The History of the Book in the West: 1700–1800

Volume III

Edited by
Eleanor F. Shevlin

ROUTLEDGE

The History of the Book in the West: A Library of Critical Essays

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Series Editor: Alexis Weedon

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Series Preface

Book history focuses on empirical research into the production and dissemination of the printed word, characterised by studies of the materiality of the book. Yet within these boundaries a variety of approaches has been taken as researchers seek to answer different questions. Key discussions are represented within the series such as the role of Gutenberg's invention of the printing press in the socio-political changes of the Renaissance; the attempts to secure national and international distribution networks in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and the reasons behind the exponential growth in printed output as it became the first mass media in the nineteenth century, a position which was then challenged by electronic media in the twentieth century. These debates within the discipline are reflected within Ashgate's History of the Book in the West.

The five volumes of the series present a selection of the very best scholarship on the history of the book in this internationally-vibrant research field. It represents the wide range of research approaches taken within book history which owes its origins to the fields of bibliography, history, and literary production. The burgeoning of scholarship in recent decades has been fuelled by the increasing number of online resources. Trade periodicals, historical newspaper databases, and the books themselves can, in many cases, be interrogated over the Internet and digitisation has enabled archivists to make available items from their collections to individual scholars electronically. Researchers have sought to utilise the range of archival material by adapting quantitative and qualitative methods to analyse book production. With this information the current generation of scholars have critiqued the theoretical interpretations of cultural production, specifically those of Pierre Bourdieu.

The first volume covers the history of the book in the west from late Antiquity to the publication of the Gutenberg Bible (AD 400 to 1455). As Jane Roberts and Pam Robinson say, 'The millennium saw many developments in the book's history, including the most fundamental of all: the consolidation of the codex's position as the standard form for a book.' Great claims are made for the advent of printing by movable type, which did have an enormous impact. However, the codex format with its list of contents, illustration, pagination, punctuation, and indexes which we recognise today as the printed book, did not suddenly appear in the mid-fifteenth century, it was a progressive development of many centuries.

Ian Gadd's selection of essays reflect the direction scholarship has taken in the history of the book from the mid-fifteenth century through to the end of the seventeenth. The essays, he says 'are not intended to represent the full historical range of studies into aspects of the making, selling, and consumption of books but rather are a deliberate and considered reflection of how the 'history of the book' has manifested itself in the English language since the publication of what many consider to be the subject's foundational work, Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin's L'Apparition du Livre in 1958.'

Influenced by Enlightenment principles and commercial transformations, the history of the book in the eighteenth century witnessed not only the final decades of the hand-press era but also debates and developments that pointed to its future: 'the foundations of modern copyright; a rapid growth in the publication, circulation, and reading of periodicals; the promotion of niche marketing; alterations to distribution networks; and the emergence of the publisher as a central figure in the book trade, to name a few.' The pace and extent of these changes varied greatly within the different sociopolitical contexts across the western world. Eleanor Shevlin's selection of essays highlights the range of developments and the intricacies of debates while simultaneously pointing to potential directions for scholarship.

Stephen Colclough and Alexis Weedon are the editors of the fourth volume and their own interests in publishing economics, distribution and reading practices are represented. The collection 'reflects Anglo-American book history of this period which is characterised by detailed analyses of the publication of an individual book or the reading of a particular person'. Arranged to reflect the publishing cycle from author to reader, this volume examines the impact of the second printing revolution through the nineteenth century and to the outbreak of the first world war.

Finally, in the last volume of the series, Alexis Weedon frames the history of the book within the globalisation of the media industries and the challenge to the cultural status of the book from electronic media in the twentieth century. The invention of photomechanical typesetting and the application of computer technology profoundly changed the technology and processes of production, distribution, sales and consumption of the book. These effects continue in the twenty-first century and have led to the development of 'The Long Tail' niche book publishing strategies.

The editors of each volume have written an informative introduction which sets the context of book history within their period, providing a critical analysis of the selected essays within their volumes. It is not an easy task to select and order essays from the enormous number published by scholars in the field, many of which are worthy of inclusion on different grounds. The essays are drawn from scholarly print journals inaccessible online, papers published in subscription journals and chapters from monographs. I thank the editors for their diligence and hard work in consistently applying their professional scholarly judgement to making difficult choices. They have done an excellent job.

ALEXIS WEEDON
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Introduction

While calendar time marks definitively the change from one century to the next, the distinctions that differentiate various eras from one another typically occur more gradually and unevenly across both time and space. The years 1700 to 1800 saw negligible changes in the design and operation of the printing press, and much that can be said about printing technology in the West during the sixteenth or seventeenth century applies to the eighteenth as well.[1] Nor did the hand-press era suddenly end as 1800 became 1801; instead it endured for several more decades even as mechanized innovation, fuelled by the demand for newspapers and periodicals, was sounding its death knell.[2] At times extending or amplifying trends that date from the mid-seventeenth century or earlier, the period covered by this volume was marked by important new developments in the history of the book: the foundations of modern copyright; a rapid growth in the publication, circulation and reading of periodicals; the promotion of niche marketing; alterations to distribution networks; and the emergence of the publisher as a central figure in the book trade, to name a few. Yet the pace and extent of these changes varied across the Western world, and this unevenness presents one of several challenges to selecting essays for this volume.[3]

Choosing essays that address these various changes and the rates at which they occurred across geographical and national boundaries is further complicated by the need, given the Anglophone design of this reference series, to select essays available in English. The Anglophone world can claim a rich tradition of studying the book as a physical object through the practice of descriptive and analytic bibliography, which dates, in part, from interests that took hold in the eighteenth century (Tanselle, 1992; Williams and Abbott, 1999, pp. 14–53).[4] Yet the centuries-long Continental interest in book-related matters came late to the English-speaking world, and much work on the book in various European countries has been written in languages other than English and never translated. (Eighteenth-century French book history

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1 However, the eighteenth century was not completely without innovations to the hand press. During the 1750s John Baskerville, for instance, built a press with the platen and 'stone' (the bed of the press) made out of brass and substituted vellum for the flannel typically used to cover the tympan (Dreyfus, 1951, p. 45). Likewise, in 1792 Wilhelm Hass of Basle designed a press that replaced several wooden components with steel parts; his invention was a forerunner of Lord Stanhope's all-metal press that appeared around 1800.

2 In 1814 the German Friedrich Koenig's steam-powered press made its debut with the printing of the 29 November issue of *The Times* (London) at the rate of 1,100 sheets per hour; successive innovations continued to advance mechanization (Banham, 2007).

3 Periodization and boundaries ('national, geographical, cultural, legal, linguistic, and economic') are among the ten challenges that Michael Suarez (2003–4) has identified and cogently addresses in an essay assessing difficulties facing book historians and identifying directions needed to advance the field.

4 For a highly important assessment of current bibliographic and textual studies and their connections to book history, see Hume (2005).

is arguably an exception due in part to scholars such as Robert Darnton, Raymond Birn, Carla Hesse, the late Robert Dawson and others who write about French book history in English.) Although recent signs indicate that calls for global approaches and transnational histories of the book have begun to be answered (Eliot and Rose, 2007; Suarez and Woudhuysen, 2010 forthcoming), such a shift is still in its infancy, and the issue of linguistic obstacles has yet to be fully addressed.[5] In selecting essays for this volume I have navigated the difficulties posed by periodization and geographical representation in several ways. In the case of a number of developments, the mid-century or thereabouts represents a more accurate dividing line than either 1700 or 1800. Overall, I have sought essays that cover longer spans of time without sacrificing depth. To temper this volume's admitted bent towards 'Englishness' I have favoured essays that either address eighteenth-century developments from transnational or Continental perspectives or proffer broader theoretical implications for the period beyond their geographic or national context. Some selections announce a general European or comparative approach in their titles, but others that seemingly proclaim particular national histories also supply comparisons with trends elsewhere in the West. Nonetheless, many of the included pieces are rooted firmly in a British or English context. Several of these essays address key topics – the changing role of the bookseller, the emergence of review journals, the development of copyright and the significant function of newspapers in promoting books and print – that on a meta-level characterize the history of the Western book in this century despite local variation. And a few address institutions and practices quite specific to England, although even here parallels or analogous habits elsewhere could be drawn.

Several other considerations have governed my selection process. With a few exceptions, I have shied away from including full-text essays available electronically through major subscription databases such as JStor and Project Muse, a decision that arises from the increasingly widespread availability of work provided by such tools.[6] Similarly, the omission of essays by some of the most well-known names in book history – Elizabeth Eisenstein, Roger Chartier and especially Robert Darnton whose prime focus has been the French eighteenth century – stems from both the wide availability of their books and essays and the familiarity scholars generally have with their work.[7] Other noteworthy omissions also occur, sometimes because of the difficulty of extracting a chapter from a book-length study. Richard Sher's *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and Their Publishers in*

[5] *Bibliopolis: History of the Printed Book in the Netherlands* (van Delft and de Wolf, 2003), a translation of *Bibliopolis: Geschiedenis van het Gedrukte Boek* and available in print and as an electronic database, is a welcome development and could serve as a model for other such dual or multi-language national reference works. The online database is available through the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (National Library of the Netherlands) at http://www.bibliopolis.nl. The lists Bibliopolis provides for further reading, however, demonstrate that a majority of research is inaccessible for those who do not read Dutch.

