes, in order to decry such Novels and Romances, as have a tendency to inflame and corrupt [...].<sup>12</sup>

Both Richardson's letters and his Preface seem to suggest that he felt that the author had a moral responsibility to his reading public. He was not alone: a growing number of authors believed that an author should set an example to his readers. Moreover, a section of the reading public were concerned with the number of salacious novels flooding the market, and anxious about the effect on their daughters and sons, believing that reading material should set a suitably moral tone. With such public outpourings of morality, exhortations from writers such as Richardson, and the general momentum towards a polite society, something had to change.

Eighteenth-century publishers and booksellers opted for a subtler approach in the face of such criticisms. Blatant pornography (such as Cleland's Memoirs Of A Women Of Pleasure 1748-9) was forced underground, while it was not unusual for less salacious novels to be re-packaged. As the competition between the ever-expanding numbers of publishers and booksellers intensified, books such as Moll Flanders (which was refined and re-published as The History of Lætitia Atkins, vulgarly called Moll Flanders in 1776) could resurface under another guise. What is particularly interesting about Lætitia (aimed at the moral middle-class) is that the illustrations show a Moll who is both delicate and genteel, not the strong and seductive creature of the original tale.

Richardson published Pamela in 1740, and he states his aim quite clearly in the Preface. Yet, the books reception shows that it was easy to read it in ways that Richardson did not intend (or at least in ways he claimed were not intended). Pamela, as the anti-Pamelist faction illustrated, might (justifiably) be interpreted as

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<sup>12</sup> Samuel Richardson, "To George Cheyne", Selected Letters Of Samuel Richardson, ed., J. Carroll (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 46. The length of time that it took for Cheyne to respond is interesting - today a first class stamp or an email, means that a missive to the author can be there (potentially) within minutes, or days. Distribution networks for books and mail were of course less efficient, roads were unreliable and footpads and highwaymen preyed on travellers.

the story of the single-minded ambition of a servant to rise above her status, or worse, a lascivious tale of attempted rape. In fact, the reading public was quick to establish a link between Pamela's plight, and that of the unfortunate Miss Woolnoth, a milliner, who was abducted and raped by Lord Baltimore in 1768.<sup>13</sup>

Iser believes that it is possible for one story to have many meanings. He views reading as a phenomenological process, one where consciousness is central to investigations of meaning. He suggests that there are two important components of the reading process, the artistic text created by the author and the aesthetic text created by the reader. When a reader engages with the narrative, they read, review, and predict; but going one stage further than Jauss, they also confirm or deny their engagement with what they have read. For Iser, reading is not a smooth process because the reader does not consider the sentences to be complete and continually tries to find a meaning (beyond what is written) by filling in the gaps. For example, title pages of early eighteenth century books précis the story, and in turn stimulate the reader's interest, often appealing to a desire for gossip or scandal. Such stratagems, of course, contribute (from a memeticists viewpoint) to the successful transmission of a meme, and therefore to the success of the book.

To illustrate this we may consider Moll Flanders as a story of survival. Defoe's novel is a stark portrayal of a society that cares little for the inhabitants of its underclass. This presents the modern reader with a gap that is increasingly difficult to fill. The novel itself, therefore, is perhaps becoming more difficult for the modern reader (in Britain) to comprehend because of the detachment that historical distance can add to such situations (not least because of the Welfare State, which appeared post World War II). Moll copes with the uncertainties of such a peculiarly eighteenth-century life, using all the physical resources and strength of character that she can muster. She is different from Defoe's enduring protagonist, Crusoe. He

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<sup>13</sup> Langford, A Polite And Commercial People, p. 585. There is some evidence to suggest that Woolnoth was a willing victim and that her parents were co-conspirators.

is dependent upon his own strength of character for his survival rather than with interaction with others. Moll deals with the duplicities of a desperate society on a daily basis. Crusoe is easier for us to understand since he functions on an individualistic basis. We can place him at almost any point in history.

However, before the common reader can even begin to analyse the narrative in this way, they must be enticed into reading the book.<sup>14</sup> The success of the title page in drawing the reader's attention is dependent upon overall layout, and the design of the typeface. For example in the 1722 edition of Moll Flanders, the title page informs the reader that Moll Flanders is a thief, a whore, and guilty of incest. Crucially the important words are capitalised *and* italicised in an attempt to ensure the required reception.

Another means of enticing the reader into the book is by the use of illustrations. Illustration and reader response is a complex issue, for some readers pictures enhance the telling of the story and may even provide a safer way of dealing with the subject matter than their own imagination. Alternatively, the reader may find them an irritant, interrupting the flow of the narrative and interfering with their own visualisation. One of the first engravings of Robinson Crusoe is from the 1719 edition by Clark and Pine and remains the enduring characterisation of the protagonist. A popular image, it was frequently copied but with diminished subtlety. David Blewett (The Illustration Of Robinson Crusoe, 1995), comparing the Clark & Pine with an anonymous etching, suggests that there is a message within the original engraving that is lost in the copy.

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<sup>14</sup> I use the term common reader to distinguish the informal reader from the 'professional' reader such as students or teachers who are bound to read 'set' books



Clark & Pine 1719



Anonymous etching 1726

Blewett asks the reader to examine the two engravings and suggests we notice several things. He draws our attention to Crusoe's dress suggesting that he has obviously spent some time on his island. In the first engraving we might reasonably be surprised to discover that Crusoe's ship is not wrecked but sailing away from the island. In the second the ship appears to founder on the rocks in keeping with the story. In both pictures, Crusoe is facing away from the ship when having led a solitary existence for some time, one would suppose him to show some excitement for a prospective rescue (if that is the interpretation placed on the Clark and Pine engraving by the reader). Blewett supposes the questions he poses (prompted by the engravings) may arise because the manuscript was in the hands of the compositor when the engraver was commissioned to produce the pictures. Blewett presumes that the engraver was left to guess at the details of the story. Whilst this is a reasonable supposition on his part there is enough detail in the Clark and Pine engraving to suggest that the engraver was indeed aware of the story (at least in part). More significant, it is perhaps also to misunderstand (or misinterpret) the purpose of the engraving as a series of symbols, which the reader must interpret.

The engraving is graphic shorthand for the story: the voyage, Crusoe, shipwreck, island, survival -- from which the reader is able to deduce information about the story.

Subsequent illustrations of Crusoe (possibly the most illustrated story in the history of the English novel) reflect the changing fashion in engraving styles (see appendix D) and audience reception.<sup>15</sup> Early engravings are factual and straightforward but by the nineteenth century, the illustrator has found an alternative expression for the Crusoe story. The water colourist and book illustrator Hablot Knight Brown (1815-1882) also known as Phiz presents Crusoe in a semi-serious vein which becomes particularly fashionable during the Victorian era. Phiz's humour is shared by Cruikshank, who was responsible for illustrations of the 1877 Amelia, reprinted in 1905. The original illustrations for Amelia (delicate engravings tell the story) and in particular the 1816 rendering by Henry Corbould (1787-1844) is both sensitive and romantic without being overly sentimental. Cruikshank, by applying a quasi-cartoon style, appears to home in on the comedic elements of the story such as 'Booth in the Hamper', 'Blear-eyed Moll', and 'The Masquerade Scene' (see Appendix D).

Evelina too begins life with illustrations that have an artistic delicacy which are sensitive to the nature of the story, yet the illustrators soon slip into a kind of burlesque. W Heath's watercolours for the 1822 edition (published by Jones & Co.) dwell on the grotesque scenes featuring Evelina's grandmother and Captain Mirvan. The stylistic changes suggest a shift in mood for both the illustrators and the readers. Given the eighteenth century society's obsession with propriety, the purpose of the illustrations would be as an adjunct for guarding against vulgarity, although the grotesque pictorial representations of Captain Mirvan, and the grandmother would no doubt have amused.

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<sup>15</sup> See Appendix D for examples of changing styles in illustrations

Perhaps the most fascinating innovation in book illustration arose with the advent of the Gothic. Gothic more than any other genre has captured the imagination of the author, the illustrator and the reader. As the author pushes the story to even greater extremes, so the drama of the illustrations becomes more emphatic. The 1814 edition of The Italian metamorphoses into The Midnight Assassin Or the Confessions Of The Monk Rinaldi: containing a complete history of his diabolical machinations and unparalleled ferocity. The frontispiece illustration is rendered in a similar dark, explicit and melodramatic manner with the Monk Rinaldi (Schedoni in the original tale) poised, poignard in hand above the sleeping Ellena. The publisher J. Limbird (famous for his collections of 'classic' novels) employs an engraver who also resorts to exaggerated drawings (in similar vein to Evelina and Amelia, published around the same time). However, over thirty years later illustrations for the 1846 edition of The Monk return almost to the roots of the gothic.<sup>16</sup> These illustrations are unusual inasmuch as they suggest the something of the artists who were said to influence the gothic authors, and specifically Ann Radcliffe. The engravings are reminiscent of the work of Salvator Rosa, Claude Lorrain or Giovanni Piranesi, but are also redolent with the conventions of the illustration of Shakespearean tragedy. They have the same brooding intensity, as we may see from a comparison of Hogarth's portrayal of Garrick as Richard III with an illustration to the 1846 edition of Radcliffe's The Italian.

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<sup>16</sup> There is some confusion over the actual date of this edition. The British library database information states that this edition is 1846 but the title page says 1826.



David Garrick as Richard III by Hogarth (1745)



"The Bleeding Nun", The Italian (1846)

Quite early on illustrators took it upon themselves to step out from the shadows to lay their mark upon the book and as a consequence many have stood alone as independent works of art.

Bindings (or lack of binding) played their part too. To return to the indignant Lackington (page 88 above) expressing horror at the accusation that his books were 'bound in sheep', which is a softer and less durable leather than calfskin or morocco. His vehement denial that they were anything other than volumes bound in 'elegant and superb bindings' reveals just how important it was (and remains so today) to catch the buyer's eye. Certainly many of the bindings throughout the last three centuries have illustrated the skill and ingenuity of the binder. Even with the advent of photographic and computer assisted design, the appearance of the machine-bound paperback book (although having a shorter shelf-life than leather-bound) is a tempting bait for the reader. Quality however remains an issue as my questionnaire confirms:

**More inclined to buy a nice looking version if the book seems to be worth it; physical characteristics are negative parameters; I don't buy if the colour is not attractive, size is difficult to put in my library, etc.**

[Response 8, Appendix A]

Alternatively, negative parameters are not reasons for rejection by reader 57:

**In terms of the more aesthetic features of the book (illustration, paper, print face), I would never not buy a book that did not please me, but they are something that will draw me to investigate a book that I have not previously heard of... and I'm sure that they subconsciously influence**

the way I see a book cover (cover design, particularly) [Response 57, Appendix A]

The importance of packaging was present as a motif in all the responses received. It will now be helpful, therefore, to look in more detail at the relationship between textual scholarship and reception theory.

Textual scholarship is comprised of many elements, and reception, for the textual scholar, has an historical bias. It is an analysis of the common forms of publication, of difference in format, the chronology of a work, auctorial influence and of audience reaction. History is particularly significant because as Greetham (discussing the technical divisions of textual scholarship) states

**All of these fields reflect a *historical bias*. Whether studying an author's single or multiple intentions, a scribal hand, a compositor's role in the setting of a hand-printed book, the transmission of a text from manuscript to print, the social reception and revision of a text, or the machine collation of a quarto to discover press-variants, textual scholars are deriving evidence from the previous history of the discipline and are placing their own work in the context of that historical perspective.<sup>17</sup>**

The textual scholar shares common ground with the reception theorist, inasmuch as in the pursuit of his subject, the textual scholar must ask questions which try to make sense of the reading experience. However, one question whose answer would provide vital evidence is fraught with difficulty: by asking 'what was the author's intention?', the scholar poses a question that can rarely (if ever) be answered.

Tanselle (Historicism And Critical Editing, 1986), responding to a paper given by George C. Rogers (The Sacred Text: An Improbable Dream, 1978) describes the difference between 'literary editing' and 'historical editing'. Rogers believes the text to have less relevance for the historical editor because historical documents provide evidence for social and political facts, while literary texts enhance our understanding of language. Tanselle exposes the flaw in this argument. He argues that Rogers has misconceived the importance of certain aspects of print culture that are crucial to reading groups within the community. This has led Rogers to respond

with approval that the text in the *Papers Of Henry Laurens* incorporates silent alterations to increase 'readability' -- dashes, for example, are deleted 'unless it is obvious that that they should be retained as they would in modern writing', and commas are added 'only when editors are sure that the addition will clarify the meaning of a passage'.<sup>18</sup>

Tanselle believes that Rogers does not understand the significance that the marks upon the paper (metatext) may have for a reader. Rogers assumes, incorrectly, that the only interest in a text resides in the desire to read the story, and that the reader will have little or no interest in the 'nuances of language (including punctuation)'.<sup>19</sup> Were we to be convinced by Rogers's approach, the print culture of the eighteenth-century (currently the subject of much academic debate) would be ignored, and corrected to enable a smoother reading experience. Rogers believes that any difficulty in the physical presentation of a work would merely 'annoy the modern reader'. Such emendation is in fact tantamount to dumbing down, and does not credit the individual with the ability to either think for himself, or to face the challenge offered by a degree of alienation from the physical content.

If we consider, for example, the transmission of Shakespeare to film, and specifically, *Romeo + Juliet*, by Baz Lerhman (1996), it becomes clear that the unfamiliarity of archaic language can be overridden by the clarity of presentation. In this instance Lerhman does not attribute any poetic emphasis to the blank verse (inasmuch as the actors do not declaim the text in theatrical mode). The verse is spoken fluidly as a conversational piece.

The same physical considerations of presentation must also be true of the metatext and idiosyncrasies of style. To alter or to change either may mean that the editor is culpable, guilty even, of removing something that for many readers may be responded to as a mark of unique beauty in the original composition. Furthermore, to translate into Modern English is problematic in itself, firstly, because language is

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<sup>17</sup> Greetham, *Textual Scholarship*, p.2

<sup>18</sup> G. Thomas Tanselle, "Historical Editing", *Studies In Bibliography*, Vol. 39 (Virginia: The Bibliographical Society, 1986), pp. 6-7

a continually changing formula and the concept of a traditional format may have little relevance for the targeted audience. Secondly, it is an unconfirmed presupposition that the reader will have no interest in the period when the original text was created.

The critical editor may attempt to provide a clean text for the modern reader (as Rogers does), or a copy of a text that is as close to his or her understanding of (and therefore representative of) auctorial intention. In doing so however, the critical editor may alter a book in such a way as to alienate a section of reading community. Furthermore (as Jauss claims), history is subject to the boundaries provided by the individual reader and although the reader works to extend that boundary, he remains constrained.<sup>20</sup> In addition, the chain of production of even the "original" work is unlikely to be entirely the product of auctorial intention. Whilst it may not be possible to understand all the nuances and subtleties of an historical use of language, is it right to change it to suit the modern audience? Reception Theory, therefore, clearly supports the arguments against Roger's approach.

For the most part today's critical editions support the provision of archaisms by providing a glossary, which helps the reader to derive as accurate a meaning as possible. From a personal perspective, I feel that if the reader is not provided with a physical format that reflects that sense of history, it forces the work (already constrained by personal and social boundaries), to be viewed further out of context. To de-contextualise also ignores the original physical appearance of the book-as-object, and whilst it is not financially viable to reproduce the external appearance of the originals, the mass-production of typeface and pagination is. However, as my questionnaire illustrates there are some who would continue to say that it is the story that is the crucial aspect of book production, because

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<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, p.4

<sup>20</sup> Hans Jauss, Towards An Aesthetic Of Reception, pp18-45

The physical characteristics mainly bear on my estimation of how long it will take to read, and occasionally on the type of reading (brisk, arduous, etc) which again influences my estimation of how long it will take to get through, and how often I may want to pick it up (is it a read-straight-through, or poke-my-head-in kind of novel?) (Response 27, Appendix A)

I would argue, however, that the story is only part of a broader and more holistic presentation for a large number of readers. Chapter 3, section 4 illustrates that responses to the physical object are as significant and idiosyncratic as an individual response to a piece of writing. Notably only one person (Response 27) indicated that the story over-rode the influence of physical format. It is with an awareness of the paradoxical nature of an individual interpretation, specifically of historical information, that I will now discuss the physical and environmental conditions which may affect the process of reading, or a response to the book-as-object.

During the long eighteenth century, as reading becomes a widespread skill, physical environment and social obligation (fashions, state and parental controls, money, distribution networks and lack of raw materials) seem to conspire against the reader's quest to read. I have touched on some of the above in earlier chapters, and in section two, I will concentrate on the physical restrictions to reading caused by environment and fashion.



### Comfortable Reading?

In the eighteenth century, as frequently in our own time, books might act primarily as part of a fashion statement as much as a source of reading for entertainment or the acquisition of wisdom. The following section focuses on fashion to help establish a wider context for the way in which the book-as-object has existed. Initially therefore, there will be only very occasional reference to books as such. I wish to argue that without a comprehensive excursion into the territory of fashion, we cannot fully understand the reception of books, either as objects of study, sources for entertainment, or as fashion accessories. By way of craving the reader's indulgence in this matter, it is very appropriate that I should appeal to an indicative eighteenth century text, Laurence Sterne's Tristram Shandy, published in 1760. In this chapter of the thesis fashion may seem to have become something of a diversary Shandyean 'hobby-horse'; but when we return to our major subject, I would argue that this diversion will have caused us to view it in a necessarily different light. When we return to look at books we shall neither be dressed as we are now, nor likely to be in the same mental or physical posture.

Clothes are designed in accordance with a particular aesthetic to which the individual designer aspires. Modern fashions displayed on the catwalk in the United Kingdom are often rather eclectic works of art that eventually become diluted to fit the home market. In comparison to our forebears, we tend to wear comfortable clothes, made from materials that are easily cleaned. For the most part (except perhaps in the courtship ritual) we do not normally wear clothes that restrict our movement.

To place this in the context of reading, reception, and the book as a physical object it is necessary to examine briefly the impact of costume on the physical

circumstances of reading. Since the eighteenth century (specifically among the middle and upper classes) whilst the eighteenth century male might own libraries, his wife and daughters had more time to read. During that time wives and daughters also suffered more from the vagaries of fashion than did the male. The restructuring of the body through fashion to achieve a different shape seems to appear in Britain during the reign of Richard III, and continues well into the twentieth century. Body moulding (using padding and corseting, to force the body into erect and often unnatural positions) creates an illusion of nobility, delicacy and breeding, because of the restriction of movement. In 1665 women's corsets

straighten and hollow the back. The arms curve away from the body, and rest on the hip pad.<sup>21</sup>

During the long eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, fashions for both sexes were often restrictive, designed as they were, to emphasise delicate and refined movement. Illustrations of the heroine Pamela, by Highmore, furnish pictorial evidence of the severity of the fashion for forcing a body to be graceful. Pamela's body, swathed in rich and heavy-looking fabric, is tightly corseted; her back is arched, with bosoms thrust outwards and up. They are also flattened by the stomacher.

The wearing of such garments, of course, has medical implications. Women often fainted due to their inability to breathe deeply and organs were forced into positions that were alien to the structure of the body. Pamela is often inclined to faint, and although Richardson would have us believe that it is her sensitivity to her situation that is the culprit, perhaps her unnaturally small waist might have some part to play.

In the year 1770, the fashion for both men and women was perhaps at its most extreme and bizarre. A separation occurs between day dress and evening dress that survives to this day. The receipt of an invitation that bears the legend 'black tie'

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<sup>21</sup> Margaret Hamilton Hill and Peter A. Bucknell, The Evolution Of Fashion: Pattern And Cut From 1066-1930 (London: BT Batsford, 1987), p.102

infers that dress must be formal. In fact for the eighteenth century citizen presented at Court, there was 'Court dress' (formal and extreme), dress and undress. For the eighteenth century male 'undress' is more relaxed and the costume often made of softer material than 'formal dress'. For formal attire, men wear sharply tailored clothes that emphasise certain parts of the body; consequently, tight stays are worn to provide a neater contour to the figure. The breeches are tight and have buckled knee bands. Some of the more fashion conscious males resort to the use of false calves to give musculature to their legs. The playwright Mrs Centlivre (1667-1723) lampoons such conspicuous male vanity:

You tell me sir, sire, don't you as nice appear  
With your false calves, bardash, and fav'rites here?<sup>22</sup>

Wigs are powdered, pomaded, and dressed high above the forehead in a style with side curls known as 'pigeon wings'. Topped off by the tricorne hat, the ensemble is finished by accessories, which include an elegant cane, a snuffbox and a pair of watches.

Women's costumes are far more elaborate. The sack-backed gown, at the height of its popularity, uses copious amounts of material in its design. Usually made of silk or brocade, it is trimmed with lace, ribbons, and ruching. A corset made from linen and whalebones (or occasionally metal) nips in the waist. The stomacher flattens the bosom, forcing it upwards, to produce a more rounded cleavage, a cleavage often enhanced by the addition of false breasts made of wadding. Corsets are made with inserts for a sweet smelling herb, such as lavender. Lavender has a pungent smell, which if over-used can cause headaches. Sleeves, often multi-layered lace creations, were weighted with lead to hang correctly. The side panels of the dress extended outwards, often to vast widths (a costume of Spitalfields silk, held in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, is eight feet wide). This was achieved by the use of an undergarment known as the 'pannier', or 'false hips'. False hips were generally

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<sup>22</sup> Brewer, *The Dictionary Of Phrase And Fable* (London: Galley Press, 1988), p.450. No citation for the quote is given. A bardash is a young boy kept for unnatural purposes

made of metal hoops and horsehair, and from 1750, as the sides of dresses became wider, hinged versions began to appear. There were two styles of pannier, the '*grand* pannier' for formal wear, and the '*moyen* pannier' for informal dress. The width of this style of dress (the Victoria & Albert Museum has a second one on display that is at least six feet across) made it impractical for every daywear. Nevertheless, it remained *de rigueur* for court appearances for some considerable time. Hair, like the males, is dressed with powder and pomade, but it is extended with pads and false hair, often rising to ridiculous heights decorated with fruit, flowers and feathers.

The lengths (or heights) to which the fashionable would go to retain their position in the elite, was satirised in the British comedy series, Let Them Eat Cake (1999). Set in pre-Revolutionary France, the protagonist, Columbine, Comtesse de Vache, appears in one episode with a galleon-bedecked wig that is so high that she has to have her hair supported on a stick by her maid Lisette. In addition, (and on more than one occasion) doors have to be removed to allow her extensively panniered dress through. None of this, however, was necessarily far from the truth.

The follies of the fashionable were the subject of much public mirth during the eighteenth century. A cartoon appears in 1776 that mercilessly lampoons Georgiana, Duchess Of Devonshire, and her coterie, whose wigs had reached monstrous proportions. Entitled "A Hint To The Ladies To Take Care Of Their HEADS" by R. Sayer, the most excessively dressed lady of fashion wears feathers that brush the high-domed ceiling and candelabra. She is blissfully unaware that they are aflame, despite the attention of a maidservant with an extinguisher. However, the most interesting woman in the picture (with regard to the physical act of reading) is seated. Whilst she is not reading, it is obvious from her posture that although she is attempting to counterbalance the weight of her elaborate wig, it forces her neck

and head downward.<sup>23</sup> Another cartoon entitled *The Fashionable Dresses For The Year 1776*, printed for Carington Bowles (also issued as *BOB BLUNT in AMAZE or FEMALE FASHIONABLE FOLLIES*) illustrates just how high (and precariously) the hair could be worn.



Image courtesy of Yale Centre for British Art

Eighteenth century society had its amusements, which were in many respects comparable to our own: Vauxhall and Ranelagh, the Royal Academy, museums and fairs, balls, assemblies, operas, theatre and shopping. In a well-researched film, *Plunkett And Maclean* (1999), the viewer is invited to make comparisons in this respect between the eighteenth century and our own time. This is specifically so in relation to 'club culture', where music and fashion are taken to extremes. The

<sup>23</sup> Amanda Foreman, *Georgiana, Duchess Of Devonshire* (London: Harper Collins, 1998), opposite p. 240

fashionable elite, Macaroni Men (and their female equivalent) with their high hair and fashionably restrictive clothes, are juxtaposed to the club music of the twentieth century. The extremes of fashion are marked by an equal measure of extreme behaviour. Balls and assemblies are where those following fashion and pursuing an increasingly extreme modish-ness go to be 'seen'.

It is indeed necessary to dwell at some length on the detail of fashion to appreciate fully the context in which reading was likely to take place, and to be reminded that the book was available not just as a source of reading matter, but as a potential fashion object to accompany the public forms of stylish dressing in male and female alike. Brewer (Pleasure Of The Imagination, 1997) suggests for example that circulating libraries (specifically those in Bath, or Margate) offered 'spacious surroundings in which the customers could gossip, flirt, browse'.<sup>24</sup>

Brewer provides several engravings of circulating libraries and each offers an insight into the perception of the social interaction prompted by reading. Thomas Malton's engraving of Hall's Library by Georgiana Jane Keate (1789) is a germane example of the fashionable at play, using the guise of book selection as a backdrop to the important matter of socialising. People lean or sit, parade the length of the room, lapdogs fight amongst themselves or perform tricks for their mistress, and little attention is actually paid to the books. However, in Isaac Cruikshank's Circulating Library (1800-1815) the books are the focus of the proprietor, the assistant, and at least one of the three women present. The attire in both engravings is fashionable although the occupants of Hall's Library are the more extreme. A third engraving of Lackington's bookshop 'The Temple Of Muses' shows a palladian interior complete with galleried bookshelves. Whilst people appear to be posing, the books are their focus due to the sensitive arrangement by Lackington. In addition, and perhaps with some understanding of the reading public, Lackington has thoughtfully

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<sup>24</sup> Brewer, Pleasures Of The Imagination, p.176

provided a 'lounging room' where people perhaps tightly corseted could sit a little more easily than they could in the course of social interaction.<sup>25</sup>

Whilst it is more likely that reading a book took place when the reader was in a relative state of undress, *because* reading was such a 'craze' it often became part of the way people behaved in public. Reference has already been made to this 'public' reading; it was almost certainly a matter of performance than true reading.

At this point, I would like you, the reader, to pause and consider just how much determination (and 'self' absorption) it would have required to be able to read, when wearing the clothes I have described above. What position are you in at this moment to facilitate your reading this text (and were you able to move with comfort and ease the moment you became self-conscious about it?) The rise of the novel (a common literary form today) becomes a much more impressive achievement when set in this context.

If we move forward, to the mid-nineteenth century, extremes of fashion persist. Wearing tightly-fitting whalebone corsets, down-filled petticoats and crinolines, hidden beneath voluminous dresses of heavy taffetas or silk, a woman must walk with 'a swift, small gliding walk, the feet rarely if ever revealed'.<sup>26</sup> To read a book dressed in such a manner would involve the arrangement of the dress and underskirts to preserve modesty. A woman would perch demurely on the edge of a chair, with her back thrust upright, or, in a more languid half-leaning pose. The journalist, Julia Robson, recounts that The Lancet reported corset-related deaths at the rate of one a year from 1860 to 1890.<sup>27</sup>

From the beginning of the twentieth century the nature of fashion changed dramatically and clothes gave greater freedom of movement. Today the modern reader has the freedom to perch on the edge of a chair, lean, slouch, lie, lounge or

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<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, pp.177, 178 and 189

<sup>26</sup> Hill & Bucknell, The Evolution Of Fashion, p.166

<sup>27</sup> Julia Robson, "Vanity Before Sanity: Don't Become A Fashion Victim" The Daily Telegraph, London 20/11/01

even sit upright, the formality dictated only by the social circumstances in which they find themselves. Even using a traditional computer, a laptop or an e-book to read, the reader may adopt a pose that maximises comfort.

Technological advances, and numerous alterations to our physical environment, have made reading easier today, although modern technology has supplied a greater facility for interruptions. Telephones, pagers, and e-mails that announce their arrival now frequently disturb what was once a solitary pursuit. The modern reader has the luxury of central heating, and smokeless, clean light when darkness falls. Although we pay for using the utilities that provide light and warmth, we are no longer taxed on the number of windows in our houses, and furniture in the home and clothes are bought to maximise comfort and relaxation. For those who immerse themselves totally in the act of reading, an oft-repeated fantasy is that of curling up in a vast well-cushioned and comfortable chair, or, perhaps, to lie snugly abed, supported by down-filled pillows, with a good book. A 'good book' may often be described as an engrossing story encased in a beautiful binding (rather than something in an electronic format). Like our forbears, chocolate usually features somewhere in the equation, only in the eighteenth century they served theirs hot, as a breakfast drink.

To gain a greater understanding of the differences met by readers, I felt that it would be educative to observe how a modern group (a mixed group of second year undergraduates) would cope with the environmental factors faced by eighteenth century readers.<sup>28</sup> To introduce my subject, and to provide some measure of the processes that involved in bringing a book to our hands, I undertook to present a brief history of printing. My purpose was twofold; firstly, to give some idea of the complexities of book production; an object that (for the most part) we take for granted. Secondly, to carry out a practical inquiry to support my hypothesis: that

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<sup>28</sup> It was not possible to replicate entirely because of the health and safety regulations of the university.

the act of reading must necessarily incorporate both physical and intellectual responses. It has become clear from the responses to the questionnaire that it is impossible to separate the reading experience distinctly into its constituent parts. This is where my fashion hobby-horse began increasingly to justify the time spent on it. The session was divided into two parts. Introducing my topic, I asked the students to consider what the book as a physical object meant to them. Several replied that they normally thought of books as individual objects, and not collectively. For others:

- 'I have to say I think of books mostly as old friends, they are things I have come to trust.'
- 'I think the book represents a tradition of literary achievement. I'm not putting this very well, but that tradition is a very varied one, but it all comes together somehow. The book is important to our culture.'
- 'The book as an object represents wisdom and learning, although I know it can also be a source of entertainment.'
- 'When I see old books of the kind we saw at the John Soane museum, I take them to represent culture and history as well as value. Modern books are too varied to stand for any one thing.'
- 'The book as an object represents a kind of companion.'
- 'In certain places, books together do represent wealth. They can represent an aspect of the life of the person who has collected them.'
- 'I have always thought of the book as a thing that brings together what needs to be known on any particular subject. I suppose this includes novels. However, learning about post modernism suggests this might not be the case! But I still tend to think it mostly is.'

Their tutor, John Williams (an impartial observer) noted that

**A primary aim of the exercise was to extend the student's perception of the 'text' and the 'book', and apply this perception to their study of eighteenth century literature. The students were encouraged to view the texts they normally studied primarily as academic objects of interest, as a consequence of the a technological process of production that existed within an economic and social matrix as well as being the creative work of the author. (Williams, Appendix C)**

Although the students were not used to thinking about the book either as an object or as a symbol, I would argue that their responses were no less typical than those of the eighteenth century readers for whom the book

was a symbol of wealth, of education, of freedom and of breeding, and who built a whole social structure around it.<sup>29</sup>

To recap my earlier comments in Chapter 2, section 3, the use of the book as a symbol is well documented in the portraiture of the eighteenth century. The sitters pose alongside elegantly bound volumes sometimes formal, with the titles prominently displayed; sometimes the books are in elegant disarray with the titles teasingly out of focus. However the pose is struck, the books are there to convey a sense of erudition, and of a wealth of enlightenment. We also see a dissolving of the boundaries of 'fashion' and 'literature'; books may be 'worn' in the sense that clothes may be 'worn'.

The first half of the session focussed on the physical processes involved in the making of a book. It was my intention to demonstrate that a book is more than the narrative, that it has validity not only as an object in itself, but that the object contributes subtly to the reading experience. By discussing elements of the history of printing, papermaking and of the common bindings used in the eighteenth century, I was able to suggest just how significant was the rise of the novel in the eighteenth century. Moreover, I was able to convey some idea of the complexities of the process that brings a book into their hands.

The second half of the session was designed to be an interactive exercise in creative thinking. It was important that the students were comfortable with the group participation. As a group, they were very relaxed and easy with each other, and as their tutor observed the experiment went well:

**The session as a whole had a considerable impact on all the students. They all expressed themselves able to engage in the reading exercise because of the way it had been organised and presented. No one said that they felt embarrassed or unconvinced of the usefulness of the session. (Williams, Appendix C)**

During the break, two of the four curtains in the classroom were closed to reduce ambient lighting conditions. Ensuring that no one suffered from allergies, cotton

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<sup>29</sup> Wendy Creed, Lecture Notes (2001), see chapter 2, Section 3

wool balls (onto which lavender oil had been drizzled) were placed on a table in the centre of the room. On the table was a small lamp that gave off a dim glow, this was used to simulate candlelight. Students were asked to reposition their chairs so that they were facing sideways on from their desks. They were also told to close their eyes, to sit up, with their shoulders back and their backs straight as though they were corseted in eighteenth century fashion.

Once I had set the scene, they were instructed to open their eyes and read a complete excerpt taken from The Malefactors Register or, The Newgate And Tyburn Calendar, scaled down to the size of a small eighteenth century volume. The Malefactors Register, now commonly know as The Newgate Calendar, is a collection of court minutes from the period. The scene was set as follows:

**I want you to look at this picture:**



"1770 George III"<sup>30</sup>

**Paying particular attention to the woman's dress.**

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<sup>30</sup> Hill & Bucknell Evolution Of Fashion, p.130

Now close your eyes -- I want you to try and visualise the scene I am going to set before you -- I want you to adjust your body with each new piece of information.

I want you to imagine that you are a young woman.

The year is 1770 and George III is on the throne.

It is dusk and you are waiting for your parents who are dressing -- and you are sitting in the drawing room of an old townhouse.

What light there is comes from one window and the fallow candles which spit and smoke, and the fire.

You will be attending your first ball -- and because this is your first public engagement you are excited - your pulse is a little faster and your breathing shallower.

You are dressed in the height of elegant fashion:

You are wearing a narrow-boned corset, which forces you to sit upright

SIT UPRIGHT NOW

You cannot take deep breaths because your chest is flattened and movement is severely restricted.

You cannot sit on the chair properly because of the voluminous open skirt. Under the skirt is a hooped under-skirt metal, or whale bone, stuffed with horsehair extending sideways from your hips. There is eight yards of material in your dress.

MOVE FORWARD ON YOUR CHAIR  
KEEP YOUR BACK STRAIGHT

The sleeves of your dress are tight-fitting -- falling in a lace cascade but they are heavy because lead weights have been placed in the sleeve to make them hang properly.

Your shoes of kid or brocade are sharply pointed and heeled, and they pinch.

Your hair has been extended by pads, and artificial hair. It is dressed with powder and pomade. It is gigantic with curls and plaits and loops. It is further crowned by an assortment of feathers, flowers and fruit.

Your head is itchy from the heat of the hair and you probably have head lice.

Your neck aches from the weight of it all.

In addition, sewn into the front of your corset is lavender, the smell of which is very strong.

Your servant has just brought you the latest copy of the Newgate Calendar from the circulating library. Your parents do not approve of your reading because as Mr Sheridan says

a circulating library in town is an evergreen tree of diabolical knowledg[.] they who are so fond of handling the leaves will long for the fruit at last[...].<sup>31</sup>

But you try to snatch a stolen moment before your parents join you -- at any moment.

NOW OPEN YOUR EYES AND READ

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<sup>31</sup> Richard Brinsley Sheridan, *The Rivals* (London: J. M. Dent, 1907), p.18, Act 1, sc. ii

At this point the students were asked to read "The Singular Case Of John Smith, called HALF-HANGED SMITH, who was convicted, but escaped Death in a most remarkable manner" from the Newgate Calendar.<sup>32</sup> Whilst they tried to maintain an upright position and keep their breathing as shallow as they comfortably could many soon returned to their usual position for reading within an easygoing classroom situation. Shoulders were relaxed and rounded, whilst others leant across the desk. One student tried to maintain the reading position throughout but in the end, even she was defeated by the need for her own comfort and adopting a position her eighteenth-century counterpart would have been unable to do in her fashionable apparel. Many of the respondents to the questionnaire stated that personal comfort and the way a books feels is important to their reading experience. Discomfort caused by clothing (or the book-as-object) can prevent a reader from engaging successfully with the narrative.



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<sup>32</sup> The Newgate Calendar (London: Folio Society, 1951), pp.24-26

### **Marks of Ownership**

Investigation into responses to the book-as-object will invariably lead to consideration of the individual copy. If the textual scholar examines aspects of presentation and content arising from or surrounding the production of a specific edition or imprint, and the reader-response critic addresses the manner in which the reader responds to the text received from that edition or imprint, a point at which the disciplines must converge is clear. Ultimately, the reader responds to an individual copy of a book - to a single presentation of the text and/or to the single specific object in which it is presented. The idea of an 'individual copy' is an oxymoron unless the conjunction between book-as-object and reader provides the focus. If notions of the text or the imprint are separated from the book in the reader's hand, then the copy is perfect (and cannot be distinguished as individual) and only the presence of a specific reader at a specific time can separate one copy of a book from another. Conversely, if the object itself takes precedence over the text or the imprint then no commonality exists - Crusoe is never Crusoe twice, and the experience of reading one individual book must bear nothing in common with reading a different one.

Whilst the history of the borrowing and lending of books is unquestionable, the ownership of books by individuals is common, and extensive. Though most people would claim that they buy a book 'to read it', the reality is that the purchase of a book is not necessarily a prerequisite for the acquisition of the text (by which I mean the experience of reading and responding to the text). That people should own books suggests that acquisition of the text alone is often insufficient; in some cases this may not be an objective at all. This leads to the proposition that ownership of the book is in some way important to the individual. It could be argued that book

ownership is a matter of convenience, of having the text 'to hand', but the importance of the form of the book-as-object, coupled with the propensity of book buyers to buy a book before having read it implies that convenient access to the text cannot be the sole objective. Owners also often mark their books in some manner to signify ownership; again convenience could provide a motivation here - that by marking ownership the book is more likely to remain on hand, not to be stolen, to be returned if borrowed - but the same counter-arguments apply. Irrespective of this, in owning a book the owner owns an 'individual copy' of that book, and in marking it the owner imprints on the individual copy a trace of that individual copy's history.

Within this context, the role of provenance in textual scholarship comes to have a bearing on any assessment of reader responses to the book-as-object. If reception is the massed product of individual readers responding to individual copies of a book, then provenance research allows textual scholars to derive tangible evidence of the history and effectiveness of the transmission process through instances of reception. Furthermore, the marks of ownership present on an individual copy are present in subsequent receptions of that individual copy, present to be responded to by the next reader.

During the course of my researches at the British Library, a significant number of the antiquarian editions examined displayed (to greater or lesser degrees of complexity) signs of ownership: a signature, a monogram, or an armorial (either as a bookplate or in the binding). Such personalised decoration (internal or external) can convey information about the period during which a particular owner lived, the social class to which that person belonged, or specifically when the book was in circulation: who was reading what, when, and how the books were being marketed to or for the readers.

The illustration below is a reproduction of the endpapers from The Tatler (1747). The book has had at least eight owners including myself (one name, J. King, is obscured by the pastedown repair to the endpaper). Mr Justice Rooth (the Die-Sinker bookplate) was presumably a magistrate and the book remained in his family for at least three generations. Whilst it is difficult to assess whether the book originated from Thomas Street's circulating library and was spirited away by one of those named in the book, what is fascinating about this particular edition is that it is overburdened with proof of ownership carrying as it does three different styles of bookplate, one stamp, three signatures and signs of both individual and library ownership.



**Circulating library bookplate & Die Sinker Bookplate of Mr Justice Rooth**

Although a proportion of the editions examined were not marked, this does not preclude their having been marked at some earlier juncture. The absence of markings may be the result of restoration, and provenance research can be hindered if (for example) the endpapers have been removed or the book has been rebound or cannibalised; but equally the addition of markings may obscure traces of previous owners.