[6] Journal titles, however, are being added regularly to electronic databases and full-text delivery systems.

[7] I gave serious consideration to including the print version of Eisenstein's James L. Clifford lecture at the 1996 meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, but space simply did not permit (see Eisenstein, 1998).

Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and America (2006) serves as a ready example.[8] At other times, length considerations, measured against a desire to represent a range of topics, led to a decision to exclude.

This volume has purposefully devoted much attention to the physical aspects of the book; five of the twenty-five essays address such matters. Despite a growing recognition that a 'book's total form is itself a significant historical statement' (McKenzie, 1981, p. 99; reprinted in Finkelstein, and McCleery 2006),[9] traditional bibliographic practices still could be better incorporated with newer concerns and perspectives characteristic of current book history. As Michael Suarez has asserted, 'The rigorous and creative application of bibliographical knowledge to book-historical research is … the single most important desideratum for book history today' (2003–4, p. 156). While Barbara Fitzpatrick's 'Physical Evidence for John Coote's Eighteenth-Century Periodical Proprietorships: The Examples of Coote's *Royal Magazine* (1759–71) and Smollett's *British Magazine* (1760–67)' (2000) is not included here because of its almost fifty-page length, it deftly demonstrates the ways bibliographic methodologies can advance book history. Specifically, by attending to shared type-settings, press figures, paper wrappers and advertisements, her essay sheds significant light on a particular professional and financial network, many details about which would arguably have not been recoverable otherwise. The attention accorded in this volume to the physical 'book' is aimed at stimulating a wider interest in the bibliographic aspects of the field. Such interest is all the more necessary, given both the paucity of archival records about trade practices at large and the decrease in formal bibliographic training. Fitzpatrick's essay also reflects another area of increasing interest: serials, both periodicals and newspapers. The eighteenth century was, in many ways, the age of the periodical, and its history and that of the newspaper are inextricably tied with that of the book proper. While digitization projects are making eighteenth-century serials and books in general more readily accessible, they are also highlighting a need for bibliographic competency and a sense of the importance of the physical artefact.[10]

The overview of eighteenth-century developments that follows has been fashioned to render the contours of the eighteenth-century book in the West and complement the twenty-five essays included in this collection. Less discussion has been devoted to developments that receive extended treatment in the essays themselves. Finally, although these introductory remarks are aimed at providing an historical overview of the eighteenth-century book and significant milestones in its history during this period, they also on occasion identify understudied topics and look forward to areas for future work.

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[8] Unfortunately, the length of his earlier essay 'Corporatism and Consensus in the Late Eighteenth-Century Book Trade' (1998) at fifty-eight pages made it equally impractical to include, for it would have represented more than 10 per cent of the total contents.

[9] McKenzie's arguments about the intricately interwoven relationship between textual materiality and meaning were the subject of his 1985 Panizzi Lectures, 'Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts', subsequently published by the British Library in 1986 and in a new edition in 1999.

[10] For a discussion of some key issues involved in using these valuable databases, see May (2009).

'Superfine Wove Paper, and a New Type; making Six Handsome Volumes in Octavo'[11]

Experiments in paper-making, changes in type styles and the growing dominance of smaller formats such as the octavo[12] number among the developments that affected the book as a material artefact during the eighteenth century. While some developments served as transient moments in the history of the Western book, others such as the invention of wove paper would prove enduring. Changes in the physical features of eighteenth-century books were driven largely by Enlightenment principles and commercial transformations. The interest in scientific experimentation, the systematization of knowledge, progress and perfection that flourished during the Enlightenment fuelled efforts to improve production technologies and enhance the functional appearance and aesthetic appeal of books and other printed matter including illustrations, musical scores and maps. Marketplace pressures similarly spurred attempts to discover more efficient and cost-effective means of production. Such efforts, typically initiated by individuals or small professional circles but sometimes by a monarch or state, occurred across Western Europe. Cultivated by Enlightenment thinking and transnational interaction within the trade (and occasionally commercial espionage), the spread and refinement of innovations varied in degree and pace according to locale. During the first half of the eighteenth century most readers in the West would have perceived little alteration in the look of the book from that of its mid- and late seventeenth-century predecessors. Yet from roughly the mid-century on – what one scholar has called the 'Great Divide' in its English context (Bronson, 1968, pp. 339–40)[13] – differences became apparent. As the century progressed, touting a work's paper, type, illustrations and the benefits of its format became an increasingly common trade tactic for attracting consumers and stimulating desire.[14] Building on other cultural trends, these marketing appeals were harnessing a nascent awareness of the book as a material object.

Renewed attention to the book's physical features during the eighteenth century unfolded as part of broader cultural preoccupations with historical inquiry, the improvement of manufacturing processes and 'taste'. In the late seventeenth century Joseph Moxon published

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11 *Proposals for Publishing …* (1796).

12 Explaining colonial American printers' adherence to English and Continental practices, Lawrence Wroth references 'the universal [i.e. Western world] change whereby in the eighteenth century the octavo came into its own as the chief format of the printed book, a format convenient for the reader and economical for the printer'(1994, p. 273). In Sweden, for instance, 18.7 per cent of titles published during the first decade of the eighteenth century were octavos, but by the 1790s over 62 per cent of books were published in this format (Jarrick, 1999, pp. 93–95). In contrast, folios were increasingly reserved for works such as dictionaries, encyclopaedias, family bibles and other works deemed to have enduring value (Febvre and Martin, 1976, p. 90).

13 Although Bronson applies the phrase 'great divide' when discussing capitalization in poetry, his comments about other changes in the appearance of texts frequently invoke the mid-century as a divide.

14 This tactic is especially evident in British advertisements from the 1760s on. A search of the Gale-Cengage *17th –18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers* electronic database using the words 'paper' and 'type' within a proximity of five words from one another retrieves a total of 968 classified advertisements. Almost all of the adverts celebrate material features as they announce the publication or intention to publish a work; tellingly, the earliest such advert dates from December 1743, and 796 results are for advertisements that appeared after 1760.

what is considered the earliest printer's manual, *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing* (1683–84) (1962). Demystifying the 'mysteries of printing', this work was part of a serialized project aimed at 'having the Secrets of all Trades lye open ... so that one Trade may borrow many eminent Helps in Work of another Trade' (Moxon, 1693, vol. 1 [ii]). Moxon's efforts to lay bare craft secrets and foster exchange among trades exemplify the spirit of scientific and commercial innovation that characterized the long eighteenth century and prompted the publication of similar manuals (Pankow, 2005, pp. ix–19). By the end of the century printing manuals – some incorporating histories of the craft – had been published across Western Europe (see Gaskell, Barber and Warrilow, 1968 and 1971; see also Víctor de Paredes [1680], 1984 (first Spanish example); Ernesti, 1721 (German); Fertel, 1741 (French manual); Janssen, 1986 (*Zetten en drukken...* first Dutch manual, 1801)).[15] The widening availability of technical knowledge coincided with the appearance of accounts devoted to the origins and history of printing, some of which also incorporated technical information. Undertaken by antiquarians, bibliophiles, periodical writers, encyclopaedia contributors and others, these historical narratives brought discussions of printing and related subjects such as type-founding and paper-making out of the printing houses and workshops and into the public realm. Indeed, the press and printing as hobby went beyond public discourse and became for some an 'aristocratic plaything'.[16]

Matters of 'taste', so prevalent in eighteenth-century discourse, also encouraged the refinement and perfection of type, paper, illustrations and binding while simultaneously fostering reader appreciation for such improvements. Bibliophiles and the wealthy drove the market for lavishly bound and illustrated books, prompting one printing historian to deem the period 'above all the century of the *livre de luxe*' (Clair, 1976, p. 313; see also Febvre and Martin, 1976, pp. 103–104, 107–108). Although their cost placed luxury editions beyond the reach of most readers, more modest productions came to evoke 'good taste' through less cluttered title pages, layouts, illustrations and improved types. As the century wore on, printing joined other facets of culture in serving as an 'index of taste'; by its final decades 'public appreciation of [printing's] refinements could ... be assumed as a social and economic fact' (Bronson, 1968, p. 354). The praise by a self-styled 'Admirer of Taste' for the 'new (and original) display' adopted by the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* in 1781[17] indicates that even a newspaper's improved layout could be viewed as an exercise in taste.

While taste played a role in the promotion and reception of alterations to the physical book, scientific inquiry and commercial interests were the initial impetus for innovations involving paper. Practical concerns drove initial experimentations in paper-making. A shortage of cloth and linen rags had been a perennial problem for paper-makers since the fifteenth century, but by the early eighteenth century an acute increase in demand for paper spurred efforts to find a replacement for old rags. In 1716 'The Society of Gentlemen' in England published an essay on substituting hemp, and in 1719 the Frenchman René Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur,

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[15] Janssen's commentary includes an overview of the exchange of printing knowledge across England, France, Germany and the Netherlands ('De overdracht van typografisch-technische kennis vóór 1800' in Janssen, 1986, pp. 11–50).