In the case of Sir Veltius Cornwall Bart's second edition of *Evelina*, 1779, the bookplate was pasted over another larger plate of Sir George Cornwall. If related (perhaps father and son, on the basis of both having the same armorial crest) why did Veltius paste directly over George's plate?<sup>33</sup> Certainly any answers are speculative, but might the answer lie in his relationship with George (a desire to remove the name of his relative) or his status within the family? Perhaps Veltius was not the main beneficiary of the will, and living apart from the deceased's household, was left a selection of books. Possibly covering the original plate was no more than a 'convenience marking' as book theft was so common in the eighteenth century. Alternatively, if Veltius was the eldest son inheriting the library, he may have been marking his ascendancy. Ancestral research (in combination with the application of provenance research techniques using documents such as sale notices and catalogues, receipts and legal documents) can explain the reasons for transfer of ownership, and prompt speculation on the human motivation behind the remarking of the book; but without the evidence provided by the individual copy itself -- with the markings and bookplates as starting points -- even speculative questions about the book's reception would be impossible. Crucially, the plate has not been removed, merely covered, and because it carries an armorial crest it would be possible to trace the genealogy of the book and the family if the library was broken up or sold. What this bookplate tells the reader is that the book remained in the family for at least three generations.

People who mark the pages in some way are saying something specific: 'this is *my* book'. Reasons for marking a book may include: pride of ownership, fear of theft, custom, habit, fashion, vanity, posterity, provenance, or reference. The act of marking is personal. It crystallises aspects of an otherwise vague or indeterminate past, and makes finite the path from production and transmission through a series

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<sup>33</sup> It was difficult to read the first letter of the succeeding plate and it could have been a 'D' or a 'V'

of receptions to the current reader. Furthermore, finding marks of ownership precipitates responses in this reader about the responses of other historical readers, and the marks themselves are read as part of the book itself. Did other readers admire the binding as I do; did they stroke the leather noticing that it is paradoxically cool, yet warm to the touch? Did the singular and simple beauty of the volume, the grain of the leather and the elegant gold-leaf tooling affect them? If and when they turned the crisp pages to begin the story did they smile? For me the physical experience of the book-as-object is as crucial as the act of reading itself. The replies to my questionnaire (Appendix A) would suggest that I am not alone in responding to the book both intellectually, and as a tangible sensory stimulus.

It is evident that in provenance research a cautious approach is a prerequisite because the reader's interaction with the object is not necessarily what it might first appear to be. Citing Seneca, Nicholas Barker ("Libraries And The Mind Of Man", 2001) illustrates how books may be bought for reasons other than to read. Seneca considered the library at Alexandria a 'learned extravagance' bought to impress, and suggested that books might be bought as 'ornaments for a dining room'. His contention is that books must be used as aids to knowledge and not treated as artefacts.<sup>34</sup> This cynicism is apposite; the reader's relationship with the book-as-object as a symbol (given that even in Seneca's time books were used to impress) has not changed. Certainly eighteenth century readers posed with their books, and even now we may assess (or be assessed) by the books in our homes. Dependent upon the assessors viewpoint, quantity or physical quality may take precedence over authorship or content. Furthermore, books may be hidden to the visitor's eye, either in a room designated as a library or -- perhaps most strikingly -- in a 'virtual' environment.

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<sup>34</sup> Nicholas Barker, "Libraries And The Mind Of Man", A Potencie Of Life: Books In Society (London: The British Library, 2001), p.183

Books may be bought, they may be inherited, they may be received as gifts; and they may have sentimental, physical or monetary significance to the owner. Books may remain unread, kept only for display, or only because disposing of them seems sacrilegious, or is merely a low priority task; but certainly the book-as object can be acquired as the result of motivations quite independent of the acquisition of the text. Books are purchased for physical beauty, for rarity or for unusual features such as typographical errors, or by the yard for 'themed' public houses and restaurants.<sup>35</sup>

Motives for ownership are as diverse as the interests of the individual reader, but whilst attempts to clarify an historical trend in either reading or collecting the book-as-object may be difficult without diaries, letters, reviews and other personal and social documents, at least the possibility of determining fragments of the ownership chain of a traditional book exists. With the advent of the computer-generated volume, a new dimension is being attached to reading and to book owning patterns. Now that it is possible to read a book using a computer, what information will be admissible as evidence of prior or current ownership? The computer-generated book as an artefact may prove to be resistant to orthodox analysis with regard to provenance research.

Popular bookplates such as the Jacobean shield (symmetrical pre-1700-1745), the Chippendale shield (asymmetrical 1740-1780), the Wreath and Ribbon shield (central supported by wreathes and ribbons, 1737-1840) or the Die-sinker style popular in the nineteenth century, allow at least temporal placement of ownership, and can elicit responses, even if no other marks exist. Even after the fashion for heraldic plates ceded to the pictorial, the longevity of the individual volume left a trail of ownership. Longevity, however, is not necessarily a term that can or will be applied to individual computer-generated editions, despite their potential immunity to physical

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<sup>35</sup> I have a single volume of *Camilla* by Frances Burney, and published by J. M. Dent in 1893, the cover states that it is volume I but on the title page that it is volume II

decomposition (being infinitely and exactly replicable digital data). The digital volume is mutable as a physical object, its bindings are upgradeable hardware valued for technological advancement, rather than originality. It is difficult to envisage future readers retaining, restoring or replicating archaic computer hardware and software in order to present the digital book in the physical manner in which it was rendered when first acquired by an owner. The marks of ownership present themselves as settings (such as font size and colour) that are un-enduring but eminently flexible, and that can be altered to suit the personal preferences and the physical needs of the individual reader while leaving the underlying copy, the digital text, exactly the same. The book-as-object cannot be changed in this way and change can only be instigated through either the resolution of problems at the reception end -- perhaps glasses for poor eyesight or the purchase of a new (and larger print) edition. The text and the imprint are bound to the individual copy.

When running a computerised volume on a more powerful machine, a different operating system or 'reader-software' may alter the physical appearance of the electronic book. Typically, the presentation of a book (to date) on-line places emphasis on the textual and is not concerned with the features traditionally associated with the physical attributes of the hand-held object (beyond the typographical representation of the text). For example, Project Gutenberg is a volunteer service the aim of which is to provide as many free texts as possible within the World Wide Web environment. Texts are transferred to the Gutenberg website in a 'raw' form, without adornment or elaborate formatting. With regard to the few sites that show an interest in physical format in the world of virtual books, there is a clear division between those that focus on documenting and illustrating the physical aspects of existing traditional books (such as the Bibliographical Society), and those booksellers moving into the realm of the virtual (such as Barnes and Noble) whose digital publications, adopting a subset of

traditional features, mimic some of the adornments of the physical book in order to encourage readers to feel comfortable with the coverless virtual offering.

The visual representation of the book on the computer monitor is dependent upon the hardware and software. An antiquated machine may render a poor image, and thus deter the reader from attempting to read or examine a book on-line. A computer with a more powerful operating system allows pages to be rendered by the hardware and software more quickly. A larger screen provides a bigger frame for the book to be set against, with the capability to present the 'pages' at a better resolution.<sup>36</sup> As the physical materials and production methods employed in creating a traditional book affect the visual appearance, readability and 'user-friendliness' of the volume, so the hardware and software delivering the virtual book affect how it is received by its reader. The difference is that (at least in part) the digital reader is responsible for the selection of the paper (screen), the type (font) and the colour and density of the ink (brightness, contrast, palette). But poor selection of hardware, a less meticulous software publisher, or pirated software, can still provide the equivalent of a cheap paperback or a poorly printed pirated copy, rather than an expensive, carefully presented volume.

Difference beyond the reader's immediate control may still occur in the way in which the machine interprets what it is given. Presentation derives primarily from a set of instructions (controlling visual appearance) given to the computer (and a matter for individual preference). For example, this thesis uses the font 'Boswell<sup>TM</sup>' for the bodytext, and 'Octavian<sup>TM</sup>' for the headings and footnotes. A chapter sent to my supervisor by email is rendered on his computer, but without these fonts installed, his software selects substitutes, substantially altering physical appearance. Yet, although the physical setting has changed, the words remain the same, and

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<sup>36</sup> The resolution is the pixel density of screen area. The more pixels there are in a given area of screen, the sharper the image (up to the point at which human cannot perceive the pixels as being separate). An obvious analogy would be the paintings of the Impressionist movement, specifically Monet where the image becomes blurred the closer the observer is to the canvas

this *ad hoc* 'interpretation' of the words adds another layer of complexity to the exercise.

The interaction of the computer with the data is perhaps best explained as a reader attempting to read a piece of writing with blurred or imperfect eyesight. If the recipient machine has the right glasses, then the visual fault is corrected and the data is read perfectly. The computer acts as an interim dumb reader and, whilst it tries to represent the data supplied as best it can, if the right tools are not in place there may be a significant difference in the final result.

How, then, does the reader mark a virtual book as their own property? Provenance has thus far not been an issue for owners of computer-generated books and current traditional publishers' and booksellers' interests in the physical object may not extend beyond the production of a book that will sell. Whilst higher quality and fine volumes are still produced today, these are often targeted at specialist or even collectors' markets. The main emphasis in the book market remains firstly the exposure of the reader to at least some of the text, and secondly, financial efficacy -- the same philosophy adopted by eighteenth century printers who flooded the market with chapbooks.

The researcher may find tracing a computer volume in some ways easier than tracing the equivalent physical object. A book bought as CD software or as a download will usually require purchasers to identify themselves to the vendor in some manner. A license key is usually required to run commercial software, and registration or product activation (where the user must register their ownership in order for the software to operate) is an increasing trend. Even free software often requires a user to register on a website before downloading: the result being that (as a minimum) a cookie identifying you may be set in your browser allowing your downloads to be tracked. There are other ways of tracking the delivery of items obtained from the internet: if the site insists you log-in, for example, if you have a fixed IP address, or if your licence key is delivered to you by e-mail. Recorded

ownership of the book, whilst hidden, may be present (either with the book or externally stored) and if software is moved to another machine information is carried with a copy. It may indeed be possible in some circumstances to trace the original owner and subsequent line of ownership.

Interpreting marks of ownership on computer-generated editions is for the moment confined to the labelling of the external means of presentation -- rather than the digital book itself -- and may be confusing. For example, my own computer is one of a series of networked computers. Two cases are labelled using my favourite author and his work, Daniel (as in Defoe), and the second is labelled Moll. I can carry software and data from computer to computer using hard-drive 'caddies', which either computer will accept, but I have to enter a number in order to identify to the caddy in which computer it is located, in order for it to be able to operate successfully.<sup>37</sup>

If I was to be the subject of future provenance research, the evidence presented on the basis of the labelling would certainly be obfuscated because I was not responsible for the actual naming of the cases. The software engineer who set up the network labelled them, based on his knowledge of my interests; yet given those interests any likely interpreter would attribute the naming of them to me (in the absence of documentary evidence to the contrary). My caddies also have labels, each having been labelled by me, one is 'Wendy PhD' and the other is 'Wendy Work'. A future scholar researching my computer for evidence of reading would find my labelling confusing because each caddy carries its own removable hard drive containing elements of both my work *and* my research. Although the book is the subject of my thesis and should therefore logically be stored on the 'Wendy PhD' drive, the software for reading computerised books and the 'library' are stored on

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<sup>37</sup> A textual scholar analysing the book-as-object from within a computer environment would have to have expertise in computer science to understand the significance of the underlying programming to the book viewed on the screen.

my 'work' drive. Readers are not necessarily logical in their approach to filing and storing relevant information even when using a logic-based system! In addition I also access book sites on-line that do not require a formal reading apparatus (such as dedicated software), only a computer with the capability to interpret and present Hypertext Mark-up Language (HTML). The only physical marks a reader may leave are those of adornment of the computer itself and the reader may share a computer with several other people.

As a book may have more than one volume so too may a computer have more than one piece of hardware (over time) and therefore multiple marks of ownership. My personal marks of ownership are a series of pencilled scribbles and instructions on the monitor borders apropos my thesis. There are photographs, pictures and post-it notes stuck to the frame, and a pennant from the 'Richard III Society'; but such decoration is transient and can be removed easily. A book would have to be mutilated to remove previous marks of ownership. Indeed the cannibalising of books by bookplate collectors seems to have been popular as early as the seventeenth century when practitioners such as Thomas Rawlinson (1681-1725) collected autographs. It was a practice still carried out in Victorian times; John Ruskin (1819-1900), for example, saw portfolios of miniatures and decorated initials as aids to education. Yet, it is important to consider that the removal of bookplates and signatures from albums may have preserved marks of ownership which might otherwise have been lost entirely. It is only a shame that in many instances the sources are un-catalogued; because the books that were lost are now irreplaceable.

The computer also presents a conundrum for the researcher. If we consider how the reader may add bookplates or sign a traditionally published book then it is clear that there is less physical permanency in the way that a computer-generated book is marked by the reader and as yet, it is certainly not possible to write on the title

page. Highlighting or comments may be erased by the owner (or subsequent owners) or lost through software error. Whilst much of this (or its equivalent) also holds true for the paper-based object, the removal of marks is less easily effected without causing damage to the object itself. Moreover, unlike a book the physical marks added to the pages are not stored together. Preferences for overall presentation are not stored in the document *per se*; data for a marked or highlighted page is sent to a separate file. When the page is generated, the computer is told to find that file and read the instructions. With the traditional book format the information remains in situ permanently.

In this chapter I have tried to illustrate the complexity of the subject 'reception' through a series of discrete discussions. Reception of the book is not the same as the reception of the text, and whilst traditional viewpoints have revolved around the acquisition of the text as being the primary objective of the reader, it can be seen that the 'reader' may not only be led to acquisition of the text by the book-as-object, but may also consider acquisition of the object as the superior or even sole objective. William Carew Hazlitt (1843-1913) believed that the physical object was critical to the reader as he makes clear in The Book Collector (1904):

A man acts foolishly, if he spends more money on books than anything else that he can afford, but his folly will be increased not diminished, by his spending on the mean and common place rather than on fine and uncommon works.<sup>38</sup>

Whilst the majority of readers combine some elements of each approach in the selection of a book, the significance of the response to the physical object through a series of environmental and psychological filters, cannot be understated. If the

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<sup>38</sup> William Carew Hazlitt, The Book Collector: A General Survey Of The Pursuit And Those Who have Engaged In It Abroad From The Earliest Period To The Present Time ( London: John Grant, 1903)

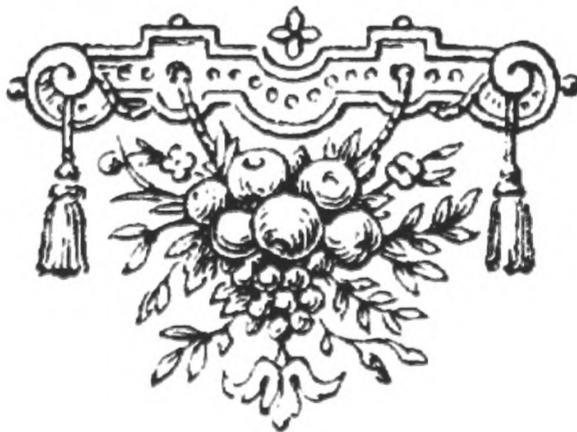
book-as-object can provide motivation for its acquisition independent of the narrative, then it follows that negative reactions are also possible and that the book-as-object can provide reasons for the rejection of a book independent of the narrative content. Crucially the reader's response to the physical book is significant and this discussion of aspects of reception provides an objective framework to support the subjective opinions expressed by respondents to the questionnaire.

Of the novelists whose work I have chosen to examine in my thesis, only Defoe's Crusoe has remained in print every year from the first edition, and therefore provides the most consistent reception history. Robinson Crusoe is perhaps one of the most extensively illustrated English novels, and as such, illustration may have played a part in this book's popularity. Whilst the novels of Penelope Aubin, Eliza Haywood, Henry Fielding, Sarah Fielding, Samuel Richardson, Frances Burney, Ann Radcliffe and Matthew Lewis were popular in their day (and now have a new audience), they have suffered from inconsistent publication histories in comparison to Defoe's Crusoe. However, illustration and specifically the adornment of the cover plays a crucial part for the publisher as a 'bait' for the reader and perhaps with this in mind the gothic deserves special consideration because of the way in which the stories were extensively and dramatically illustrated.

From the perspective of Textual Scholarship therefore, reception is much more than the technicalities of historical documentation: chronology, audience reaction or a listing of the differences in the changing (or non-changing) formats. Although Textual Scholarship has a reputation for being obsessively technical in its methodology and application, in practise it is bound to embrace elements of Reader Response and Reception theory as they apply to the book as a physical object, and its publication history. So too, reader response and reception theorists must consider that textual scholarship is as germane to their theories as theirs is to textual scholarship. Important to both sets of critics is the history of the book-as-object. Why might the reader select an old book rather than buy the same edition in a

modern paperback? The enthusiasm for an old volume is an anachronism better understood when the book-as-object is viewed in an historical context. History (although readers can never know 'historical truth') plays an important role in the lives of every reader either as a positive affirmation of their 'self' or their 'culture', or as a denial of its importance in their lives. Furthermore, the reader will view the book-as-object (and the narrative) from the perspective of self-created boundaries. The responses to the questionnaire suggest that these boundaries will almost certainly include a response to the physical format as that which either inhibits or enhances the reading experience. I have attempted to show that critics of all persuasions will at some point engage with these issues, whether or not they formally admit that they have done so.

Finally, as the reader responds not just to the text but to the book-as-object itself (including a computer-generated edition) he or she will be responding to the situation in which the book is acquired, held, handled or stored. In conjunction with social circumstances and personal preferences, marking the book as one's own is part of the experience, as is looking at the pictures, or sitting in quiet wonderment in the British Library.





## Chapter Six: Conclusions





## Chapter 6: Conclusions

To bring this long turn of our affairs to a conclusion  
Daniel Defoe Robinson Crusoe (1719)

[ 1 ]

Traditionally, a doctoral thesis is presented in a prescribed 'neutral' format. The ostensible purpose of such a format is to minimise or 'level' the responses of both the writer and the examiners to aspects of presentation, to ensure that their focus rests on the text itself. Whilst it is reasonable to suggest that readers with shared cultural backgrounds should be inclined to respond in the same way to the same presentation, should the commonality of a presentation discount it as a factor influencing the judgements of the readers? The reality is that examiners will still respond, even to a 'neutral' format, as they will to the text itself (also common to the readers), in different ways. If each reader's responses to an identical text are different, then surely each reader's responses to a common format should also be so?

The purpose of this thesis has therefore been to bring to the fore a component of the reading process that is usually ignored yet which has significance for the reader. When first drawn to a book, there will be aspects of its physical appearance that spark an interest, and as the text is a construct of each individual, understood through a process known as reading, it is conceivable that the book-as-object is created in the same way. Indeed, the response to the object plays a significant part in the creation of a symbol that exists beyond the physical and intellectual act of

reading. It is with the object as it is with the text, everyone has their own criteria for what constitutes the most satisfying experience.

In the process of researching and developing my own textual content through hypothesis to thesis, I have been forced to consider its presentation, as I have had to consider and apply the principles of production, transmission, and reception. The framing of the book as object is generally intended to facilitate transmission of the text, and this object deviates from the traditional and more formal presentation of a doctoral thesis, in an attempt to achieve a softer, more flexible, book-like feel.

The formality or informality of a piece of writing, or of its physical presentation, precipitates the application of the codes and conventions described by Reader Response and Rezeption-Aesthetik theorists. How then does a reader respond to either, if the author of that work uses a style of writing or a layout that does not correspond to the work that the reader was expecting? How would you, the reader, have responded, presented with (and anticipating) a formal doctoral script, if the entire thesis had been written in blank verse, or presented as an illuminated manuscript? Culler makes this point succinctly when he encourages his readers to 'take a piece of journalism or a sentence from a novel and set it down on the page as a poem' (see page 29 above). Similarly, by changing the layout of a text, it is possible that the reader will remodel a perception previously constructed using their codes and conventions for an anticipated form of writing. Conversely, the reader (or reading community) may be unable to remodel, and so reject the unexpected or alien form.

I have included several pieces of 'creative' writing, in order to illustrate the sensory, visual, olfactory, tactile nature of this subject, and I have on occasion made overtly subjective comments when describing my responses to the physical object. Such subjectivity is a necessary part of providing evidence of this reader's response to the individual books discussed and, notwithstanding the use of the formal criteria supplied by textual scholarship to assess the object, visceral responses do not lack

validity. Physically, the font used here is a modern translation of an eighteenth-century typeface; its size and shape were chosen with care and the comfort of the reader in mind. Several eighteenth-century style fonts are much harsher to read, but by contrast this font ('Boswell') has an easier, rounder design. In editing this work, I had considered using further elements of eighteenth-century print culture, but when experimenting with layout I found that it was possible that they might be *too* disruptive to the reading process. Certain eighteenth century traits have been retained - the use of the printer's devices, for example. Where possible, illustrations are embedded within the text to avoid breaking the reader's concentration, whilst they search for separate plates or appendices at stages indicated by the author. The way in which the text is presented will ultimately affect the way in which the reader will respond to it, and the layout of this thesis is intended to complement my discussion of the book as a physical object.

Particularly important to my research has been my underlying interest in the way in which disciplines overlap (and particularly those of Literature, Literary Criticism, Art, Philosophy, Textual Scholarship, History, Social Science and Technology). Reader Response and *Rezeption-Aesthetik*, Memes and Textual Scholarship have played dominant roles in my research, providing me with the framework with which to investigate the elements of my hypothesis. All of the theoretical approaches applied sub-divide into separate orders, and supply the cardinal elements with which to create an holistic account of an individual (and sometimes idealised) reader. However, traditionally, critical theory is applied to the reader responding to the narrative and not to the object. In this concluding chapter Reader Response Theory and *Rezeption-Aesthetik* are now applied to the physical object with corroborative evidence supplied by Textual Scholarship (and my research) and juxtaposed with Meme theory.



In the Introduction, I discuss the notion of society and the impact that society must necessarily have on the individual's freedom. As an object, the book has contributed to the redefinition of our society in many ways: as a medium for the transmission of ideas, as a symbol (cultural *and* personal), and as a stable source of economic wealth. I would also suggest that the book-as-object reflects the reader's own social, cultural and economic circumstances. It may be (or may have been) a richly bound volume, a broadsheet or a chapbook, and the reader may have had extensive reading skills, or very few, but to the reader the book is much more than the sum of its parts. It is awarded a significance beyond that of the transmission and reception of a narrative.

From the inception of the printing industry the physical production of books has been a major economic force, both legally and illegally. The book is at once a symbol of wealth, education, and pleasure; or conversely an object dismissed by those who cannot read or vilified by those who perceive it or the message contained within to threaten their belief system. The book is created and manifests itself dually. Firstly, in its material existence, as it is sensually perceived and symbolically idealised, and secondly, as an intellectual catalyst. But, although the reader projects feelings, thoughts, and ideas onto the object before reading the text that it carries, the book-as-object can be seen to have a separate life from the individual reader. It has the potential to exist through many readers' lifetimes giving it an independent momentum, and it can lie dormant until such time as a reader engages or re-engages with it. However, such autonomy suggests phenomenological complexities that lie beyond the immediate scope of this discussion (Berkeley springs to mind - does a book really exist in the absence the perceiver?).

Books, like flags, are often symbolically burnt, both in real life and in literature. Ray Bradbury's Fahrenheit 451 (1953) is a pertinent example. 451 is the number

that adorns the helmet of the fireman protagonist, Guy Montag, and it is also the temperature at which the fire brigade incinerates the illegal books (and the houses which hold them). In Bradbury's futuristic world, the book is rejected because society is unable to accommodate not only the variety of reader responses (and their reading communities), but their inability to tolerate difference amongst themselves. In a case of art reflecting life, his own publishers censored Bradbury's work on censorship:

Only six months ago, I discovered that, over the years, some cubby-hole editors at Ballantine Books, fearful of contaminating the young, had, bit by bit, censored some 75 separate sections from the novel. Students, reading the novel which, after all, deals with the censorship and book-burning in the future, wrote to tell me of this exquisite irony. Judy-Lynn Del Rey, one of the new Ballantine editors, is having the entire book reset and republished this summer with all the damns and hells back in place.<sup>1</sup>

For Bradbury, that difference manifests itself in the narrative is necessary for the health of society:

for it is a mad world and it will get madder if we allow the minorities, be they dwarf or giant, orangutan or dolphin, nuclear-head or water-conversationalist, pro-computerologist or Neo-Luddite, simpleton or sage, to interfere with aesthetics. The real world is the playing ground for each and every group, to make or unmake laws. But the tip of the nose of my book or stories or poems is where their rights and my territorial imperatives begin, run and rule. If Mormons do not like my plays, let them write their own. If the Irish hate my Dublin stories, let them rent typewriters. If teachers and grammar school editors find my jawbreaker sentences shatter their mushmild teeth, let them eat stake cake dunked in weak tea of their own ungodly manufacture. If the Chicano intellectuals wish to re-cut my "Wonderful Ice Cream Suit" so it shapes "Zoot," may the belt unravel and the pants fall.

For, let's face it, digression is the soul of wit. Take the philosophic asides away from Dante, Milton or Hamlet's father's ghost and what stays is dry bones. Laurence Sterne said it once: Digressions, incontestably, are the sunshine, the life, the soul of reading! Take them out and one cold eternal winter would reign in every page. Restore them to the writer - he steps forth like a bridegroom, bids them all-hail, brings in variety and forbids the appetite to fail.

In sum, do not insult me with the beheadings, finger-choppings or the lung-deflations you plan for my works. I need my head to shake or nod,

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<sup>1</sup> "Censorship in the Age of Multiculturalism", <http://www.rjgeib.com/thoughts/451/451.html> (03/05/02)

my hand to wave or make into a fist, my lungs to shout or whisper with.  
I will not go gently onto a shelf, degutted, to become a non-book.<sup>2</sup>

Yet, for all his references to the text -- 'my (..) stories or poems', 'write their own', 'rent typewriters' -- in Fahrenheit 451 Bradbury chooses to symbolise the destruction of the text by the destruction of the object. The power inherent in the book-as-object is immediately apparent. Fahrenheit 451, pushes the concept of 'power' invested by the reader in the symbolic object book to extremes. Bradbury's perception of the narrative is equally applicable to the creation of the object. In Chapter Five (pp. 159-200 above), I discuss how changes to the text can potentially create a new object. By altering the metatext (see p.46 above) the editor shifts the emphasis of the words which constitute meaning for the author (and potentially for the reader), and must, at the same time, effect a physical transformation of the physical book.

A significant number of the responses to my questionnaire have illustrated that for many readers the book-as-object is irrevocably bound to the text. For some, the response to the object will over-ride the response to the text (although the reader may profess to ignore the object). If the book-as-object does not completely fulfil the criteria for the reader's ideal, the act of reading contains some level of conflict, or compromise, and may result in the rejection of both the text and the physical object. Meme theory is particularly germane to this aspect, where the host is critical to the meme's survival.

The meme, or unit of cultural transmission, is dependent on the host. The host is initially human, but subsequently may be the product of human invention, such as books, films, and songs. Most recently the host may be a computer which can (potentially) spread the meme to a much wider audience. This dependency I view as a continuum process with the human (or receptor) as the prime mover, perhaps acting

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<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

like a magnet attracting and repelling in equal measure. However, unlike a magnet, the human (or receptor) directs the momentum through the manifestation of their own psychological drive, described by Holland using the acronym 'DEFT' or Defence, Expectation, Fantasy, and Transformation. A reader will approach a piece of writing with a degree of expectation formed by personal preconceptions and the more formal codes and conventions. Defence occurs as the ego externalises any danger to create a personal defence and adaptation structure in which the reader will try to match the text to their own psyche, perceptions and ideas. The reader is then able to transform or fantasise the text in such a way as to negate any threat. For the meme to succeed in this environment it would have to offer no threat (real or potential) to the host. The meme's existence is dependent upon fidelity (accuracy in reproduction), fecundity (it must be both prolific and productive), and longevity. Just as infidelity in reproduction may cause the demise of a meme or set of memes, it is also true to say that inaccuracy in the reproductive process may produce a meme that is better adapted to survive. The initial flaw in the meme's survival is that of the human host. A human host may be lacking in the ability to provide one or more of the aforementioned criteria; however, the means with which a human host will transmit the meme may potentially provide all three.

There are two questions to be asked here, the first of which concerns the fundamental principles of memetic theory. Why do memeticists tend to ignore the role of the sentient being in the creation of the meme? The answer may lie in the starting position of meme theory, which begins with Dawkins and The Selfish Gene (page 38 above). Dawkins turned existing approaches to the propagation of people upside-down, when he suggested that the primary imperative of reproduction is a genetic one. Meme theory starts from this position substituting the meme for the gene but (differing from the selfish gene hypothesis) does not give particular credence to the human host's capability to respond to, accept, reject and pass on that meme. The meme is presented as a unit that has an imperative to find a host,

but that host is given little credence for 'reading' the meme. For example, consider the propagation of a seed that requires moist soil. If this seed lands on dry soil it may not germinate, or if it does, may die quickly. However, even if that seed lands on the soil appropriate for its special and genetic bias, it will still need the right environmental factors (such as light, and nutrients) to thrive. So the meme needs the right environmental conditions within the human host and if the response of that host is unfavourable then that particular meme is not cultivated and not passed on. Whilst discounting the ability of the host to 'read' may hold true for less evolved creatures, it does not take into account the complexities of the human consciousness. It neglects that aspect of the host (consciousness) that may lead to decisions connected with the environment that supports it. Nor does it consider that the host's decisions may lead to the meme's eventual rejection (a fact that Dawkins acknowledges with regard to the propagation of gene). I wish to argue that Reader Response theory and Rezeption-Aesthetik may well provide the extra element needed to complete the story.

To return to the second question, if we acknowledge the existence of the meme, how might it usefully explain the production, transmission and reception of a book? The reader will be attracted or repelled by the design of the book-as-object depending upon their own psychological profile, although there are certain elements that will be accepted by the reader as a given -- in that it must conform to the generally accepted concept of 'book'. In a dialogue between two characters in Death In A Delphi Seminar, Holland explains the psychological profile (or cognitive style) thus

**If you can imagine a person as having a central theme, the way a piece of music has a theme. Whatever's constant about that person. Whatever you mean when you say, "That's so like Norm." Call it an Identity theme.<sup>3</sup>**

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<sup>3</sup> Holland, Death In A Delphi Seminar, p. 73

In analysing the questionnaires, for instance, it would be impossible to comment on anything other than their particular styles. Addressing the detective, Holland, continues

I can't say anything factual about these people on the basis of their identity themes, anymore than an understanding of an author's style, how an author writes, would let you predict what an author will write.<sup>4</sup>

Whilst there have been many experiments with the format of the story, the reader expects it to have a beginning, a middle, and an end (although these may appear in any sequence). In Laurence Sterne's Tristram Shandy (1760) Shandy narrates the story prior to his birth. Similarly, in Daphne Du Maurier's Rebecca (1938) the heroine concludes the story before it is begun. William Burroughs in The Naked Lunch (1959), suggested (pre-empting the memeticists) that language is a virus, and that the image of a word is not same as the image of the thing that word represents. For this reason Burroughs experimented with his writing and applied a 'cut and paste' technique to it, looking for patterns in the presentation of the words. Mark Z. Danielewski's House Of Leaves (2000) is unusual for a novel, in that it has the reader referencing backwards and forwards through the book, using footnotes, an index, appendices and pages with the print upside down. Whilst such experimentation can excite and stimulate the reader, too much can prove to be vexatious. Centuries of an oft-repeated and traditional blueprint have perhaps created a dependent reader who craves the security that this style provides, and for the most part this is evident in the expectation that the physical object will also conform to a definite pattern, with a 'beginning', a 'middle', and an 'end'.

For the meme to survive or to evolve the book-as-object has to provide tempting bait, yet even this may prove inadequate and indeed the reader may over-ride the driving meme. Publishers, printers and booksellers apply every artifice and stratagem to coerce the reader in to buying their edition rather than someone else's. See

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<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, 73

Response 32 (p112 above). Consequently the basic design of the book has not changed, although elements may be adjusted to incorporate technological advance, or customer demand (or indeed rejection). Physical formats are oft repeated: the plain or the ornate binding, size (especially octavo or twelvemo), shape (rectangular), typefaces (well-defined), paper (wove) and styles of illustration. For example, today's printer no longer uses the long 's' or the smaller typeface of the Victorian period, and deckle-edged hand-made paper is not used in the bulk production of books. The first is a cultural change (and might be attributable to the meme), the second a technological one. Other factors (such as economics) may also play a part. The respondents' susceptibility to accepting or adapting to change is crucial to the success of new elements. Major alterations to the format of a familiar 'book' (unless offering substantial advantages) are less likely to be well received.

Does the meme assist or perhaps even drive the process of technological advance? Certainly, the history of publishing juxtaposed with the dissemination of ideas (units of cultural transmission -- the meme) could usefully be perceived in this way. In this context, the story of Defoe's protagonist, Robinson Crusoe, could be seen as one of the most successful memes in publishing history, after primary religious texts such as the Bible, or the Koran.<sup>5</sup> In print every year since 1719 the physical object, Crusoe, has been subject to ever-changing varieties of style and size to suit successive reading communities. It has also successfully transferred to other formats such as audiotape, film and theatre.

A pertinent illustration of ineffective or patchy meme survival may be found in the eighteenth century canon and in the significant number of eighteenth century writers (particularly women) who have not transferred to the twenty-first century reading communities. With regard to women writers, a large number disappear from view during the latter part of the long eighteenth century and more specifically during the Victorian and Edwardian periods. Some of these writers have been recently

rediscovered; in the past, male dominance of a classically centred academe has certainly contributed to the absence of women writers, but with the widespread education of women, the artistic, scientific and literary canons now more fairly reflect the contribution that one half of the population makes to society. In Living By The Pen (1992), Cheryl Turner lists 446 works of prose fiction published between 1696 and 1796. The failure of such a significant number of writers to be transmitted is an interesting anomaly.

In chapters three, four, and five I detailed the stages in the production, transmission, and reception of the book-as-text *and* the book-as-object. Created for, and by the reading public, it is apparent that the publication chain involves a series of complex interactions between the author, the literary agent, the publisher, the printer, the binder, the bookseller and by necessity the legal system (i.e. copyright and censorship regulations). To further complicate the mechanisms that bring a novel to the reader, the reading public is composed of many reading communities, some formal and specialised (academe), others less so. Indeed every participant in the chain of production above is a reader, and reads the text or the object from a specific perspective. Some reading communities are concerned only with the narrative, and others require the physical object to have particular attributes. The targeting of such communities by publishers, whose primary aim must be economic stability (and indeed profit), creates considerable difficulties. On balance, the fulfilment of public demands for reading material is (and has been) understandably driven by a perceived demand for the text. Publishers attempting to meet this demand often produce books at the expense of physical quality, a pattern of production that began before the industrialisation of book production during the long eighteenth century -- consider the charges aimed at Lackington -- and which continues today. The Logographic Press was set up to produce quality books quickly using the new innovation (logography or cemented types) but (at least initially) had a negative

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<sup>5</sup> See page 43 above and the problems of a static host.

impact on book quality. In 1788, John Bell, the printer, attacks what he considers to be the parlous productions of Samuel Richardson, John Baskerville and William Strahan, stating that

**I have perceived with regret that the Art of Printing has been very much neglected in England, and that it is still in a declining state -- expedition being attended to rather than excellence, and temporary gain preferred to lasting advantage.<sup>6</sup>**

P. M. Handover suggests that the 'elegant' edition was not a priority:

**John Walter I was typical of another group of printers when he used the word 'elegant' in connexion [sic] with his printing. Although he misapplied the adjective, he was echoing a keen interest in elegant printing that was voiced by a few people in the trade.<sup>7</sup>**

Brewer records that the publisher Robert Dodsley was besieged by high demands for cheap books.<sup>8</sup> Lackington was able to sell cheaper editions because he reduced his profits to half on new books, earning him the hostility of his fellow publishers (hence accusations of 'unmanly artifices', p.124 above), who sought to maintain the *status quo* of the long standing financial agreement amongst themselves. A financial agreement, which became known as the British net book agreement, fixed book prices until it was suspended in September 1995. It is quite apparent therefore just how costly the production of a book could be, and still is today, even though new technology has reduced the price of materials, and the time taken to produce them. In the eighteenth century ways to defray the cost were found, some legal as in the formation of congers and books shares, the abridgement of stories, and the sale of chapbooks, or by pirating (The Italian becomes The Midnight Assassin). If we consider the production of the novel from the eighteenth century to the present, would texts which have now disappeared have survived if, firstly, short term high profit married to meeting public gratification for text had not driven the manufacturing process? Or, secondly, if the perception that all novels should be physically and aesthetically substantial had prevailed?

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<sup>6</sup> Handover P.M., Printing In London, pp. 203-204

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, p.203

<sup>8</sup> Brewer, Pleasures Of the Imagination, p.157

My chosen authors have survived with varying degrees of success since publication, and the males perhaps more successfully than the females. Such survival may be to do with the technicalities of writing, or the subject matter (deemed unsuitable for women, specifically during the Victorian and Edwardian periods), but there are many reasons why a novel may not be transmitted down the years. Physical presentation may be a barrier and (to a reader researching new authors to re-publish) a small, fussy typeface or the peculiarities of the eighteenth-century print culture may prove to be too much of an obstacle especially where the story fails initially to engage the reader. In this context the publication history of Crusoe is astounding. For each new technological advance, there is an edition of Crusoe that reflects the skill and ingenuity of those in the production chain, whether it be an embossed or engraved cover such as the 1869 edition published by Hotten (with coloured illustrations), or Cassell's yellow ink edition of 1863.

For the most part problems with reception centre upon and result from the reader's inability to bond with the narrative. The subject matter of the novel (interpreted by the reader and viewed from an historical perspective) may be perceived as having little relevance, not least because change occurs in direct correlation to technological and scientific advance. Although fundamental concerns about life remain the same, the significant physical changes within society may leave the reader feeling that they are unable to relate to writing (or elements of the writing such as characterisation) which they regard as in some sense dated.

Reader orientated theorists have different perceptions of why this should be. Historical perspective (or distance) is described by Jauss as 'the horizon of expectations'. Bleich alludes to the idea of validity inasmuch as the work is only valid to a community if it has social relevance. Holland would define the rejection of the text as the inability of the readers' psyche to transform the work into a pleasurable (and safe) experience. For example, Richardson states that his aim in writing Pamela is to alert the initial audience, specifically the young (see page 160

above) to the perils of sexual opportunism and loss of reputation. The relevance of Richardson's heroine to the modern reader is necessarily limited not least because the dependency upon landed gentry as a source of work by the poorer classes is no longer commonplace!