[16] Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill Press in England is perhaps the most well known, but a number of aristocratic men and women in France as well as Frederick the Great of Prussia and others also had their own presses (Cave, 1983, pp. 31–41).

[17] *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* (London, England), 3 February 1781, Issue 2561.

based on his observations of wasps' nests, proposed the use of wood fibres. As the century progressed, searches for alternative raw materials in the form of wood and vegetable fibres cropped up across Europe. Although efforts such as those by Jean Étienne Guettard in France, Franz Ernst Brückmann and Jacob Christian Schäffer in Germany, Albert Seba in Flanders, Father Sarmiento in Spain and John Strange of England failed to yield a suitable substitute in the eighteenth century, their work established a foundation for later success in the nineteenth century when a feasible means of making paper from wood pulp, esparto grass and straw was finally developed (Hunter, 1978, pp. 309–29; Febvre and Martin, 1976, p. 36; McKitterick, 2004, pp. 2–3; Asenjo Martínez and Brinquis, n.d., p. 6).

Unlike the search for an affordable replacement for rags, attempts to produce a paper with a smoother surface yielded results before the century's close. In the 1750s the elder James Whatman constructed a mould whose finely woven wire mesh created a paper with a smooth, uniform appearance. The look of this 'wove' paper (*papier vélin* as it become known on the Continent) differed markedly from laid paper's grooved, uneven surface caused by the laid and chain metal wires of the traditional Western mould. Although a 1757 edition of Virgil's *Bucolica, Georgica et Ænis* by John Baskerville, a colleague of Whatman and an innovator in his own right, was the first Western book to use wove paper, two decades or so would pass before the Whatman firm manufactured its invention in significant quantities. By the 1780s, however, other English paper manufacturers were producing wove paper, and manufacturing trials were underway in France and America. In the 1790s the production of wove paper spread to Germany and Italy, but it was not made in the Netherlands until 1807 (Balston, 1998, pp. 116–24, 175–77; Rosenband, 2000b, p. 45; Laurentius, 2003, pp. 113–14).

The satin-like finish achieved by 'hot pressing' partially dried printed sheets between heated metal plates marked another change in the appearance of paper. Baskerville pioneered this technique, creating pages whose high-gloss sheen complemented his distinctive black ink and type. Others, including the renowned Spanish printer Joaquin Ibarra (Updike, 1922, vol. 2, p. 57),[18] adopted the process or devised similar procedures to enhance and refine the look of the printed page. Hot-pressed paper became increasingly available from the 1790s and on, though it increased the costs of production (Balston, 1998, pp. 226–27). A desire for a more attractive product also inspired experiments to create paper with a whiter or 'fresher' hue. Dutch paper-makers such as Honig attained success by blueing white paper to offset its yellow tones (Brückle, 1993; Laurentius, 2003, p. 113). The blue tint of their paper, coupled with its smooth grain (a feat attributable to the Dutch invention in the 1670s of the Hollander, a machine that reduced rags to pulp) enabled the Dutch paper industry to make considerable gains over French competitors (Rosenband, 2000b, pp. 3, 37). Near the end of the century chlorine was used to bleach inferior rags whose heavy soil or colour would have previously deemed them unsuitable for manufacturing white paper (Thomson, 1974, pp. 36–37; Hunter, 1978, p. 318, n.*). However, this and similar chemical processes led to a decline in the quality of paper in the late eighteenth century and well beyond.

The paper production capacity of individual Western countries and the reputation of their paper also experienced shifts. While French paper-making suffered some setbacks during the *ancien régime*, the domestic paper industry in other countries assumed a stronger footing

[18] Ibarra was noted for inventing a similar process to 'satin' the paper after the printing of engravings (Ruiz Lasala, 1968, pp. 60–61).

and even grew considerably in some cases (Febvre and Martin, 1976, pp. 43–44; Rosenband, 2000a). Spurred by the effects of late seventeenth-century legislation, the disruptions of war, protective tariffs, heightened domestic demand and an influx of skilled foreign craftsmen, the Netherlands and Britain significantly reduced their dependence on imported paper during the century (Coleman, 1958, pp. 89–121; Laurentius, 2003, p. 113). From mid-century the Netherlands was a key exporter of paper admired for its quality, but the Dutch paper-makers' slow adoption of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century technological advances foretold the country's slide from market dominance during the nineteenth century. Colonial territories witnessed growth, too. The first paper mill in British America was founded in 1690 in Philadelphia, and a century later eleven of the original thirteen American colonies had established paper mills (Hunter, 1978, pp. 243–44, 247–49, 483–515 *passim*; for detailed discussions, see Hunter, 1952). Often governments played an important role in advancing paper production. While Prussian state policies hindered the development of its paper industry (Selwyn, 2000, pp. 59–62), those of other Western nations advanced domestic growth. Under Bourbon rule Spain revived its paper industry to such a degree that the century has been deemed by some the '"Golden Age" of Spanish papermaking' (Asenjo Martínez and Brinquis, n.d., p. 7). The first major paper mill in Russia was launched in 1712 through the efforts of Peter the Great, and by 1801 twenty-three mills were operating (Hunter, 1978, p. 485).

Like so many facets of book history, the history of Western handmade paper was often a transnational affair. The Russian tsar's new mill at Moscow was modelled on German paper-mill technology and employed foreign workers skilled in the trade. Spain benefited from the expertise of Italian and other foreign paper-makers. Ireland, whose paper was exempt from excise duties until 1798, nevertheless relied heavily on imports from France as well as from the Netherlands, England and Italy. By the 1790s Irish paper-makers had made decided gains towards attaining self-sufficiency, but they still depended on imports to meet domestic needs. Examining which countries were supplying paper to Ireland and what share of the Irish market each held at any given time – France dominated the Irish import market until the century's last quarter, imports of Italian Genoese paper ceased in 1747, imports of Dutch paper rose in mid-century and paper from England and Scotland supplemented Irish domestic shortfalls in the closing decade (Benson and Pollard, 1970, pp. 21–23; Pollard, 1989, pp. 146, 112–16; Phillips, 1998, pp. 172–79) – sheds light not only on the paper industry within Ireland but also on the fluctuating fortunes of paper-making in and across other nations and the role that geopolitics and economics played in these shifts during the century. Comparative approaches deepen knowledge about the economic factors, design issues, commercial networks, practices and constraints affecting the production of books during the eighteenth century.[19] That paper, as in previous centuries, represented the most expensive production cost underscores the importance of its study (Febvre and Martin, 1976, pp. 112–14; Raven, 2001, p. 22).[20]

Like alterations in paper-making, eighteenth-century developments in type and typographic practices were cultivated and shaped by a climate of enlightened ideals. Radically new attitudes about the past and more widely disseminated knowledge about printing, coupled with a decline

[19] A 'comprehensive history of hand papermaking in Europe remains to be written' (Rosenband, 2000a, p. 458, n. 15). David McKitterick (1993, p. 25) has also rightly noted that the study of paper, especially in the context of printing-house decisions, has regrettably been neglected.

[20] For the financial ties among paper-makers, printers and booksellers, see Remer (1996, p. 93).

in the quality of printed material during the previous century, encouraged reconsiderations of typography.[21] The desire to perfect type forms marked a departure from a general stability that had long characterized letter design. As late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century projects to devise new types and establish a standard system of typographic measurement illustrate, experimenters adopted rational principles. Frequently assuming a mathematical character, these principles were part of the era's broader belief in progress, the aims of which were articulated through a shared language of improvement and perfection. Whereas perfection in paper was equated with a smooth, even surface and regularity of colour, perfection in type celebrated the qualities of precision, symmetry, proportion and harmony. Alexander Pope's lines championing balance and order in poetic composition – 'No single Parts unequally surprise;/All comes united to th' admiring Eyes;/No monstrous Height, or Breadth, or Length appear;/The Whole at once is Bold, and Regular' (1713, II, lines 249–52) – verbally describe traits that when rendered visually defined a form of excellence in the typographic realm. It 'is in the harmony of parts that an agreeable letter consists, and that often depends on an indefinable quality – "un je ne sais quoi" – that can be felt rather than defined', as the French academician Jaques Jaugeon asserted (Mosely, 1997, p. 13). Comments about the skill of English type-founder William Caslon expressed similar sentiments: 'a perfection of the whole, derived from harmonious but not necessarily perfect individual letter-forms' (Updike, 1922, vol. 2, p. 106).