Fielding's Amelia is another such novel. With neither the wit nor the roller-coaster excitement of his earlier novels (particularly Tom Jones), it is gentler in tone yet it is outwardly more paranoid in its depiction of human nature. Amelia is a female Job, and a paragon of virtue. For this reason some modern readers, more in tune with the Bridget Jones style of heroine, might find her passivity (in the face of her husband's disbelief in her goodness) hard to tolerate. Fielding's sister Sarah was considered an accomplished author in her time, and her novel David Simple (1744), has been recently re-appraised by twentieth and twenty-first century scholars. A picaresque tale (as is Tom Jones), the use of language adheres to early eighteenth century conventions but is more formal, and more guarded (in keeping with Sarah's position as a respectable spinster) than Henry's, and the plot is more taken up with description, than with action. Unfortunately Sarah Fielding's style is compared with Henry's, as David Simple is compared to Tom Jones. Henry's introductory discourses to each chapter in Tom Jones, place him centre stage as the omniscient author, attempting to direct the reader. Furthermore, his enthusiasm for his story is assimilated by the reader, who is in a sense swept along not only by the pace of the novel, but by the author's apparent involvement. David Simple, a similar story, lacks this excitement and Sarah's use of language and the construction of her plot is much more pedestrian. Whilst Rogers (p.173 above) might suggest that David Simple is a suitable case for the modernisation of language (to keep the text in circulation), I would argue that some members of the reading community might consider that the novel is not a sufficiently substantial work to make this viable. However, the idiosyncratic print style of Sarah Fielding's work has been greeted by

some scholars as of particular significance. For example Janine Barchas finds Fielding's application of the dash to be representative of her 'control over the details of her writing:

That what might, at first glances, appear an eccentric or sloppy application of dashes, actually serves a vital interpretative function in Sarah Fielding's text.<sup>9</sup>

Yet for some readers this physical style may not strike a chord and may be actively off-putting in circumstances where there is not enough incentive to read the story. Furthermore (as Baz Lerhman's Romeo + Juliet so clearly illustrates) there are means other than the 'dumbing down' of archaic language by which an engaging text (the context of which has changed significantly) may be aided in effective delivery to a contemporary audience. The publication history of David Simple has been patchy, this book is not without charm, either textually or physically.<sup>10</sup> Of the remaining authors that I have chosen, and specifically Burney, the popularity of Evelina seems undiminished, as does the positive response to the gothic novels of Matthew Lewis and Ann Radcliffe. What this shows us is that ultimately a reader is drawn to that which stimulates responses in line with their own fascinations, and from a personal perspective my own relationship with my chosen authors derives from my love of a good story and my enchantment with the period.

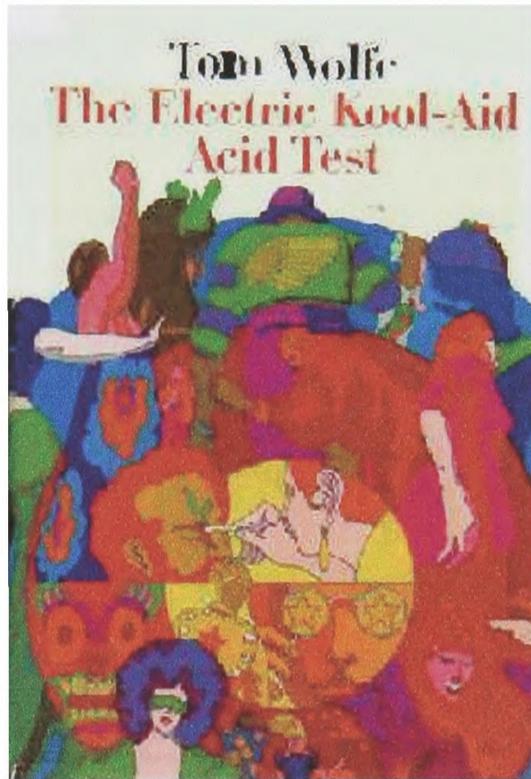
All of the novels, selected through four centuries of publication (and in a variety of formats that represent significant technological change) provided me with significant evidence of why the reading experience would be enhanced by the physical object: a walnut-grained smooth cover, an unusual typeface, crisp thick paper or an amusing or delicately engraved illustration, the simple beauty of hypertext reproduction. Fashion often dictates the survival of one author over another and

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<sup>9</sup> Janine Barchas , "Sarah Fielding's Dashing Style And Eighteenth-Century Print Culture", ELH 63.3 (1996), pp. 633-656

<sup>10</sup> The years of publication are: 1744, 1753, 1761, 1772, 1775, 1782, 1903, 1969, 1987 and 1998

indeed can affect the style of the physical object. A reader or reading community will evaluate, use or dismiss aspects of the reading experience that do not equate to their personal or group agendas. The fashion for psychedelic covers in the late sixties and early seventies (usually science fiction, or books describing the experience of sixties liberation, or mind-enhancing drugs) is an illustrative point.



Picture courtesy of <http://www.cafes.net/ditch/F68.htm>

How many readers will admit that they 'pose', when they perceive that they are observed in possession of what is considered to be an intellectual book? The eighteenth century reader was certainly happy to be painted in this mode, and the imagery was pushed further in that the books had to mirror their pre-occupation with appearance (or vanity) too. A visit to one of the libraries in any great country house in England will provide ample evidence for book 'snobbery' exemplified in the changing fashion for bindings, which reflect the style and taste of the owner. The reintroduction of certain texts into the canon can be explained (at least in part) by the attraction of the reader to criteria as wide-ranging as physical format, the narrative content, or gender politics.

The nine novelists that I chose to research were selected on the basis that they were (in my opinion) good writers, and that they reflected a cross-section of literary

genres from within the long eighteenth century. The eighteenth century was chosen because it had significance from a personal perspective, is sufficiently historic to allow an extended investigation into publication history, and because experience suggested that novels from this period would provide objects that are aesthetically pleasing. One novel that was rejected (and in fact had provoked a strong sense of antipathy in me) was by Mary Hays. Emma Courtney (1796) provides a pertinent example of the interrelatedness of the physical object and the reading experience, and the significance of the nature of the reading experience, no matter how careful we may be to academicise the process. Advertised by Oxford University Press as a 'key sentimental novel' I found it to be a tedious read. A set text for my Masters degree, I initially greeted the book with enthusiasm because, bearing the Oxford University Press livery, the front cover carried a picture of a young girl (in suitable period dress) seated by a window, sketchbook in hand. It evoked a particular period within the long eighteenth century that I associate with romanticism, poetry, and sensibility. Enjoying as I do the discovery of new eighteenth century novels to read, I opened the book with enthusiasm to find myself facing dense, emotive, and sentimental language, and in turn this adversely affected my opinion about the physical object. Perhaps worse still, I found a heroine to whom I could not relate (silly, shallow and desperate). A short story, it seemed to last much longer than the 196 pages dedicated to the narrative.

By contrast, Defoe's independent and feisty Moll Flanders is a character whom I find to be totally convincing, despite (in stereotypical feminist terms) being created by a man. Moll is matter-of-fact, her speech direct:

This was my man; but I was to try him to the bottom, and indeed in that consisted my safety; for if he baulked, I knew I was undone, as surely as he was undone if he took me; and if I did not make some scruple about his fortune, it was the way to lead him to raise some about mine (...).<sup>11</sup>

Emma Courtney's is rather more elevated:

'Much' said I, 'as I esteem you, and deeply as a thousand associations have fixed your idea in my heart -- in the candour of soul, I, yet, feel myself your superior. --I recollect a sentiment of Richardson's *Clarissa* that always pleased me, and that may afford a test, by which each of us should judge the integrity of our own minds (..).<sup>18</sup>

I am well aware that this section probably says more about me than it does about either Hays or Defoe and it is only fair to recognise that as with Hays, there are elements of Defoe's plot construction that jar with some readers -- the seemingly disconnected way in which Defoe moves from one piece of action to another, or his stratagem for concluding the story. The main point here is that my expectations of a good read were met by Defoe's novel, whereas although my expectations of Emma Courtney providing a 'good read' were elevated by a pleasing physical format, my inability to engage with the narrative actually led me to reassess my initial impression of the material object. The layout of the typeface, in particular, seemed to reflect the claustrophobic and fussy qualities of the heroine and, although I read this book to the end, I have not re-read it.

The separation of the object from the text and ultimately from the reader would appear to be impossible and my reading experience of Emma Courtney suggests (something borne out by the results of the questionnaire) that the text is irrevocably bound to the means of transmission. The reader will create an association between their response to the object, and their response to the text, and the response to either may alter their perception of the other.



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<sup>11</sup> *Moll Flanders* (London: Penguin, 1981), p.93

<sup>12</sup> *Emma Courtney*, p. 102

The book is tripartite: it is an object, a text and perhaps more significantly for the reader (as discussed above) a symbol. The interaction of the reader with these three aspects reflects the drive of the individual to find fulfilment in their life or within their society. The symbol 'book' is equally interchangeable with other intellectual and aesthetic creations, such as art, or music. The reader will forge a relationship with the object, which becomes the focus of desire and wish-fulfilment. It is this desire, which has helped to establish the interdependent relationship between reading communities and the publishing industry.

So how may the principles of Reader Response and *Rezeption-Aesthetik* assist the researcher in bringing an understanding of the value of the reader's response to the book-as-object and the exigency of interdependent relationships to the production, transmission and reception processes? Significantly, like our eighteenth century counterparts, we live in a culture for which order is a prerequisite. The overall structure of reader-orientated theory provides a broad framework to explore how one reader, or a reading community, interacts with the text, with the book and with themselves. If that theory is now extended to the book-as-object and embraces Textual Scholarship, Memetics and History, it is arguable that it then offers another aspect of the reader's response to be opened up for exploration under the general umbrella of reader-orientated theory.

In Death In A Delphi Seminar, a murder mystery in which Holland uses Reader Response theory to solve a crime, the professor (Holland) explains to a puzzled police officer why his students are responding to police questioning in such a distinctive way. Using the shared experience of two observers to the staged version of Shakespeare's Kiss Me Kate, Holland explains that the varied responses to the outwardly common experience are the result of difference:

Everybody hears the same lines and sees the same sets and business on the stage, but reads them differently.<sup>13</sup>

Individually and collectively, we assign labels and categories (often incorrectly) to sustain an intellectual and psychological order. Reader Response and Rezeption-Aesthetik are repeatedly grouped with other critical theories, and specifically literary criticism, yet neither Reader Response nor Rezeption-Aesthetik are concerned with the analysis of literature, sharing more with social, anthropological, or historical studies. Consequently, both Reader Response and Rezeption-Aesthetik are often misperceived and theoreticians are often accused of reducing the process of reading to little more than literary anarchy or egocentric psychobabble. Perhaps more pertinently, theorists who suggest that the analysis of the text is a construction of the reader or of reading communities disconcert readers. I would suggest that such a response is to misunderstand the relationship of reader-orientated theories to the reader, the text, and now the object. Like fractal and chaos theory, reader-orientated theories extend the horizons of the reader's response to a text, to the object, and amongst readers and reading communities, to an infinite number of possibilities and interactions.

Finally, in a decisive scene in Death In A Delphi Seminar Holland sets the two protagonists at loggerheads about the nature of the response of an audience to the same play. The discussion soon turns to the topic of literary value. The professor (Holland) and the detective discuss the merits of two plays, The Taming Of the Shrew, and Getting Gertie's Garter. The detective (somewhat testily) believes that the professor does not see that one play has literary value, whilst the other does not. Holland:

**Look, I don't think the value is literary. That is, I don't think it's in the work of literature. Whenever you say something is better or worse, those are only words for some human way of experiencing it.<sup>14</sup>**

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<sup>13</sup> Norman Holland, Death In A Delphi Seminar (NY: State University Of New York Press, 1995), p. 42

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, p.132

All readers place value on the narrative, but implicit in my thesis is the belief that value is also placed on the physical object within the tripartite experience of reading. My research has revealed quite clearly that the book-as-object plays a significant role in the relationship between the reader and the narrative, one that is usually ignored or dismissed as unimportant outside marketing and specialists circles. I have further indicated the growing significance of this thesis in the light of the relationship between reading and the 'new technologies' of the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries. More than ever, now, I believe, it is impossible to separate 'reading' into the component parts of reader, text or book-as-object. There is a much used maxim that states that 'you should never judge a book by its cover', and my research clearly illustrates that during the complex interaction of the reader, with the book-as-text, and the book-as-object, each reader does exactly that.





## Appendices





## Appendix A





## APPENDIX A

{ 1 }

### The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was aimed at an internet-proficient audience, although questionnaires were sent to those who expressed an interest in participating but wished to complete a paper-based form. Once these forms were returned the information was entered onto the web-site proforma because the analysis of quantitative data was to be extracted by software specifically designed for this purpose.

The decision to target the internet audience stems from successes in previous research and because of their suitability and responsiveness.<sup>1</sup> R. Coomber ("Using The Internet For Survey Research") has expressed reservations about the composition of the Internet audience, which he describes as largely white male, first world residents, and well-educated.<sup>2</sup> The response to my questionnaire had a 55.88% bias towards women respondents. Furthermore, in "Study: Women Surpass Men In Web Use" (August 2001) Laura Rohde, a journalist for the IDG News Service, reporting on data released from the online usage tracker MMXI Europe on web usage, reveals that

In the U.S. in May, females over the age of 2 accounted for 50.4 percent of all unique visitors to the Web, MMXI said. And in Germany, the percentage of

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<sup>1</sup> The total response rate was 68 , a 36% increase on the responses rate of my Masters Dissertation "But Thou Read'st Black Where I Read White" The Reader And The Gothic, 1998

<sup>2</sup> Coomber R., "Using The Internet For Survey Research", Sociological Research Online, vol. 2, no. 2, <[http:// www.socresonline.org.uk/socres online/2/2/2.html](http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/2/2/2.html)> p. 5, 5.1

women online who are over the age of 14 grew from 27.3 percent in January to 31.7 percent in June. Furthermore, in the month of June, in the U.K., women made up 35.9 percent of the online population, in France 33.4 percent, Denmark 42.4 percent and in Sweden, women accounted for 44.2 percent of unique Web site visitors.<sup>3</sup>

The history of the computer and its use would appear to mirror the initial audience for the book whose audience was predominantly (although not exclusively) male, from a family with disposable income, in trade or a profession such as the church or army. I would also suggest an additional parallel with the eighteenth century. The invention and development of new technologies in the eighteenth century was, for the most part, driven by the economically independent; these were usually men with access to money or those who could be persuaded to invest. Once women are exposed to technology, they may meet or indeed overtake the original audience in their enthusiasm for the object or process (reading, computing), as the figures above would seem to indicate.

The internet readership plays an important part in this research because this group of readers is part of the late twentieth century communication culture, and their involvement and enthusiasm in computer-based communications provides similarities to the expanding readership of novels in the eighteenth-century (page xi-xiv refers). Furthermore, as a specific culture evolved to support and nurture the eighteenth century reader and author (libraries, literary assemblies and reading salons) so too in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the information highway adept has chatrooms, mailing lists, newsgroups, and web pages (a type of library). Until recently computing science has been predominantly the domain of the male, although there have been exceptions. Ada Byron (Lady Lovelace) Byron's daughter by Annabella Millbanke wrote the first instructions for Charles Babbage's calculating machine. In 1843 she published an article suggesting that such a machine could be used for practical and scientific use, and to create music and graphics. The design of html language in 1960 by Tim Berners-Lee precipitated the

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<sup>3</sup> Laura Rohde, " Study: Women Surpass Men In Web Use" (August 2001) Laura Rohde <http://www.thestandard.com/article/display/0,1151,17513,00.html?nl=mg> (14/01/2002)

invention of the web (in effect a global library storing distributed documents and files). The general principle of the internet (the international communication network, linking individual networks) was developed by the Advanced Research Projects Agency of the Pentagon who (in 1968) commissioned BBN Technologies and their all-male team to create an extensive communications pathway.<sup>4</sup> Rosemary Wright, ("Women In Computing: A Cross-National Analysis", 1997) analysing UNESCO data, reveals that the entry of women into high level technical use computing is on the increase, in 1990 women accounted for 35.1% of the total for graduation in computing science. The issue here is not gender imbalance, this is gradually being redressed by education. It is merely an observation that the processes involved in the use of computers have parallels with the production, transmission and reception of the book.<sup>5</sup> Ethnic and economic backgrounds are not relevant to the subject of this thesis although several respondents suggested economic factors as a barrier to the purchase of a book which may limit their ability to buy books rather than stop them buying books. The majority would appear to be white-collar workers with an income. The intent of the questionnaire was to provide a snapshot view of the reader and their responses to the book as a physical object rather than the demographic derivation of responses and attitudes.

In html format and standard font to ensure that each respondent's computer can read the code, sections one and four asked general questions to establish commonality such as buying habits, age, and academic history. Section two invited responses in line with the production, transmission and reception processes involved of the book. Section Five provides excerpts from eighteenth century that were quoted blind (no name or title). The selection process for each extract was based on that applied to one novel -- David Simple. This book was allowed to fall open and did so on page 66. My gaze was caught by paragraph 2. The only criterion set for the paragraph was that it did not exceed the cut-off of 17 complete lines These 17 lines were the shortest number that

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<sup>4</sup> The team members were: Dave Walden, Bernie Cosell, Severo Ornstein, Will Crowther, and Bob Kahn

<sup>5</sup> Rosemary Wright, "Women In Computing: A Cross-National Analysis", Women In Computing, ed., Rachel Lander and Alison Adam (Exeter: Intellect Books, 1997)

could be used in the initial selection, any longer would have given away the novel, or have been tedious for the reader.

Whilst this particular section appears to have little connection with the main topic of this thesis previous research has led me to consider the influences which come into play during the selection of a book. I wanted to get a general picture of the responses to this section. Are the respondents attracted to the physical format of a book, and, finding that the author was male or female, rejecting it? For example, women respondents tended to cite a higher volume of women authors, and several men cited only male authors. Such bias is not confined to same gender because several respondents cited opposite gender only. What is significant is that many of the responses reveal a strong gender bias in their opinions and some are blatantly prejudiced with regard to what constitutes male or female writing. Stereotypically, male authors are perceived as using too many egocentric phrases and more likely to write in 'first person male'. The woman author is perceived as having more subtlety, her concerns are the domestic or social spheres, and her use of language will be softer. Whilst gender is a much covered topic of research to date I have been unable to find anything in relation to the reader and the book-as-object. This is perhaps a topic for future research, particularly with the significant number of women that have been and are currently involved in the production of the book-as-object.

Finally, this questionnaire was designed to remove personal contact in the response process and to reduce the pitfall of unintentional influence. The influence of the questioner is significantly reduced when body language or nuances of voice (which would exist with physical or vocal presence) are removed. The interpretation of the language used in the questionnaire is entirely the response of the reader. The interpretation of the qualitative responses raises questions of subjectivity and I have tried to minimise a loaded presentation of them within the core of the body of the chapters by quoting them verbatim (no corrections to spelling or punctuation) in my discussion. Quantitative questions

were styled as multiple choice and which required the selection of the appropriate box.  
Human intervention was not required until final analysis.



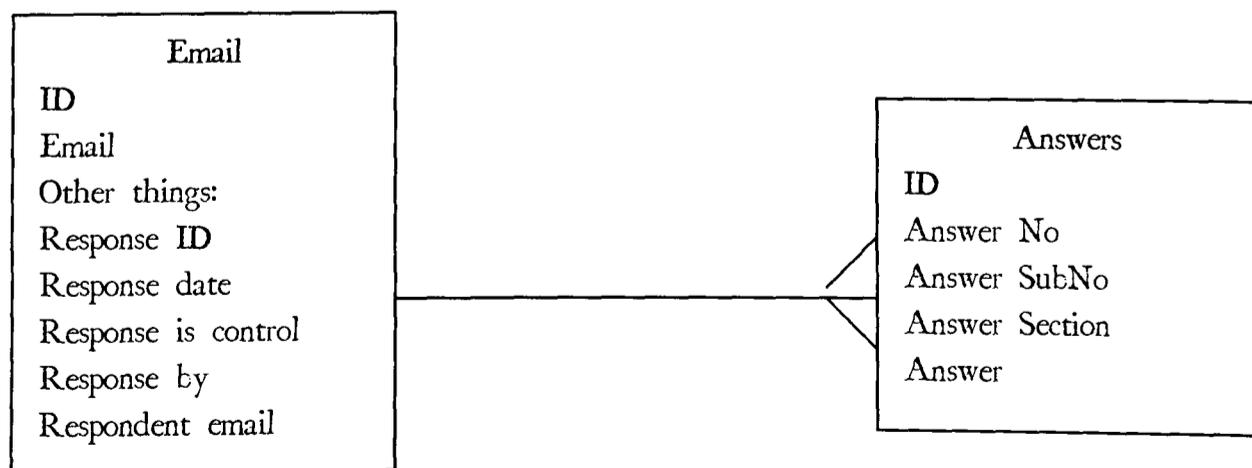
**QUESTIONNAIRE ANALYSIS DATABASE DESIGN**

A Windows application software, has been developed specifically to process response files from the RANDR web site.

**METHOD:**

Designed for use with an Excel spreadsheet, the database puts information and answers into a database, which is then used to extract statistical and qualitative information, quickly referencing a given response or absence of response. The coding is non-influential, it takes character by character and inserts into a file. The application:

- Looks for forwarding symbols and strips out
- Looks for message ID, which is unique
- Looks for subject line RANDR for file validation and date received
- Stores entire email in original form in database
- Strips the email of email header
- Strips email of email footer
- Scans the text 'regular expression pattern matching'
- Breaks questions up into major, minor and subpart (1., 1.1., 1.1.a)
- Stores with reference to questionnaire (answer, questionnaire, email)



Answer ID	ID	No	SubNo	Section	Answer
1	ABC123	1	1	A	2-3 times per year
2	AAAIII	1	3	-	A
3	ABC123	2	1	C	C



## The Responses

### Readers and Reading



My name is Wendy Creed. I am a Postgraduate Research student reading Eighteenth Century Literature at The University Of Greenwich, London. Your responses to this questionnaire will play an important part in my research into readers and reading. I would be grateful if you could spare the time to answer these questions

This questionnaire is divided into four sections. You may browse to each section using the table of contents below in order to get a feel for what is required, but I would be grateful if you could complete all sections of the questionnaire before submitting your response.

The majority of questions require 'yes/no' or multiple-choice type responses. Where greater detail is required (or may be submitted) text entry boxes are provided. [Buying Novels For Yourself](#)

[Choosing Novels For Yourself](#)

[Sample Readings](#)

[About Yourself](#)

[Submission Area and E-mail](#)

### Buying Novels For Yourself

**How frequently do you buy novels for yourself:** Answered **91.18%** Not Answered **8.82%**

more than once a month	16	<b>23.53</b>
about once a month	14	<b>20.59</b>
less than once a month (but more than once every three months)	8	<b>11.76</b>
about every three months	13	<b>19.12</b>
other (please specify)	11	<b>16.18</b>

- 📖 2-3 times per year [\[response 4\]](#)
- 📖 Academic work requires return visits to many novels. I read about 6 new novels a year, but probably don't buy more than 4. [\[response 6\]](#)
- 📖 More than once a month now; but that is not always the case; current practice a consequence of being a student in a Literary Studies program. [\[response 13\]](#)
- 📖 As the mood or need strikes me; I buy in fits and starts, it seems, sometimes 3 or 4 at a time, sometimes 3 or 4 times a year, maybe more, I don't know exactly as its not patterned [\[response 14\]](#)
- 📖 Every couple of years [\[response 20\]](#)
- 📖 When I need a new novel, I usually borrow one from the library [\[response 29\]](#)
- 📖 I tend to buy a book when I can not find one among my one collection or among friend's (not regularly) [\[response 30\]](#)
- 📖 I will go several months without buying any books and then plunder the bookstore. It probably works out to less than once a month (but more than once every three months) [\[response 35\]](#)
- 📖 Due to economic restraints, I very rarely buy books now (including novels) [\[response 39\]](#)
- 📖 Once a year [\[response 45\]](#)
- 📖 Once or twice a year [\[response 51\]](#)
- 📖 I buy them many at a time, maybe 3, maybe 5 and then nothing more for the rest of the year [\[response 56\]](#)

### Are there any specific factors which you feel affect the frequency of your novel buying?

- 📖 The amount of reading to do for graduate classes [response 1]
- 📖 Recommendation of a friend, NY Times Book Review, book group, course work availability at library [response 2]
- 📖 Because I am so enmeshed in film studies/theory mode right now, I hardly ever get to read a novel. In my more free moments, I read more than one a month [response 3]
- 📖 House is stuffed full of novels. My wife buys a lot of contemporary fiction due to being in a readers group [response 4]
- 📖 Buy infrequently because I teach a lot of poetry, and also because I tend to buy criticism [response 6]
- 📖 Cover design; book size; how it feels in my hand [response 7]
- 📖 Holidays, Christmas, anniversaries [response 8]
- 📖 Time [response 9]
- 📖 Depending on how busy I am with work and schoolwork. Also, I may buy more frequently if I am browsing and see a novel that really jumps out at me. [response 11]
- 📖 [1] I am close to finishing the current material and panic about having nothing to read at midnight; [2] I see a new novel by a writer I enjoy and I know I will read it anyway; [3] I am going on a trip and I know I need something very light to pass the travel time [response 12]
- 📖 Availability of library check-out; but if it's a new novel I might want to consider working with, then I run out and buy it asap...!... [response 14]
- 📖 Paycheck [response 15]
- 📖 Time to read them [response 16]
- 📖 When I run out of things to I want to read [response 17]
- 📖 Lack of free time to read [response 19]
- 📖 I have little time to read novels [response 20]
- 📖 I've bought more books since I can buy on-line - more impulse stuff [response 21]
- 📖 As an English student whose emphasis is early modern drama and psychoanalytic theory, I have difficulty putting aside time for novels. [response 22]
- 📖 My novel buying is usually dictated by the courses I am studying [response 23]
- 📖 I have begun reading non-fiction more often [response 24]
- 📖 Whether or not I'm attending a literature class. On what leisure time I have available [response 25]
- 📖 When I run out of new ones to read [response 26]
- 📖 I do not buy a novel unless a close friend recommends it to me, or it is the choice of a book club I belong to [response 27]
- 📖 Length of books I'm reading [response 28]
- 📖 For classics, I buy (usually as conference "souvenirs"). Pulp fiction I usually borrow, unless I know it's going to be complicated stuff --like Tom Clancy--and I'll want to highlight in my own copy. For authors I know I really like (like Susan Howatch) I buy [response 29]
- 📖 Because of my job (scientific research) I tend to read technical books instead of novels [response 30]
- 📖 Price, availability, previous reading, author, publicity, theme [response 31]
- 📖 Available time to read [response 32]
- 📖 No [response 34]
- 📖 Typically, I buy books when I am on breaks from school [response 35]
- 📖 Money [response 39]
- 📖 Book reviews; whether I am in a capital city or the country [response 40]
- 📖 How busy my life is at a given time [response 41]
- 📖 Reviews, if I have liked other works by the author, recommendations etc. [response 44]
- 📖 The amount of reading required in my work. The demands of parenting. Whether I am on vacation [response 45]
- 📖 Cashflow [response 46]
- 📖 Book reviews, relevancy, so on [response 47]
- 📖 Reviews, a footnote/reference that I came across, word of mouth [response 49]
- 📖 The amount of free time I have [response 50]
- 📖 Little time to read them [response 51]
- 📖 Free time, professional concerns -- in that order [response 53]
- 📖 I get most novels in libraries. Some I buy at garage sales, or book sales in libraries [response 54]
- 📖 I am an u/grad and most of my reading is academic at present [response 55]
- 📖 The price, buy more when the price has been reduced [response 56]
- 📖 Membership of a book club (QPD) [response 57]
- 📖 Sales I buy more novels if I have to make long trips by train [response 62]
- 📖 Would buy and read more books if I didn't work so many hours. I have been reading mostly poetry for 10 years. I read novels from the age of 9 until my late 30s. the, I took up reading mostly poetry [Response 63]
- 📖 Available funds [response 64]

### What types of novel do you buy:

	Frequently		Occasionally		Seldom		Never	
New books?	37	<b>54.41</b>	19	<b>27.94</b>	5	<b>7.35</b>	1	<b>1.47</b>
Answered <b>91.17%</b> Not Answered <b>8.83%</b>								
Second-hand/used books?	25	<b>36.76</b>	27	<b>39.71</b>	8	<b>11.76</b>	1	<b>1.47</b>
Answered <b>89.70%</b> Not Answered <b>10.30%</b>								
Antiquarian books?	2	<b>2.94</b>	11	<b>16.18</b>	16	<b>23.53</b>	25	<b>36.76</b>
Answered <b>79.41%</b> Not Answered <b>20.59%</b>								

### Do you buy novels from:

	Frequently		Occasionally		Seldom		Never	
Bookshops (main business is new book sales)	39	<b>57.35</b>	18	<b>26.47</b>	4	<b>5.88</b>	0	<b>0.00</b>
Answered <b>89.70%</b> Not Answered <b>10.29%</b>								
Second-Hand Bookshops (main business is used book sales)	26	<b>38.24</b>	24	<b>35.29</b>	9	<b>13.24</b>	2	<b>2.94</b>
Answered <b>89.70%</b> Not Answered <b>10.29%</b>								
Non-specialist stores (business includes book sales)	3	<b>4.41</b>	16	<b>35.29</b>	24	<b>35.29</b>	11	<b>16.18</b>
Answered <b>79.41%</b> Not Answered <b>20.59%</b>								
Mail-Order suppliers?	9	<b>13.24</b>	12	<b>17.65</b>	14	<b>20.59</b>	22	<b>32.35</b>
Answered <b>83.83%</b> Not Answered <b>16.17%</b>								
Internet Bookshops?	17	<b>25.00</b>	20	<b>29.41</b>	7	<b>10.29</b>	18	<b>26.47</b>
Answered <b>91.17%</b> Not Answered <b>8.83%</b>								

### Choosing Novels For Yourself

#### Physical Characteristics

#### Do the following have any influence upon your choice of a novel?

	Yes		No	
Colour	13	<b>19.12</b>	47	<b>69.12</b>
Answered <b>88.24%</b> Not Answered <b>11.76%</b>				
Cover Material (HB/PB)	41	<b>60.29</b>	20	<b>29.41</b>
Answered <b>89.71%</b> Not Answered <b>10.29%</b>				
Cover Price	52	<b>76.47</b>	10	<b>14.71</b>
Answered <b>91.17%</b> Not Answered <b>8.83%</b>				
Front Cover Illustration	38	<b>55.88</b>	24	<b>35.29</b>
Answered <b>91.17%</b> Not Answered <b>8.83%</b>				
Paper	27	<b>39.71</b>	34	<b>50.00</b>
Answered <b>89.71%</b> Not Answered <b>10.29%</b>				
Print Face	23	<b>33.82</b>	37	<b>54.41</b>
Answered <b>88.23%</b> Not Answered <b>11.77%</b>				
Print Size	25	<b>36.76</b>	35	<b>51.47</b>
Answered <b>88.23%</b> Not Answered <b>11.77%</b>				
Size of Book	30	<b>44.12</b>	31	<b>45.59</b>
Answered <b>89.71%</b> Not Answered <b>10.29%</b>				
Weight of Book	24	<b>35.29</b>	36	<b>52.94</b>
Answered <b>88.23%</b> Not Answered <b>11.77%</b>				

#### In what ways do you feel that the above physical characteristics may influence your choice of novel?

- 📖 I don't usually think about this -- If I want to read a story, it ultimately doesn't matter to me how the book physically "is" (at least I don't think so). Now that I think about it, I'd rather read a paperback with a smooth cover [response 1]
- 📖 If the novel is too expensive, I would consider waiting for it to come out in paperback or borrowing it from the library. If the print is too small, I'd look for another edition [response 2]
- 📖 Since working for a used book store for about a year, I am more particular about what hardcover books I buy. If the book is cheaply made, I typically won't buy it. Some of the above characteristics (paper quality, weight, print, etc.) suggest the quality of the book. This is particularly important because I am so hard on books [response 3]
- 📖 I like lots of text in small print on onion-skin paper. Also humorous contemporary covers [response 4]

- 📖 I buy books by authors I know or know about Physical characteristics are only important to stimulate further what is already a buying possibility [response 5]
- 📖 if it is the occasional impulse buy or charity shop buy [response 6]
- 📖 it affects the way i read the book; i like to feel comfortable with a book and if it is awkward-feeling, then that detracts from the whole experience [response 7]
- 📖 More inclined to buy a nice looking version if the book seems to be worth it [response 8]
- 📖 Book with physical characteristics which are personally pleasing offer the promise of more of the same when read! [response 9]
- 📖 It plays a major part in my choosing a novel [response 10]
- 📖 In the past I have purchased novels because the cover had pictures of the stars from a movie version. This wasn't the only reason, but if I liked the film and the stars I would try the novel because I could already identify with some of the characters. Also if I liked the film I was almost sure to like the book because I have never found a movie to be better than the novel. Colour and cover material seem to affect me also. Kurt Vonnegut is my favorite author but the covers of his novels are very drab and gritty feeling. If I wasn't already familiar with his work I may not have purchased any more of his books. It seems that brightly coloured, smooth covers attract my attention. I am a writing major myself so I know that you can't judge a book by its cover, but I have to say that if I were to purchase one of two novels by unfamiliar authors I would probably choose the more attractive cover. I also prefer to buy soft cover books because they are easier to take with me. Print size seems to be a factor also because I will usually not purchase a novel with very tiny print. It gives me a headache. I do not need large print either, but if I really want a certain novel and one store only has it in tiny print, I will search elsewhere for another with larger print. [response 11]
- 📖 size and weight have influenced me in the past, less so now. I ALWAYS read inside the front and back covers to get a tone of the material, then take a look at the interior to get an idea of the feeling and the visual appeal (i consider myself a visual learner, bad design is a turn off) [response 12]
- 📖 There are some intangible measures of "quality" which come through in the tangible qualities of the book. The aesthetic quality of the illustration, even a simple one, is an indicator of the concern of the writer/publisher with the "wrapper" which in some way describes the contents. The paper, the print face, the "weight" of the tome are all similar indicators. I buy Folio Society books, for instance, not because of a "status" associated with them but, rather, because they are well made, works of art in their own right beyond the work they enclose. [response 13]
- 📖 I read a lot, and so type size is super important. Books I know I'll be dealing with for my dissertation, I like in hard back, but cost does sway to paperback sometimes; weight and size of books are important to me because lugging heavy books around is not my cup of tea! If these are books I own, however, size is less of an issue than if I was checking this book out from the library, because I am not as involved in transporting the book around. I have an unstable knee from a car accident, so lots of heavy lifting and carrying of books is out of the question anyway. [response 14]
- 📖 Choice made primarily by content; physical characteristics are secondary [response 15]
- 📖 I'm not really sure. It depends on the feelings I get when I actually hold the book in my hands. If a paperback book looks as though the pages will fall out when I read it, I put it down. I hate having to keep track of page order - the book should do this with good glue. [response 16]
- 📖 I like small books for reading in bed (Big books are hard to hold, and hurt when they fall). [response 17]
- 📖 HB if gifts/PB if self; Lower cover price for light entertainment/higher for more serious works; obscene front cover illustrations unacceptable/ boring off-putting; low quality paper acceptable for disposable only; size and weight depending on particular - e.g. Smaller preferable for travel, larger preferable for coffee table! [response 18]
- 📖 Despite the aphorism to the contrary, a pleasing or intriguing dust jacket does indeed influence my judgement of a book. It must be said however, that most cover paintings, at least for genre fiction, is bloody awful, being in that sorry over-rendered "realistic" style [response 19]
- 📖 I don't want to strain my eyes with small print, not lug around a heavy tome. I stopped trying to read tattered, yellow used books, spoils the experience. [response 20]
- 📖 I can really fall prey to clever marketing techniques. I love that matte finished coated paper, that's very popular in paperbacks. It hits me at a level hard to decode, but I'm much more likely to buy the book if it feels pleasant when I'm holding it [response 21]
- 📖 If there is a choice between two editions of the same novel, I invariably choose one over the other based on low-cost, thick paper with larger print (less strain on the eyes), and attractiveness of the cover. [response 22]
- 📖 An attractive cover may initially attract me to a book. However, I will already have made certain choices upon walking into a bookshop - i.e I will browse the classics and Women's Studies for example and will ignore thrillers, Mills & Boon and other sections. Also, if attracted by a cover, I will only buy the book if it appeals to me once I have read the blurb on the back. So the cover has a limited influence. [response 23]
- 📖 A good front-cover illustration can encourage me to read about the book on the back cover and hence be tempted to buy. [response 24]
- 📖 I'd choose a lightweight book for a holiday read. I might be put off buying an otherwise good book by a very lurid front cover. I like the look and feel of old books. [response 25]
- 📖 Finding books in english where i live is not easy. When i find them i buy by weight. [response 26]
- 📖 The physical characteristics mainly bear on my estimation of how long it will take to read, and occasionally on the type of reading (brisk, arduous, etc.), which again influences my estimation of how long it will take to get through, and how often I may want to pick it up (is it a read-straight-through, or poke-my-head-in kind of novel?) [response 27]
- 📖 Book must be attractive to look at and hold [response 28]
- 📖 The book as a physical object has to feel good in my hands. It has to look good on my shelf afterwards, and the paper has to permit either highlighting or note-taking. [response 29]

- 📖 Good value for money, portable size and will not take too long to read it. [response 30]
- 📖 There is a current genre of books which are identifiable at 50 paces by their lurid covers. I don't bother going any closer. Usually depict décolletage heroines in the ruins of a burning city, surrounded by pirates and other virile protagonists... [response 31]
- 📖 often I want to read the book while travelling. I want the maximum reading per ounce, and I find I get this with Victorian novels in paperback. [response 34]
- 📖 Sometimes I can't afford the book I want and I have to wait for it to come out in paperback [response 35]
- 📖 sometimes I will wait for a paperback version if I think the hardback price is excessive [response 40]
- 📖 print that is too large would indicate a lack of content. Choice of HC or PB depends on my PB [pocketbook] at the time [response 41]
- 📖 If something strikes me as pleasing to my eye, I am more inclined to buy it [response 44]
- 📖 little or none [response 45]
- 📖 None [response 47]
- 📖 When browsing bookshelves, I might be drawn to a particular illustration on the cover; also, sometimes I defer buying the HB and wait for the PBK; also, literary novels (that I like) tend to come out in trade format (large-sized PBK) [response 49]
- 📖 I would not pay what I think is an exorbitant price for a paperback that I will read once. I might pay the price, though for a novel that I will use in my research [response 50]
- 📖 I read a lot while travelling so I prefer small light books [response 52]
- 📖 Most of the novels I buy are usually large paperbacks put out by two or three publishers I like. [response 54]
- 📖 Regarding HB/PB, the HB are way too expensive when I am constantly buying my other books. It's the content that matters, not the illustration weight and so on. [response 55]
- 📖 Everything that I have said yes to could turn to no if I don't like the author [response 56]
- 📖 In terms of the more aesthetic features of the book (illustration, paper, print face), I would never not buy a book that interested me if these factors did not please me, but they are something that will draw me to investigate a book that I have not previously heard of... and I'm sure they subconsciously influence the way I see a book (cover design, particularly) [response 57]
- 📖 Sometimes I'm looking for a small lightweight pocketbook, other times for a massive old tome. Sometimes I might be drawn to a lurid paperback cover, other times to a genteel period binding of a cloth copy. Very rarely are paper or typography distinctive enough to be a factor. [response 58]
- 📖 Always look at typography to see if it's going to drive me batty, though I'm tolerant of minor typesetting problems (bad kerning, spacing etc) [response 59]
- 📖 Covers so often provide a strong indicator about what the book inside is like -- for example, similar authors are often packaged similarly, so a familiar style of cover can guide me to a new author within a particular genre [response 60]
- 📖 I tend not to buy hardback novels-- too heavy to carry around and read on the tube [response 61]
- 📖 This may not be fair -- since I sold rare books for 7 years and letterpress print now. Before I worked with books, I had completely different buying patterns. I bought for content and treated my books awfully. My favourite thing to do was curl up with a paperback 2 inches from my nose. [response 63]
- 📖 Only in the negative sense. I may refuse to buy a bug if I dislike any of the factors checked [response 64]

**List any other significant physical characteristics which may influence your choice of novel, and provide a brief explanation for each.**

- 📖 I like a novel that is portable -- width and height matter more than volume when I am choosing one publisher's version over another. Can I wedge it into my school or beach bag [response 1]
- 📖 The inclusion of illustrations -- significant for my line of work as a teacher who combines art & literature [response 6]
- 📖 ease of opening the pages; binding style ( I prefer sewn signatures rather than the glued, "perfect bound" style [response 7]
- 📖 physical characteristics are negative parameters: I don't buy if the color is not attractive, size is difficult to put in my library, etc. [response 8]
- 📖 Summary, comments by other readers included on the jacket also influence my choice [response 9]
- 📖 Smell of a book [response 10]
- 📖 I cannot think of any other at this time [response 11]
- 📖 Cannot think of any others . . . but I have had instance where the apparent indicators were at odds with one another and yet I bought the work because it was that of an author I'd read before and liked or had heard I "should" read. For example, I recently purchased at a used bookstore a hardcover copy of Rousseau's Confessions. The cover is a lurid red affair with a cheesy pen and ink illustration of a writer surrounded by dream images of bawdy and ribald behavior. I did not even open the book. I bought it because I had encountered Rousseau's confessions in a Mit-Crit course, in relation to the work of Levi-Strauss. I got it home and found it to be a "private" pressing. The pages had not even been cut. [response 13]
- 📖 I like things such as the physical presence of author info printed on the jacket or opening leaves, and I also like looking at inside-front-cover blurbs about the book. It's a postmodern, fragmented sort of thing, but often provides interesting "text," an aside, a viewpoint, a dialogue...A quick take that makes me feel like my buying decision, while sometimes impulsive, is "informed." [response 14]
- 📖 It should fit comfortably in my hands so that I can read it easily when I am curled up in bed, in the bath, or sitting... If it's too big and heavy, and I need to lay the book down, it definitely detracts from its appeal. [response 16]

- 📖 Physical characteristics play a very minor role compared to genre, author, blurb on back, etc. [response 17]
- 📖 Those ragged edges on the hardcover -- I used to buy those more often. I guess I thought the book was more important! [response 21]
- 📖 If the novel is for a class, I prefer to buy the edition used in the class. [response 22]
- 📖 Alas, I do drift towards shorter novels. [response 24]
- 📖 I'd choose a hardback book as a gift for someone, as it looks more substantial. Inside illustrations may convince me to buy a book, i.e. illustrations by Arthur Rackham. [response 25]
- 📖 The ease of opening the book and keeping it open will determine whether I can read in bed, etc., and so influence my purchase (the easier the book is to read, the more likely I'll take a chance on it). [response 27]
- 📖 Author and whether I've read that person before [response 28]
- 📖 I usually prefer paperbacks for price and lighter weight, though I NEVER break the spine. I always take the cover off of hardbacks; it's bothersome. [response 29]
- 📖 In second-hand books, the condition overall will have an influence. If it's poor, I might wait for a better one, if it's rare, I'll probably take it anyway. [response 31]
- 📖 Often I want to read a book while travelling. I want the maximum reading per ounce, and I find I get this with Victorian novels in paperback [response 34]
- 📖 location on store bookshelves or category on catalogue. I'm usually in a hurry and don't have time to browse shelves/catalogues any more [response 49]
- 📖 I would not pay what I think is an exorbitant price for a paperback that I will read once. I might pay such a price, though for a novel that I will use in my research[response 50]
- 📖 I enjoy Christian novels, that I can donate to my church library after I have read them [response 54]  
Because I read so deeply on the philosophy of arts I need 'light' reading in which to recover! My last book was a Jilly Cooper set of 4! They were short stories, requiring little thought, obviously lightweight and 1.99 each :-D [response 55]
- 📖 unregular size of the book -- or fonts or print size that is unfriendly or unreadable might hinder me in buying it [response 56]
- 📖 feel of the cover (matt, glossy etc) See comments above... If second hand, the physical condition will come into it.. I wouldn't buy a book with extensive hand written annotations in it for instance (unless they were interesting in themselves)[response 57]
- 📖 with second-hand books, marginalia can sometimes be a plus, though more often a minus. Anything that detracts from the period authenticity of an older book, for instance having the price clipped off or blotted out, is a minus. Although I don't have a fetish for first editions, it's nice to find a copy printed when the book was still current or new [response 58]
- 📖 smell--don't like musty books unless they are antiquarian [response 59]
- 📖 I like novels with matt rather glossy covers. Some novels are also clearly packaged in an "American style", and I like these as I enjoy American literature [response 60]
- 📖 I can be attracted by books that don't look ordinary and buy them for that reason. F.i. an oblong book, very small book, beautiful lay-out etc [response 62]
- 📖 I like older books much better than new books - the weight of the board, the feel of the paper and the bite of metal type. [response 63]
- 📖 smell in the case of used books [response 64]

### Personal Preferences

Do any of the following have any influence upon your choice of a novel?

	Yes	No
Availability Answered 89.71% Not Answered 10.29%	44 64.71	17 25.00
Course Material Answered 88.23% Not Answered 11.77%	33 48.53	27 39.71
Critical Edition Answered 89.71% Not Answered 10.29%	32 47.06	29 42.65
Knowledge of Author Answered 89.71% Not Answered 10.29%	58 85.29	3 4.41
Knowledge of Genre Answered 89.71% Not Answered 10.29%	51 75.00	10 14.71
Mood at time of Selection Answered 89.71% Not Answered 10.29%	54 79.41	7 10.29
Reference (other written sources) Answered 89.71% Not Answered 10.29%	53 77.94	8 11.76
Subject Matter Answered 88.23% Not Answered 11.77%	59 86.76	1 1.47
Title Answered 89.71% Not Answered 10.29%	40 58.82	21 30.88

Is your choice of a novel influenced by Advertising? Answered 91.17% Not Answered 8.83%

	Yes	No
	20 29.41	42 61.76

### Who/What:

- 📖 Lit profs [response 1]
- 📖 Advertising in newspapers in genres I already enjoy eg. Crime fiction [response 5]
- 📖 Reviews identifying subject matter of interest [response 6]
- 📖 Usually I am not influenced by advertising, but I had recently purchased the Notebook by Nicholas Sparks. I bought this because I saw a TV program that interviewed him and discussed how his publisher bought this first novel for one million dollars. As a hopeful writer I bought the book to see what it was the publishers had in mind. Other than this and possibly a few other times, I do not recall advertising being an influence. [response 11]
- 📖 Ads that convey a tone are pretty effective. If you want ads from specific publications, Harper's is a typical choice for ads to which I would pay serious attention. [response 12]
- 📖 MLA sends out new book announcements, fliers, or mailers, and if that is advertising, then I am influenced by it at times. I've also selected novels by what I've found on WorldCat or other CD rom or net based data banks [response 14]
- 📖 If I've read a rave review, I'm more likely to look for that book when I want something good to read rather than just browsing until I find something appealing [response 16]
- 📖 I regularly read the book review sections of the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times, take note of things that look interesting [response 17]
- 📖 Advertising will not talk me out of a book, but a favourable review may well make me investigate a book I would not otherwise have considered. [response 19]
- 📖 See above re. physical characteristics [response 21]
- 📖 Blurbs in the ads will lead, often lead me to look up a review or ask friends if they've read the book. [response 27]
- 📖 Reviews [response 28]
- 📖 I tend to read classics, or popular novels that people have turned me onto by word of mouth -- Anne Rice, John Grisham, Tom Clancy [response 29]
- 📖 Simply knowing what is available [response 41]
- 📖 It can be, if another author I like provides a blurb. If it brings something interesting to my attention. [response 49]
- 📖 Hard to say no, that's one way to hear about new releases [response 52]
- 📖 Advertising sometimes acts as a reminder that a new novel by an author I like is available [response 61]
- 📖 Advertisements in newspapers or magazines [response 62]

Is your choice of a novel influenced by Favourite Authors? Answered 91.17% Not Answered 8.83%

	Yes	No
	50 73.53	12 17.65

### List (up to 10):

- 📖 Alice Walker, John Edgar Wideman, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Ralph Ellison [response 1]
- 📖 Marquez, Morrison, Fitzgerald [response 2]
- 📖 Bellow, Burgess, Greene, Bradbury, Orwell, Lodge, Lurie, Steinbeck, Anthony Powell, Amis [younger], Bennett, A. N. Wilson, H. E. Bates, Huxley, Wells, Howard, Jacobson, Amis [elder, NOT younger] Waugh, Bill Boyd, John Wain; plus odds and sods like Sholokov, Solzhenitsyn. Not bloody Iris Murdoch. Sorry they are not in any order, just wrote them down as I remembered them. I've probably read dozens more, but can I remember them?!! (answer: no) [response 4]
- 📖 Michele Roberts, Margaret Atwood, Sara Paretsky, Doris Lessing, Reginald Hill, Wilkie Collins, Dorothy L. Sayers, Marge Piercy, Lindsay Davies [response 5]
- 📖 Peter Ackroyd, William Golding, Saul Bellow, Joseph Heller, Russell Hoban, Thomas Pynchon, Julian Barnes, T. F. Powys, J.C. Powys, John Fowles [response 6]
- 📖 All are Flemish [response 8]
- 📖 Absolutely. My two favourite but very different authors are Kurt Vonnegut and Alexandre Dumas. I buy their novels regularly [response 11]
- 📖 John Irving, Annie Proulx, Amy Tan, Stephen King (guilty pleasure) John Barth, Boyle (Road To Wellville) Mailer [response 12]
- 📖 Maugham, Waugh, Conrad, Vonnegut, Hesse, Grass, Huxley, Kerouac, Mailer, Sir Walter Scott [response 13]
- 📖 Julia Kristeva, Sara Suleri, Janette Turner Hospital, Aritha Van Herk, Isabel whatever her last name is from Chili, Garyl Jones, Paule Marshall, Toni Morrison sometimes, gosh I see a trend here developing, Beckett, Shakespeare, (do they count?) [response 14]
- 📖 Hard to pick out ten. Lots more or less co-equal [response 17]
- 📖 Anne Tyler, Toni Morrison, Jane Austen, others [response 20]
- 📖 Italo Calvino, Graham Greene [response 21]
- 📖 B. Malamud, E. Waugh, R. Wright, D. DeLillo, T. Morrison. I assume that your study is concerned with novels as a genre (though the favoured period question leaves me with some doubt as the novel as a genre didn't exist in pre-C15. If you mean my favourite authors (novelistic or otherwise): Shakespeare, Phillip Sidney, Edmund Spenser, Thomas Middleton, John Donne [response 22]
- 📖 AS Byatt, George Eliot, Samuel Richardson, Elizabeth Gaskell, Jane Austen, Charlotte Smith, Frances Burney, Charlotte Brontë, Margaret Drabble, Angela Carter [response 23]
- 📖 William Styron, Willa Cather, Olive Schreiner, Virginia Woolf, Kawabata Yasunari [response 24]
- 📖 J. Austen, G. Eliot, C. Dickens, C. Brontë, A. Trollope, A. S. Byatt, David Lodge, Ngaio Marsh, R. Rendell, Sarah Paretsky [response 25]
- 📖 Jorge Armando, Stephen Jay Gould, Jorge Orwell, Lewis Thomas, Aldous Huxley [response 30]

- 📖 Dornford Yates, Maurice Walsh, Ruth ParkRandolph Stow, Norman Lindsay [response 31]
- 📖 Le Carre, Dickens, Barnes, Fontane, Hiassen, Leonard, Auster, Oates, Simenon, Unsworth [response 34]
- 📖 I have a terrible memory for names [response 35]
- 📖 Mainly fantasy writers, Tolkein, Le Guin, Tepper [response 40]
- 📖 Too many to mention: Pynchon, Barth, Margaret Drabble, Marge Piercy, S. Tepper, P.D.James.... [response 41]
- 📖 James Lee Burke, Andrew Vacchs, Michael Dibdin, Lawrence Block [response 43]
- 📖 David Lodge, Mary Wesley, Penelope Fitzgerald, Ellen Gilchrist [response 46]
- 📖 Pynchon, Wallace, Steele, Collins, Deighton, King, Barker, & Mitchum [response 47]
- 📖 Margaret Atwood, A. S. Byatt, Angela Carter, Cormac McCarthy, Anais Nin, William Golding, Flannery O'ConnorShirley Jackson, Carson McCullers [response 49]
- 📖 P D James, Ruth Rendell, Michael Kimball, Franz Kafka, Adelheid Duvenal, Ingeborg Bachmann, Gabriele Wohmann, Minette Walters, Sara Woods [response 50]
- 📖 Alice Walker, Margaret Lawrence, Alice Munroe, Margaret Atwood, Barbara Gowdey [response 51]
- 📖 Tim Powers, Steven King, Clive Barker, William Faulkner [response 53]
- 📖 Teri Blackstock, Randy Alcorn, Lori Wick, Steven Lawhead [response 54]
- 📖 Milan Kundera, Alan Spence, Peter Carey, Alan Warner (there are others but these are the main four) [response 57]
- 📖 Austen, Conrad, Dickens, Diderot, Lessing, Gogol, Cary, Bath [response 58]
- 📖 Amado, Hines, Kapuskinsci, Achebe, Beckett, Conolly, Peacock, Pavese, Perez de Ayala, etc [response 59]
- 📖 Don DeLillo, Edmund White, Allan Hollinghurst [response 60]
- 📖 Will Self, Julian Barnes, Margaret Atwood, others (non-living) [response 61]
- 📖 Dostoyevsky, Faulkner, Elliot, Cyrano de Bergerac [response 63]
- 📖 Marge Piercy, Toni Morrison, Octavia Butler, Janet Evanovich, Ellen Hart, M. D. Lake, Michael Ondaatje (sp?) [response 64]

Is your choice of a novel influenced by Recommendations? Answered 91.17% Not Answered 8.83%

	Yes	No
	51 75.00	11 16.18

#### Who/What:

- 📖 Extra reading for Lit courses (mostly American ethnic) [response 1]
- 📖 Friends, book groups, teachers [response 2]
- 📖 Colleagues, friends, reviews etc. [response 3]
- 📖 Friends and colleagues [response 5]
- 📖 Reviews, colleagues, t.v/radio documentaries, readings [response 6]
- 📖 Friends [response 8]
- 📖 Friends and celebrities like Oprah and her book club [response 9]
- 📖 I became familiar with Vonnegut because of a recommendation. If I hear people taling about a novel and they are passionate and raving about it I tend to take note and look into it. [response 11]
- 📖 **Friends**/Jay MacInerney's Ransom Family/ The English Patient, Smilla's sense of snow, **Professors**/ Huck Finn, Candide, Gargantua and Panatgruel, others. [response 13]
- 📖 Friends, reviews [response 16]
- 📖 Book eviws primarily [response 17]
- 📖 Friends, colleagues, word of mouth [response 18]
- 📖 See above [response 19] (refers to answer 2.5)
- 📖 If a sister or friend liked it I think I will [response 20]
- 📖 Heard an interview with Joan Hamburg (NY Talkshow host) today, and immediately went to library and got the book (Bridget Jones diary) [response 21]
- 📖 Professors and classmates [response 22]
- 📖 Friends, TLS reviews, tutors/academics [response 23]
- 📖 Sometimes by a colleague [response 24]
- 📖 Booker prize winners, friends, relatives, tutors [response 25]
- 📖 Yes -- by the opinions of friends who I know well, not much by the opinions of acquaintances [response 27]
- 📖 Fellow professors and students, see connections between course novels and popular ones they have already read. [response 29]
- 📖 Scientific magazines [response 30]
- 📖 Fellow-profs, intellectual friends [response 34]
- 📖 Friends, usually [response 35]
- 📖 Depends on who is recommending [response 41]
- 📖 Friends, reviews[response 43]
- 📖 From friends, colleagues [response 44]
- 📖 Suggestions of academic colleagues and book critics [response 45]
- 📖 Friends, professional colleagues [response 46]
- 📖 Colleagues may tell me of a novel in their area that sounds promising [response 50]
- 📖 Of personal friends [response 51]
- 📖 Friends, family, coworkers [response 52]
- 📖 Friends [response 53]
- 📖 My friends -- colleagues. And when I'm reading about interesting authors and learn about some of their work [response 56]

- 📖 Recommendations of friends -- various novels: Movern Callar - Alan Warner, Miss Pettigrew lives for the day - Winifred Watson, Miss Garnet's Angel - Sally Vickers, Various Janice Galloway [response 57]
- 📖 Friends [response 58]
- 📖 Friends [response 59]
- 📖 Friend's recommendations [response 60]
- 📖 Influenced by friend's recommendations - often borrow from them but usually buy the book myself if IO like it [response 61]
- 📖 Friends, reviews [response 62]
- 📖 Friends whose taste I trust. Authors important to authors [response 63]
- 📖 Author blurbs, friends [response 64]

**Is your choice of a novel influenced by Reviews?**

Answered **89.71%** Not Answered **10.29%**

	Yes	No
	48 <b>70.59</b>	13 <b>19.12</b>

**Who/What:**

- 📖 NY Times book review, The New Yorker [response 2]
- 📖 Not much -- unless there are lots on jacket/cover [response 4]
- 📖 Reviews in broadsheet newspapers of authors I know about and is a method of finding new authors to me [response 5]
- 📖 London Review, THES, radio [response 6]
- 📖 Reviews in newspapers [response 8]
- 📖 Newspaper, usually [response 9]
- 📖 I consider reviews to be just one person's opinion that may or may not have the same interests as myself. I usually do not read reviews but if I do I don't base decisions on it. [response 11]
- 📖 Harpers, US News & World report, Smithsonian, local newspaper [response 12]
- 📖 No one reviewer in particular; haven't really paid much attention until recently but books I believe I would enjoy because of the way in which the reviewer presents them. [response 13]
- 📖 Newspapers, magazines [response 16]
- 📖 As above New York Times, LA Times, other reviews [response 17]
- 📖 Some press/Bookstores inhouse advice [response 18]
- 📖 See above [response 19]
- 📖 Nancy Pate and others in the Orlando Sentinel sometimes sparks my interest [response 20]
- 📖 NY Times Book Review, New York Magazine [response 21]
- 📖 Book clubs -QPD & softback preview (to a more limited extent as they are obviously trying to sell, so less reliable [response 23]
- 📖 Newspaper book review sections [response 25]
- 📖 Reviews in book review journals (New York Time Review of books, etc), and by reviewers who coimpare/contrast the work to novels and authors with whom I'm familiar [response 27]
- 📖 I rarely choose to buy a novel based on a good review (I'll get it from the library), but I never buy a novel that's got a bad review in a respected source [response 29]
- 📖 Popular science reviewers [response 30]
- 📖 Only occasionally, probably more by references in other books [response 31]
- 📖 NY Times Book Review or daily reviews mostly [response 34]
- 📖 Book reviews from any source [response 35 ]
- 📖 The Australian [response 40]
- 📖 NY Review of Books, Denver Post review section, Salon 1999, etc. [response 41]
- 📖 Critical reviews in the newspapers [response 45]
- 📖 New Yorker, NYRB, Times other newspapers [response 46]
- 📖 CHOICE [response 47]
- 📖 NYT [response 49]
- 📖 I read occasionally the reviews in Washington Post, NYTimes, my own local paper, and might then buy the book reviewed [response 50]
- 📖 Bookclub magazines, newspapers [response 52]
- 📖 It might be, it happens I get interested when I read a books review [response 56]
- 📖 Can't think of any recent examples [response 57]
- 📖 NY Times Book Review [response 58]
- 📖 Anything I come across [response 59]
- 📖 It takes several favourable reviews in different publications to influence me [response 60]
- 📖 Newspapers/mags: Guardian, Independent, Time Out [response 61]
- 📖 Dutch newspapers [response 62]
- 📖 I may try a novel if I judge the reviewer's taste in a positive way [response 63]

**Favoured Period:** Answered **80.87%** Not Answered **19.13%**

	Pre15	C15	C16	C17	C18	C19	C20
	2 <b>2.94</b>	0 <b>0</b>	1 <b>1.47</b>	0 <b>0</b>	2 <b>2.94</b>	8 <b>11.76</b>	42 <b>61.76</b>

### **In what ways do you feel that the above personal preferences influence your choice of novel?**

- 📖 I'm not sure how to answer this. I generally "shop" for only American ethnic novels because I enjoy them most. I tend to read novels for enjoyment and my teaching, not for my academic writing ( I write more on poetry) [response 1]
- 📖 I think that right now I'm most influenced by my book group and my twentieth Century Novel reading list for my oral exams [response 2]
- 📖 Because I have such yawning gaps in my literature background, and because my main emphasis of study is films, I basically have been trying to focus my limited amount of time to filling those gaps (key works from people i.e. Dostoyevsky, Dickens, Faulkner, Woolf etc..) or straying to read something somebody I have a great regard for suggests [response 3]
- 📖 Hate terribly serious didactic contemporary novels; prefer humorous approach in contemporary fiction, but enjoy depth & seriousness of earlier fiction [response 4]
- 📖 I am conservative even nervous about choosing new authors but also have the urge to expand my reading and do so steadily [response 5]
- 📖 Beyond choosing from that period not at all [response 6]
- 📖 I like to be surprised by a book; to have no previous knowledge of it; keeping a completely open mind is essential to having the book affect my own life and my own experiences I some way or other. [response 7]
- 📖 Q is not clear to me [response 8]
- 📖 I find that I enjoy the wide range of writing styles that I find in this period. This certainly doesn't limit my selections, as I have already said that Dumas is one of my favourites. I feel that work during this time has not been limited to the stricter guidelines of the past and there are many more authors to choose from. Although any good work can transcend time barriers [response 11]
- 📖 Escapism 90% information 10% [response 12]
- 📖 There is an aesthetic sense one develops over time, a sense reinforced by the things and persons with which we surround ourselves. Sometimes that "sense" is based in similarity, others in contrast. The interplay, the dialectic set up thereby is for me the driving force behind my choices [response 13]
- 📖 I've met many of the novelists I am working with (well not Beckett or Shakespeare or Toni Morrison), and I am interested in the way these women writers see life, theorize about issues, and write in multiple genres: theory, fiction, autobiography... and they are never absent of issues of gender --and that is the vision of being a woman writer, I think. [response 14]
- 📖 Only somewhat [response 15]
- 📖 I often go into the book shop to browse. A title or author will catch my eye, I read blurbs, and may (or may not) buy it then [response 17]
- 📖 I am cautious in reading reviews because they often "spill the beans." But a well-written review is satisfying in itself whether I end up reading the book or not [response 20]
- 📖 Is this obvious? If the review really entices me, I'm likely to read a book that I wouldn't otherwise pick up (ie. A genre I'm not normally interested in) [response 21]
- 📖 It depends on why I'm reading. If I'm reading in my period of emphasis, things like price and cover illustration matter little. If I'm reading for pleasure, issues like price etc. take precedence [response 22]
- 📖 If I am interested in an author's life, ideologies and personality (eg Virginia Woolf, Mary Wollstonecraft) I want to read her novels. I also like to read all the works of the favourite novelist. + there are a number of 'canonical' works that I feel I ought to read [response 23]
- 📖 Typically , I prefer excellence of story and character development to technical innovation [response 24]
- 📖 The author is very important -- if one likes a particular author, one wants to read their complete oeuvre. Period and genre are a great influence, I really enjoy the style and language of the 19thc writers, and for a light read I love the detective/thriller genre. [response 25]
- 📖 I read novels to relax anything complicated about a novel makes it unattractive [response 26]
- 📖 I read primarily non-fiction, so that the little fiction I read follows no pattern, as I don't seek it out. So whatever influences me, re: friends, book club or reviews, will determine what I read [response 27]
- 📖 I want to make sure that novels I read are worthwhile, i.e., you never know what you may end up quoting or referring to in scholarship on the novel as a genre. Even my reading of novels as "escapism" is tied to my professional study of the genre [response 29]
- 📖 Critical and specialized reviewers may let you know how interesting and easy to read can be a science fiction book [response 30]
- 📖 I don't understand this question. Surely if I have the above preferences, I will choose novels within those parameters [response 31]
- 📖 A good review by a reviewer we trust (and there are few) will lead to me or my wife buying the book [response 34]
- 📖 I don't understand the question. Isn't it obvious? [response 35]
- 📖 I still look at the shelves as well as see what I may not have noticed in book reviews [response 40]
- 📖 This question is not clear enough to provide a response [response 41]
- 📖 Very heavily. I rarely read a novel that has not been recommended [response 45]
- 📖 If someone with whom I feel an intellectual connection recommends a novel, I usually buy it. A positive review will usually influence me to buy a novel if the subject matter is of any interest. [response 46]
- 📖 There are few novels in my native language before C15 [response 47]
- 📖 I enjoy women's novels from the twentieth century [response 49]
- 📖 My preferences are based on whether I want to read the novel for pleasure or to aid research [response 50]
- 📖 Well, wouldn't it make sense that because the preferences are both preferences and personal, they would be the primary influence upon my choice of novel. I'm a bit beyond having novels assigned to me. [response 53]
- 📖 I like things that I can relate to [response 54]

- 📖 I spend so much time reading about the past I find I enjoy getting lost in the present. I can relate to the characters and 'feel at home' if that makes sense [response 55]
- 📖 Much advertised titles make me suspicious! I like to make my own choice and opinion which I guess is built on my experience of the author or my interest of the subject. The possibility to discuss the book with my friends influences me also. And if I am happy and have some extra money I might buy a novel to put more glamour on my day. [response 56]
- 📖 I go on a binge when I discover a new author and attempt to read all his/her work [response 59]
- 📖 I like to read a classic and dense mind. Which may be why I really do prefer poetry. Sorry I probably shouldn't really be filling this out! [response 63]

**List any other personal preferences (or aspects of your personality) which influence your choice of novel, and provide a brief explanation for each.**

- 📖 I like mother-daughter and father-son stories, because I am interested in how they "look" like or don't "look like" the ones in my experience. I also like novels about migration and individual identity, I think because of my age (22) and my present breaking-away-from-the-nest state of mind. I also like to see how fictional characters live out the American dream... Because my responses to their styles always tells me something about my own. [response 1]
- 📖 I like dark stuff so occasionally (very rare anymore) I read something more junky like King, Rice, Lovecraft etc. [response 3]
- 📖 Fear of psychologically disturbing material -- prefer safety in older forms of realism eg. Jane Austen and comfortable genres e.g classic crime fiction -- but can try more perilous stuff occasionally [response 5]
- 📖 I like to have a novel on the go which is not strictly linked to academic work -- for entertainment [response 6]
- 📖 Psychologically inspired novels, family related items, science fiction [response 8]
- 📖 I tend to prefer novels that have characters outside of my own realm. That is I am a thirty year old/wife/student/bartender. Novels about how it is to be any of these things in a small town do not interest me. If they have a fantastic storyline and are wonderfully written I could handle it, but I probably would not have purchased this to find this out. I prefer action and adventure, or characters I would not be totally familiar with. [response 11]
- 📖 I now read only in bed before sleeping, so I value escapism and entertainment value [response 12]
- 📖 The desire to "know", to have access to knowledge, to the minds of the greats... that quixotic quest obsessing each of us. There was a Twilight Zone episode about the end of the world and a poor little bookworm, Burgess Meredith(?), who is finally happy because he now has the time, the quiet, and the access to BOOKS -- those keepers of all the knowledge of all the ages ....and then he manages to break his glasses... [response 13]
- 📖 An awareness of gender issues, and the interaction of Gender in and outside of culture is central to the way I want to think about the world, about texts, and about life... it is what I live and negotiate everyday, and other women writers seem to have this awareness as well. It is nice to be part of a support network! But I think women have always written throughout history to validate their awareness of the reality of their conditions as women... [response 14]
- 📖 Depends on free time available [response 15]
- 📖 Eclectic interests, I get hooked on a particular theme and read lots of that for a while, then ignore it for a long time [response 17]
- 📖 Cultural; Psychological; Philosophical; Behavioural; Scientific; Historic; etc., interests [response 18]
- 📖 When I was teaching I acquired a lot of novels that I thought I might use in a course. It was a good excuse to read when I felt too busy to read for pleasure [response 20]
- 📖 If someone I respect absolutely loves a novel, I'll generally give it a try [response 21]
- 📖 In contemporary literature, I prefer novels with a political/social commentary bent to them [response 22]
- 📖 My feminist sympathies draw me to particular novels/authors [response 23]
- 📖 I like novels with psychological themes, also novels that focus on issues like grief or shame [response 24]
- 📖 I'm not keen on modern novels which dispense with grammar, syntax and punctuation. Don't care much for the stream-of-consciousness type of work. It all seems pretentious to me, a bit like a lot of modern art. I like a well-structured novel, which is why the Victorians appeal, and a book like "Possession" by AS Byatt is a good modern example [response 25]
- 📖 Ditto (2.10) [response 26]
- 📖 I love humour and beautiful writing; as a musician, I think I favour authors who treat words like music, who pay attention to the rhythm of language [response 27]
- 📖 I enjoy all the novels I read as a means of escape into a fictional world, but in the back of my mind I'm always evaluating them for potential scholarship on the genre. I absolutely detest formulaic romance (which may be a redundant phrase) [response 29]
- 📖 Novels about cultural aspects of a country gives you good information about local people and places if you are planning to travel. Comedies entertain and are a kind of escape from boring working days [response 30]
- 📖 Generally like the complex fiction, or else crime/mystery [response 34]
- 📖 I often buy novels that I want or "need" to teach and while I usually enjoy them, I might not have bought them otherwise. For relaxation, I typically buy detective or mystery novels. [response 35]
- 📖 Feminism, science, love of language -- all attract me when it comes to choosing a novel [response 41]
- 📖 As a doctoral candidate in a literature department, I like academic satires [response 44]
- 📖 I'm fairly reality based, so I tend to stay away from fantasy, though on the recommendation of others I have read some [response 45]
- 📖 I like being the center of attention; I kissed a girl once whose father had passed Paul Riceour in a hallway, unwittingly [response 47]
- 📖 I prefer novels written in the third person, past tense. Occasionally, I will be drawn to a first person account. The tone must be just right and evident from the first page, should be made up of a collection of scenes or

episodes detailed with dialogue and poetic descriptions, and relatively little unbroken narration. Fairly quick action, not long and drawn out [response 49]

- 📖 Psychological mystery novels are my favourite reading, no doubt because I want to recognize myself in troubled characters and learn something. I do not read any other type of novel in English unless it is for research. So far as German novels are concerned, I read them partly to improve my vocabulary, partly to study the writer's style and thesis, partly as a possible project for teaching or research. [response 50]
- 📖 I like books that are well written, have moral value, and develop the characters [response 54]
- 📖 I read Virginia Woolf, but that could be because I am a Feminist, and admire her works re: women's voice. I suppose I tend to read books concerning relationships, but again this is to get away from academic reading [response 55]
- 📖 I like novels with a historical theme and if I think there is some humour in the text [response 56]
- 📖 Subject matter -- interested in intergrational love, travel, adventure, style -- I am also a writer [response 59]
- 📖 I am currently studying hypertext, which influences my choices, and the way I read -- am more aware of textual threads [response 61]
- 📖 Because I am an historian I like historical novels, especially about the Middle Ages. I always want to see if the facts are correct, if the author did his homework well [response 62]
- 📖 Politics, reading group [response 64]

### The Novel as a Text

Do any of the following have any influence upon your choice of a novel?

	Yes	No
'Dipping' into the text Answered 88.23% Not Answered 11.77%	42 61.76	18 26.47
Reading Dust Jacket Blurb Answered 86.77% Not Answered 13.23%	49 72.06	10 14.71
Reading First Paragraph Answered 88.23% Not Answered 11.77%	31 45.59	29 42.65
Use of words Answered 85.29% Not Answered 14.71%	39 57.35	19 27.94

In what ways do you feel that the above reading practices may influence your choice of a novel?

- 📖 The first few paragraphs makes it or breaks it for me. Usually I'll read two pages, and if I don't want to go on, I stop [response 1]
- 📖 It seems to me that I have not read for pleasure in a while, since I have started studying English and fiction writing. So, use of words is something that interests me the most, something that is really well written [response 2]
- 📖 If I am browsing and something looks interesting on sight but I don't recognize it, I might browse through it to make sure it isn't something too pedestrian [response 3]
- 📖 Strongly always do 1 or more if a newish author [response 5]
- 📖 I either know what I am looking for, or like to be surprised and go for serendipity [response 6]
- 📖 They act as an appetizer which can tempt me into savouring the main course [response 7]
- 📖 If the book is unknown to me, reading the dust jacket intro can pull me over the limit or withhold me from buying [response 8]
- 📖 Interest, prior knowledge, readability [response 9]
- 📖 I feel that the dust jacket blurb can make or break a purchase. If I am unfamiliar with the author or the book itself I will read the jacket to get an idea. If the blurb is boring then I certainly don't want to read a whole novel that also is. I will glance through the novel and read various passages to get a feel for the writing and hopefully some interesting plot hints. If the author uses words in a way that seems as if he is trying to prove his own intelligence, masculinity, etc. instead of the character's. I will not read it because it is just not what I consider good writing. Although an interesting, catchy first paragraph is great, I have found that it doesn't necessarily tell anything about the rest of the novel. I have read some superb novels with drab openings, and vice versa [response 11]
- 📖 Funny that I said "no" to the first paragraph, since that is supposed to be a sign of a "good story". I suppose it is quite traditionally female to say that identification and understanding of the main character is what makes a satisfying read for me. "She's come undone" is a good example. I was quite surprised that a male could create such a believable and three dimensional character [response 12]
- 📖 I get a sense of the writer and their relation to the text [response 13]
- 📖 The physical presence (which I mention above) of blurbs or jacket commentary is important to me because it is a proliferation of the text, theoretically, a different text and fits into my postmodern search for fragmentation and bricolage as meaning. But the textual presence of blurbs is like a hook, an instant place for commentary to begin. As to word use, 1<sup>st</sup> paragraphs (this is where Suleri gets my attention all the time, and Kristeva), and chapter titles, or just opening the book anywhere, yep, I feel grabbed or not, interested immediately, or not.... [response 14]
- 📖 Will illustrate if it is worth my time [response 15]
- 📖 If I read any of the book before buying it, I always make sure that the author's style meets my requirements for enjoyable reading. Some authors write in certain ways that I cannot enjoy [response 16]
- 📖 Lets me know if I'm going to enjoy reading the book [response 17]
- 📖 Initial rejections usually based on dissatisfaction with any or all of the above [response 18]

- 📖 Dust-jacket blurbs seem for the most part to have been written by people who have never read the book. There are too many well-written books for me to waste my time on some hack, no matter how intriguing a story s/he might tell [\[response 19\]](#)
- 📖 I avoid blurbs because I don't want all the surprises spoiled and I like to draw my own conclusions. But reading a paragraph helps me decide if the author is my kind [\[response 20\]](#)
- 📖 Dust jacket blurb is not controlled by the author, and is just an advert. But if it's a good one, I'm susceptible [\[response 21\]](#)
- 📖 If the sentences seem weak or cliché I drop the book [\[response 22\]](#)
- 📖 If browsing, I will do all of the above briefly in order to determine whether this is the type of novel I like to read [\[response 23\]](#)
- 📖 I can discover on a dust jacket if the novel touches on the type of fiction I am interested in. Also, dust jackets sometimes encourage me to try new novelists. [\[response 24\]](#)
- 📖 If it is an author I've not read previously, and any of the above activities will indicate genre and style and will assist in deciding whether or not to try the author's work [\[response 25\]](#)
- 📖 Easy to read text is more likely to be bought [\[response 26\]](#)
- 📖 If I'm not hooked by the first page, forget it. I can tell a lot about style and content by just the first paragraph [\[response 28\]](#)
- 📖 The dust jacket blurb has to be intriguing. Dipping into tells me whether the novel will keep my interest (so that's the same use of words). First paragraphs belong to the actual post-purchase reading [\[response 29\]](#)
- 📖 Give me an idea of language trouble (English) [\[response 30\]](#)
- 📖 If the dust jacket is succinct and interesting, it's got a good chance of being selected [\[response 31\]](#)
- 📖 I've gotten very interested in what constitutes quality writing [\[response 34\]](#)
- 📖 If I have never heard of a book before, I might read the blurb to see if it is the type of book I like [\[response 35\]](#)
- 📖 If it is an unknown author I would be strongly influenced by a sample paragraph [\[response 40\]](#)
- 📖 I will not read a poorly written book. The use of language is critical to me, whether I'm reading "literary" fiction or a mystery [\[response 41\]](#)
- 📖 I get a sense of the novel by reading the dust jacket blurb [\[response 44\]](#)
- 📖 They don't influence choice, but they can influence whether I finish the novel and at what pace [\[response 45\]](#)
- 📖 The subject matter must be interesting, with a woman as main character; not too domestic should have an interesting plot in there SOMEWHERE; poetic/lyrical writing, first paragraph draws you into a world immediately. Should be literary. I find I'm more and more drawn to literary plotted works. So I'm moving into more mystery/thriller kinds of things, (example: Club Dumas--written by a man!) I don't like reading about family situations -- that's been done too much [\[response 49\]](#)
- 📖 If the language is crude -- the hard-boiled detective genre -- I will not read the novel, no matter what I learn from the dust jacket. If I don't have any knowledge of the author, the dust jacket will help me enormously [\[response 50\]](#)
- 📖 It often answers the question "Is this about what I think it's about" [\[response 52\]](#)
- 📖 It may limit my choices [\[response 54\]](#)
- 📖 I open a book anywhere off the shelf and read a few lines here and there. I feel I can gauge the quality of the book this way. Jilly Cooper's books contain short sentences, this can be irritating, but for a short term read this is no real problem. The first paragraph is important, but as a 'dipper' it's not the most important factor in my choice [\[response 55\]](#)
- 📖 Dipping gives me the insight to how the book is, are there many dialogues, is there too long description of places and people etc. And just by holding the book in my hand and flick through it gives me the feeling of whether I would like to read it and own it. some books I read from the library, others I want to own [\[response 56\]](#)
- 📖 Getting a feel for the style/subject of the book [\[response 57\]](#)
- 📖 I generally prefer dipping into a couple of pages in the middle rather than starting with first paragraph which is often unrepresentative of what follows [\[response 58\]](#)
- 📖 Influenced by individual aspects of the text (see above comment 2.11) as well as overall narrative or "feel" [\[response 61\]](#)
- 📖 I can't stop reading some of the books when I dip into them. Then I buy these books [\[response 62\]](#)
- 📖 I have always been a very fast scanner -- I can scan through a book and judge the quality of writing/structure fairly accurately [\[response 63\]](#)

## Sample Readings

Please read the following excerpts and answer the questions following each one. The names of characters have been removed.

### Excerpt Number 1: Sara Fielding David Simple

— said, 'That was the very Remark which had just occurred to himself; and he found, by all his Stories, every one of the Company expressed the greatest Aversion for the Vices they were more particularly guilty of.' 'Yes, says Mr. —, ever since I have known any thing of the World, I have always observed that to be the case; insomuch that whenever I hear a Man express an uncommon Detestation of any one criminal Action, I always suspect he is guilty of it himself. It is what I have often reflected on; and I believe Men think, by exclaiming against any particular Vice, to blind the World, and make them imagine it impossible they should have a Fault, against which all their Satire seems pointed: Or perhaps, as most Men take a great deal of pains to flatter themselves, they continually endeavour, by giving false Names, to impose on their own Understandings; till at last they prevail so far with their own Good-nature, as to think they are entirely exempt from those Failings they are most addicted to.