In France initial efforts to produce 'une parfaite construction des lettres' were the result of royal initiative and reflected the perspective of academics. In the 1690s King Louis XIV appointed a committee from the Académie des Sciences to study all crafts, but the project soon evolved into one for designing ideal letterforms for the Imprimerie Royale (the king's printing house). The first book using the 'romain du roi' typeface was published in 1702. Often called a transitional type in typographical histories, the romain du roi departed from 'old faces' in several ways including a more pronounced difference between the thick and thin strokes of its letters and the addition of slender serifs for the lower-case letters. Its use created a page whose appearance was lighter and more open. Besides the different look of the romain du roi, two back stories in the development of this face are particularly telling of the broader changes afoot. The first involved a grid system developed to diagram upper- and lower-case letters; these grid-formed letters, mathematically not calligraphically inspired, served as a loose model for the romain du roi type cut by Philippe Grandjean and completed by Louis Luce. The second, also indicative of the committee's mathematical bent, was the formulation of a calibrated system for regulating type sizes and the space on the page. While not officially published, the 'Calibres de toutes les sortes et grandeurs de lettres' stands as an early experiment in a standardized system for type (Updike, 1922, vol. 1, pp. 241–44; Jammes, 1965; Mosely, 1997; Kinross, 2004, pp. 24–26).

Typographical innovations within France did not cease with the academicians but were pursued throughout the century by others including Pierre Simon Fournier le jeune and François Ambroise Didot, both type-founders and members of notable French printing families. Excelling in punch-cutting and type-founding, Fournier as a type designer was more adaptive

[21] Situating the origins of modern typography in the year 1700 or so, Robin Kinross (2004, pp. 14, 15) sees these reconsiderations as effecting typography's separation from 'printing' and its emergence as a distinctive field in which 'design' functions as a verb. See also Howes (2007, pp. 61–70). Before his untimely death in 2005 Howes was exploring the changing attitudes in letter design between 1670 and 1830 through the lens of 'progress' and 'perfectability' as found in commentary of the time.

than pioneering, yet he furthered the design of music types in France and was deservedly celebrated for his ornaments (Clair, 1976, p. 319). Most noteworthy among his contributions was a proposed point system for type. His initial account of this plan was published in 1737, and the final version appeared in the first volume of his *Manuel typographique* (1764). In the 1780s Didot, modifying Fournier's proposals, related his predecessor's point system to the standard French inch, and it was Didot's system that became accepted in the non-English-speaking typographic world (Kinross, 2004, pp. 27–31). Around 1783 Firmin Didot, François Ambroise's son, designed the Didot typeface, one of the first modern or neoclassical faces (the traits of type so classified include extreme contrasts between thick vertical and thin horizontal strokes and serifs that lack brackets). Near the end of the century Firmin also experimented in stereotype printing, a process whose name he coined (Chappell, 1970, p. 176).

Although changes in Dutch type styles reflected the influence of Enlightenment values and lettering techniques (Lane, 2003, p. 110), the Netherlands held a minor place in eighteenth-century typographical innovations. It could, however, boast of the Enschedé type-founding firm whose superior technical reputation benefited immensely from its relationship with punch-cutters Joan (Johann) Fleischman and Jacques François Rosart. As a punch-cutter Fleischman was a technical virtuoso, creating sets of types for an impressive range of alphabets such as Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Malaysian, Armenian and Arabic as well as texturas (black letter) and concerted music notation (Middendorp, 2004, pp. 27–28). A pioneer in 'typographically printing music at one impression' (Poole, 1977, p. 363),[22] Rosart specialized in titling types and ornaments. After his move to Brussels in 1759, his type designs displayed fewer Dutch-influenced and more French-inspired qualities (Updike, 1922, vol. 2, p. 42; Middendorp, 2004, pp. 29–30).

Unlike many Western countries Germany still preferred *fraktur* (black letter) for texts, though its scientific publications often featured roman faces to accommodate the international readership for these works. The declining predilection for gothic faces in the Western world minimized the broader impact of black-letter design innovations (Steinberg, 1974, p. 176). While the German typographer and music publisher Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf designed new types, including a well-received *fraktur* face that bore his name, he gained fame across Europe in the 1750s for his innovative moveable types for printing music.[23] During the 1770s he also experimented with moveable types for map printing. Johann Friedrich Unger, who helped to popularize Didot's modern face in Germany, issued his Unger *fraktur*, a face designed to bridge gothic and roman differences, in 1793 (Clair, 1976, p. 323). As their projects suggest, both Breitkopf and Unger were disciples of improvement and progress, and both were engaged with typographic developments beyond German borders. The former corresponded with Fournier, and the latter with Didot. The final decades of the century saw a short-lived push towards a more widespread use of roman faces in Germany, with literary works by Christoph Martin Wieland, Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock and Friedrich Schiller appearing in roman type (Clair, 1976, pp. 322–33). A dependence on German-manufactured type perhaps prolonged the prevalence of gothic faces in Sweden and other Nordic countries,

[22] For a broader discussion of eighteenth-century music types, see Poole (1965/1966).

[23] Although moveable type had been used for printing music since the late fifteenth century, it was cumbersome, and by the seventeenth century engraving had become the preferred method for music printing. Breitkopf's process offered a less expensive alternative to engraving and was an improvement over previous methods using moveable types. See Scherer (2004, pp. 159–60).

but their popularity there began to fade during the eighteenth century. In the 1730s Sweden made the first moves towards abandoning *fraktur* by adopting roman for its scientific and literary works; however, Swedish publications printed with gothic types continued to appear well into the nineteenth century (Bandle *et al.*, 2005, p. 1248).

In Russia change came sooner and was more decisive. During the first decade of the century Peter the Great reformed the Cyrillic alphabet and devised a typeface, *grazhdanskii shrift* or 'civil type', for the new letters (Kaldor, 1969, 1970). By decree he designated Cyrillic for printing ecclesiastical works and *grazhdanskii shrift* for all other texts, resulting in a 'seven-to-one preponderance' of books printed in civil type during the century (Cracraft, 2006, p. 103). That Cyrillic faces were reserved for church publications in Russia coincided with the continued use of black letter for specialized liturgical works in countries that had otherwise, save for headlines and some cheap print, forsaken the gothic during the century. Yet as a late eighteenth-century English vicar's complaint suggests, even this limited use of black letter was questioned: 'The Proclamations … designed for the Church Door, being printed in the *Old English* type, not one in ten of a country congregation can read the character. It is so in my parish, and is probably the case in many others; would it not therefore be advisable to have these public invitations printed in a more legible form?'[24] The vicar's comments also invoke legibility and the needs of general readers, issues increasingly found in discussions of typographical design and improvement as the century wore on.

Across the channel England had lagged behind its Continental counterparts in type-founding, punch-cutting and typographical design since the early days of printing. Its position shifted significantly in the eighteenth century largely because of the contributions of William Caslon and John Baskerville. In the decades before 1720,[25] the year Caslon established his first foundry, English printers had relied heavily on imported Dutch type, and it was Dutch type that served as models for Caslon's designs. Issuing his first specimen sheet in1734, Caslon 'transformed what was typically Dutch into something essentially English', creating fonts that were 'agreeable', 'friendly to the eye' and 'above all so legible' (Updike, 1922, vol. 2, p. 106; Clair, 1976, p. 340). His types and ornaments were widely admired for their technical precision and artistry not only in Britain and its colonies but also on the Continent. That his foundry enabled English printers to obtain a range of well-crafted, matching fonts in diverse sizes, all from a single domestic source, afforded a greater opportunity for material uniformity within printed works than had previously existed. One of the most common book types used during the second half of the century, the Caslon roman, along with its imitators, became the leading face of English and colonial American books produced at the time (Bidwell, 2000, p. 170). While Caslon's designs harked back to Dutch 'old faces', Baskerville's types bear some affinity to the geometric aspects of the Imprimerie Royale types. A writing master early in his professional life, Baskerville made his fortune manufacturing japanned ware before turning to printing in the 1750s. These previous trade experiences influenced his multifaceted efforts to perfect the printed book from his recipes for a new printers' ink to the precision of the presses he built and the calligraphic inspiration of his letter designs. Considered 'transitional'

[24] 'To the Printer of the *St. James Chronicle*, Mr. Baldwin', *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* (London, England), 27 February 1798, Issue 6271.

[25] Confusion seems to exist about the date, and some accounts offer 1716 based on information given in nineteenth-century family accounts of the firm's origins. Yet it seems that the trained gun-engraver, turned punch-cutter and type-founder, began cutting punches in 1720.

or 'neoclassical' today, Baskerville's innovative types received a mixed reception in England but met with far greater acclaim on the Continent as well as from the American Benjamin Franklin. Like England, Scotland imported most of its type from the Dutch; yet a native type-founding industry developed in the mid-eighteenth century, most notably through the efforts of Alexander Wilson (who supplied types for Robert and Andrew Foulis, renowned Scottish printers and booksellers/publishers), and before long Wilson and other Scottish foundries were competing with England for the colonial export trade (Bidwell, 2000, p. 170).

The Italian Giambattista Bodoni, along with the Didot family, is credited with ushering in 'modern' faces near the end of the eighteenth century. Bodoni initially modelled his types after Fournier's, but by the late 1780s he had embarked on a progressively modern path that would culminate in his 'extreme' types (Howes, 2007, pp. 61–63) of the early nineteenth century. In Spain the printer Joaquín Ibarra gained fame internationally for his typographical skill and the beauty of his books' rich black inks and smooth white paper that accentuated his letters. Highly admired by bibliophiles, the books produced by Baskerville, Ibarra, the Didots and Bodoni displayed a careful orchestration of type, paper, ink and layout that emphasized the aesthetics of the page. Inspired by a revived interest in classical antiquity during the eighteenth century, their types and book designs are often termed 'neoclassical' and viewed as a culmination of 'the triumph of white space over black type' that began the century before (Martin, 1994, pp. 328–29).