Do you know the author? Answered 89.71% Not Answered 10.29%

	Yes	No
	2 2.94	59 86.76

#### Author Name (if known):

- Boswell/Johnson? [response 4 ]
- dostoevsky? [response 21]
- but I`m guessing one of the Brontes? [response 22 ]
- Defoe? [response 25 ]
- not sure – Pynchon? [response 41 ]
- Smollet [response 44 ]
- DeFoe? Seems like S. Johnson, but the typography seems late 17th-early 18thC/ [response 63]

Do you think the author is male or female? Answered 91.17% Not Answered 8.83%

	Male	Female	Don't know
	35 51.47	4 5.88	23 33.82

#### On what basis do you consider that this is the case?

- I DON`T THINK THERE IS ANY WAY TO DETERMINE GENDER OF THE AUTHOR. [response 1]
- It`s not clear if the narrator is male or female which would be an indication. Most of the text is quoting male speakers. The second quote appears to be incomplete, at least there`s not an end quote. [response 2]
- Not at all sure but lack of any possible domestic reference suggests a masculine domain. Suggests concern society rather than interior [response 5]
- It is perfectly possible the satirical edge is supplied by a woman writer, but men were =lly capable of this tone; I can find no obvious give-away! If I had to decide, I`d say a woman. [response 6]
- Even though som e opinions on men are given, I couldn`t decide whether this should be attributed to the gender of the author. [response 8]
- Speculation about male motives in discussing a vice, imposition of "understandings", and just the topic and style of the excerpt. [response 9]
- the hoity, toity voice [response 10]
- This seems to be similar to eighteenth century literature, possibly British. The subject matter and wording suggest that to me. The interest in human nature seems to be spelled out as was the rave in that period. If I had to choose I would guess it was a male author. Although, the use of capitals interests me. I`m sure I have read many authors that have used this technique, but Aphra Behn comes to mind, which would place this excerpt even earlier and wriiten by a female. So before my head explodes I am going to settle with probably male. [response 11]
- the style leads me to think that it was written in a time when most books were made by men, but i know that there are exceptions throughout history (women have always been present in the arts but are not usually quoted or included in many histories) and i cannot judge by this passage. [response 12]
- The phrasing, punctuation, and capitalization point to a period in which men made up the preponderance of published writers. On the other hand, keeping in mind the text is a report of a conversations, it could be argued that it is a contemporary work by a woman written to reflect a conversation in the style of the 17th/18th centuries. Oh, hell! I just don`t know. But a "sense" says: written by a man. [response 13]
- While talking about men and male traits towards self importance and self positioning, the word choices in the use of pronouns (It, that, ...) provide an indirectness in statement, and the politeness in the tone gives a bit of a rambling and polite, but indirect method of getting the point across. I don`t think a man would be that

- introspective, and polite about self revelations that are not flattering to his gendered category as men. [response 14]
- 📖 Sounds early/mid 19th century. Might be Austen, might be Dickens as far as I know.[response 17]
  - 📖 Context. [response 18]
  - 📖 It sounds German. [response 19]
  - 📖 The voice seems sort of legalistic. [response 20]
  - 📖 assumption of the male pronoun when making a generalization [response 21]
  - 📖 Of course, I don't KNOW, but I'm guessing that the author is a woman based on my author guess above. [response 22]
  - 📖 I associate it with stereotypically `male` forms of writing - fairly dry/formal. However, it is not unlike Sarah Fielding's `Remarks on Clarissa`. [response 23]
  - 📖 Male narrative voice, the concept of a "company" [response 24]
  - 📖 It is very 18c in style, and the way that the sentences run on in an unstructured manner seems rather Defoe-like to me. The philosophic observation also reminds me of Defoe and perhaps appears a more masculine type of remark, at least in the way in which it is presented. prose. [response 25]
  - 📖 Word usage "reflect" [response 26]
  - 📖 Horatatory nature of the speech, concern with abstract ethics rather than moral particulars [response 27]
  - 📖 "Men" is used for all persons. The tone is sententious; I see brandy on the table and cigars in hand in the smoking room after dinner (women excluded from this type of consumption and post-meal reflection).[response 29]
  - 📖 very male-oriented text [response 31]
  - 📖 Nothing in the text obviously suggests a male author, so really, I don't know, but I still think it is. [response 32]
  - 📖 Style; concern with vice.[response 33]
  - 📖 Most 18C writers are male. [response 34]
  - 📖 The style is similar to that of Lewis Carroll. The sentiments expressed are those of a psychologist named Szondi. [response 39]
  - 📖 probability for the age it was written in [response 40]
  - 📖 I think I know who wrote it.[response 41]
  - 📖 The voice seems masculine. [response 44]
  - 📖 Not sure. [response 45]
  - 📖 Its either Pynchon (Mason & Dixon) or some c18 novel which I don't care to read [response 47]
  - 📖 Discussion of males, satirical -- could be Voltaire? [response 49]
  - 📖 Words & phrases like "Detestation," "blind the world" make me think of a woman writer, and I suspect Jane austen, but I do not know which book [response 50]
  - 📖 all gender references are male [response 51]
  - 📖 the seemingly self critical analysis of male nature and behaviour [response 52]
  - 📖 The style is 18<sup>th</sup> century (long, balanced sentences, etc., and the topic is vice. I suspect the author is male. [response 53]
  - 📖 Use of capitals where they are not needed [response 54]
  - 📖 It was to me over written. I think the author had too much to say. I got bored reading it. I bet I'm wrong ! LOL [response 55]
  - 📖 sounds like Carlyle or Dickens [response 59]
  - 📖 The slightly pompous generalisations about morality [response 60]
  - 📖 Just guessing, intuition [response 62]
  - 📖 Abrupt style. [response 63]

**Excerpt Number 2: [Matthew Lewis The Monk](#)**

He found it impossible for some time to arrange his ideas. The scene in which He had been engaged, had excited such a variety of sentiments in his bosom, that He was incapable of deciding which was predominant. He was irresolute, what conduct He ought to hold with the disturber of his repose, He was conscious that prudence, religion, and propriety necessitated his obliging her to quit the Abbey: But on the other hand such powerful reasons authorized her stay, that He was but too much inclined to consent to her remaining. He could not avoid being flattered by ----'s declaration, and at reflecting that He had unconsciously vanquished an heart, which had resisted the attacks of Spain's noblest cavaliers: The manner in which He gained her affections was also the most satisfactory to his vanity: He remembered, many happy hours which He had passed in ----'s society, and dreaded that void in his heart which parting with him would occasion.

Do you know the author? Answered **89.70%** Not Answered **10.30%**

	Yes	No
6	8.82	80.88

### Author Name (if known):

- 📖 I FEEL LIKE I SHOULD KNOW [response 1]
- 📖 ?Austen [response 4]
- 📖 Is it Jane Austen? [response 22]
- 📖 Austen?? [response 24]
- 📖 Mrs. Radcliffe? [response 25]
- 📖 V. Woolf [response 44]
- 📖 Austen [response 46]
- 📖 Austen [response 47]

Do you think the author is male or female? Answered 89.70% Not Answered 10.30%

	Male	Female	Don't know
	8	23	29
	11.76	33.82	42.65

### On what basis do you consider that this is the case?

- 📖 DITTO ABOVE [response 1]
- 📖 I don't know; except I lean toward female because of the romantic subject matter. Also, there is what seems to be a slip at the end of the passage, a "him" instead of a "her." [response 2]
- 📖 Not sure why, to be honest -- references, rather awe-struck to `he` [response 4]
- 📖 Reminds me of gothic novels and suggestion `sentiment` suggests female writer [response 5]
- 📖 There is a shift from her to him in the last line - I fear a typo!! Gemale Gothic novelist - I don't think its Radcliffe. Female decision is as much to do with the odds. [response 6]
- 📖 see above [response 8]
- 📖 This passage presents more "feminine" concerns-affections, prudence, heart, void when parting- oriented to a more emotional response from reader. [response 9]
- 📖 I am going to guess female because it reminds me of the works of the Brontes. Although "romance" was written well by both male and female writers, the flair has often been assigned to women, and the stereotype remains in my head now too, so I choose `female`. [response 11]
- 📖 it seems to be a description of indecisiveness/torment (yin), a description of a man deciding "a man`s gotta do what a man`s gotta do", but a woman is in control of these feelings that lead him to this macho decision to separate from her influence. [response 12]
- 📖 After my wrapping myself around the pole above, I`m a little gun-shy about committing. Again . . . "sense" suggests it is written by a man, but I am honestly not certain. [response 13]
- 📖 Word Choices again, "prudence, religion, propriety"; the claim to giving permission or consent from male to female... sounds like lived experience and perception of a woman about her lover`s ego and how she has dealt with it, and been dealt with... [response 14]
- 📖 Don't care. Would not be reading this book. [response 17]
- 📖 Prose. [response 18]
- 📖 The fact that the character whose thoughts are portrayed is male is my only reason, and it is far from conclusive. [response 20]
- 📖 shows some insight into female`s head: likely to be male, possibly female [response 21]
- 📖 Again, stereotyped assumptions - the author describes emotions rather than making us feel with the character. Maybe an unfair comment based on such a short extract.(In terms of subject matter I have some suspicions that it might be Ann Radcliffe). [response 23]
- 📖 Words like "bosom" and the language used to describe internal conflict (e.g., "the disturber of his repose").[response 24]
- 📖 A sentimental, romantic excerpt. An Abbey (very necessary for the Gothic) the style (slightly formal and wordy, capital letters, no slang, dramatic. [response 25]
- 📖 "vanquished an heart" - womans words [response 26]
- 📖 The concern with the protagonist`s emotional state and POV leads me to say the author is female, but then it occurs to me that in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries men wrote with much more attention to personal effect [response 27]
- 📖 psychological finesse of the described motivations [response 28]
- 📖 capital "He" [response 29]
- 📖 Nothing in the text obviously suggests a female author, so really, I don't know, but I still think it is. [response 32]
- 📖 This romantic material could have been written by a man or a woman. [response 33]
- 📖 18C gothic. Could be female. [response 34]
- 📖 It SOUNDS like Jane Austen. . . [response 41]
- 📖 Seems gentle and relationship oriented. [response 45]
- 📖 Male main character; discussion of a female romantic interest. [response 49]
- 📖 Again, turns of phrase and words make me suspect a woman. Since I am not a British or American lit scholar, I cannot be more helpful. [response 50]
- 📖 Sounds like a romance [response 51]
- 📖 Uses too many words [response 54]
- 📖 The over emphasis of the He with a capital H. also The manner in which He gained her affections was also the most satisfactory to his vanity sounds feminine. [response 55]
- 📖 It is loaded with feelings. [response 56]
- 📖 sounds like a regency bodice-ripper [response 59]

- 📖 The concentration on the male viewpoint [response 60]
- 📖 see above [response 62]
- 📖 Subtle, concerned with subtle emotions. [response 63]

**Excerpt Number 3: Henry Fielding Amelia**

" " what advice can I give you, " said she, " in such an alternative? Would to Heaven we had never met ". These words were accompanied with a sigh, and a look inexpressibly tender, the tears at the same time overflowing all her lovely cheeks. I was endeavouring to reply, when I was interrupted by what soon put an end to the scene. Our amour had already been buzzed all over the town; and it came at last to the ears of Mrs ----. I had, indeed, observed of late a great alteration in that lady's behaviour towards me, whenever I visited the house; nor could I, for a long time, before this evening, ever obtain a private interview with ----, and now, it seems, I owed it to her mother's intention of over-hearing all that had passed between us.

**Do you know the author?** Answered 89.70% Not Answered 10.30%

	Yes	No
	2 2.94	59 86.76

**Author Name (if known):**

- 📖 ?Eliot [response 4]
- 📖 Fielding? [response 25]
- 📖 C. Dickens [response 44]

**Do you think the author is male or female?** Answered 89.70% Not Answered 10.30%

	Male	Female	Don't know
	19 27.94	17 25	25 36.76

**On what basis do you consider that this is the case?**

- 📖 The narrator is first person male. [response 2]
- 📖 Not male speaker so much as depiction feminine instability and lack moral fibre! [response 5]  
Male because, compared to previous 2 its more straightforwardly narrative from a male perspective [response 6]
- 📖 see above [response 8]
- 📖 Same reasons as previous passage. [response 9]
- 📖 The emotions assigned to the characters seem to be a little distant. The female is written about almost as a treasured object. Again I admit that I have to base this decision on some knowledge of eighteenth or nineteenth century literature(?) and my own stereotypes relating to it. [response 11]
- 📖 the description of the sigh, tender look, tears on lovely cheeks. romantic view of femininity, but could have been written by another woman. i`m guessing that it`s male. more a male fantasy than female, i think. [response 12]
- 📖 It sounds stiff (all puns included!), like, really, is this a declaration of love, or what! The syntax is too formal, broken up, doesn`t flow, and the word choices sound stilted, too formal, not really in touch... [response 14]
- 📖 Just a gut feeling [response 17]
- 📖 Hunch. [response 18]
- 📖 Again, the I is male. I`m reminded of Henry James. But you never know! [response 20]  
Sentimental/melodramatic subject matter although the word `buzzed` feels somewhat incongruous. [response 23]
- 📖 The woman`s words do not sound like a woman. [response 24]
- 📖 Something slightly rakish in the style - slangy (buzzed all over town). Rather mawkish description of the woman and her words (man`s idea of a woman?. [response 25]
- 📖 "that lady`s behavior" -Manspeak [response 26]
- 📖 Idealistic portrayal of a woman in love. [response 27]
- 📖 again, highly psychological [response 28]
- 📖 The love scene and the first-person are considered from a point of view that must be of male wooing. [response 29]
- 📖 has a feminine feel about it [response 31]
- 📖 Seems a male point of view of a woman. [response 33]
- 📖 I read something by some frogette about a creature feel me in. [response 47]
- 📖 romantic; detailing of feelings, expressions; emphasis on women (even tho` the main character is male) [response 49]
- 📖 Because the first-person narrator is male, one automatically thinks the writer is male. Also, women writers in the 19th C did not generally write from a masculine perspective, so far as I am aware. [response 50]
- 📖 Sounds like a Jane Austen novel [response 51]

- the more sentimental and emotional viewpoint [response 52]
- Male persona [response 53]
- Expresses emotions [response 54]
- I like this, it flowed, it was emotional and to me it was feminine. Either that or a male author in touch with his feminine side, but I don't think so. Something makes me think of V Woolf, ?? [response 55]
- ? Not sure. Description of the `she` in the first few lines? [response 57]
- sounds like imitation Jane Austen [response 59]

**Excerpt Number 4 Eliza Haywood Betsy Thoughtless**

My dear Sister,

Though I flatter myself all my letters afford you some sort of satisfaction, yet by what little judgement I have been able to form of the temper of your sex, have reason to believe, this I now send will meet a double portion of welcome from you. It brings a confirmation of your beauty's power; the intelligence of a new conquest; the offer of a heart, which, if you will trust a brother's recommendation, is well deserving your acceptance: but, that I may not seem to speak in riddles, you may remember, that the first time I had the pleasure of entertaining you at my rooms, a gentleman called ----, was with us, and that the next day, when you dined with that person, who afterwards treated you with such unbecoming liberties, he made one of the company; since then that you could not see him, as he was obliged to go to his seat, which is about thirty miles off, on an extraordinary occasion, and returned not till the day after you left this town.

**Do you know the author?** Answered **85.29%** Not Answered **14.71%**

Yes		No	
4	5.88	54	79.41

**Author Name (if known):**

- IS IT M. SHELLEY? [response 1]
- ?Pepys [response 4]
- but could be Richardson [response 6]
- ?Richardson [response 40]
- Richardson? [response 25]
- Jane Austen? [response 27]
- J. Austen [response 44]

**Do you think the author is male or female?** Answered **88.23%** Not Answered **11.77%**

Male		Female		Don't know	
22	32.35	14	20.59	24	35.29

**On what basis do you consider that this is the case?**

- DITTO ABOVE [response 1]
- The narrator of the letter is male; however, the subject is romantic which would indicate female. [response 2]
- Male as slightly pompous [response 5]
- Epistolary combined with a particular brand of rationality --once Richardson came to mind, its hard to shift. Not Pamela I think. [response 6]
- This is a part of what a man has written, but I think the author could be a woman. [response 8]
- I am guessing that the main character is tragic female. This seems to be written very matter of factly as far as the male's point of view goes. It seems to be done quickly to allow the female lead to be pushed on into more of society's difficulties. I feel that this letter is written as a woman of the time would see it. [response 11]
- the character writing this letter must have studied Latin to write such convoluted sentences! i've seldom seen so many commas. yuck. [response 12]
- Clearly the "letter" is authored by a man; the question is who wrote the author of the letter. It is not clear and I honestly have no sense of who it could be. [response 13]
- The tone sounds like a brother is lording over a sister, and he states, "if you will trust a brother's recommendation..." [response 14]
- I'm not to crazy about any of your samples so far. [response 17]
- Hunch.[response 18]
- Florid [response 19]
- Well, by George, this speaker is also male (a brother). But there is no reason why a woman couldn't write these words, or any of the other passages.[response 20]
- This, as well as excerpt #3, have gendered narrators, but the narrator, of course, is a kind of impersonation--it could be a male or female author. I think that it is more common for women to write from the perspective of a male narrator than for men to write from the perspective of a female narrator. [response 22]
- On a first reading I felt that this was a female author in terms of the warmth of sentiment expressed. However in terms of plot, character, style of writing, it is so much like Richardson's Sir Charles Grandison.I must have gone horribly wrong here because I know you haven't read Grandison! [response 23]

- 📖 The way courtship is described. [response 24]
- 📖 Deliberately formal style, epistolary (i.e. Pamela, Clarissa) ironic (brother trying to enforce his will by not very subtle flattery and undermining it by mentioning the absurd behaviour of the so-called gentleman. [response 25]
- 📖 "what little judgement I have been able to form of the temper of your sex" has to be a man talking to a woman - its a letter! [response 26]
- 📖 Carefully balanced expository prose. [response 27]
- 📖 sounds more abstract [response 28]
- 📖 "the temper of your sex" must be a reference from the outside to the female sex. [response 29]
- 📖 male concerns described [response 31]
- 📖 Man writing to his sister to recommend a man to her as suitor. [response 33]
- 📖 Richardson? [response 34]
- 📖 I thought I recognised Richardson`s epistolary style [response 40]
- 📖 Again – sounds like Austen. [response 41]
- 📖 Mention of the eurologophallogocentric words such as trust and other bourgeois notions. [response 47]
- 📖 Male voice; a bit supercilious, self-important [response 49]
- 📖 The narrator is male. I notice nothing that makes me think the writer is female. [response 50]
- 📖 Also sounds like a Jane Austin novel [response 51]
- 📖 Again, 18th century parallel/periodic sentence (my God. It`s all one sentence!) Male persona [response 53]
- 📖 A male would consider it a challenge to make a long sentence. [response 54]
- 📖 It reads of Bronte? It was gentle and considered. Obviously 18/19C [response 55]
- 📖 Something in the way this brother addresses his sister - lofty way - as she is not the nr. 1 she would be if a woman wrote this. [response 56]
- 📖 see above answer [response 59]
- 📖 The epistolary form [response 60]

**Excerpt Number 5 Samuel Richardson Pamela**

'Mrs ----' said he, 'here you are both together: Do you sit down; but let her stand if she will' (Ay, thought I, if I can; for my knees beat one against the other). 'Did you not think, when you saw the girl in the way you found her in, that I had given her the greatest occasion for complaint, that could possibly be given to a woman; and that I had actually ruined her, as she calls it? Tell me, could you think anything less?' 'Indeed,' said she, 'I feared so at first.' 'Has she told you what I did to her, and all I did to her, to occasion the folly, by which my reputation might have suffered in your opinion, and in that of all the family? Inform me, what has she told you?'

Do you know the author? **Answered 85.29% Not Answered 14.71%**

Yes		No	
3	4.41	55	80.88

**Author Name (if known):**

- 📖 Dickens [response 4]
- 📖 ?Fielding [response 40]
- 📖 Richardson [response 23]
- 📖 S. Richardson [response 44]

**Do you think the author is male or female? Answered 83.83% Not Answered 16.17%**

Male		Female		Don't know	
15	22.06	10	14.71	32	47.06

**On what basis do you consider that this is the case?**

- 📖 DITTO ABOVE [response 1]  
The first person narrator is female. The subject is the aftermath of rape from a female point of view. [response 2]
- 📖 Sense of externailty to womankind [response 5]
- 📖 I`m having thoughts of Moll Flanders; the dialogue moves on in this way in Defoe. [response 6]
- 📖 see above [response 8]
- 📖 This seems to be written well with a male`s insight so I will guess the author is male. [response 11]  
narrator seems overly analytical and insistant, traits usually associated with males. [response 12]  
Another case of who is writing whom . . . clearly we have a man speaking within the text.  
I suspect the author is male. The apparent anguish at the possible loss of reputation is just real enough to be credible. `Tis a man what writes this! [response 13]

- 📖 This sounds like a domestic discussion about rape. It sounds like a man is concerned about his reputation as he is speaking with the wife of a male friend of his, and the "ruined" woman has confided in the woman being addressed here. I think this is being reported by a female author as a bold revelation intent at showing what has formerly been hidden in male dominated "society." The woman is nervous to be in the company of this man, as evidenced by the parenthetical statement. Feelings are being addressed here, and affect. [response 14]
- 📖 Some 18th or 19th century person could be writing a morality tale to warn young women of the dangers of sex ("ruined" "reputation," etc.) But not only a woman would have an interest in instructing girls to hang on to their virginity, so it could be a male author. The only times I've been strongly aware of the author's sex have been in attempting to read some macho garbage like Harry Crews or Tropic of Cancer. [response 20]
- 📖 The knees gave it away! It has to be Pamela. Knowing that it is this particular novel I find it difficult to step back and judge whether it is `male` or `female`. [response 23]
- 📖 Again, a certain lack of formality, which inclines me to think it is a masculine text. I believe that women writers in the 18th & 19thc. had to be very careful about their style and subject matter. It might possibly be Fielding (Shamela?) or Richardson (Pamela?). [response 25]
- 📖 No real reason, except an excessive concern with abstract propriety. [response 27]
- 📖 I'm "psyching out" the survey--one of these authors has got to be female, but I can't find her! [response 29]
- 📖 female feel to it [response 31]
- 📖 I think this is from a Henry Fielding novel [response 40]
- 📖 Roger Kimball's analysis in \_Tenured Radicals\_ is both trenchant and provocative. Short clippy sentences that recapitulate the death of the humanities. [response 47]
- 📖 Female main character (?) male character dominating/domineering in tone and in length of sentences. [response 49]
- 📖 I have no more reason than that it reads like Charles Dickens or George Meredith. The fact that the subject of the text appears to be some sort of scandal seems to me further evidence that the writer is male. [response 50]
- 📖 sounds like a womanly novel - again a Jane Austin type [response 51]
- 📖 Emotional words [response 54]
- 📖 Could be either. 19c? I was confused by this one. [response 55]
- 📖 Hard to say - something about the building of the sentences. [response 56]
- 📖 Not sure on any of them! (could be written by a man or a woman; text does not affect this when I read them) [response 61]
- 📖 Ay - is not a feminine exclamation. [response 63]

**About Yourself** Answered 91.17% Not Answered 8.83%

Decade of Birth									
Pre 1920		1920's		1930's		1940's		1950's	
0	0.00	1	1.47	2	2.94	19	27.94	19	27.94
1960's		1970's		1980's		After 1989			
14	20.59	7	10.29	0	0.00	0	0.00		

**Gender: Are you?** Answered 91.17% Not Answered 8.83%

Male		Female	
24	35.29	38	55.88

**Do you have children?** Answered 89.71% Not Answered 10.29%

Yes		No	
34	50.00	27	39.71

**How many under 16:** Answered 41.18% Not Answered 58.82%

No of Children	Count	%
0	10	14.71
1	10	14.71
2	7	10.29
4	1	1.47

**Employment: Are you ...** Answered 82.36% Not Answered 17.64%

An Employee?	Self-employed?	Unemployed?			
43	63.24	10	14.71	3	4.41

**Retired: Are you ...** (Optional answer)

Retired?	
2	2.94

**What is your profession?**

A teacher and also a student	1
Architect	1
Bartender/student	1
Biologist	1
biomedical research	1
book designer	1
college art department adjunct photography instructor	1
College Professor	1
College professor of English	1
COMPOSITION INSTRUCTOR	1
computer programmer	1
consultant	1
Copyright Consultatnt	1
Director of a government agency	1
Education	1
Educator.	1
Engineer	1
English Professor	1
Features writer	1
Handmade paper merchant/ letterpress printer - ie mostly wedding invitations these days...	1
Instructor -- college	1
Lecturer in English	1
Lecturer U of G	1
librarian	1
Library Assistant	1
Library technician	1
Managing my husband`s architecture firm after a 25-year career teaching college English.	1
mathematician, computer programmer, technical writer	1
Mother, working on my PhD in English Literature	1
phd student	1
Professor (like Socrates)	1
professor of English	2
Professor of French language and literature	1
Professor of German	1
psychiatrist	1
psychoanalyst	1
Psychology Professor	1
Researcher	1
Secretarial/publicity	1
Senior Technical Editor; writer	1
Software Engineer	1
stay at home mom, doctoral student	1
student	2
Teacher of English and English as a Second Language	1
Teacher, graphic department, teaches students from the printing industry.	1
Technical Instructor and perennial student	1
therapist, publisher	1
Think-tank janitor.	1
Typographer	1
Under/grad full time. Reg. disabled	1
university lecturer	3
University Professor	1

Are you a student? Answered 89.70% Not Answered 10.30%

	Yes	No
	22	39
	32.35	57.35

**What discipline(s) are you currently studying?**

AMERICAN LIT., PSYCHOANALYTIC LIT. CRIT., THEORIES AND PRACTICES OF WRITING (IN NETWORKED AND NON-NETWORKED ENVIRONMENTS)	1
arts and humanities in education	1
children`s literature	1
Comparative Literature	1
Electronic Communication and Publishing	1
English lit	1
English/writing arts	1
etymology	1
Film studies and theory	1
graphic design; bookbinding	1
History	1
Law and the Internet	1
Life is always a learning experience. We may stop learning in formal settings, but informally, we never stop.	1
Literary criticism and theory, 20C women`s writing...Theory, cultural studies, women`s studies, film...	1
Literary Studies	1
medicin, psychology, art	1
Medieval Art History	1
PhD	1
reading education	1
See above	1
student studying stuff	1
Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL)	1
Theory and History of Art. University of Kent at Canterbury.	1

Are you a former student? Answered 83.82% Not Answered 16.18%

	Yes	No
	51	6
	75.00	8.82

**What discipline(s) have you previously studied?**

About people, industry. Methodology, quality and quantity.	1
AnthropologyEnglishLibrary & Information Science	1
Arabic Hebrew and Egyptology	1
Architecture; Property Valuation and Law	1
art	1
BA hons Litt & Phil. and MA Litt.	1
business admin (failed)	1
Business, dietetics, library science, science, sign language	1
Classics/materials engineering.	1
Computer Science	1
Education, Media Studies	1
Electrical engineering, law, Engl. lit.	1

Engineering, Physics, Music, Languages	1
English	2
English And History	1
English Language and Literature, and Psychology	1
English literature	1
English Literature (BA, MA, Ph.D)	1
English literature (Ph D level)	1
English literature, creative writing, psychology	1
English Literature, Librarianship	1
film studies and english	1
fine arts, communications	1
French literature, psychoanalysis	1
French, English, and Italian literatures; French and Italian languages	1
Geography	1
History of Art/ Visual Culture	1
Literature	1
literaturepsychologyfine art	1
Literature, Art	1
Literature, Composition, Psychoanalysis.	1
literature, English, American literature, German language and literature	1
Literature, philopsphy,linguistics	1
MA in English literature; BA English literature; minor in linguistics. After all of that schooling in literature, I'm a little embarassed that I don't immediately recognize the excerpts.	1
Marine BiologyEcologyBiology	1
Marine Ecology	1
math, psychology, political science, law	1
Mathematics	1
Medieval Art History	1
Medieval studies	1
Modern American, European, and British Drama / Modern British Fiction / Contemporary American Drama / Modern American Fiction	1
Music Theory	1
Musicology, English lit, German lit	1
Narrative fiction; anthropology; astrology	1
O.U. Gender Studies. Also Art and Design. Cert. A/Hist.	1
Physical and Occupational TherapyFrench Language and LiteratureEnglish Literature	1
Politics	1
psychiatry	1
Psychology	1
psychology, sociology	1
Social sciences	1
strudent has studied stuff	1
visual arts	1

**How did you hear about this questionnaire?**

Book arts list	1
Book-hist mailing list	1
Book-history mailing list	1
BOOK-HISTORY@JISCMail.AC.UK <BOOK-HISTORY@JISCMail.AC.UK>	1
copy of request sent to WordPlay-L	1
email discussion group	1
friend	1
from Alastair Johnston of Poltroon Press (by e-mail)	1
From its author	1
From my lovely sister-in law	1
From Psyart`s E-mail discussion list, run by Dr. Norman Holland	1
From the questioner	1
From the St. Brides Librarys list.	1
I was one of the random selection assigned by J W	1
in P/hole	1
John Williams	1
list serv	1
Looking for questionnaire`s on the web.	1
McBride Printing Museum	1
NNH	1
Norm Holland	2
Norm Holland, Plato	1
Norm Holland`s PsyArt Email Bulletin Board	1
on-line	1
PLATO	3
PSYART	3
PSY-ART	1
PSYART discussion list	1
PsyArt email list	1
PSYART list	1
PsyArt listserve	1
PSYart mailing list	1
psyart mailinglist	1
PSYART@LISTS.UFL.EDU --Norm Holland	1
PSYARTS List-serv	1
Psychoanalytic List on the Net	1
randy fromm (spouse)	1
Reader response chat	1
Reference showed up on the Wordplay list	1
St Bride list	1
st bride`s printing library email news	1
The bookhad email list	1
Through a friend	1
Through PSYART	1
through psyart listserv; Norm`s recommendation of the survey	1

through the Psyart discussion group online	1
via discussion list "Wordplay"	1
Wendy told me	1
Wordplay email list	1
Wordplay listserve	1
Wordplay mail list	1
you emailed me the link . . .	1
You told me in an email :o)	1
Yourself	1

-----  
 If you wish to offer any additional comments (regarding either Reading or this questionnaire, for example) please enter them here:

-----  
 If you wish to, please provide your:

Name:  
 E-mail address:

Thank you for taking part in this questionnaire.

-----  
 E-mail: [creed@dircon.co.uk](mailto:creed@dircon.co.uk)





## Appendix B





## APPENDIX B

[ 1 ]

### The Questionnaires

Two distinct styles of questionnaire were dispatched to Twenty-six publishers and professional bodies, with varying degrees of success. Twenty representatives acknowledged my initial letter, thirteen agreed to participate and eight refused. Of those who agreed many sent information (in the form of leaflets or pamphlets) about their society instead. The total of usable questionnaires was five, three publishers (Penguin, Early English Texts and Cambridge University Press) and two professional bodies (The Library Association and The Private Library Association). The intent of the questionnaire was to provide a snapshot view of the publication processes, from the MSS stage to the delivery of the book to the reader, and the role of the library for the individual. Once questionnaires were returned, the information was transferred verbatim into a Word document. Again (as with the questionnaire at Appendix A) ethnic and economic backgrounds are not relevant although David Chambers, Chairman of the Private Libraries Association suggested economic factors as a barrier to the purchase of a book. This factor will limit a reader's ability to buy books, rather than stop them prohibit purchase. The five responses that follow are presented in the following format: publishers are reproduced in the same form, which allows the reader to compare the processes of publication. The two library associations are separate.

PART OF MY RESEARCH IS AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE PRODUCTION, TRANSMISSION AND RECEPTION OF A TEXT, SO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE DIVIDED INTO THREE BRIEF SECTIONS; THE AUTHOR, THE BOOK AND THE PUBLIC. PLEASE ANSWER AS MANY AS YOU CAN.

## THE AUTHOR

### HOW DOES A MANUSCRIPT REACH YOU?

Penguin: The ones we read come from known literary agents. Unsolicited MSS from writers themselves are returned with a card (which I enclose).

Early English Texts: All our publications are editions of texts. A potential editor submits a proposal, often with specimens. It is provisionally accepted, in due course a manuscript arrives (usually). These days of course, it may be a disc with hard copy.

Cambridge University Press: (1) An author submits it on spec. by post. (2) We approach an author and ask him/her to submit it

### WHO SELECTS WHICH AUTHOR WILL BE PUBLISHED?

Penguin: Readers, editors, sales, marketing, publicity collude

Early English Texts: We have an Edition secretary and are governed by a council. The council selects.

Cambridge University Press: The Press editor, with the approval of the University Press syndicate

### WHAT CRITERIA ARE USED TO SELECT THE MANUSCRIPT FOR PUBLICATION?

Penguin: Readers/editors -- literary worth; Sales -- commerciability; Marketing -- marketability; Publicity -- the author themselves (interesting? unusual? famous?)

Early English Texts: it must be an early English text of sufficient interest, it must not be too short, and above all the standard of the edition, accuracy and scholarship must be high

Cambridge University Press: Academic merit/quality. Suitedness to our list. Saleability

**OUTLINE BRIEFLY THE STAGES FROM MANUSCRIPT TO PUBLICATION?**

Penguin: MSS --several drafts edited by the editor and author. Copyediting. Proof. Finished copy.

Early English Texts: The manuscript is seen by a reader (sometimes more than one) appointed by the council, and often a member of the council. When the Reader's requirements have been dealt with it goes back to the Council. If they approve, the editorial Secretary takes over, it getting printed, proofs are checked by the author (editor), printed, bound, published on our behalf by the OUP

Cambridge University Press: Consideration/refereeing. Acceptance/contract. Delivery/copyediting. Proof-reading/index-making. Stock. Publication

**WHAT ARE THE PRINCIPLE FINANCIAL CONSTRAINTS IN PUBLISHING A BOOK (DO THESE LESSEN WITH THE SUCCESS OF THE BOOK/AUTHOR?)**

Penguin: Need to sell at least 2,500 copies for a book to be financially viable. Lots of pictures make a book expensive to produce

Early English Texts: There aren't any really. We work by having a lot of regular subscribers. We usually publish 1-3 volumes a year, and just don't publish more than we can afford. It usually works out about right.

Cambridge University Press: High production costs, small market (yes)

**IN THE EVENT OF AN AUTHOR'S DEATH WHAT DIFFICULTIES MAY ARISE IN THE PUBLICATION PROCESS?**

Penguin: Need to work with the author's estate (solicitor, spouse). Few difficulties generally though

Early English Texts: Sometimes a colleague takes over, if it was near completion. We might look for someone else to do it, but often there is a volunteer or obvious candidate. In other cases the work might just not be finished or published. We would doubtless keep whatever work had been done in case someone would volunteer later, provided the executors agreed.

Cambridge University Press: No-one to contact with copyedit queries. No-one to check the proofs. Royalty accounts must be remade with the deceased's estate

**WHAT ROLE DO CRITICAL EDITORS PLAY IN THE PUBLICATION PROCESS?**

Penguin: Buying books, editing (suggesting plot changes, adding depth to characters, clarifying style)

Early English Texts: Not sure what you mean. For our readers see above. The Editorial Secretary also has a role in checking that things are done right, and she handles all the printing/publishing arrangements

Cambridge University Press: Crucial they make determining judgements

**WHAT ROLE DOES EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL CENSORSHIP PLAY IN PRODUCING A BOOK?**

Penguin: External censorship -- bad reviews? Could be a disaster. Need internal enthusiasm from all and usually have this

Early English Texts: Our own council is our standard. See above

Cambridge University Press: Little

**IF A BOOK IS TO BE REFUSED ON CENSORSHIP GROUNDS WHO MAKES THE DECISION AND WHAT ARE THE CRITERIA FOR REFUSAL?**

Penguin: Do you mean legal problems -- risk of libel? We have a company lawyer who deals with all of this. There are no issues about sex (homosexuality? Pornography? Or violence + no in-house guidelines)

Early English Texts: N/A

Cambridge University Press: /

**THE BOOK**

**WHO DECIDES ON THE FORMAT? (INCLUDING PRINT SIZE, FONT, ILLUSTRATIONS AND THE MATERIAL USED SUCH AS PAPER?)**

Penguin: Have a marketing meeting with editors, sales, publicity, marketing staff all present.

Early English Texts: Editorial Secretary

Cambridge University Press: The Press editor in liaison with press production staff

**HOW LONG IS THE PRODUCTION PROCESS FROM MANUSCRIPT TO LAUNCHED PRODUCT**

[ ] WEEKS [ ] MONTHS [ ] YEARS [ ] OTHER (PLEASE EXPLAIN

Penguin: [ 1 ] YEARS. About one year. Sometimes less 6 months

Early English Texts: varies - dependent mainly on size, how many come in at once, etc... Average probably rather less than 1 year

Cambridge University Press: [ 10 ] MONTHS

**WHEN DOES A HARDBACK CONVERT TO A PAPERBACK?**

Penguin: P/b generally 1 year after the h/b comes out

Early English Texts: N/A

Cambridge University Press: If it has sold successfully and been well reviewed after 18 months - 3 years, and if there is a lively student market.

**WHO AND WHAT INFLUENCES WHAT GOES ON THE COVER?**

Penguin: editorial staff brief the Art department who produce the cover. The rough proof is then sent to the author for their approval.

Early English Texts: N/A

Cambridge University Press: Content if good. Market level. Cost.

**DOES THE AUTHOR HAVE ANY INFLUENCE ON COVER DESIGN? Y( ) N ( ) IF YES HOW IF NO WHY?**

Penguin: (Y) They can suggest changes

Early English Texts: (N) We just have a plain standard cover

Cambridge University Press: (Y) Can suggest pictures, approve designs

**WHO WRITES THE COVER TEXT/ADVERTISING TEXT**

Penguin: Editorial write h/b blurb. We have a Blurbs department who write p/b blurbs department. Marketing blurbs are created by the marketing team

Early English Texts: N/A If there is any advertising, it is done by author for OUP to put into their lists, and is really rather short and descriptive -- no heavy selling!

Cambridge University Press:

**HOW IS THE BOOK BROUGHT TO THE READING PUBLIC'S ATTENTION?**

Penguin: Advertisements (generally in broadsheets)

Early English Texts: Our subscribers will get into annual mailing, and mostly always taken them. Other academics presumably see them in the OUP publications lists etc

Cambridge University Press: ADS. Reviews. Mailings. Catalogues. Conferences. Bookshop displays

## WHAT IS THE PROCESS FOR GETTING A BOOK REVIEWED?

Penguin: Send out proof copies in advance of publication. + author asks their friends in the media(!)

Early English Texts: A few copies are offered to appropriate academic journals. Sometimes someone writes in and asks if they can review

Cambridge University Press: Send it to the reviews editor and if necessary pester him/her

## THE PUBLIC

### WHO DO YOU PERCEIVE TO BE YOUR READING PUBLIC?

Penguin: Dep. On imprints: Viking/HH --educated literary audience. Michael Joseph -- commercial readers. Penguin Press -- academic. Ladybird/Warne -- children

Early English Texts: Academic libraries and academics

Cambridge University Press: Students and academics

### DO YOU DO MARKET RESEARCH: IF YES DOES THIS INFLUENCE YOUR PUBLISHING AND MARKETING STRATEGIES?

Penguin: Carried out an extensive brand survey last year (done by an agency) and as a result decided to advertise penguin as a brand name (large bills tickers in underground for example)

Early English Texts: No

Cambridge University Press: yes

### HAVE YOU AT ANY TIME CARRIED OUT OR BEEN INVOLVED IN RESEARCH INTO READING PRACTICES IF YES WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO SHARE THE INFORMATION WITH ME FOR THIS PHD Y [ ] N [ ]

Penguin: Sorry haven't

Early English Texts: N/A

Cambridge University Press: yes. If students or academics confirm there is a need for a book, we are much more likely to publish it

## ANY OTHER COMMENTS

Penguin: Do call me if anything I have written isn't clear. I'm sorry this has been done in a rush! Best of luck Michele Hutchison

Early English Texts: We are I imagine, highly untypical. I hope you can read my writing. Richard Hamer

Cambridge University Press: I haven't. Kevin Taylor

THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO COMPLETE THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

This response is from the Private Libraries Association

MY RESEARCH IS AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE PRODUCTION, TRANSMISSION AND RECEPTION OF A TEXT. WHY PEOPLE COLLECT BOOKS IS AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THIS RESEARCH. PLEASE ANSWER AS MANY QUESTIONS AS YOU CAN.

### THE ASSOCIATION

#### WHAT ARE THE AIMS OF YOUR ASSOCIATION?

- (a) To promote and encourage the awareness of the benefits of book ownership, and the study of books, their production and ownership
- (b) To publish works concerned with the above, particularly those that are not commercially profitable
- (c) To hold meetings at which papers on cognate subjects are read and discussed and to arrange lectures and exhibitions which are also open to non-members

#### WHAT IS THE SELECTION PROCESS FOR JOINING?

- (i). Members. Membership of the Association shall be open to all persons, approved by the council, who, expressing interest in and sympathy for, the aims and objects of the Association, pay the annual subscription. Honorary members shall be such persons as, in the opinion of the council, have rendered outstanding service to the Association. The Council may, at its absolute discretion, remove from a membership any person whom the council considers to be unsuitable to be a member.
- (ii). Institutional Subscribers. Institutional subscribers shall be all those institutes, societies, associations, public and other bodies approved by the council which expressing interest in, and sympathy for, the aims and objectives of the Association, pay the annual subscription

#### WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER TO BE THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF PROVIDING AN ASSOCIATION FOR BOOK COLLECTORS?

Gives members a wider view on what can be collected, and enables members with similar interests to communicate with each other. Interests are linked and indexed in the membership list.

**WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT A PRIVATE LIBRARY IS IMPORTANT?**

Allows for private study and recreational reading that is less and less easy these days with the running down of public libraries

**DOES THE SOCIETY HOLD VIEWS ON CENSORSHIP?**

No -- as far as our publications are concerned we avoid publishing material likely to be objectionable to our members generally

**IF YES WHO MAKES THE DECISIONS ABOUT WHICH ITEMS ARE/ARE NOT CENSORED AND WHAT ARE THE CRITERIA?**

The two editors

**IF THE TYPE OF MATERIAL THAT MEMBERS SELECT IS CONSIDERED UNSUITABLE WOULD THIS AFFECT MEMBERSHIP?**

Y[] N[ ]

**PLEASE PROVIDE FURTHER DETAILS**

Yes to a greater or lesser extent according to the nature of the material. As book collectors there is usually little concern about material concerned with book collecting

**THE MEMBERS**

**WHO ARE YOUR MEMBERS (PROFESSION AND GENERAL INTERESTS)?**

Cannot be categorised

**WHAT ARE THE MAIN INTERESTS OF YOUR MEMBERS (WHAT GENRE, SUBJECTS, AUTHORS)?**

See membership list enclosed (too long to list, 72 page booklet)

**WHERE DO MEMBERS FIND BOOKS (AUCTIONS, SPECIALIST BOOKSHOPS ETC)**

Auctions, specialist bookshops and now on internet

**HOW DIFFICULT IS IT TO FIND THE TYPES OF BOOKS THAT THE MEMBERS COLLECT?**

They collect everything, some subjects very easy, some very difficult. Price range likewise, for some members are wealthy, many are not

**IN THE PURCHASE OF A BOOK, IS THERE CEILING PRICE BEYOND WHICH MEMBERS WILL NOT GO?**

Y[ ] N[ ]

Depends entirely on the wealth of the member. Mr Getty is a member and has, presumably hardly any limit

HAVE YOU AT ANY TIME CARRIED OUT OR BEEN INVOLVED IN RESEARCH INTO  
READING PRACTICES IF YES WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO SHARE THE  
INFORMATION WITH ME FOR THIS PHD

Y[ ] N[✓]

ANY OTHER COMMENTS

Hope this helps -- the difficulty in responding is that our members come from  
widely differing professions, collect widely different books, and have widely  
different wealth

THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS RESEARCH

THIS RESPONSE IS FROM THE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

MY RESEARCH IS AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE PRODUCTION, TRANSMISSION AND RECEPTION OF A TEXT. LIBRARIES AND LIBRARIANS PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THIS PROCESS. PLEASE ANSWER AS MANY QUESTIONS AS YOU CAN.

**THE ASSOCIATION**

**WHAT ARE THE AIMS OF YOUR ASSOCIATION?**

See Attached Mission statement:

The Library affirms that libraries are fundamental to a thriving democracy, culture, civilization and economy.

The Library association is therefore committed to enabling its members to achieve the highest professional standards, and encouraging them in the delivery and promotion of high quality library and information services responsive to the needs of users.

**WHAT IS THE SELECTION PROCESS FOR JOINING?**

An interest in libraries

**WHAT INFORMATION DO YOU PROVIDE FOR MEMBERS?**

See attached leaflet on information services (too long to reproduce but standard help-line document, detailing contact information)

**WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT THE PROVISION OF SUPPORT FOR MEMBERS IS IMPORTANT?**

The Association would not exist without its members

**WHY DO YOU FEEL THAT THE PROVISION OF A LIBRARY IS IMPORTANT?**

N/A

**DO YOU HAVE ANY FEEDBACK FROM MEMBERS CONCERNING PROBLEMS OF FUNDING OF LIBRARIES? [EXPLAIN]**

It is a general professional concern

**DO YOU HAVE ANY FEEDBACK FROM MEMBERS CONCERNING POLICIES OF BOOK SELECTION? [EXPLAIN]**

It is a general professional concern

**DO YOU HAVE ANY FEEDBACK FROM MEMBERS CONCERNING PROBLEMS OF CENSORSHIP?  
[EXPLAIN**

It is a general professional concern

**DOES THE SOCIETY HOLD VIEWS ON CENSORSHIP? Y[] N[  ]**

**IF YES WHAT ARE THOSE VIEWS?**

See attached sheet (sheet details information with regard to freedom of information and is too long to reproduce here)

**WHO MAKES DECISIONS ABOUT CENSORSHIP?**

N/A

**WHAT ARE THE CRITERIA?**

**I AM PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN THE IMPACT OF TEXTUAL SCHOLARSHIP ON READING RESPONSES. THE SOCIETY HAS AWARDS FOR BIBLIOGRAPHY. WHY DOES THE SOCIETY PLACE SUCH IMPORTANCE ON THIS KIND OF RESEARCH?**

N/A

**WHAT CRITERIA DO THE AWARD PANEL USE TO ASSESS WORKS OF THIS NATURE?**

**THE MEMBERS**

**WHO ARE YOUR MEMBERS?**

Individuals and organisations who work in or have an interest in the library and information profession

**WHAT ARE THE MAIN INTERESTS OF YOUR MEMBERS?**

Varies according to employment sector

HOW MANY MEMBERS DOES THE ASSOCIATION HAVE?

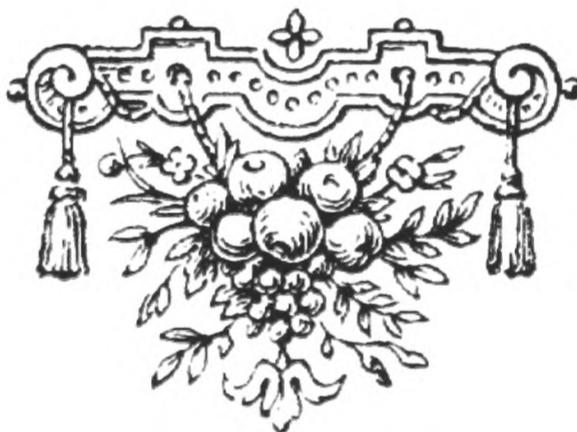
25,000+

HAVE YOU AT ANY TIME CARRIED OUT OR BEEN INVOLVED IN RESEARCH INTO READING PRACTICES? IF YES WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO SHARE THE INFORMATION WITH ME FOR THIS PHD Y[ ] N[ ]

Yes + No

ANY OTHER COMMENTS

THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS RESEARCH





## Appendix C





## Appendix C

### **Class: Level Two 'Literature and Art in the Eighteenth Century'**

Wendy Creed's session began with a formal presentation on the history of book production. It contained information on the development of the technology of book production, and included details of the economic, political, and social factors involved. The students were provided with hand outs and a wide range of illustrative material.

In the second half of the two hour session the format changed. Using workshop drama techniques, students were encouraged to reproduce the experience of reading a book in eighteenth century conditions. The light was dimmed, and lavender balls were used to create a distinctive and 'period' atmosphere. The students were asked to put themselves in the place of a young woman reading before going out to a ball. The aim was to explore the physical conditions likely to be experienced - including the eighteenth century typeface of the page to be read - in a given reading situation.

The session as a whole had a considerable impact on all the students. They all expressed themselves able to engage in the reading exercise because of the way it had been organised and presented. No one said they felt embarrassed or unconvinced of the usefulness of the session.

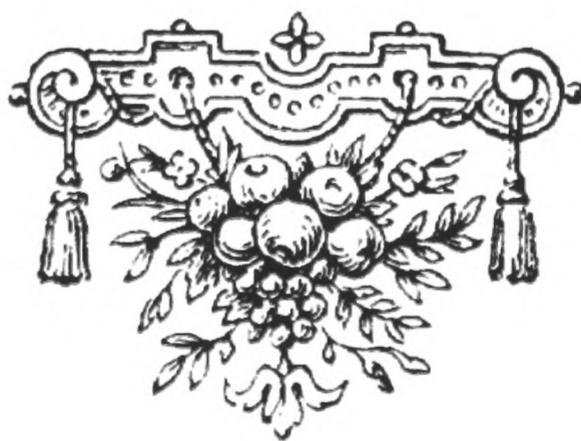
A primary aim of the exercise was to extend the students' perception of the 'text' and the 'book', and to apply this perception to their study of eighteenth century literature. The students were encouraged to view the texts they normally studied primarily as academic objects of interest, as the consequence of a

technological process of production that existed within an economic and social matrix as well as being the creative work of its author. They were also given a powerful sense of the text as a physical object, a thing to be held in the hand and read. They also began to see it as an object that might be assessed in other ways: aesthetically in terms of its appearance, for its material value, as a prized possession to be displayed rather than to be opened and read.

Throughout the two hours students were put sufficiently at their ease to feel able to ask questions and generally make the most of the opportunity to interact.

Asked about what they looked for in the books they chose to read, the students spoke of 'a good plot', 'an aid to relaxation', 'reasonable cost and portability'. Some also commented that evidence of physical durability might influence them. Several said that the novels they bought independently of any programme of study were intended for 'escapism'. They tended to think of themselves as able to resist an alluring cover. Some also spoke of books that were clearly going to be helpful in their academic work, where the constraints of cost portability and durability might be waved. All the students questioned claimed that they tended to resist the speculative buying of books; they all sought some form of prior knowledge to assure them the book would be worth having. They were all suspicious of cover blurbs, although they all enjoyed reading them.

John Williams

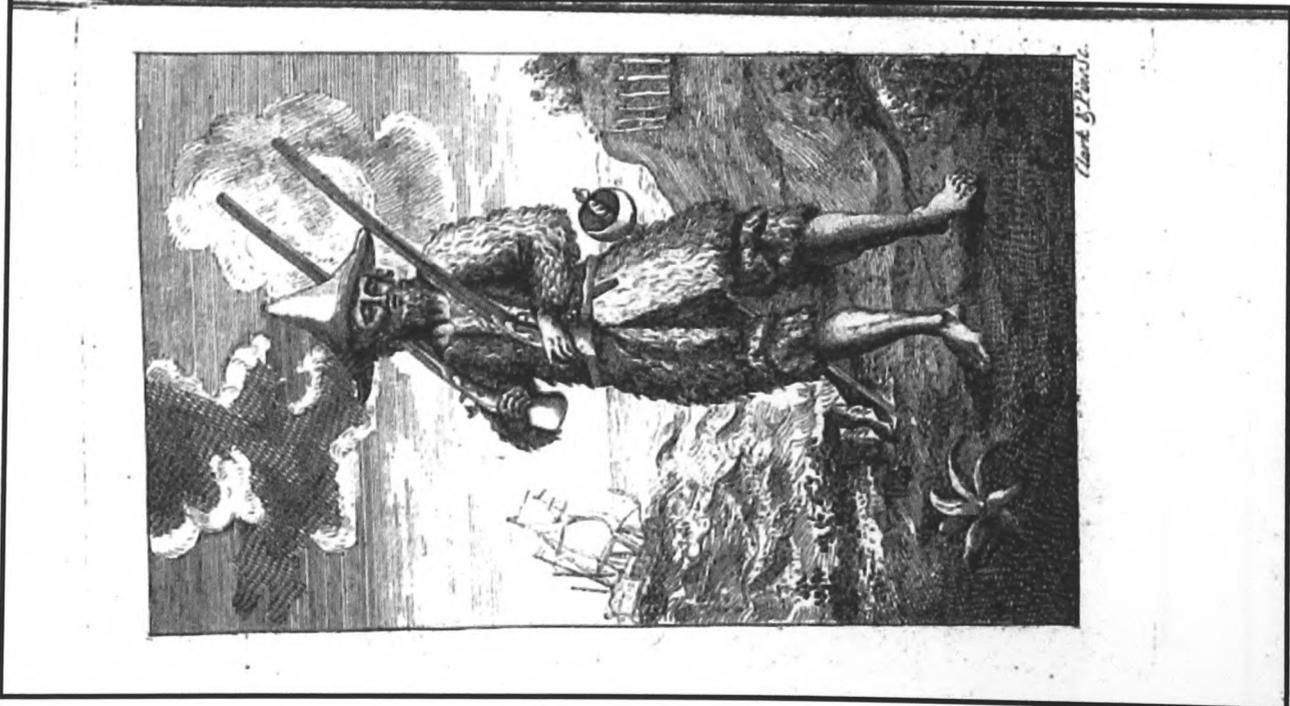




## Appendix D



Variation In The Styles Of Illustration In Robinson Crusoe



Robinson Crusoe 1719

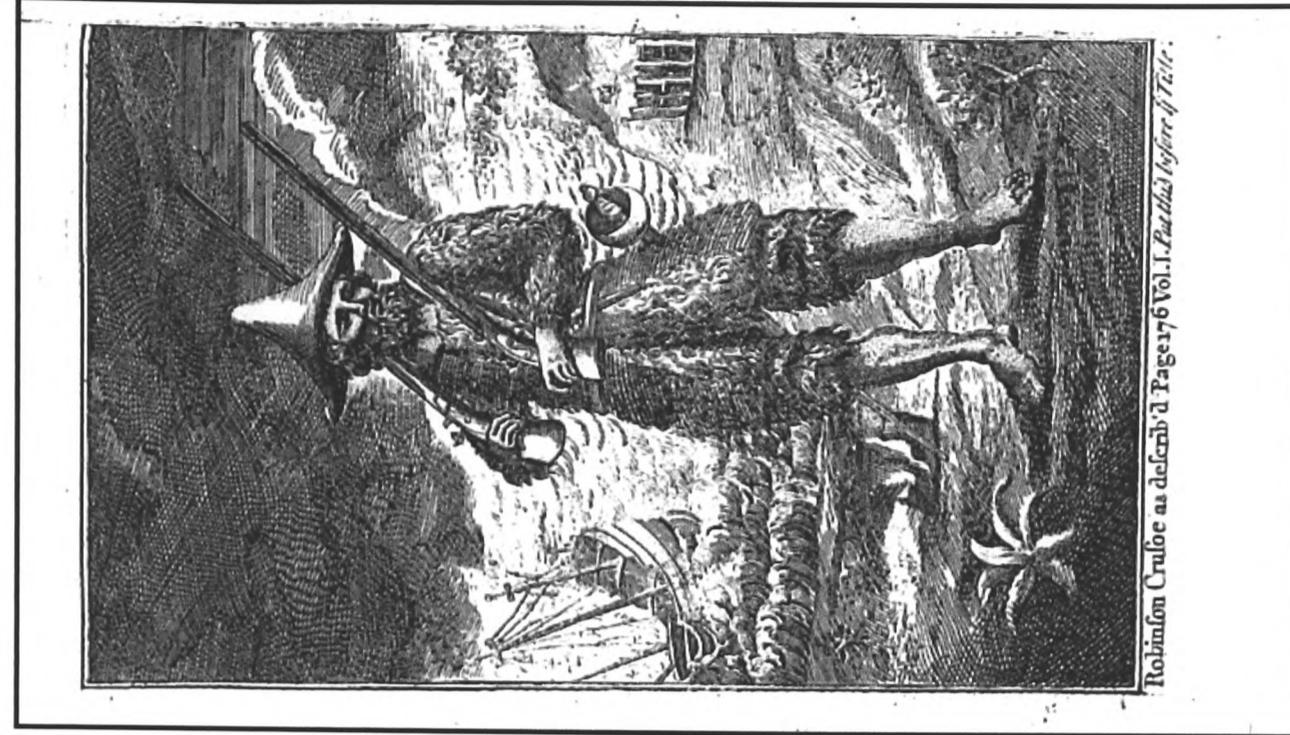
[ 55 ]

towards one Side 'till I came to the Out-side of the Hill, and made a Door or Way out, which came beyond my Fence or Wall, and so I came in and out this Way. But after I had done this, I was troubled to see my self thus expos'd, tho' I could not perceive any thing to fear, a Goat being the biggest Creature I had seen upon the Island.

Sept. 30. Casting up my Notches on my Post, which amounted to 365, I concluded this to be the Anniversary of my Landing; and therefore humbly protesting my self on the Ground, confessing my Sins, acknowledging God's righteous Judgments upon me, and praying to *Jesus Christ* to have Mercy on me, I fasted for twelve Hours till the going down of the Sun; and then eating a Bisket and a Bunch of Grapes, laid me on the Bed, and with great Comfort took my Night's Repose. 'Till this Time, having no Sense of Religion, I never distinguish'd the Sabbath-Day; but now, I made a longer Notch than

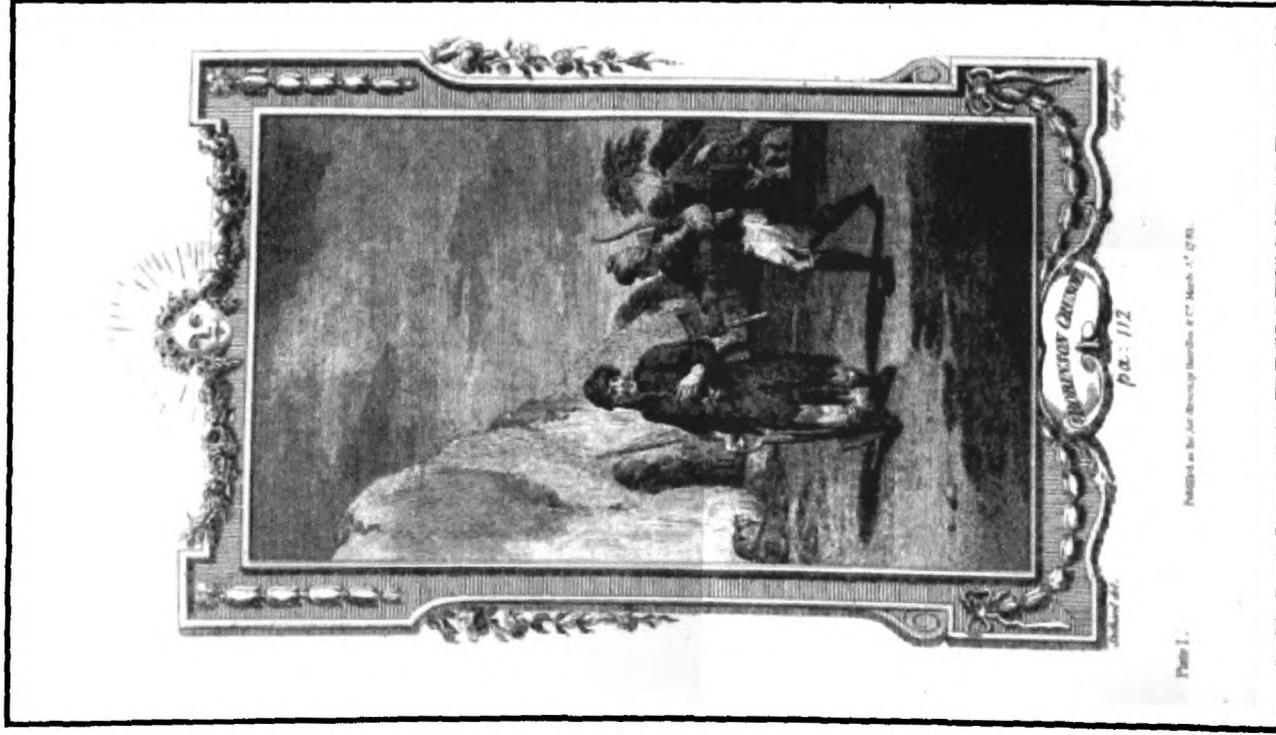
 A framed illustration of Robinson Crusoe on his island, similar to the one above but with a different style. It shows Crusoe standing on a sandy shore, holding a staff, with a dog and a small hut in the background. The style is a detailed woodcut illustration.

Robinson Crusoe 1719

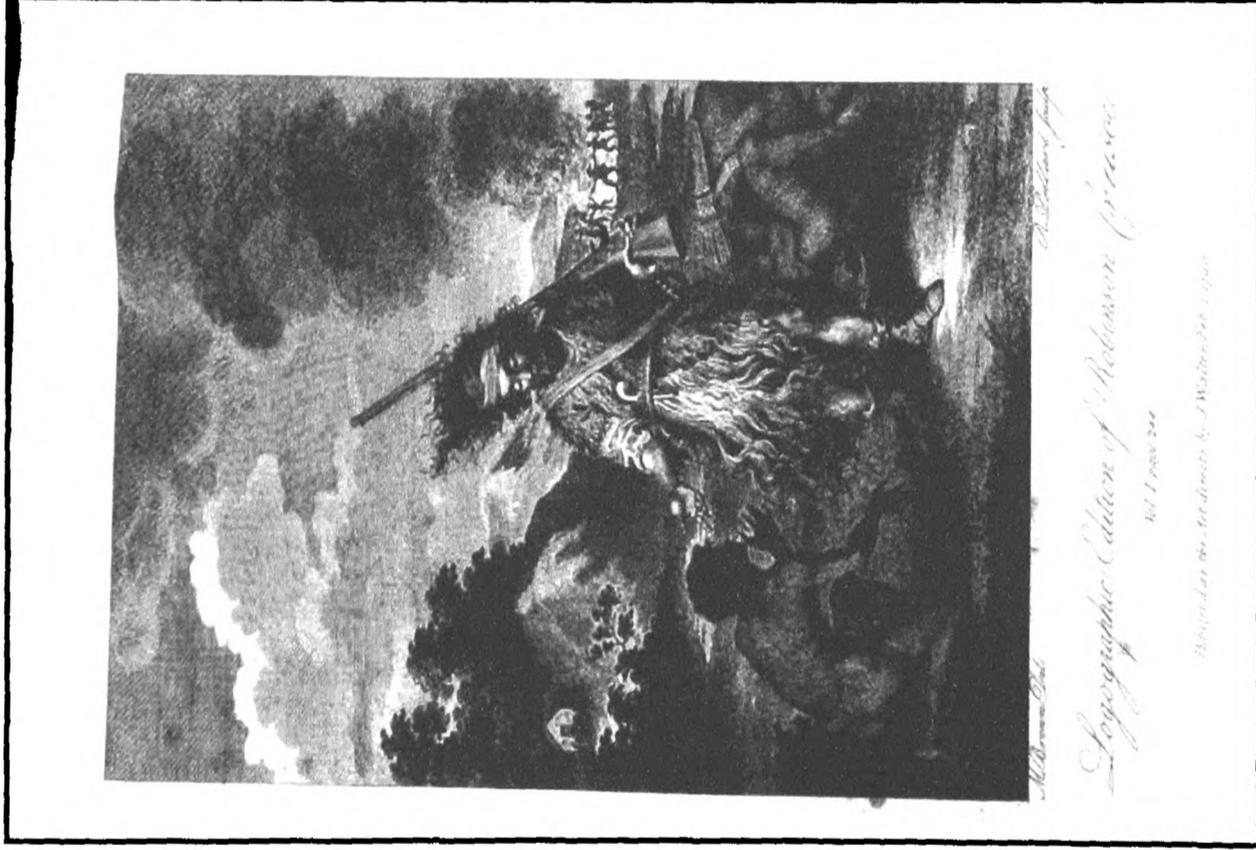


Robinson Crusoe 1726

Variation In The Styles Of Illustration In Robinson Crusoe



Robinson Crusoe 1781

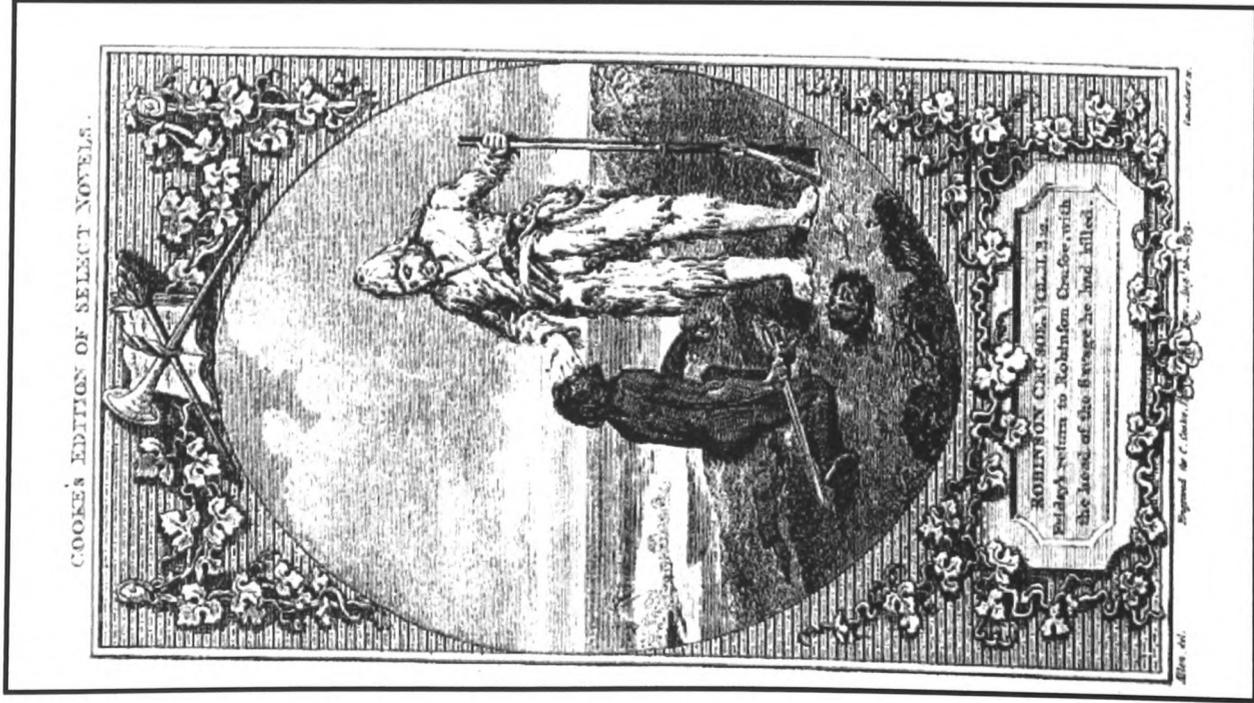


Robinson Crusoe 1790

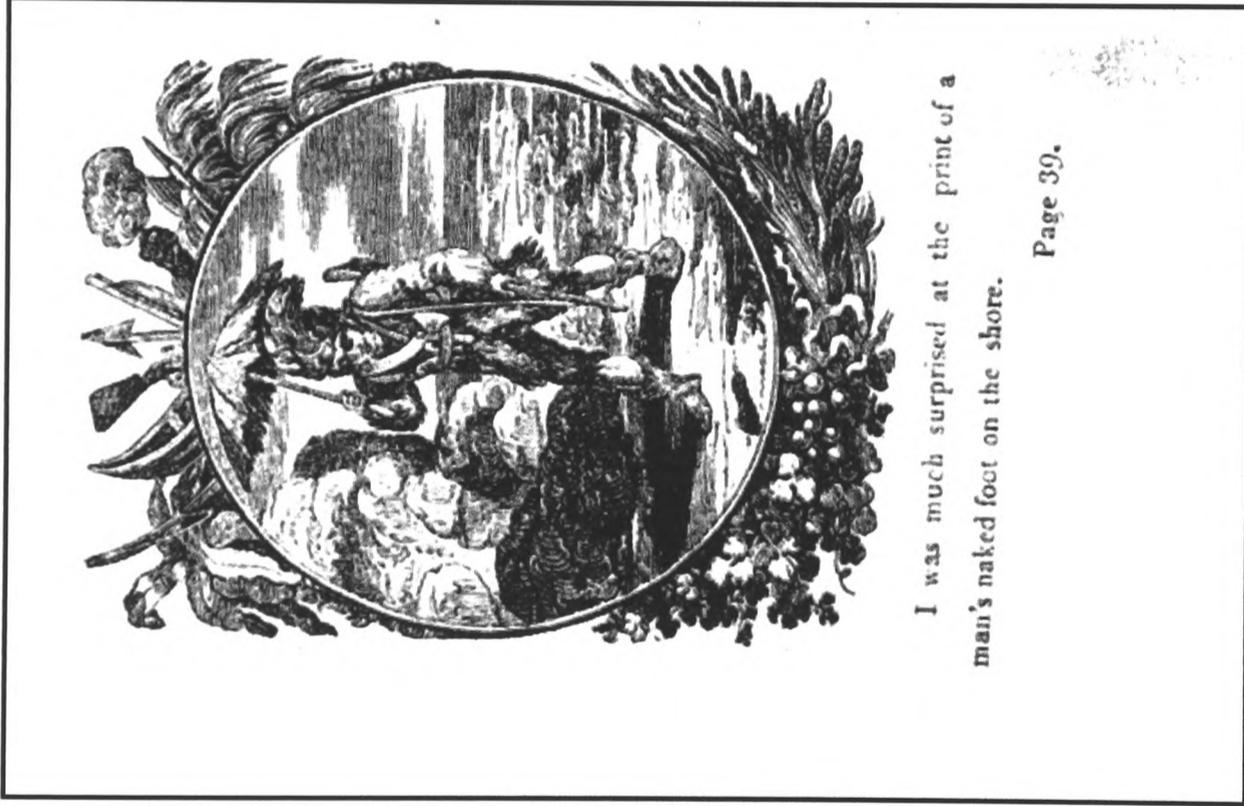


Robinson Crusoe 1790

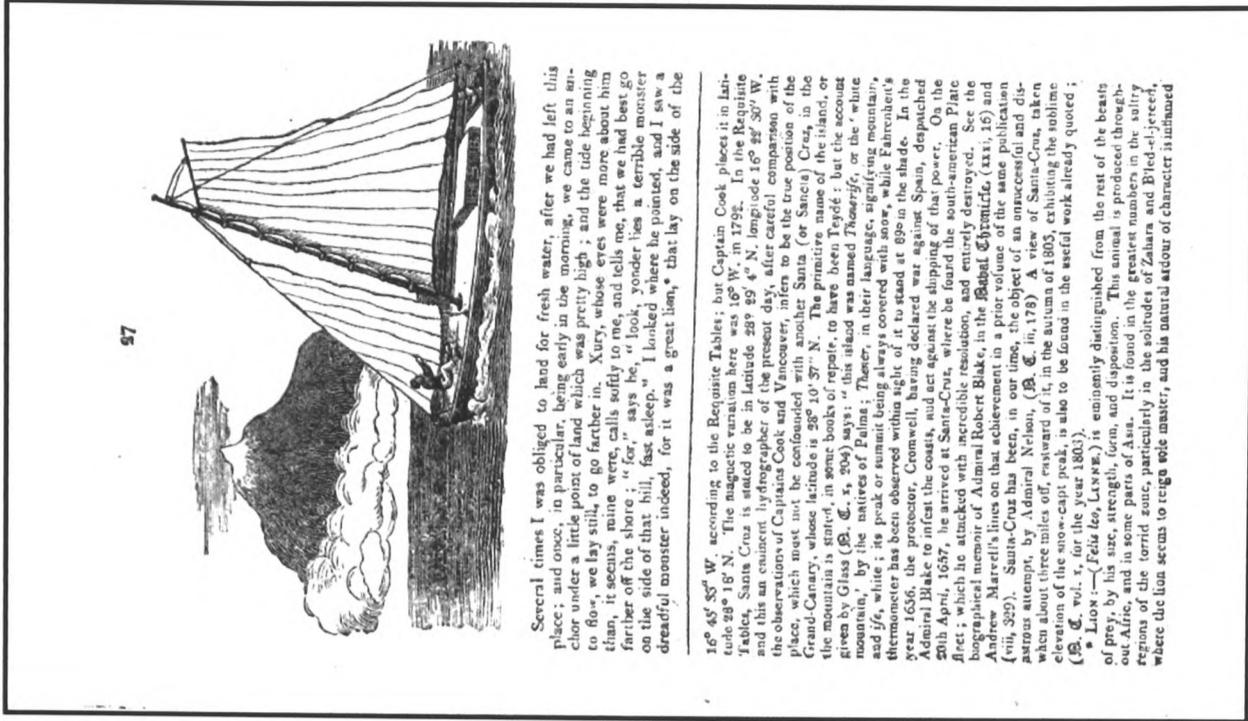
Variation In The Styles Of Illustration In Robinson Crusoe



Robinson Crusoe 1793

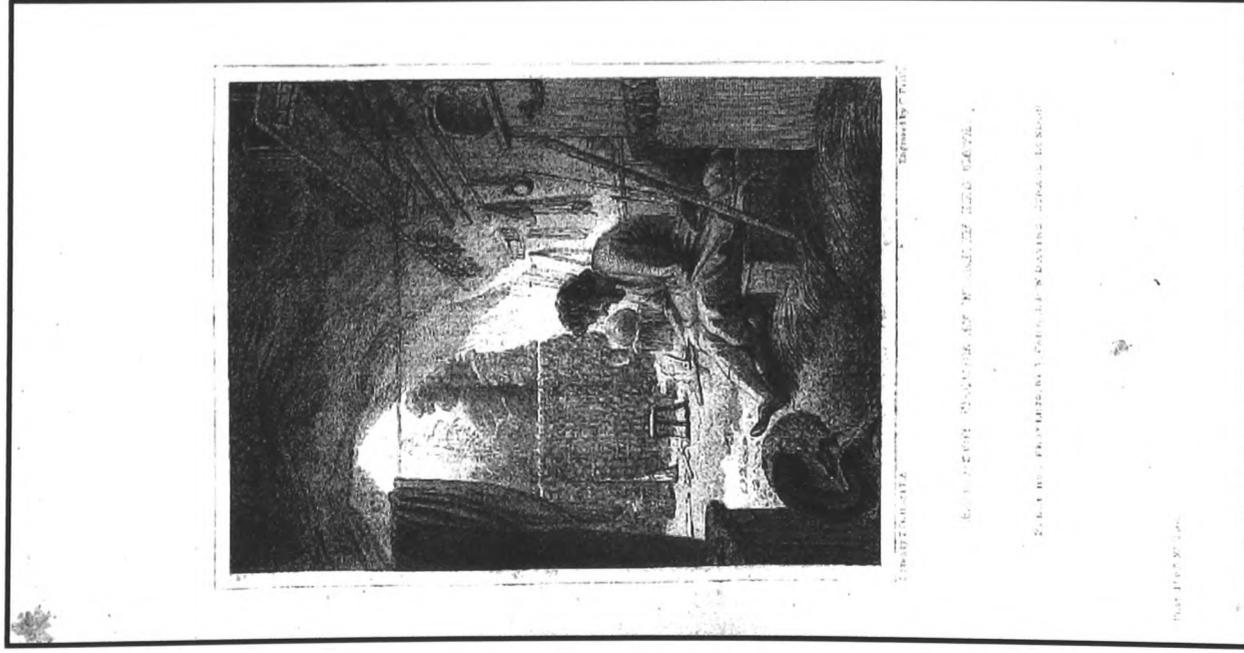


Robinson Crusoe 1812

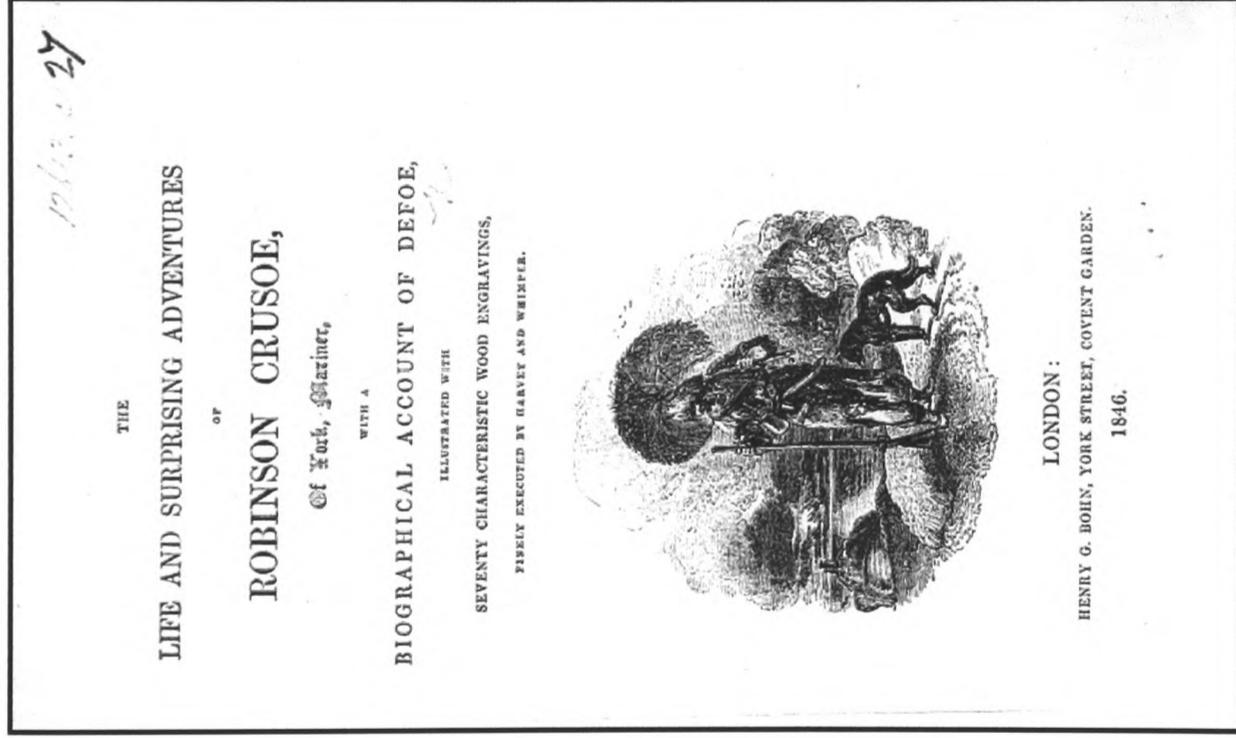


Robinson Crusoe 1815

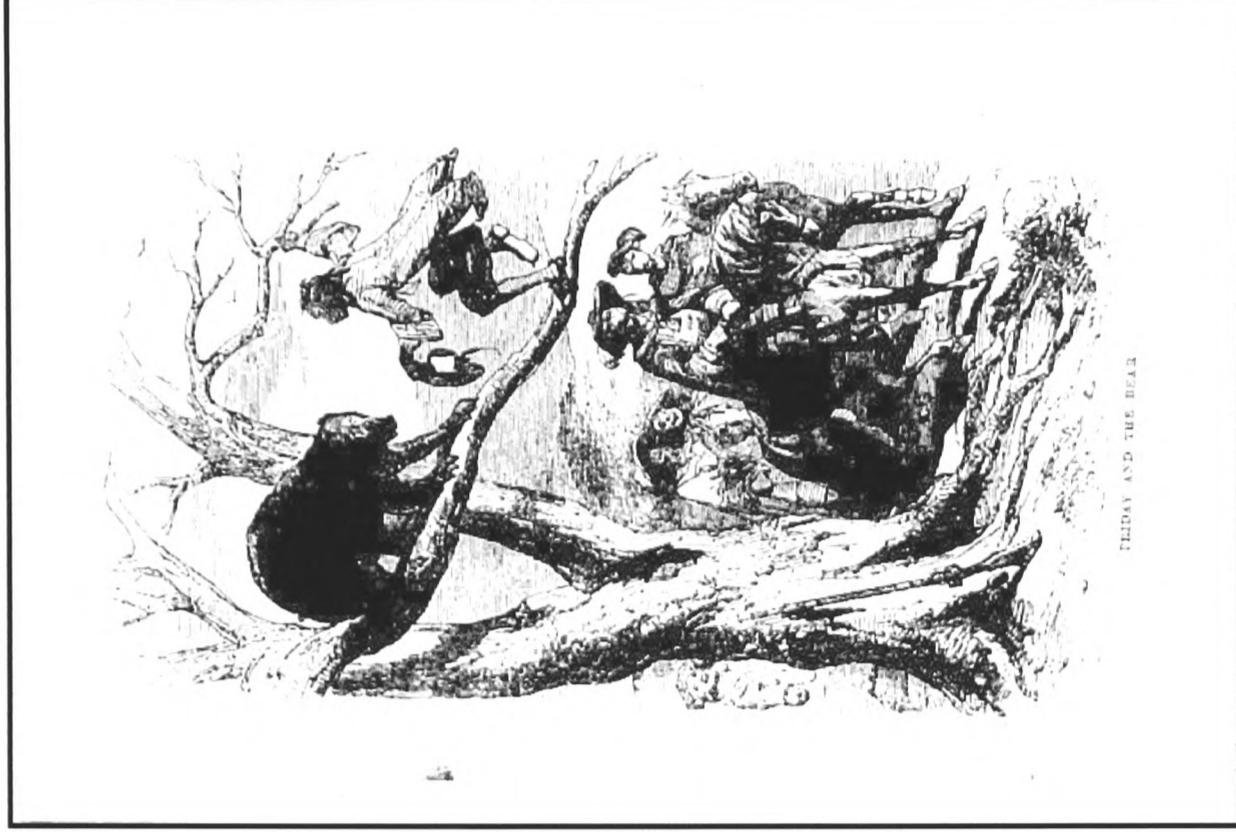
Variation In The Styles Of Illustration In Robinson Crusoe