Changes to layout and typographic design were not limited to those works valued by book collectors and fine-printing connoisseurs but extended to ordinary books. Starting in Britain roughly mid-century and spreading to France and then Germany, pages began to adopt a plainer, more ordered visual logic; 'neatness' became the overarching design principle and effect (Barker, 1981, p. 132). While varying according to genre and country,[26] pages generally became more restrained in their use of decorative features such as printers' ornaments and rules; letter spacing was handled more deliberately and white space more judiciously; 'bottom notes' (footnotes) shed excess text and marginal notes became far rarer; indiscriminate mixing of italic and roman types fell off; punctuation and especially capitalization adopted more normative rules; and images became severed from their texts and presented as separate plates (Barker, 1981, pp. 134–38; Martin, 1994, pp. 329–30; Pollak, 2006, pp. 16–20). Attention to transformations in typographic design as a site of textual meaning and value has been increasingly pursued over the last decade or so, especially for the effects such changes have exercised on reading, genre development and the status of a given text or texts.[27]

To conclude this overview of the book's physical appearance during this period, a few words should be offered on bookbinding. As with other material facets of the book, more dramatic alterations would occur in the following century as binding was transformed 'from a craft to an industry' but the eighteenth century was not without changes (Potter, 1993). A technical advance came late in the century in the form of the hollow back (*dos brisé*) binding in which the cords or bands are not affixed to the leather spine (Pollard, 1956, p. 87), thus allowing

[26] Dutch page layout, for instance, exhibited little change from the seventeenth century (Barker, 1981, pp. 127–28; Dijstelberge, 2003, p. 115). As Nicolas Barker (1981, p. 130) reminds us, certain types of texts such as the Bible and legal works followed their own conventions.

[27] Two of many examples are Barchas (2003) and Bray, Handley and Henry (2007), which contains essays on Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*, Charlotte Smith's poetry and the Portuguese (1997–98) edition of Laurence's Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*.

greater flexibility and reducing potential damage to the spine. This innovation has been traced to France but appears only rarely in Britain, Holland and elsewhere until its wider adoption in the nineteenth century. As for materials and design, the popularity of luxury bindings was part and parcel of the century's penchant for deluxe editions; at the other end of the market, 'plain styles were becoming plainer' (Pearson, 2005, p. 79; see also van Leeuwen, 2006).[28] A greater interest in these plainer styles and the trend towards cheaper but more permanent bindings such as those relegating leather to just the spine (Pearson, 2005, p. 82) as well as a rethinking of trade bindings (Bennett, 2004) have resulted in the publication of several significant works that advance our understanding not only of the book as a material artefact but also of book-trade practices in general. Similarly, alongside a growing recognition of periodicals as a significant and understudied component of eighteenth-century book history, more systematic explorations of the paper wrappers that cover these publications are underway (see, for example, Brown, 2006). Frequently victims of the wear of time as well as the practice of discarding them when binding individual issues to form complete volumes, these wrappers have very low survival rates, and those publications that have survived with their wrappers intact are not always catalogued as possessing them. Nonetheless, the information they afford in the form of advertisements as well as imprints, dates and more offer rich evidence often not available elsewhere.

'Les Autheurs & les Libraires ne s'accordent guere touchant le Mérite d'une Copie, Authors and Booksellers do seldom agree on the Merit of a Copy'[29]

When the compiler of *The Royal Dictionary* (1699) chose the simple, declarative sentence 'Les Autheurs & les Libraires ne s'accordent guere touchant le Mérite d'une Copie' ('Authors and booksellers do seldom agree on the merit of a copy') to illustrate a definition of 'autheur, or auteur' ('author'), his choice conveyed more than how the word denoting 'a Writer or Composer of a Book' might be used (Boyer, 1699, vol. 1). Rather, the lexicographer's example also evoked a specific set of relations, implicitly commercial, in which authors, booksellers and copies (that is, manuscripts) all figured. Transformations affecting these three relational elements and their conceptual counterparts – authorship, bookselling (used broadly here as a rubric for activities such as financing publication and wholesale or retail selling) and rights governing copies – form the focus of this section. Especially during the first half of the eighteenth century the conceptual configurations and material practices of authors, booksellers and copies retained a number of their characteristics from the previous century (though often not without some alteration), and a few even lingered into the nineteenth. Yet as the century progressed, these terms and their associated practices also acquired new connotations and operational functions as part of a broader canvas of shifting economic, political, social, cultural and commercial conditions and attitudes. Like other developments in the book's history, the pace, timing and degree of these alterations varied across the Western world, but for many countries the second half of the century marks the period of recognizable change. For numerous reasons ranging from different forms of state rule and degrees of government and

[28] For a case study of an individual bookseller's relationships with bookbinders, offering insights about materials, practices and distribution, see Coppens (1997).

[29] 'autheur, or auteur', *The Royal Dictionary* (Boyer, 1699, vol. 1).

ecclesiastical control to variations in economic conditions, sociocultural attitudes, geopolitics and book-trade structures and practices, the beginnings of these transformations unfolded earlier in England than elsewhere in the West[30] – with copyright offering perhaps the most prominent example.

The eighteenth century has long been identified with the modern beginnings of both copyright and authorship. The passage of the 1710 Act of Anne (Act 8 Anne, c. 19/21)[31] in England is traditionally considered a foundational moment for modern copyright and often a significant step for authorship too. The 'Act for the Encouragement of Learning by vesting the Copies of printed Books in the Authors or Purchasers of such Copies during the Times therein mentioned' gave authors or 'the bookseller or booksellers, printer or printers, or other person or persons, who hath or have purchased or acquired the copy or copies', the exclusive right to print or reprint already published works for a term of twenty-one years. For new works it granted a term of fourteen years, to be extended another fourteen if the author was still living. Yet the act's passage brought no momentous, immediate change for authors. The more powerful members of the book trade, the copy-owning booksellers, were the primary force agitating for such a law. Motivated by self-interest, these booksellers sought a return to the legal certainty that had existed before the final lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695. Since the 1550s the Stationers' Company in England, whose eighteenth-century history is discussed in Cyprian Blagden's essay here (Chapter 9), had enjoyed a near monopoly on printing granted by the Crown, with the important exceptions of royal printing privileges accorded to the presses at Oxford, Cambridge and York (Blagden, 1960, pp. 31–33; Patterson, 1968; Feather, 1988, pp. 29–42; Rose, 1993, pp. 9–29; see also footnote 32 below). While the act's expiration had ended pre-publication censorship, it had also removed measures that had legally protected the trade's rights to copies.[32] Rights to copies were the road to security and economic dominance; in the eyes of the trade's power-brokers, moreover, these rights were perpetual. As John Feather's essay in this volume (Chapter 10) recounts, the short-term results of the 'copyright' act's passage was a return to business as usual by the booksellers; its long-term effects yielded a series of disputes and legal battles that remained unresolved for sixty-four years. In 1774 the *Donaldson* v. *Becket* ruling affirmed the terms of the 1710 Act and ended conclusively perpetual rights in Britain. While this decision ushered in an era of entrepreneurial responses, including the widespread reprinting of copies suddenly in the public domain, many established members of the trade adapted to the new circumstances and found other ways to sustain or regain their power.

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30 D.F. McKenzie's comparative remarks (1998, pp. 1–24) on the book trade in England in 1689 and in France in 1789 aptly illustrate the effects of such differences and help explain England's early lead.

31 *The Statutes of the Realm*... (1993, 9: 256). The actual word 'copyright' does not appear in either the act's title or its text. For a discussion of the origins of the word 'copyright', see Nichol (1990).

32 With the Printing Act of 1662 (14 Car. II c.33), the Stationers' Company's tradition of safeguarding exclusive rights to copies was legally secured by making for the first time protection by entry in the Registers a matter for the common-law courts. With the lapse of the 1695 Act, which itself was a renewal of the 1662 Act, the law that mandated a fixed number of master printers, presses and apprentices, the registration of the rights to copies and the limiting of printing to London, the two universities and York no longer was in place.

Focused on the regulation and control of the trade, the conflicts that ensued over the rights to copies were fought between booksellers and other booksellers – not authors. Because the disputes typically pitted the London booksellers against their Scottish brethren in the trade, they carried a geopolitical dimension as the London booksellers sought to extend their monopoly beyond English borders to include Britain as a whole (Saunders, 1992, pp. 55–56). Until the latter decades of the eighteenth century, protection of economic interests against piracy as well as efforts to stimulate the book trade characterized the motivation behind the enactment of other copyright laws in the West. While these laws often acknowledged the rights of authors, authorial interests were secondary.

On the Continent Denmark led the way in copyright legislation, enacting its first copyright law in 1741 in an effort to combat piracy. The law stipulated that only the author or original publisher could authorize the reprinting of a work; however, many forms of religious cheap print and ABCs were exempt (Foster and Shook, 1993, p. 14; Horstbøll, 1999, p. 775). In Spain Charles III's royal resolution of 22 March 1763 sought '"to stimulate the free commerce of books which will be beneficial and useful to the sciences and arts"' (Thomas, 1979, p. 107). Recalling the English Act's encouragement-of-learning language, this decree differed in its origins. The English law, commercially motivated, came about largely due to the efforts of the London booksellers, but the Spanish decree was the product of an enlightened monarchy. Among its declarations was the provision that 'only the author of a work could be granted an exclusive license to print it', establishing an early form of 'authorial copyright for Spain' (Thomas, 1979, p. 107). In the history of Western printing privileges Spanish rulers had stood apart from other countries in their unusual practice of using privileges to generate income for institutions that benefited the public good such as hospitals or schools (Thomas, 1979, p. 105). While the 1763 resolution accorded authorial rights, it also legally abolished the exclusive printing licences held by these public-service institutions in order to promote another public good, encouraging the diffusion of knowledge. In terms of immediate results, the resolution brought renewed energy and organization to the Spanish book trade that, in turn, strengthened its power.

Copyright in Germany has a much later history because the modern German state dates only from 1870. That same year marks the enactment of its national copyright act. Prior to 1870 the absence of a single, governing authority over a collection of separate German states affected the book trade in various ways, including creating ideal conditions for *Büchernachdruck* (pirating of books). Although some codes regulating property were enacted in Prussia in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the enforcement mechanisms were not in place to combat the longstanding production and distribution networks that profited from pirated works. However, from the latter decades of the eighteenth century on, discussions about authorial and publishers' rights as well as literary property abounded. The eighteenth-century German philosopher Immanuel Kant contributed considerably to this theorizing, and his work has been credited with formulating the 'rights of personality' that helped shape authorial moral rights within copyright law (Saunders, 1992, ch. 4, especially pp. 106, 114–15; Woodmansee, 1994, especially pp. 35–56).

The Dutch Republic, like Germany, did not enact a copyright law until the nineteenth century. The only acknowledgment of authorial rights during the eighteenth century was a 1728 States of Holland decree that protected university professors of Leiden by requiring their written consent to print or reprint their works (Hoftijzer, 2003, p. 131). Publishers relied primarily on privileges and cooperative companies, which were somewhat akin to the English 'conger system',[33] to fight domestic piracy. By exploiting the association between writing for money and 'hack' authorship, some publishers sought to place domestic authors in a double bind that required them to accept the remuneration set by the publishers or risk losing their reputations by casting off the illusion that they wrote purely to serve the public good (Baggerman, 2007). In short, the early history of copyright in the Dutch Republic points to the control that the Dutch booksellers held over the trade and its domestic authors. In the final decades of the century authors acquired some cultural power as the conception of artistic genius took hold, but ultimately the publisher still controlled 'the purse strings' (Buijnsters, 2003, pp. 124–25).

In France it took a revolution to bring about copyright, but changes regarding privileges had occurred prior to the end of the *ancien régime*. In 1777 and 1778 a series of royal *arrêts* (decrees) reconceptualized the regulation of the book trade. In terms of copyright the most important decree was arguably the Fifth *arrêt* of 30 August 1777. 'For the first time legislation distinguished between literary property in the hands of an author and in the hands of the publisher'; as long as the author retained ownership, the privilege was deemed perpetual and exclusive, but when the publisher owned the copy, the right extended ten years from publication or until the death of its author (Birn, 1970–71, pp. 131–32). With the French Revolution came the abolishment of all privileges granted during the *ancien régime*. Two years after legislation protecting performances was passed, the Decree of 1793, enacted by the National Assembly, invested authors with the exclusive rights to reproduce works for the duration of their life, and those rights would extend to heirs or assignees for ten years after their death. The law made no provisions for registering one's right, and depositing copies was voluntary. Additionally, it granted French copyright to foreign works and thus was the first case of international copyright in the West (Feltes, 1994, p. 271). The law's immediate effect on the trade was to render 'book publishing commercially unviable' by eliminating all protection (Hesse, 1991, p. 222). As for its legal construction of authorial identity, French copyright law has often been viewed as championing the *droits d'auteur* foremost, but too often other intentions of the law have been overlooked: The 'revolutionary legislators produced a legal conception of authorial identity that did not merely consecrate, but also limited, the author's power of self-determination, for the sake of the public good' (Hesse, 1991, p. 123).[34]

In colonial America copyright was an authorial affair, with authors and not printers or booksellers initiating the movement for legislation protecting rights. From the perspective of the colonial book trade, the infrequency with which native productions might warrant reprinting and the ability to reprint British titles freely gave members little reason to pursue legal regulation (Amory and Hall, 2000, especially pp. 477–78). In 1790 a national copyright act was enacted, adopting the fourteen-year term found in the 1710 British act, with a potential

[33] The Conger was a group of London 'trading booksellers' who banded together cooperatively to protect their interests. There were several incarnations, including the late seventeenth-century wholesale conger, the Printing Conger (1719) and the New Conger (1736). As Feather (1988, chs 5 and 6, especially pp. 62–63, 67–75) stresses, members of the Conger acted collectively to protect mutual interests but remained independent and, in fact, competitors of one another. See also Hodgson and Blagden (1956).

[34] Legal scholar Jane Ginsburg (1993, pp. 95–114; 2006) has written on the somewhat false binary that has been erected between Anglo-American and French traditions of copyright. See also Saunders (1992, ch. 3, pp. 75–95).

renewal term for living authors; it protected charts, maps and books but extended rights only to United States citizens and residents.[35] Although its enactment was driven by authors, in many ways it adhered closely to English law.

As this sketch of early copyright in the West suggests, from the Act of 1710 until the last quarter of the eighteenth century (and often beyond) the development of copyright resembles a tale of trade regulation as much as it does an account of authorial rights. Yet copyright supplies only one thread of a much larger story about authorship in this century. Transformations in conceptions of 'authorship' and what it meant to be an 'author' occurred within and across various spheres.[36] In the legal realm the idea of the proprietary author was incrementally constructed as the holder of rights to a commodity regulated by law (Rose, 1993). Aesthetically, authorship came to evoke an autonomous, highly individualistic figure whose subjectivity was marked by 'originality' and 'genius' (Woodmansee, 1984; see also Rose, 1993). The intertwining of these two histories – that of authorial legal and moral rights and that of the author as original genius – has formed the subject of more than a few significant studies over recent decades, [37] but there are other strands to both these histories. Within the book trade the author gradually became recognized as a participant in a commercial enterprise (Selwyn, 2000; Sher, 2006). Socioculturally, views of authorship as either a pastime pursued by a 'gentleman-writer' or a 'trade' practised by a 'mere Mechanic' slowly gave way, amid changing attitudes to labour, work and social status, to authorship as a respectable and respected profession (Siskin, 1999; Zionkowski, 2001; Gregory S. Brown, 2002). While each of these four spheres – the legal, aesthetic, commercial and sociocultural – has its own distinctive history of authorship and while the internal structure and operation of these spheres differed from country to country, the idea of an 'author' underwent notable revisions (or attempts at revision) in all four realms in most of the West during the eighteenth century, especially in the second half. At times these transformations overlapped one another, and at other times they occurred independently, sometimes unfolding far more slowly or swiftly in one sphere than in another. For instance, the 'author' as constructed in the Dutch sociocultural realm – only those who wrote without ostensible compensation were true authors because intellectual or scholarly labour ceased to be intellectual once money was accepted and instead became 'hack' work – erected a significant barrier to the construction of an authorial persona in the legal realm, and these constructions help explain the Dutch lag in copyright legislation (Baggerman, 2007). Taken collectively, the aesthetic, legal, commercial and professional attributes constructed within these spheres of authorship helped to form the notion of the 'modern author'.

Published in London, *The Royal Dictionary*[38] offers a different avenue from that of copyright history for examining the shifting conceptions and practices of authors, booksellers and copies

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[35] Act of May 31, 1790, ch. 15, 1 Stat. 124.

[36] As David Saunders has stressed, authorship is 'not a unified phenomenon of culture' but instead 'a contingent amalgam of diverse attributes, statuses, and persons' (1992, p. 235). Saunders offers a comparative development of 'author' by examining the late seventeenth- through nineteenth-century context in which author as a concept and copyright developed in England, France and Germany. See also Saunders and Hunter (1991).

[37] Michel Foucault's highly influential essay (1979) on the author as a function of discourse spurred interest in this topic and has served as a point of departure for many such studies.