Robinson Crusoe 1820

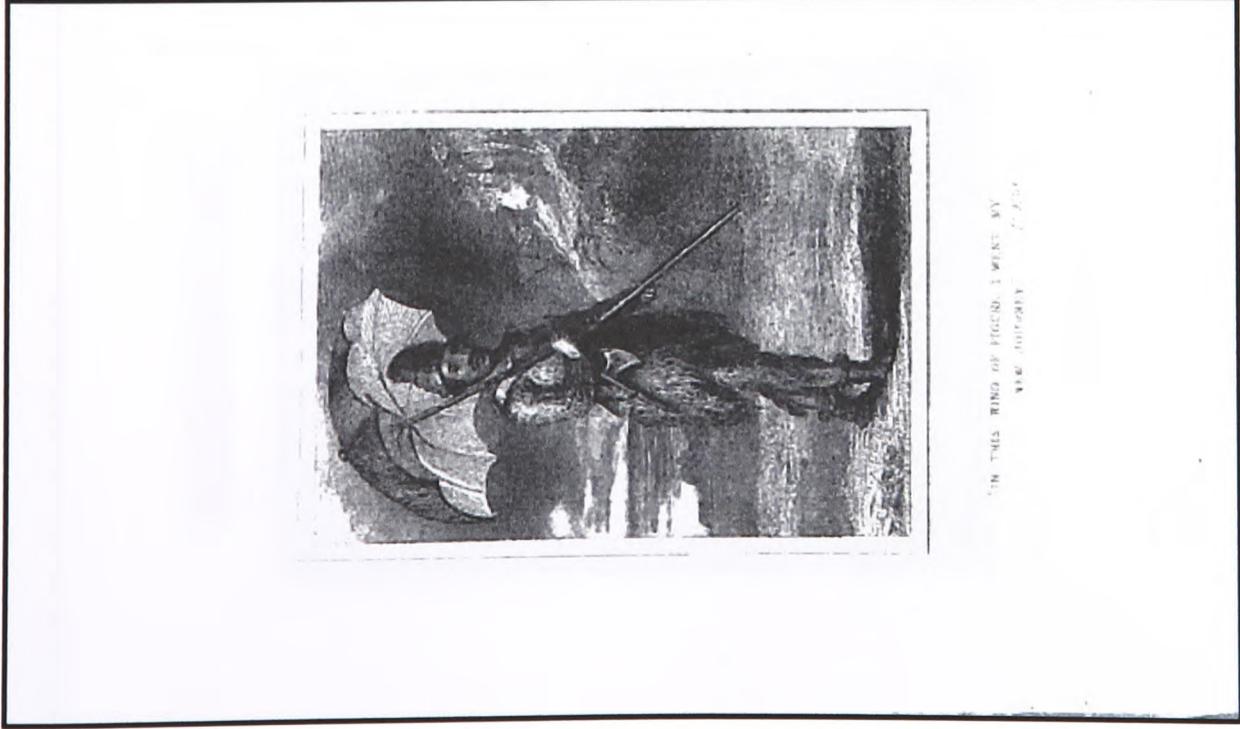


Robinson Crusoe 1846

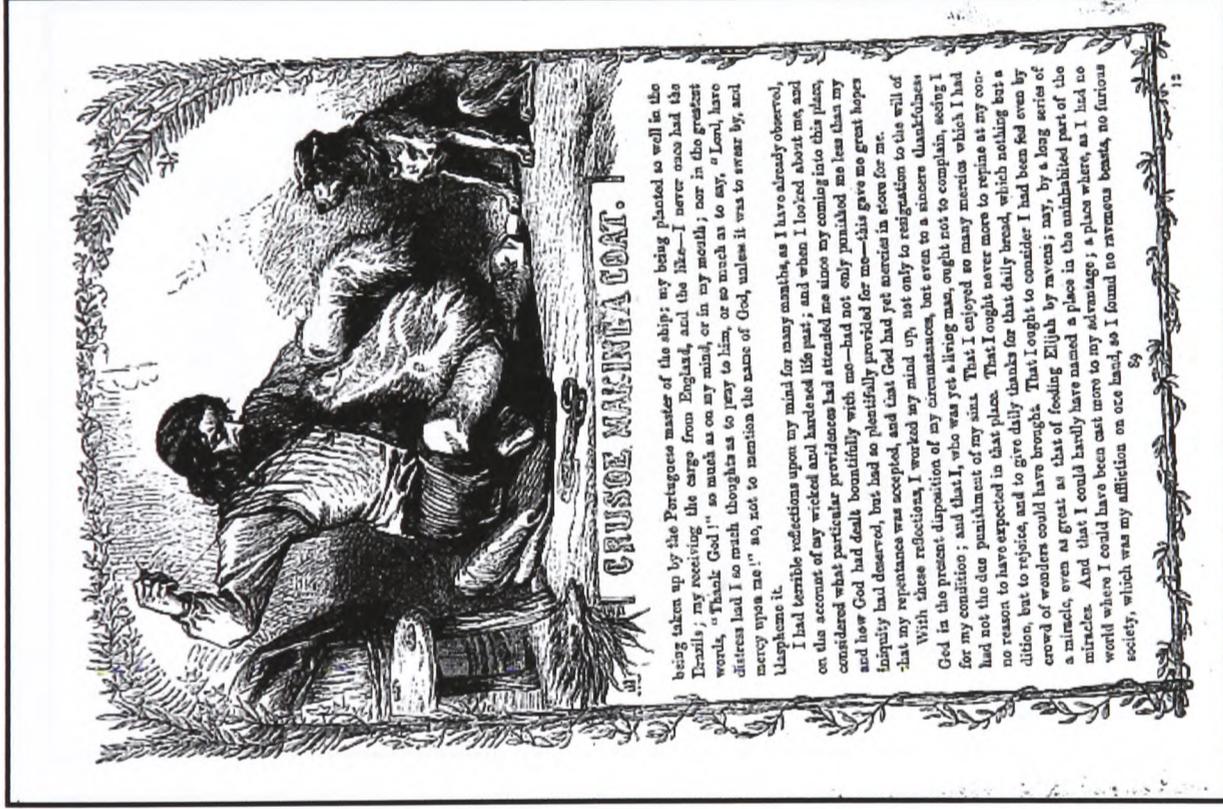


Robinson Crusoe 1848

Variation In The Styles Of Illustration In Robinson Crusoe



Robinson Crusoe 1859

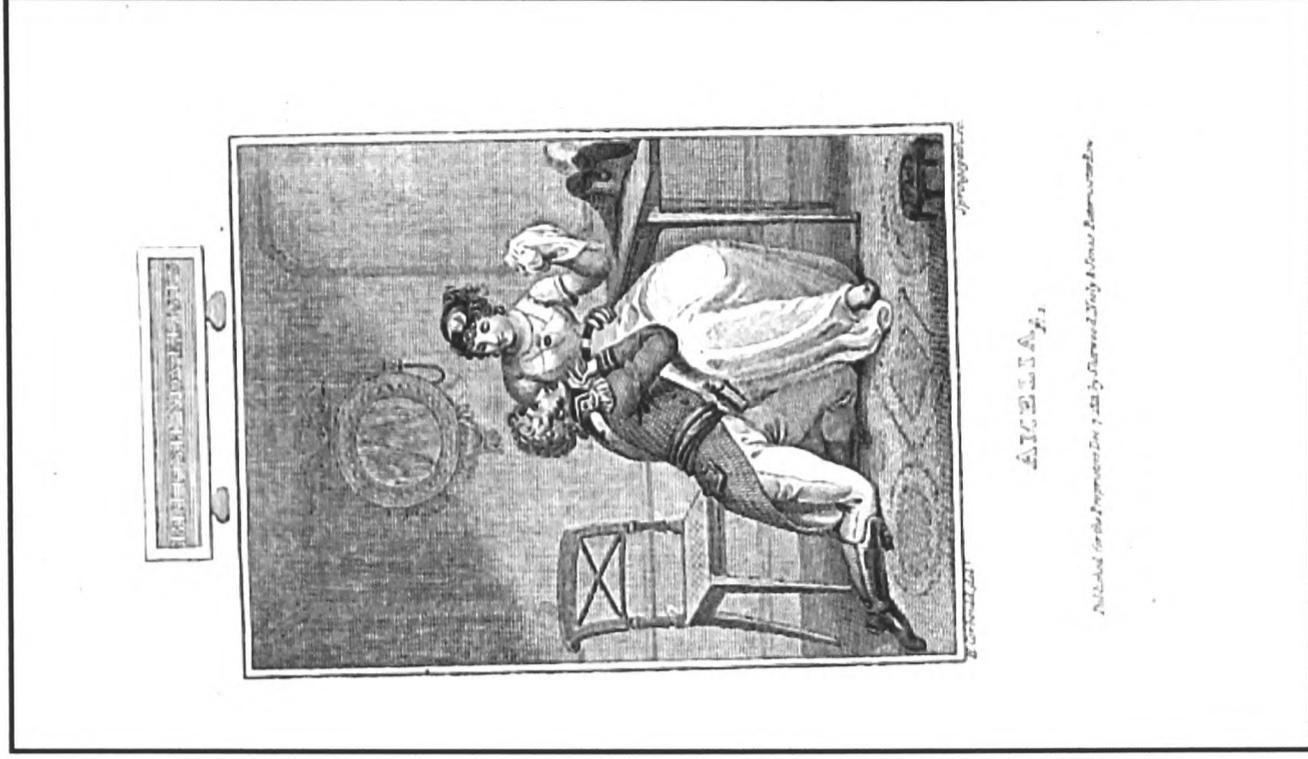
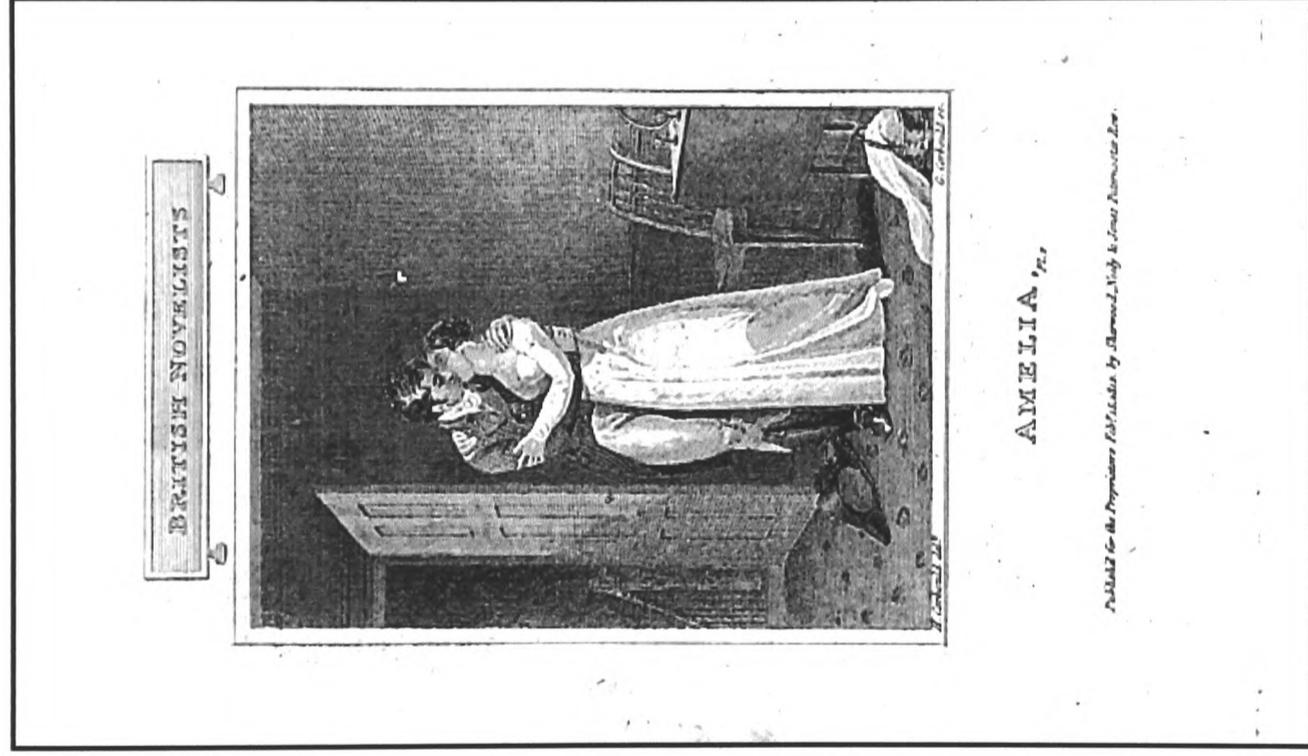


Robinson Crusoe 1863



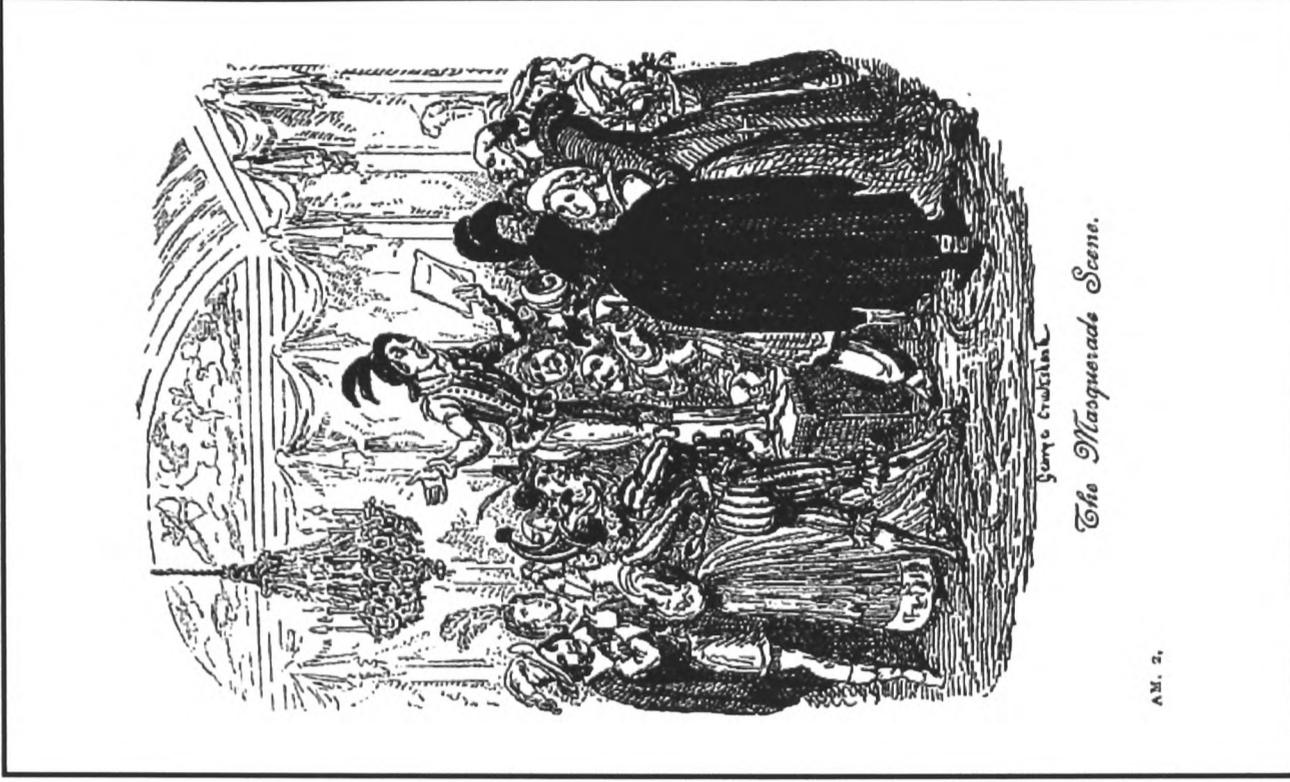
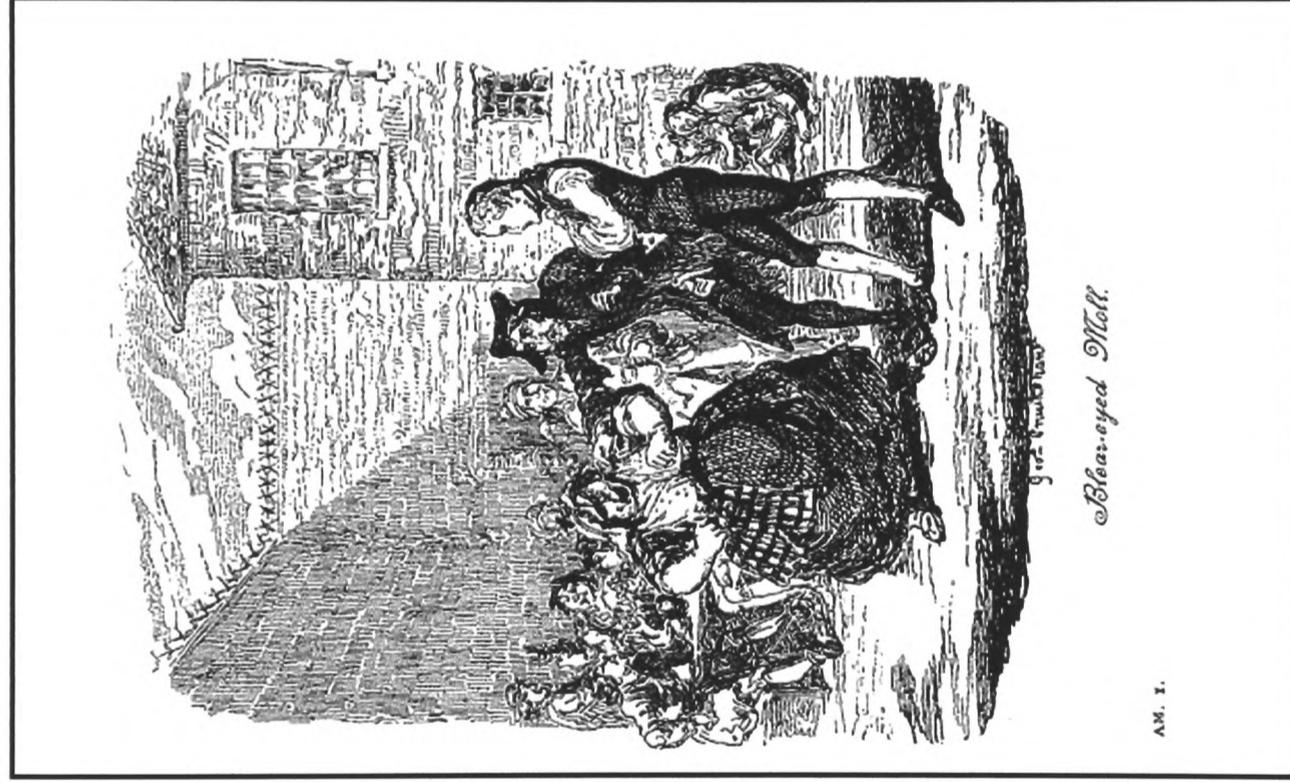
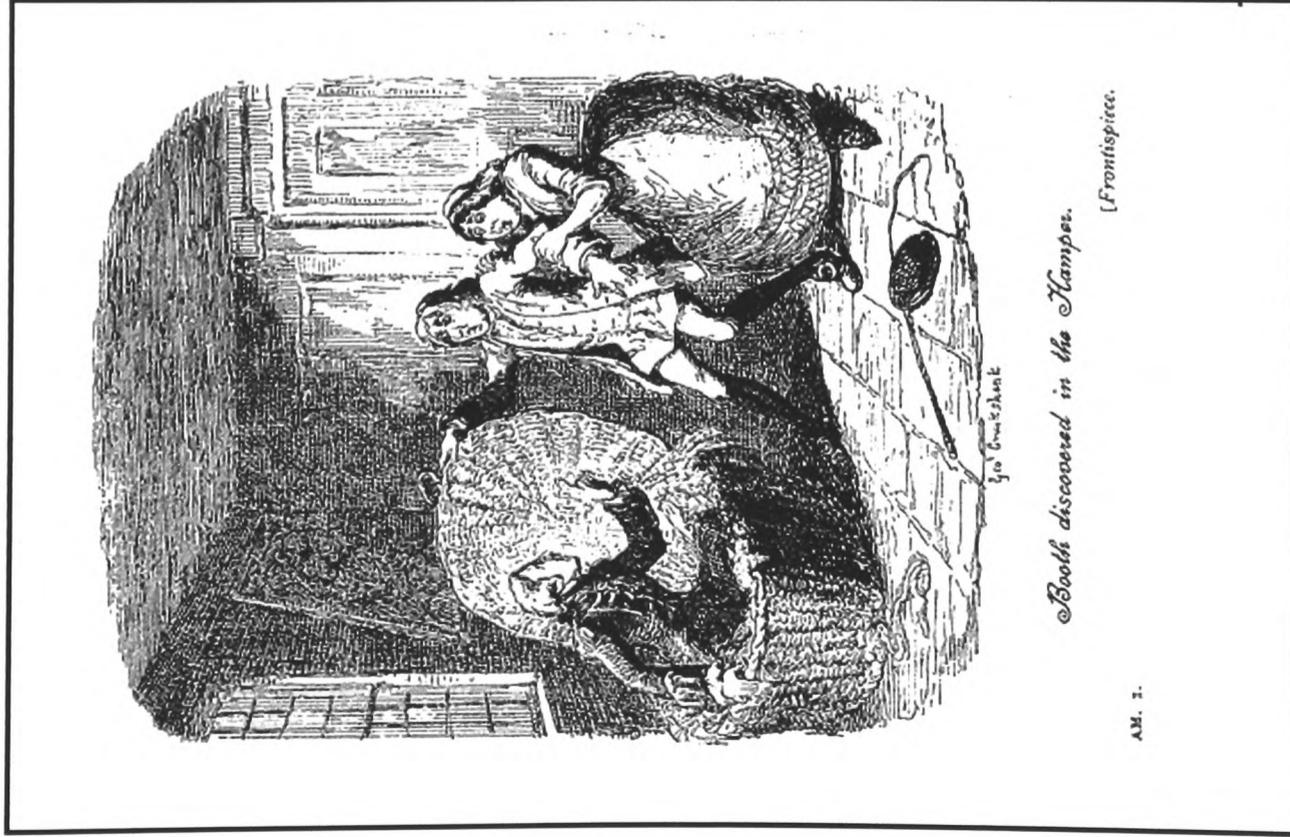
Robinson Crusoe 1869

Variation In The Styles Of Illustration In Amelia



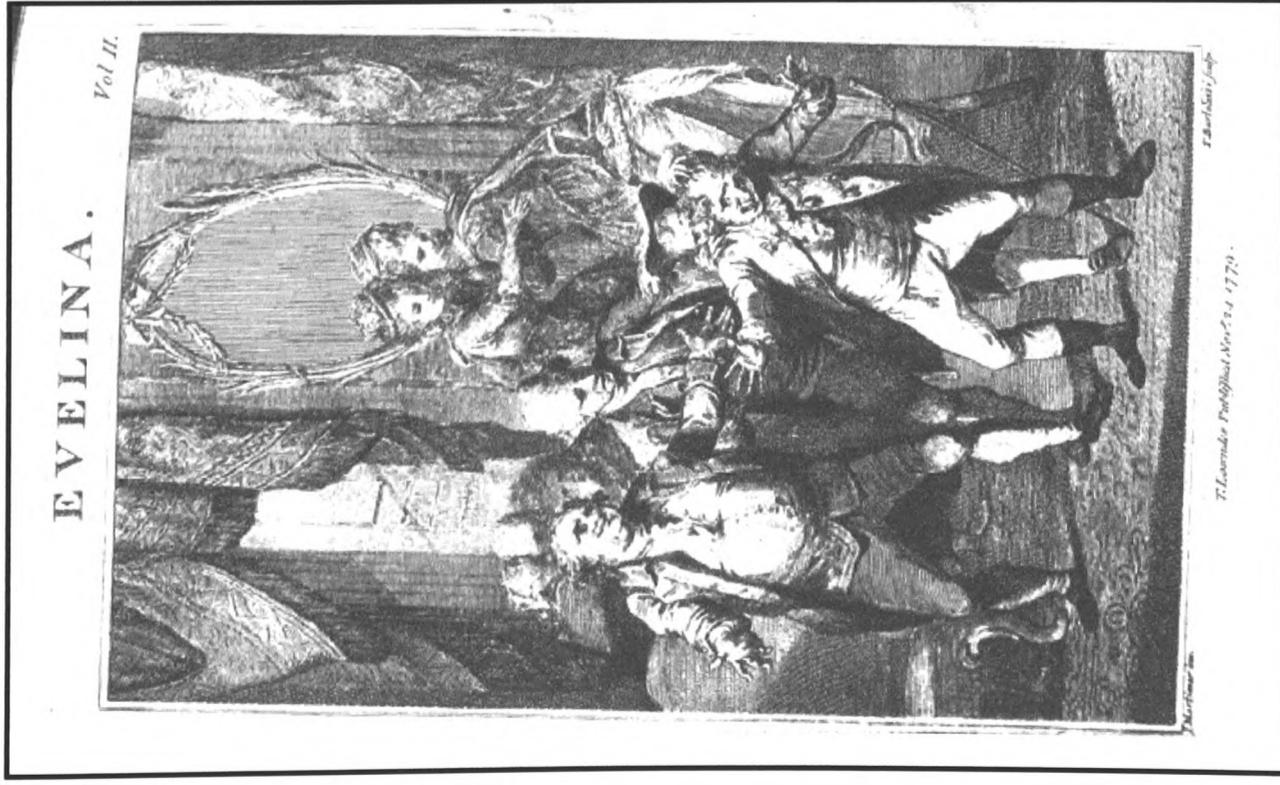
Three designs by H. Corbould for the 1816 edition of Amelia

Variation In The Styles Of Illustration In Amelia



Three designs by George Cruikshank reproduced in the 1905 edition of Amelia

Variation In The Styles Of Illustration In Evelina



Evelina 1791



Evelina 1791

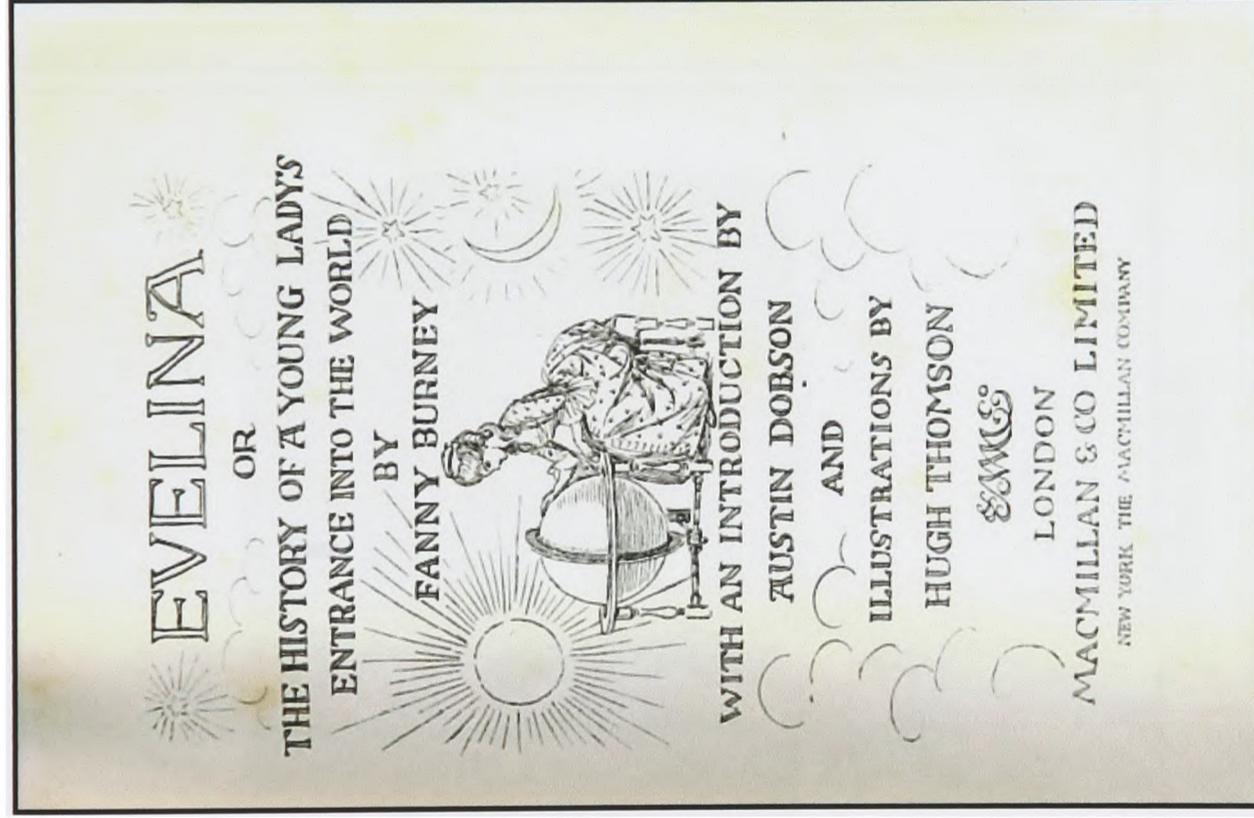


Evelina 1822

Variation In The Styles Of Illustration In Evelina



Evelina 1898



Evelina 1903



Evelina 1903

Variation In The Styles Of Illustration In The Gothic



The Italian 1802

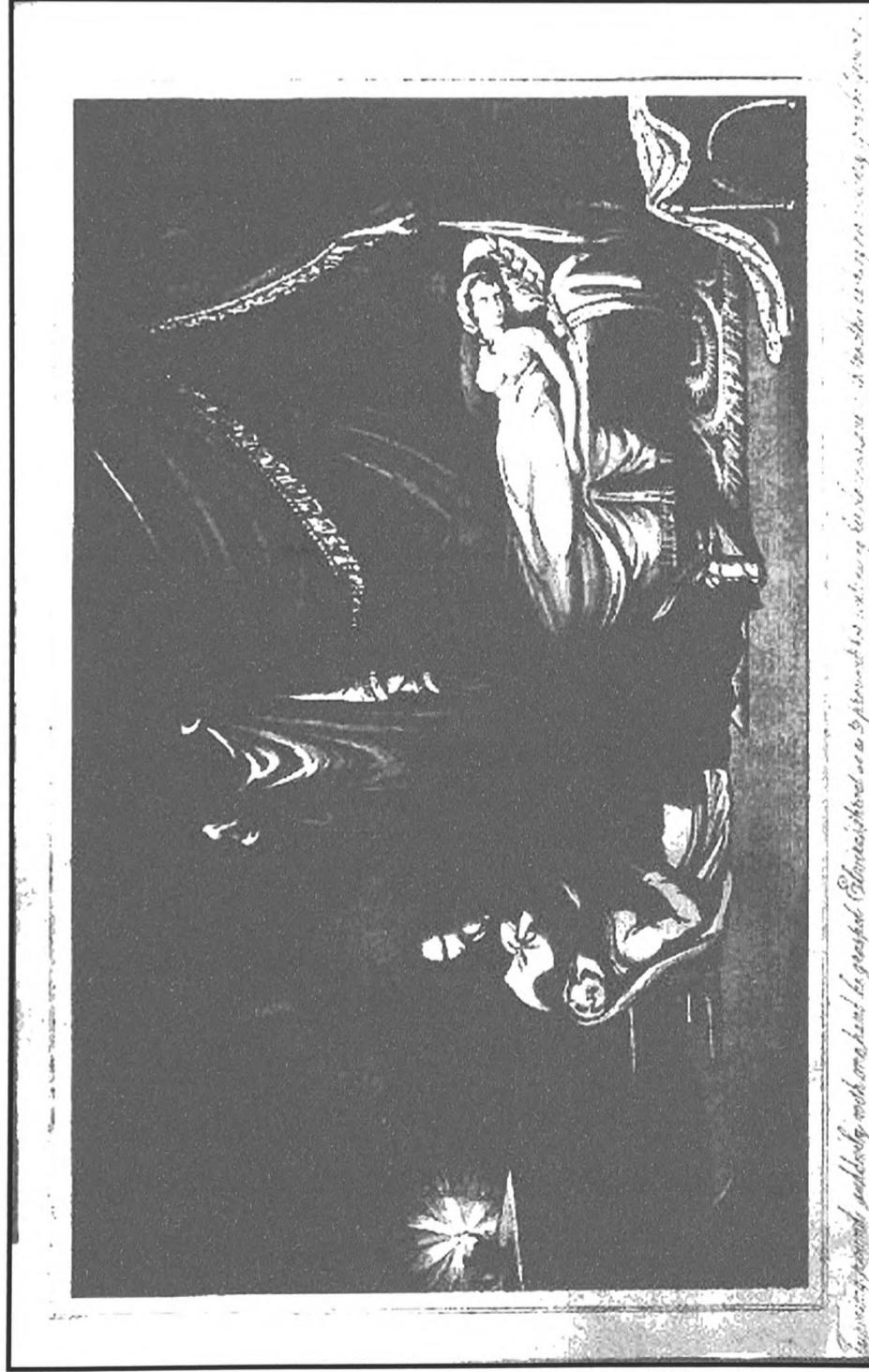


The Italian 1824



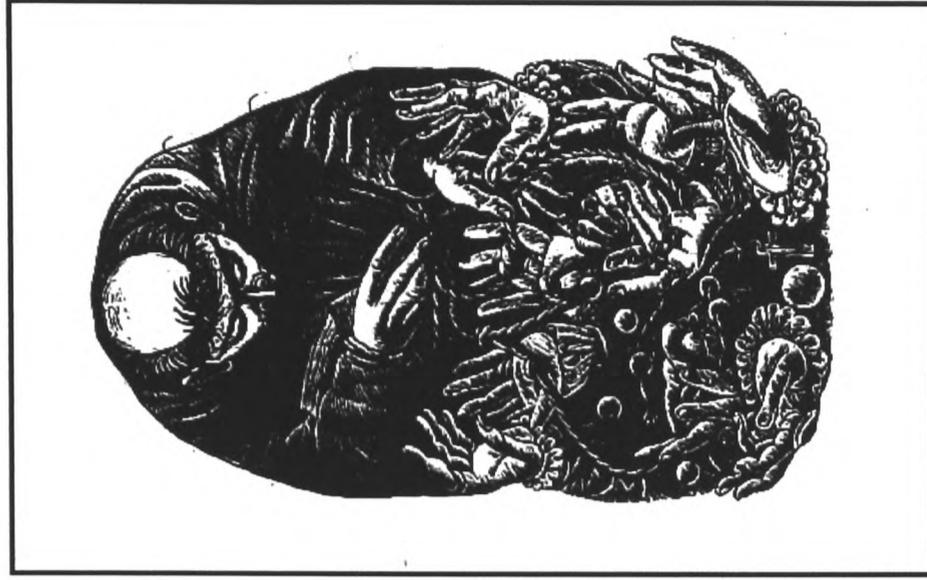
The Italian 1956

Variation In The Styles Of Illustration In The Gothic



*The Monk is shown, probably with some head to gospel. Stone is shown as a by-product of the Gothic Revival. The illustration is a copy of the original.*