[38] In England the work became the standard French–English dictionary during the eighteenth century while its widespread popularity beyond England's borders – editions, piracies and reprintings

over the course of the century.[39] More specifically, its entry and accompanying example for 'auteur' provide a contemporary take on the concept of authorship as the seventeenth century was ending and the eighteenth century beginning. Although the word 'bookseller' in 1699 could designate any number or combination of roles from the financing of publications to the wholesale or retail selling of books, in the dictionary's gloss of 'auteur', 'booksellers' clearly referred to those who performed functions associated with the modern sense of 'publisher'. Evoking simultaneously the notion of value as distinction and as commercial worth,[40] the word 'merit' identified the conflicting estimations of a manuscript's merit as being based on either its accomplishment or its sales potential. (A similar double valance, a 'good' book in the parlance of the trade was one that sold well.) In exchange for their manuscript, authors typically received either a small monetary sum (sometimes termed 'honorarium', especially on the Continent), the promise of a fixed number of copies of the published work or a combination of money and copies from the bookseller. Any profits derived from the published work belonged to the bookseller or booksellers who had purchased the copy and financed production, the author having almost always relinquished all future rights to the work and monetary returns through the exchange or sale of the manuscript.

This dynamic – authors seeking a one-time compensation for their labours and booksellers assuming the financial risks in expectation that the work's sales would recoup costs and turn a profit – was not new to England or the Continent in 1699. Nor is the declaration that these two parties rarely agreed about a copy's value in itself remarkable; indeed, that 'one could never adequately remunerate intellectual labor' became 'a commonplace of eighteenth-century thought' (Selwyn, 2000, p. 346). Yet the compiler's decision not only to gloss the entry with examples (many definitions lacked them) but also to choose the particular wording that he did is telling. Compiled by the French Huguenot émigré Abel Boyer, *The Royal Dictionary* acknowledges on its title page and again in its preface Boyer's indebtedness to previous seventeenth-century French dictionaries including those by César-Pierre Richelet and Antoine Furetière. Roger Chartier (1994) has drawn attention to the link these two lexicographers establish between 'author' and print; in their definitions print publication is what makes a 'writer' an 'author'.[41] Boyer takes this link a step further but does so in his example rather than in his definition. Unlike his predecessors' examples, which are rooted in seventeenth-century French conditions and either reinforce the link between authors and print or name well-known authors,[42] Boyer's model of usage draws attention to an early but growing sentiment of the

appeared in France, Scotland, Holland and Ireland over the course of the century – made it a well-known reference book in many parts of the Western world (Cormier and Francoeur, 2004; Cormier, 2005).

39 Adopting the view that language was 'a changing, living thing', an unusual approach in England at the time, the dictionary aimed to present the multiple meanings a word can have and to demonstrate variations in sense through illustrations drawn from contemporary usage. See Boyer (1699, vol. 1, 'Preface', [ix]–[xiv]) and Gibbs (2004).

40 That the dictionary offers 'mérite' and 'prix' as the French equivalencies for 'merit' reinforces this intermingling of intrinsic worth and commercial value.

41 Furetière, for instance, defines 'author' as '"He who has composed some printed book"', while a 'writer' is defined simply as having composed books or works, with no mention of print being a determinant (Chartier, 1994, pp. 39–41).

42 Richelet offers 'Ablancour, Pascal, Voiture, and Vaugelas are excellent French Authors' as one of his examples (quoted in Chartier, 1994, p. 41). Both of these French lexicographers published their

author's involvement in commercial exchange and the tensions and anxieties arising from this commercial relationship with the trade. More specifically, the French examples present the idea of an 'author' as free from any involvement with the realities of the trade.[43] While this view of authors coincides with earlier conceptions of the aristocratic or amateur writer who has either independent means or a patron (Saunders, 1951), Boyer's case situates the 'author' within the context of the trade. The relatively unfettered, commercially energized marketplace that characterized the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century London trade (the same environment that had prompted the copy-owning booksellers to press for some return of legal control) had helped to hasten the emergence of this relationship earlier in England than in many other countries.[44]

In glossing what it means to be an author Boyer's choice invokes the centrality of the author–bookseller equation within a commercialized economy of print. As would increasingly be the case in the decades that followed, copies were at the centre of this relationship and the conflicts arising from this commercial union. Not surprisingly, 'money had become a crucial point of contention in the relationship between the author and bookseller' (Baines and Rogers, 2007, p. 15). While the particulars and timing differed, tensions between booksellers and authors over the value of a copy, nature of payment, control over the integrity and appearance of the printed work and ownership rights became more pronounced in much of the West during the eighteenth century as authors gradually became more willing to view their labours in financial terms. In this transitional period authorial arguments for compensation were sometimes framed as a reward for performing a public good. Indeed, Boyer's gloss for 'auteur', with its conflicting embodiments of 'merit', may have well been a display of wry humour, not that unlike the tongue-in-cheek effect of Samuel Johnson's glossing of 'lexicographer' as a 'harmless drudge' more than half a century later.

With the exception of writing for the stage,[45] Boyer's résumé reflects the types of opportunities potentially available to those early eighteenth-century authors who attempted to 'live by the pen' as well as some of the practices and experiences common among writers working in the marketplace.[46] The author of annals, grammars, histories, works on architecture and military studies, he also wrote pamphlets, compiled foreign news for the newspapers, edited letters, covered parliamentary affairs, translated literary works, composed biographies and penned propaganda and partisan pieces. This diversity of available genres

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works outside of France. To avoid conflicts with the Académie française, which held the exclusive privilege to publish lexicons, Richelet published his dictionary in Geneva in 1680. Having disputed with the Académie française, Furetière had his dictionary published in Holland in 1690 (Hollier, 1989, p. 375).

[43] For example, 'Ablancour, Pascal, Voiture, and Vaugelas are excellent French Authors' or 'Queen Marguerite, the daughter of Henry III, was an author' (quoted in Chartier, 1994, p. 41).

[44] The conditions in England differed greatly from those of France. An inversion in many ways of the transitions in the London trade, French alterations in the trade included a return to dramatic press restrictions after two centuries of relative freedom (Birn, 1970–71, pp. 133–34). See too McKenzie (1998).

[45] As James Ralph noted at the time, 'The Writer has three Provinces. To write for Booksellers. To write for the Stage. To write for a Faction in the Name of the Community' (1758, p. [D2]).

[46] All biographical details are taken from Gibbs's *ODNB* essay (2004) on Boyer unless otherwise noted.

would only increase as the century progressed and the market expanded. As the dedications accompanying many of his works show,[47] he sought the patronage of the noble, but he also looked to the state for support. He had brushes with the law, including an arrest on the charge of seditious libel, and was embroiled in disputes with other writers in print. While Boyer's pamphlets and similar writings appeared anonymously, his lengthier works (scholarly, belletristic or practical in character) typically bear his name on their title pages and feature dedications. That his work's imprints feature the names of many different publishers over a thirty-year span is not only suggestive of possibly stormy relations with publishers but also indicative of both the turnover within the trade (whether from death, bankruptcy or other causes) and the extended network of professional relationships, many familial in nature,[48] that characterized much of the trade. The relationship between these imprint names and genre also directs attention to the growing specialization among booksellers and the need, at times, for obfuscation regarding the actual publisher, a topic that Michael Treadwell's essay in this volume (Chapter 15) addresses. Although Boyer, who was university educated, gained a cosmopolitan reputation as a 'European man of letters' for his dictionary, he also ranked among the many disparaged in Pope's *The Dunciad* (II.382) for his partisan writing for the state. More than a few early eighteenth-century authors now regarded as canonical were as much involved in the marketplace and its practices and as adept in manipulating it as Boyer. Their market involvement raises questions about the category of 'hack' writer and its retrospective influence on theories of authorial practices and the construction of reputations that Robert Darnton (1982, chs 1, 2 and 3) explored early on and that other scholars have begun to tackle from different angles (Hammond, 1997; Kelly, 2002).

The nascent commercialization of the eighteenth-century print marketplace took place alongside long-established authorial practices including the continued use of manuscript publication and the endurance of patronage. Manuscript circulation in the 1700s is perhaps most associated today with literary and intellectual coteries and what Margaret Ezell has termed 'social authorship' (1999, especially ch. 1). While some authors chose to publish exclusively through manuscript circulation, others used the two media to satisfy not only the goals of social authorship but also what Michael Harris has termed a 'multi-media commitment to news' (2007, p. 67). That manuscripts attracted little attention from the authorities made this medium particularly useful for conveying potentially prosecutable news. For an author, producing a manuscript newsletter also proffered the opportunity to act as its publisher and thus retain any profits for oneself.[49] Moreover, the use of print and manuscript in tandem to handle essentially the same topics but with different emphases indicates that the symbiotic relationship between the two media was still visibly at work during this time. Recent investigations of the relationships between *folhetos* (hand-copied newsletters) and printed gazettes on the Continent, for instance, posit a complexly complementary interaction between the two media within the context of contemporary attitudes towards historiography and periodicity (Belo, 2004).

[47] For an examination of dedications in the context of patronage, see Rogers (1993).

[48] The familial character of the trade enabled and encouraged the participation of women. See Sheridan (1992) and McDowell (1999 and 2005). Also see Hunt (1994).

[49] Along with his extensive involvement in print, Abel Boyer undertook a tri-weekly manuscript newsletter. Charging subscribers a guinea per month, he was its publisher and distributor (Harris, 2007, p. 67).