The Monk 1846



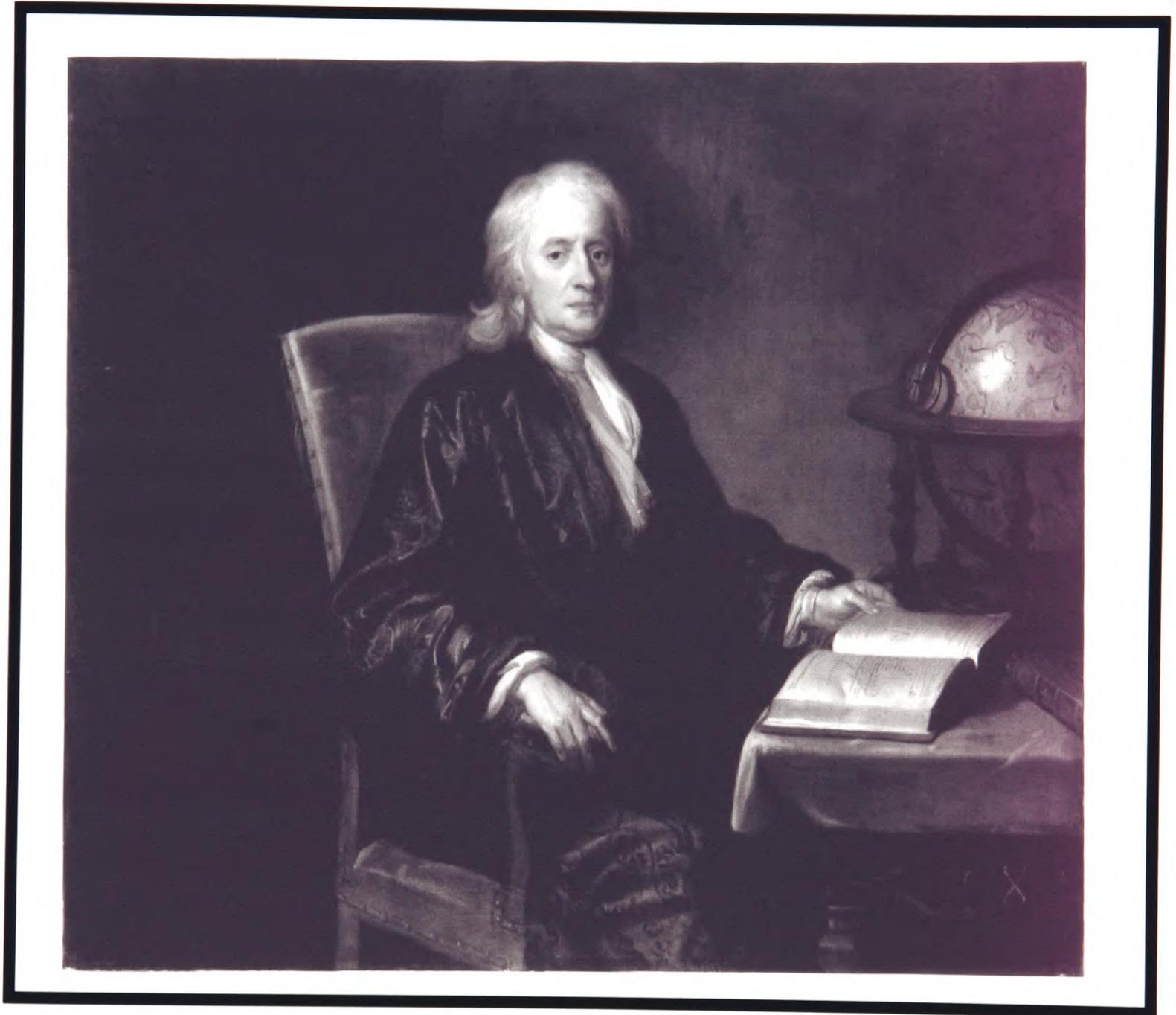
The Monk 1956



Appendix E

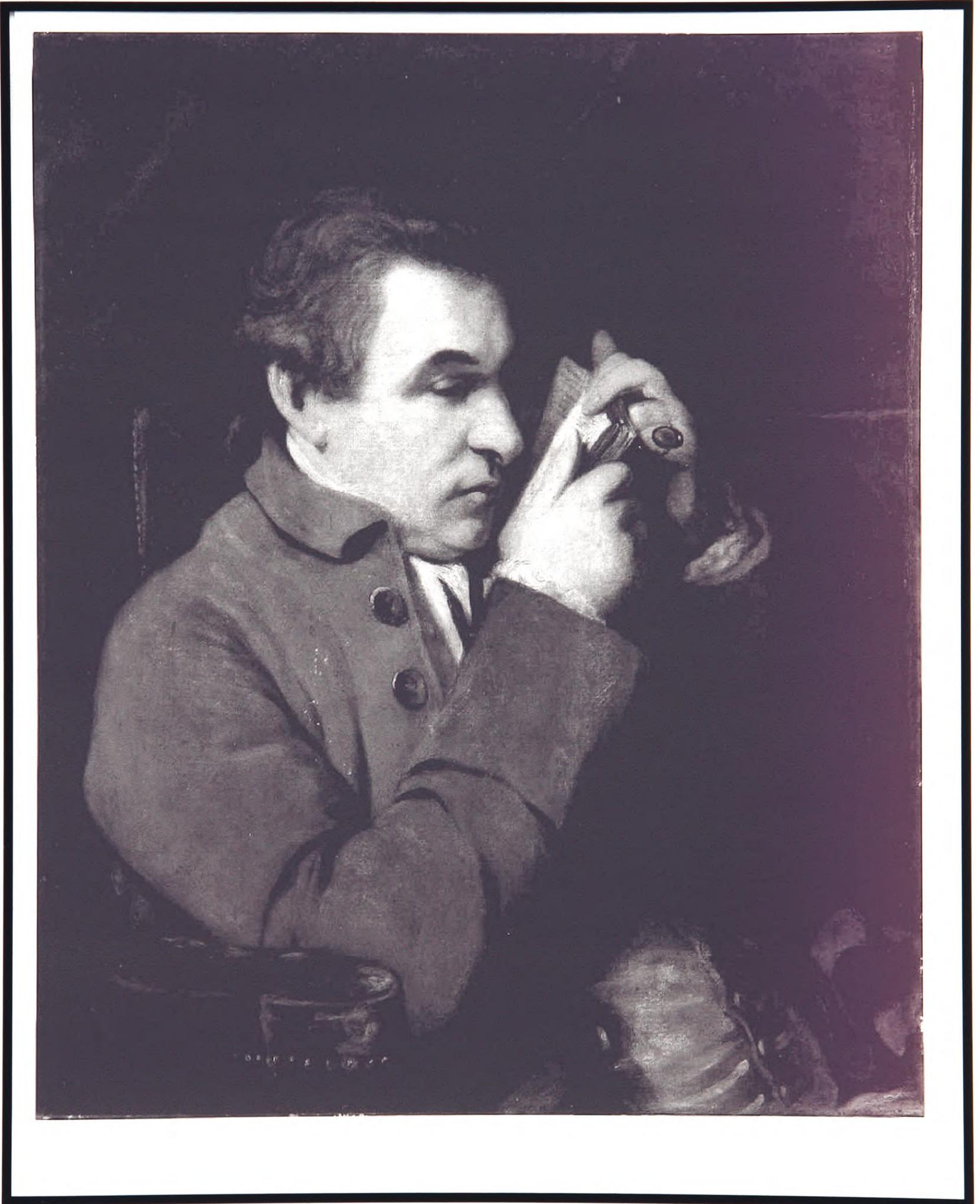


## Appendix E



Sir Isaac Newton after Enoch Seeman c.1726

Appendix E



Joseph Baretti after Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1773



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"John Hawksworth", James Watson (c.1773)  
"Joseph Baretta" after Reynolds (c.1773)  
"Samuel Johnson", Sir Joshua Reynolds (c.1769)  
"Anna Seward", Tilly Kettle (c. 1762)  
"The Artists Studio", Unknown (c.1760-70)  
"John Wesley", Nathaniel Hone (c.1766)  
"Handel", Thomas Hudson (c.1756)  
"Elizabeth Carter", Joseph Highmore, 1745  
"Frederick Prince Of Wales With His Sisters", Philip Mercier, (c.1733)  
"Jacob Tonson", Godfrey Kneller (c.1717)  
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"John Wilmot, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl Of Rochester", unknown (c.1665-70)  
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"Sir Thomas Moore, His Family And Descendants", Rowland Lockey (C.1593)  
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"Duke Frederico And His Son Guidubaldo", Berruguete (c.1476-7)

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"Sir Isaac Newton" after Enoch Seeman c.1726

"David Garrick" by Thomas Gainsborough c.1770

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"A Girl Writing" by Henriette Browne BGM 215

"Coat And Breeches" (1673) T787

"Court Mantua And Petticoat" (1740-45) T846

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## Index



## A

Addison Joseph, 134  
Aesthetics, 21, 22, 23, 24  
after Enoch Seeman, *Sir Isaac Newton*, 73,  
Appendix E  
After Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Joseph Baretta*, 73  
& Appendix E  
Allen Ralph, 65, 146, 147, 155, 166; role model  
for Mr Allworthy, 65  
Altick & Fenstermaker, *The Art Of Literary  
Research*, 44 fn57  
Altick Richard, 44, 47  
*Amelia*: Blear-eyed Moll, 170; Booth, 170; The  
Masquerade, 171, Appendix D  
American Revolution, 3 fn 4  
American School, 22  
Anon, *Night In A Moorish Harem*, 15  
Anonymous, *John Wilmot Earl Of Rochester*, 71  
Anti-Pamelists, 61, 153, 160, 167  
Arliss John, *The New Robinson Crusoe*, 111  
Assiento Guinea Company, 57 fn7  
Aubin Penelope, 1, 49, 76, 76 fn2, 103, 107, 108,  
163, 203; *Charlotta Du Pont*, 163; *Madame de  
Beaumont*, 107; *The Adventures Of The Count  
de Vinevil*, 49, 103, 104, 105, 107, 109, 157, 163;  
*The Noble Slaves*, 163; *Young Albertus*, 163  
Auctorial intention, 42  
Augustan Culture, 56, 65  
Augustans, capacity for satire, bawdiness and  
humour, 65  
Austen Jane, 23 fn7, 79; Class, 67; Middle class  
aspiration, 66; *Pride And Prejudice*, 66, 67 fn31,  
102; *Sense And Sensibility*, 23 fn7  
Austin Marie, maternal grandmother (R Creed),  
142  
Autobiography, 51

## B

Ballads, 60  
Baltimore Lord, 168  
Banned books, 11  
Barker Nicholas, *Libraries Of The Mind Of  
Man*, 195  
Barnes & Noble, 197  
Barthes Roland, 28  
Baskerville John, 83, 216; and computer fonts,  
84; and Fournier Le Jeune, 83; Folio bible, 84  
Bath, 63, 64, 183; visitors to, 64  
Battle Of The Boyne, 3 fn4  
Baumgarten Alexander, 21; *Aesthetica*, 23

Beaumarchais Pierre, and Baskerville's matrices and  
presses, 84  
Bedford Duke Of, 146  
Behn Aphra, 161  
Bell E., 108  
Bentham Jeremy, *The Principles Of Morals And  
Social Legislation*, 8, 9 fn19, 12, 13  
Berkeley George, *The Principles Of Human  
Knowledge*, 21, 24, 25, 208  
Berruguete Pedro, *Portrait Of Duke Frederico  
And His Son Guidobaldo*, 72  
Bettesworth A., 108  
Bibliographical Society, 197  
Binding, leather, 95, 96; paper, 97; process, 93,  
94, 95, 96, 97; tax on bindings, 94  
Blackmore Susan, 38, 39, 53, 62; *The Meme  
Machine*, 1, 40, 125  
Blackstone William, *Commentaries On The Laws  
Of England*, 56, 63  
Blake William, 76, 79; *The Marriage Of Heaven  
And Hell*, 75, 76 fn3; traditional printing  
methods, 76  
Bleich David, 22, 27, 28, 68, 217; symbolic object  
27; text as self-knowledge, 27; social relevance,  
28; *The Subjective Character Of Interpretation*,  
69 fn35  
Blewett David, *Illustrations Of Robinson Crusoe*,  
169, 170  
Bluestockings, 135, 143, 155  
Book, ; as a prop in eighteenth century portraits,  
72; as emblem, 68; book-as-object as a  
manifestation of social psyche, 54; chemical  
reactions, 93; in portraiture, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73,  
74; physical format, 53, 78, 98, 99, 100, 121;  
Platonic ideal, 69; Renaissance, 72; Respectability,  
72; rising literacy levels, 57; Web-based format,  
53  
Book-as-object, Physical criteria, 1  
Book clubs, 52, 58  
Books, economy, culture, and technology, 59;  
emendation, 157; love of, 101; marking books, 192,  
193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201;  
Optical character recognition software, 118;  
shortage of raw materials, 59; sizes, 104, 104 fn3;  
subscription, 148; trade in raw materials, 59 fn13  
Booksellers, 51, 151, 167  
Boot Florence, 141  
Boots, Library, 141, 142  
Boswell James, 12, 67, 138; Johnson's views on  
reading, 73; *Life Of Johnson*, 67 fn32, 145 fn21  
Bowers Professor Fredson, 45, 45 fn61

Bowood House, 140  
 Bradbury Ray, *Fahrenheit 451*, 208, 209, 210  
 Brandreth Jeremiah, 7  
 Brewer John, 61, 73; *Pleasures Of The Imagination*, 61, 73, 131, 183; *The Consumption Of Culture*, 130  
 Briscoe Sophia, *Miss Melmoth Or the New Clarissa*, 63  
 British Library, 59, 99, 101, 116, 117, 143, 146, 149, 192, 204; Turning The Pages, 138  
 Broadview Press, 121, 122, 126  
 Brodie Daniel, Association-memes, 114; *Virus Of The Mind: The New Science Of The Meme*, 41, 41 fn53  
 Brodie Richard, 38  
 Brooke Francis, *The Excursion*, 132  
 Brown H. K. (Phiz), 97, 171  
 Bruckman Franz Ernest, 92  
 Bryson Bill, *Mother Tongue*, 81  
 Buckingham Palace, 59  
 Burke Edmund, 21  
 Burney Edward Francisco, 116  
 Burney Frances, 1, 75, 115, 203; *Camilla*, 194, 196 fn35; courtship novel, 66; Editing father's diaries, 50, 155; *Evelina*, 66, 66 fn30, 75, 115, 117, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 126, 171, 194, 219  
 Burroughs William, *Naked Lunch*, 213  
 Button's Coffee-house, 134

## C

Cadburys, 114  
 Cambridge University Press, 130, 131, 133  
 Campe J. H., 111  
 Captain Ludd, 7  
 Carroll John, Selected Letters Of Samuel Richardson, 161 fn3  
 Carter John, Thomas James Wise, 147  
 Cartier-Bresson Henri, *Pablo Picasso*, 70  
 Caslon William, 82; Computer fonts, 83; *Declaration Of Independence*, 82  
 Caxton William, 81; *Eneydos*, 81; *The Recuyell Of The Historyes Of Troy*, 81  
*Celebration Of Women Writers*, 117, 118  
 Censorship, 4, 10, 16, 17; *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, 153  
 Chambers Sir William, 58, 64  
 Chaos Theory, 50  
 Chapbooks, 60  
 Chapone Sarah, 161

Charles I, 70  
 Chesterfield Earl of, 145  
 Cheyne George, 166  
 Chisholm Kate, *Fanny Burney: Her Life*, 50 fn69  
 Cibber Colly, 153  
 Circulating Libraries, 58, 141  
 Clarendon Press, 86  
 Clark & Pine, 169  
 Claude, 23  
 Cleland John, *The Memoirs Of a Woman Of Pleasure* (Fanny Hill), 15, 65, 167  
 Clymer George, Columbian Press, 86  
 Cockerell Douglas, *Bookbinding And the Care Of Books*, 93  
 Coffee-Houses, 61, 62, 134  
 Coleridge Samuel Taylor, *Biographia Literaria*, 33 fn35, 60 fn17  
 Collins William, 120  
 Combination Acts, 6 fn12  
 Computer, 2, 4, 38  
 Congers, 51, 108, 117, 148, 151, 152  
 Connelly Willard, *Beau Nash: Monarch Of Bath And Tunbridge Wells*, 64 fn27  
 Constanz School, 22  
 Cope Richard, The Albion Press, 86  
 Copyright, 11, 148, 150, 152; English Copyright Act 1709, 150, 151; House Of Lords, 151; Licensing Act 1609, 150; Royal Patent, 150; Statute Of Queen Anne, 150; The Patent Office, 150  
 Corbould Henry, 171  
 Crabbe George, *The Library*, 127  
 Creed Judith, 143 fn17  
 Creed Wendy, *Lecture Notes 2001*, 186; Masters Dissertation, 35 fn37; Research paper, 100 fn43  
 Critical groupings, 69  
 Cruikshank George, 97, 171  
 Cruikshank Isaac, Circulating Library, 183  
 Culler Jonathan, 22, 28, 29, 31, 123, 124, 206; Literary conventions, 29; Metaphorical coherence, 29; Role of the reader, 29  
 Culloden, 3 fn4  
 Cultural criteria, 27  
 Culture, 50, 72; Cultural forces, 50; Feedback loop, 50; Middle-classes, 61; Social and cultural groups, 50

## D

Daniel Mary, Fielding's widow, 139  
Danielewski Mark Z., *House Of Leaves*, 213  
Darby J., 108  
David Simple, revisions to text, 156  
Dawkins Richard, 38, 39, 53; *The Selfish Gene*, 38, 211; *Unweaving The Rainbow*, 39 fn47  
Deconstructionism, 22  
Defoe Daniel, 1, 75, 79, 101, 110, 160, 162, 163, 164, 222; *Colonel Jack*, 91; *Hymn To The Pillory*, 163; *Lætitia Atkins*, 60, 167; *Moll Flanders*, 15, 60, 62, 65, 91, 118, 119, 160, 167, 168, 221; Robert Harley, 165; *Robinson Crusoe*, 75, 108, 110, 111, 112, 116, 119, 132, 149, 160, 162, 163, 168, 169, 170, 171, 191, 203, 214, 217; sale of library, 163; *Serious Reflections Of Robinson Crusoe*, 110; *The Further Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, 110; *The Shortest Way With Dissenters*, 164  
Dennett Daniel, 38  
Derbyshire insurrection, 7  
Derrida, 6 fn9  
Descartes René, 38, 68; *Discourse On Method And The Meditations*, 42, 42 fn 54, 68 fn34; Purging the mind, 41  
*Desmond*, Anastatia Fairfax, 134; Lionel Desmond, 134, 143; Mr Bethel, 134; Mrs Fairfax, 143  
Determinism, 115  
Devonshire Georgiana Duchess of, 181  
Dickens Charles, *A Christmas Carol*, 91; David Copperfield, 110, 163  
Diderot, 10 fn23  
Didot Firmin, 86, 90; son-in-law John Gamble, 90  
Dilthey, 6 fn9  
Dodsley Robert, 216  
Domain name purchase, 13 fn33  
Domain squatting, 13  
Donkin Bryan, 90  
Doody Margaret Anne, *The Story Of The Novel*, 19  
Dover Press, 122  
Drake Nathan, 23  
Dryden John, 69; *Absolem And Achitophel*, 69 fn37  
Duke Frederico da Montefeltro, Symbolism of the Ducal Palace Library, 72 fn43  
Duncan Eaves T. C., 154

## E

Early English Texts, 130, 131, 132  
Eighteenth century, The novel and conduct, 67  
Eighteenth century novel, 62  
Eighteenth century society, as paradox, 64  
Epistolary, 51, 60  
Estienne Henry, 78  
Evelina, Captain Mirvan, 171; *Evelina*, 116; hypertext version, 120; Lord Orville, 66, 123; Madame Duvall, 66; Mr Branghton, 116; online, 117; Reverend Villars, 123; Sir Clement Willoughby, 66; Sir John Belmont, 116, 123; Vauxhall, 66

## F

Falkirk, 3 fn4  
Fashion, 85, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189  
Febvre Lucien, 11 fn26  
Feminism, 50  
Fenstermaker John, 44, 47  
Fenwick Eliza, *Secresy*, 126  
Fielding Charlotte, First wife, 139  
Fielding Henry, 1, 61, 76, 119, 138, 144, 153, 159, 203; *Amelia*, 105, 119, 132, 138, 144, 145, 146, 171, 218; *Jacobite Journal*, 97; *Joseph Andrews*, 153; Library, 139; Sale of library, 139; *Shamela*, 61, 153; *Tom Jones*, 65, 145, 218  
Fielding Sarah, 1, 76, 146, 155, 202; David Simple, 155, 218, 219; print style, 156  
Fish Stanley, 22, 30, 31, 32; Affective Stylistics, 30; Ideal Reader, 31; *Interpreting The Variorum*, 31; *Is There A Text In This Class*, 30; Reader strategy, 31; Sequential text, 32; Transformation, 30  
Fleetwood William, 121  
Folio Society, 97  
Fontana Press, 131  
Foreman Amanda, *Georgiana Duchess Of Devonshire*, 182 fn23  
Foucault, 6 fn9  
Fourdrinier Henry, 59, 90,  
Fourdrinier Sealy, 90  
Franklin Benjamin, *Pamela*, 82  
Free will, 115  
Furst Johann, 79

## G

Gadamer Hans-Georg, 26  
Gadd William, Stereotyping, 86  
Gaia, 50  
Gainsborough Thomas, 64, 116; *The Honourable Mrs Graham*, 123; *The Mall In St James Park*, 123  
Galileo, 2 fn2  
Gardenstone Arms, 138  
Gardenstone Lord, 138  
Garland, 154, 157  
Garland Alex, *The Beach*, 118 fn10  
Garrick David, 173  
Gaskell Philip, 83, 84 fn13, 85; *A New Introduction To Bibliography*, 83  
General Ludd, 7  
Genre classification, 79  
Geofroy Tory, 78  
George I, 82  
George III, 104; contribution to culture, 58 fn11;  
Gordon Riots, 58; Library bequeathed to the nation, 59; Porphyria, 58; Private library, 58  
Glencoe, 3 fn4  
Glorious Revolution, 3 fn4  
Gordon Riots, 3 fn4, 58  
Gothic, 23, 120  
Graham Gordon, *the internet:// a philosophical inquiry*, 11, 12  
Greaves Thomas, 92  
Greetham D. C., 93, 131, 174; Collaborative editing, 45; Interrelatedness, 45; *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction*, 44, 45  
Greg Sir Walter, 45  
Greimas Algirdas, 28  
Guettard Jean Etienne, 59  
Gutenberg Johannes, 78, 79, 100; contribution to printing, 80; Mazarin bible, 79

## H

Habeas Corpus, 6 fn12  
Halifax Marquis of, 121  
Hamilton & Hill, *Evolution Of Fashion*, 179 fn21  
Handel George Friderich, 144  
Handover P. M., 87, 151, 152  
Harrods, Library, 141  
Harris Michael, *Engravers, Printers And The London Booktrade*, 106 fn4  
Hays Mary, 222; *Emma Courtney*, 221, 222  
Haywood Eliza, 1, 75, 160, 161, 203;

*Anti-Pamela: Or Feign'd Innocence*, 160; *Betsy Thoughtless*, 65, 159; *Eovaai*, 160  
Hazlitt W. C., 70, 201; *The Book Collector*, 70 fn39  
Heath W, 171  
Heem Jan de, *Still Life Of Dessert*, 70  
Hegel, 6 fn9  
Hermeneutics, 26  
Hibbert Christopher, *George III: A Personal History*, 59 fn12, 58, 59; mathematical formula for the eighteenth century pound, 52 fn2; *The Road To Tyburn*, 164  
Highmore Joseph, *Elizabeth Carter*, 73; *Pamela*, 116, 179  
Hill C. P., *British Economic And Social History*, 6, 7  
Hill John, 121  
Historicism, 6  
Hogarth William, 64, 97, 172  
Holland Norman, 1, 17, 22, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 62, 67, 69, 114, 124.; *5 Readers*, 1, 33; Analysis of text, 36; Computer, 32, 32 fn33, 217; Creating the text, 35; DEFT, 33; *Delphi Seminar*, 32, 212, 223; Ego-psychology, 32; Four principles of the transactive process, 33, 34; Group dynamics, 53; Hypothetical reader, 53; Identity themes, 33, 36; New Criticism, 32; participation and displacement, 62; *Poems In Person*, 53, 69, 69 fn36; Psychology, 32; Reader expectations, 34; Reading process, 36, 211; Survival instinct, 54; *The Critical I*, 37 fn43, 62; *The Dynamics Of Literary Response*, 69 fn38; *Why This Is Transference, Nor Am I yet Out Of It*, 37 fn45  
Holmes Geoffrey, *Foundations Of Modern Britain: The Age of Oligarchy Pre-Industrial Britain 1722-1783*, 60 fn15  
Hooke J., 108  
Hookham, 136; Library, 137  
Horizon of expectations, 27  
*HotWired*, 4  
Howard Susan Kubica, *Evelina*, 121  
Hudson Graham, *The Victorian Printer*, 86 fn17  
Hume David, 21; *A Treatise Of Human Nature*, 22,  
Hunt William Holman, *The Awakening Conscience*, 70  
Hunter Dard, 84, 84 fn10, 88; *Papermaking*, 84  
Husserl Edmund, 24, 25  
Hypertext editions, 50

**I**

Illustrations, 97, 18  
 Individual reception, 27  
 Industrial Revolution, 57, 92  
 Information highway, 12  
 Ingarden Roman, 24, 25  
 Internet society, 5, 13  
 Interpretative acts, 62  
 Interpretative strategies, 6, 42, 68  
 Isaac Ludlam, 5 fn8  
 Iser Wolfgang, 22, 24, 25, 26, 167; Blockages, 26; Gaps, 25; Reading experience, 25

**J**

Jacobite Rebellion, 3 fn4  
 Jacobson J., *Last book*, 98  
 Jakobson Roman, 21, 28  
 Jauss Hans Robert, 22, 26, 27, 124, 159, 168, 176, 217; Horizon of expectations, 27, 159; Literary history and literature, 27; reconfiguring of history, 27; *Towards An Aesthetic Of Reception*, 159 fn1, 176 fn20  
 Jervais Charles, *Jonathan Swift*, 72  
 Johnson Samuel, 12, 14, 67, 135, 138, 145; *Dictionary*, 131; *Rasselas*, 14 fn38; *Tristram Shandy*, 54

**K**

Kaczynski Theodore, Unabomber, *Industrial Society and Its Future*, 4, 5  
 Kant Immanuel, 6 fn9, 21, 24  
 Keate Georgiana Jane, *Hall's Library*, 183  
 Kelsall Malcolm, Sarah Fielding, 156  
 Kennard Gary, 60  
 Kimpel Ben, 154  
 King Dr, 64  
 Kit Kat Club, 134, 135  
 Kneller Godfrey, *Jacob Tonson*, 73  
 Koberger Anton, 78  
 Koops Matthias, 92, 93; Straw Paper Company, 92  
 Kreissman Bernard, *Pamela-Shamela*, 61

**L**

la Fontaine, *Fables and Contes*, 10 fn23  
 Lacan, 6 fn9  
 Lackington James, 88, 124, 173, 215; *Memoirs*, 88 fn23; Temple Of Muses, 183

Lambert Johann Heinrich, 23  
 Langford Paul, 56; *A Polite And Commercial People: England 1727 - 1783*, 56 fn6, 168 fn13  
 Language, Evolution of English, 81  
 Lawrence D. H., *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, 14, 15, 17  
 Lerhman Baz, *Romeo & Juliet*, 175, 219  
 Lewis Matthew, 1, 76, 120, 203, 219  
 Libraries, 52, 96, 127, 138, 143  
 Limbird J, 172  
 Literacy, 57 fn8  
 Literary Assemblies, 61, 62  
 Literary Salons, 52, 58, 61, 62  
 Liu Alan, *The Voice Of The Shuttle Web-Site, Should We Link To The Unabomber? An Essay On Practical Web Ethics*, 5, 5 fn6  
 Locke John, 21  
 Lockey Rowland, *Sir Thomas More, His Household and Descendants*, 70  
 London Booksellers, 135  
 Long Eighteenth Century, 55, 57; Incomes, 60 fn15  
 Lorrain Claude, 172  
 Lowdnes T, 63  
 Luddite, 6, 7 fn14  
 Luddite Rebellion, 7  
 Luddite Riots, 7  
 Ludlam Isaac, 7  
 Lynch Aaron, 38; *Thought Contagion Theory: The Science Of Spreading Beliefs*, 38 fn46  
 Lyttleton George, Lord Commissioner of The Treasury, 145

**M**

Macaroni men, 183  
 Macdonald John, *Memoirs Of An Eighteenth - Century Footman*, 51, 51 fn1  
 Mackinnon Sir Frank, *Notes On The History Of English Copyright*, 10 fn24  
 Macmillan, 120  
 Marlborough Duchess of, 121  
 Malesherbes, 10 fn23  
 Mangin Rev Edward, 154  
 Manley Delarivière, 160  
 Manutius Aldus, 78, 96 fn37  
 Martin Henri-Jean, 10 fn23  
 Martini Simone, *The Annunciation*, 71  
 Marx, 6 fn9  
 Marx Karl, *Das Kapital*, 110, 163

Maurier Daphne du, *Rebecca*, 213  
 McGann Jerome J., Text, 45, 48; *The Beauty Of Inflection*, 45  
 Mckenna Ethel, 154  
 Meme, 50, 53, 62, 125, 210, 214; book-as-object, 53; Complex co-dependent, 53; Compulsion, 62; print culture and meme transference, 63  
 Memetics, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 115, 223; and reader response, 42; Books and computers, 39; Cognitive psychology, 40; Conscious choice, 41; Culture, 39; Darwin, 40; Description of memetics, 39; Dispersal, 43; ego-psychology, 39; Evolutionary imperatives, 43; Evolutionary psychology, 40; Extinction of human mind, 41; Genetics, 38; Meme replication, 41, 53; Meme transmission, 39, 40; Memes: commonest forms of, 39; Mind virus (also thought contagion), 41; Nature of the meme, 39; New wave memeticists, 41; Psychological models, 40; Reader response, 39; Reductionism, 40; Static host, 43; Survival mechanism, 41, 125; Thought contagion, 38; Unit of cultural transmission, 39  
 Memoir, 51  
 Metanarrative, 47, 48, 49, 50  
 Metatext, 46, 47, 48, 50, 210  
 Middleton Conyers, 153  
 Mignard Pierre, *Louise de Keroualle as Thetis*, 71  
 Mills & Boon, 125  
 Milton John, 120, 151 fn29  
 Minto William, 163  
 Molls Coffee-House and Reading Room, 138  
 Montague Mrs, 135  
 Morality, 10  
 Morris William, 79, 111  
 Mullett C. F., *Letters Of Dr George Cheyne*, 166 fn11  
 Murphy W. S., *Leather Manufacture*, 94 fn33; *The Printing Of Books*, 86 fn20  
 Murray Judge William, 57 fn7

**N**

Nash Beau, 63, 64, 144 fn20; tributes, 64  
 Neagle Dame Anna, 142  
 Ned Ludd, 7  
 New Criticism, 21, 22  
 New Historicism, 6  
 Nickolls Joseph, St James' Park And The Mall, 123  
 Northcote James, *Edward Jenner*, 73

Norton Press, 122

## O

O'Gorman Frank, *Long Eighteenth Century*, 79  
 Orwell George, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, 2  
 Owens Bob, 157  
 Oxford University Press, 105, 221

## P

*Pamela*, Mr B, 165; *Pamela*, 166, 167  
 Pamelists, 61, 153  
 Paper, Amianthus, 92; cost of machines, 90; history (brief), 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94; Hymenopterus, 92; Last book, 106; tax, 151; watermarks, 107 fn6  
 Pastoral, 51  
 Patronage, 144, 145, 146, 148, 151  
 Pavlov, 115  
 Penguin, 16 fn41, 105, 130, 131, 132, 133  
 Pentrich, 5 fn8  
 Pentrich Revolutionaries, 5  
 Phenomenology, 21, 22, 23, 24  
 Philology, 44  
 Picaresque, 51  
 Pine John, 106; Masons, 106  
 Piranesi Giovanni, 172  
 Pirelli, 114  
 Plato, *The Republic*, 14  
 Platonic ideal, 28  
 Playford John, *The Dancing Master*, 63, 63 fn25, 144 fn20  
 Plumb J. H., 58; *The First Four Georges*, 58 fn10  
*Plunkett & Maclean*, 182  
 Pollard Graham, Thomas Wise, 147  
 Pope Alexander, 69; *The Dunciad*, 69 fn37, 160; *The Iliad*, 131  
 Porteous Riots, 3 fn4  
 Portraiture, Allegory and Mythological reference, 70  
 Priestley Joseph, discovery of oxygen, 140  
*Pride And Prejudice*, Kitty, 102; Lady Catherine de Bourgh, 66; Mr Collins, 66, 67; Mrs Bennett, 66, 102  
 Print culture, 47, 62  
 Printing, alphabets, 81; Applegarth Cylinder Perfector, 87; history (brief), 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88; Ink, 84 fn12; machine categories, 80; sheets per minute, 87; Sung

Dynasty, rejection of metal type, 80; T'ang Dynasty, 79; typeface materials, 80; woodblock, 79  
Prior Restraint Law, 2 fn2  
Production, Process, 48  
Production, Transmission, Reception, 43, 49, 50, 53  
Project Gutenberg, 117, 197  
Production, Transmission, Reception, Critical judgment in, 49  
Psychology, 18, 22, 23, 27  
Publishers, 51, 58, 73, 87, 151, 167

## Q

Queen Mary, 64 fn28  
Queensbury Duchess of, 64  
Questionnaires, Appendix A, B; Publishing companies, 48

## R

Rackham Arthur, 120  
Radcliffe Ann, 1, 76, 104, 120, 172, 203, 219; *The Italian*, 23, 104, 105, 149, 172; *The Midnight Assassin* (The Italian), 105, 171, 216; *The Romance Of The Forest*, 136  
Ranelagh, 182  
Rawlinson Thomas, 201  
Reader, Psychological profile, 50  
Reader Response Theory, 1, 17, 21, 22, 115, 206, 207, 212, 223, 224; Codes and conventions, 29; Core premises, 22  
Reading Societies, 52  
Réamur Réne Antoine Ferchault de, 92  
Rebellion and Riots, 3  
Regan Stephen, 22, 26  
Religious belief, 3  
Reynolds Sir Joshua, 58, 64, 135  
Rezeption-Aesthetik, 21, 22, 23, 24, 206, 212, 223, 224  
Ribble Anne, *Fielding's Library*, 138  
Ribble Frederick, *Fielding's Library* 138  
Richard III, 81, 179  
Richardson Samuel, 1, 52, 56, 63, 76, 121, 144, 152, 154, 155, 160, 161, 165, 166, 203, 216; brief career history, 52; *Clarissa*, 60, 61, 62; Death of *Clarissa*, 62, polite society, 63; *Pamela, Or Virtue Rewarded*, 60, 61, 144, 152, 153, 154, 155, 160, 165, 166, 179, 217;  
Riffaterre Michael, 22, 124; Alienation of the text, 36; Baudelaire, 35; Creation of the text, 35;

Function of literary criticism, 35; Hugo, 35; Mechanisms of language, 35; Rabelais, 35; Racine, 35; Text production, 35, 36; *Text Production*, 35 fn38; Uniqueness of writing, 35  
Riley Gail Blasser, *The History Of Censorship*, 2 fn2  
Rise of the novel, 51  
Rivington C., 108  
Robert Nicholas, 59  
Robert Nicholas, 90  
Roberts James, *Sir John Hawkins*, 73  
*Robinson Crusoe*, 20 fn2  
Robinson W. H., Catalogue entry for rare first ed *Amelia*, 147  
Robson Julia, *Daily Telegraph*, 184  
Rogers G. C., *The Sacred Text*, 174, 175, 218  
Rogers Pat, *The Augustan Vision*, 3  
Rosa Salvator, 23, 172  
Rose Hilary, *Alas, Poor Darwin*, 40  
Rose Stephen, 40  
Ross Philip, 97  
Rossetti Dante Gabriel, *The Girlhood Of the Virgin Mary*, 71  
Rousseau Jean Jacques, *The Social Contract And Discourses*, 8, 8 fn18, 9, 10, 14, 16, 110  
Routledge, 130; *Robinson Crusoe*, 111  
Rowlandson Thomas, 65, 97  
Rowling J. K., *Harry Potter*, 60 fn16  
Royal Academy, 58, 182  
Rubens Peter Paul, *The Apotheosis Of James I*, 70  
Rule John, *Albion's People*, 7, 8  
Ruskin John, 201  
Russian Formalism, 21, 23

## S

Sabor Peter, 156, 157  
Salwak Dale, *A Passion for Books*, 101  
Schäffer Jacob, 59  
Shakespeare, 120  
Share options, 51, 52  
Shelley Memorial, 132  
Shenstone William, reaction to vélin paper, 84  
Sheridan Richard Brinsley, *The Rivals*, 189  
Simon Oliver, 121; *Introduction To Typography*, 121  
Skelton-Foord C, *To Buy Or Borrow? Circulating Libraries And Novel Reading In Britain 1778-1828*, 137  
Slaughter Stephen, *Hans Sloane*, 73

- Slavery, 57 fn7
- Smith Charlotte, *Desmond*, 134, 143
- Smiths W. H., Library, 141
- Smollett Tobias, *Peregrine Pickle*, 160
- Social groupings, 69
- Society, 8, 9, 13, 17
- Society For The Encouragement Of Arts, Manufacture And Commerce, 92
- Socrates, 2 fn2
- Spenser Edmund, 69; *Faerie Queen*, 69 fn37
- Spottiswoode, 87
- Spriggs W, *What is Evolutionary Psychology?*, 40 fn50
- Stanhope Charles, Earl of, 86; Stanhope Iron Press, 86
- Stationers' Company, 10, 56, 150
- Steele Richard, 134
- Steinberg Sigfrid H., 78, 79, 84, 144, 145, 150 fn28; *Five Hundred Years Of Printing*, 78
- Stephen Sir Leslie, 110, 154; *Hours In a Library*, 110 fn1, 164
- Sterne Lawrence, *Tristram Shandy*, 47, 178, 213
- Stillingfleet Mr, 135
- Stones Howard, *Letters & Opinions*, 9 fn21
- Stothard Thomas, 116
- Strahan William, 87, 216
- Strange John, 59
- Street Thomas, *Circulating Library*, 193
- Strike Of The Journeymen, 3 fn4
- Structuralism, 22
- Stukeley William, antiquarian, 140
- Sutherland John, 162
- Swift Jonathan, 72; *Battle Of The Books*, 51
- Symbolism, 69; interpretative strategies, 68, 69; Language, 68, 68 fn33
- Symbols, 27, 28, 52, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 205, 208, 210
- Sympton Benjamin, first typefounder, 82
- Szechi David, Foundations Of Modern Britain: The Age of Oligarchy Pre-Industrial Britain 1722-1783, 60 fn15
- T**
- Tanselle G. Thomas, 48, 101, 114, 121; *Historicism And Critical Editing*, 174; Text as artefact, 46; *The Varieties Of Scholarly Editing*, 46
- Tarde Gabriel, 38; Crime waves, 42; Interference in the mind, 42
- Technology, New, Technophobic reactions to, 3, 12
- Textual Scholarship, 1, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 174, 203, 207, 223; Analytical bibliography, 44; co-dependency of literature and scholarship, 44; codicology, 44; Criterion for critical judgement, 49; descriptive bibliography, 44; enumerative bibliography, 44; Interactive influences, 47; Language, 48; New scholarship, 45; Role of the scholar, 50; Social Textual Criticism, 45; stemmatics, 44; subject specific terminology and ambiguity, 46
- The Act Of Copyright, 1709, 10
- The Act Of Settlement, 1701, 3
- The Bleeding Nun*, 173, Appendix D
- The Calves Head Club, 134
- The Cocoa Tree Club, 134
- The Concise Dictionary Of National Biography*, 7
- The Critical Review*, 115
- The Italian*, Ellena, 172; Schedoni, 172
- The Lancet*, 184
- The Library Association, 143
- The Literary club, 135
- The Midnight Assassin*, Rinaldi, 172
- The Mohocks, 134
- The Monk*, 172
- The Monthly Review*, 115
- The Neo-Luddite Movement, *The Neo-Luddite Manifesto*, 7 fn14
- The Newgate Calendar*, 188; Half-hanged Smith, 190
- The novel, 19
- The Obscene Publications Act, 1959, 16 fn41
- The role of the author, 14
- The Society Of Gentlemen, First treatise on papermaking, 92
- The Spectator*, 134
- The Tatler*, 134, 193
- Thetis*, 71 fn40
- Thornhill Sir John, *Duke Of Marlborough & Britannia*, 71
- Ti Shi Huang, 2 fn2
- Timbs John, *Clubs And Club Life In London*, 134
- Tom' Coffee-House, 135
- Tom Jones*, Tom, 65
- Tonson Jacob, 73, 151 fn29
- Trade Unions, 6 fn12
- Trueman Paul, "Pulp Fiction", 98, 99 fn41
- Ts'ia Lun, 88
- Tunbridge Wells, 63, 64
- Turner Cheryl, 215

Tute George, 97  
Typeface, 18, 207

## U

Unabomber, 4, 5, 6  
Unabomber's Manifesto, 4, 4 fn5  
University Of Kentucky Press, 132

## V

Vanbrugh Sir John, Blenheim Palace, 71  
Vane Lady, 161  
Vauxhall, 182  
Veese H. Aram, *The New Historicism Reader*,  
6 fn10

## W

Wainwright Clive, *The Library As A Living  
Room*, 140  
Walker J, 166  
War, France, Spain, India Senegal, 3 fn4  
Warner D. H, *The Nature Of Reading*, 19  
Watson J. D., 111  
Watson James, *John Hawkesworth*, 73  
Webster Captain, 63  
Wellek René, 21  
Whatman & Son, Wove or velin paper, 83  
Whatman James, 83, 106  
Whatman James, the younger, 83  
Wheatley Francis, *Life Of A Country-Girl --  
Married Life*, 132  
William III, 64, 85  
Williams John, *Mary Shelley: A Literary Life*,  
132  
Window Tax, 85  
Wise Thomas James, forgeries, 146, 147 fn24;  
Rare first edition of *Amelia*, 146  
Wittgenstein Ludwig, 28  
Woolf Virginia, 110  
Woolnoth Miss, Milliner, 168

## Y

Yeats John Butler, 97