While the emergence of the proto-professional writer in the eighteenth century is sometimes seen as having ended patronage, the death of the practice has been greatly exaggerated. Albeit often in altered forms, patronage persisted into the nineteenth-century in many parts of the West.[50] A number of scholars of patronage, in fact, have made persuasive cases for the claim that all major eighteenth-century writers were the recipients of patronage (for example, see Griffin, 1996, especially ch. 10 and Andrew, 2006; see also Lough, 1978, ch. 4 and Sher, 2006, pp. 195–212, especially pp. 203–209). In an absolute state such as France royal patronage occupied a stronger position than in those states with different political structures. The generosity of royal patronage was further augmented by that of aristocrats, royal academies and salons. The English Crown, not surprisingly, fell short in supplying the kind of financial largesse offered by either the French monarchy or the Italian cardinals, but aristocratic patronage helped to fill the gap to some degree (Korshin, 1974, p. 457). In addition to the royal or aristocratic patron, government organs and learned societies served as sponsors of works. Politically motivated funding of authors by the state also grew. In the Dutch Republic patronage evidently became increasingly rare after 1750 (Buijnsters, 2003, pp. 124–25), but perhaps it was simply less detectable. Indeed, the universities in Holland, as well as those in Scotland, Germany and Scandinavia, acting as 'agents of the Enlightenment', afforded support to its intellectual writers (Andrew, 2006, p. 119). One of the most vital forms of patronage in Scotland, as Richard Sher (2006, p. 204) has detailed, was also one of the least visible: professional appointments such as church livings, university posts, the judicial bench and the like. With its roots in seventeenth-century England, subscription publishing served as a collective form of patronage that frequently married aristocratic and public support for a work.[51] Finally, whether through the commissioning of works, assisting with subscription publishing, supplying advances or offering personal support and encouragement, the booksellers themselves increasingly acted as patrons to writers (Sher, 2006, pp. 195–203).

These and other older practices persisted and mingled with newer ones or were themselves altered into newer guises, sometimes creating the illusion of continuation and at others times appearing as sudden disjunctions. The signs of modern authorial identity, moreover, appeared unevenly across countries and differed in kind and degree as well, and much work still remains to be done to understand these transformations better. Within the study of eighteenth-century authorship, for instance, neither the 'editor-function' nor editors themselves have received much attention despite their central role in shaping the era's print culture.[52] That editors, whose production of periodical literature, collected letters and editions of classic texts certainly entailed intellectual labour, have been so neglected suggests that the 'powerful interests which sought to deny authorial credit to the editor' in the eighteenth century largely succeeded (Iliffe, 1995, p. 186). At the same time, the absence of references to periodical writing in copyright debates at the time is telling (Italia, 2005, p. 121), but what it reveals may have less to do with hierarchies of authorship and more to do with the economic hierarchies of value within the

[50] For a pioneering study of the forms and the persistence of patronage, see Korshin (1974). Rogers (1993) is also relevant here.

[51] Thomas Lockwood sees the practice as 'an intensely nostalgic replication of personal patronage within a publishing system long since operating on market motives' (2001, p. 132).

[52] Robert Iliffe's persuasive argument (1995) for according the editor more attention offers three case studies illustrating the potential gains of doing so. See also Italia (2005).

trade and with contemporary legal thinking about abridgements, anthologies, sequels and the public domain (Stern, 2008). Anonymity as an authorial practice also warrants more attention, including more nuanced understanding of why an author might choose anonymity for some publications and not others.[53] Finally, the observation that 'eighteenth-century title-pages, prefaces and the like have the allure of obscurely encoded systems' – 'the places and moments in books where authors or publishers leave visible traces of themselves'– and the corollary that these paratextual items supply 'a more intimate laboratory' for examining the emergence of the proprietary author than the history of copyright laws or broad social trends (Carnochan, 1993, pp. 133–34) point to yet another underdeveloped area. While such decoding need not take the finished form of descriptive bibliography (Shevlin, 2009), studies like Patrick Spedding's *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood* (2004) forcefully demonstrate the gains to be had from bibliographic investigations in illuminating not only the habits and strategies of individual authors but also broader authorial and commercial trade practices and issues related to reception.

Across most of the Western world conditions improved for authors during the second half of the century as the expanding market for books, newspapers and periodicals and the development of new genres afforded greater opportunities for writers. The exploding periodical market created an increased demand for editors and writers and supplied additional avenues for 'journalists', adaptors, translators and critics. Similarly, the new-found popularity of novels provided a feasible way for more women (as well as men) to enter the marketplace. Women also pursued various other kinds of writing including poetry, pedagogical works, journalism and criticism.[54] Spurred in part by Enlightenment culture, natural histories, various branches of science 'explained', geographies and similar 'knowledge-industry' works designed for non-specialist audiences accounted for a smaller slice of the expanding market, but these too required writers and editors. Increasingly men and women were able to earn a 'living by the pen' (Porter, 2001, p. 67), with the greatest growth in the number of authors occurring in the latter decades of the century. A late eighteenth-century German lexicon, *Das Gelehrte Teutschland*, 'estimated the number of German authors to have totaled between 2,000–3,000 during the 1760s, rising to 4,300 in 1776, 5,200 in 1784, and 7,000 in 1791'; a French biographical dictionary records a similar pattern of dramatic growth for France: from '1,187 authors in 1757' to '2,819 in 1784' (Melton, 2001, p. 123; Darnton, 2001, p. 161). Both the establishment and longevity of a publication such as *Das Gelehrte Teutschland: Lexikon der jetzt lebenden deutschen Schriftsteller* (*The Learned Germany: Encyclopaedia of German Writers Now Living*) that focused on living writers suggest that a need existed in the late eighteenth century to establish 'bibliographic control' over an ever-increasing field of authorial names and works. The contents of this and comparable publications offer material evidence of the growing number of writers. Tellingly, similar national dictionaries of recent and living authors appeared throughout the West in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

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[53] Several essays in a volume devoted to anonymity have special relevance to the eighteenth century including ones by Margaret Ezell, Susan S. Lanser, Vincent Carretta and James Raven (Griffin, 2003). For a study of anonymity within the context of Dutch culture, see Jongenelen (2007).

[54] For studies of women as writers and professional authors, see Turner (1992); Goldsmith and Goodman (1995); Dawson (2002); Hesse (2003); Schellenberg (2005); Fronius (2007).

As more studies appear detailing the practices of eighteenth-century booksellers, more is being uncovered not only about bookselling and publishing but also about the collaborative aspect of the author–bookseller dynamic.[55] While conflicts over payment remained a steady feature of author–bookseller relations throughout the eighteenth century, the popular lore about the miserliness of booksellers and their unscrupulous treatment of authors was often exaggerated and contradicted by actual practices.[56] For every Edmund Curll, a frequently demonized early eighteenth-century English bookseller who 'aimed to pay as little as he could for what he published', there were others who aspired to be 'a friend to Learning and the Muses', though this aspiration did not always translate into better earnings for their authors (Baines and Rogers, 2007, p. 8; Dunton, 1818, p. 38; see also Zachs, 1998). Authorship for many was a difficult path, made more difficult by anxieties surrounding the shifting status of authorship, tensions over remuneration and worries concerning control over one's work once the copy had been sold. Despite his profound disdain for the commercial marketplace, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, a fervent believer in an author's inalienable rights to his works, spent considerable energy negotiating with his publishers for better terms (Birn, 2001). Yet his relationship with his Amsterdam publisher-bookseller Marc-Michel Rey, although stormy at times, remained essentially a close one (Turnovsky, 2003, pp. 401, 410, n. 98). As Rousseau confessed, '"In truth we often quarreled about the execution of my works; he was careless, I was touchy"', but he was '"the only one … with whom I have always had reason to be satisfied"' (quoted in Turnovsky, 2003, p. 401). That Rey skilfully developed his publishing enterprise to act as an 'essential intermediary between the French-language writer and pan-European consumer' (Birn, 1992) helps explain Rousseau's satisfaction and also serves as a contrast to the typically tense relations between Dutch publishers and their domestic authors (Buijnsters, 2003, pp. 124–25).

Relationships, of course, varied, and a bookseller who maintained a good rapport with some of his authors might have had acrimonious relations with others. The letters of Robert Dodsley, the London publishing-bookseller who was once a footman, are particularly instructive about the ways his relationships altered depending on the social status and reputation of the author involved.[57] The German author and publisher-bookseller Friedrich Nicolai also played a variety of roles in his interactions with authors – patron, partner, mentor (Selwyn, 2000, p. 301). Nicolai's correspondence, as Pamela Selwyn's monograph demonstrates, reveals much about the collaboration between authors and booksellers in preparing a work for the

[55] For discussions of pre-eighteenth-century collaborations, see Chartier (1994, pp. 53–55); Taylor and Lavagnino (2007, esp. pp. 249–54). Richard Sher's descriptions of eighteenth-century Scottish authors and booksellers (2006) time and again attest to the collaborative nature of relations between the two during this century. See also Solomon (1996).

[56] Lisa Maruca has posited that this 'discourse of the immoral bookseller' forms 'part of a larger early eighteenth-century manifestation of "print anxiety"' over the 'proper proprietor of print' amid the shifting roles of the author and bookseller (2007, pp. 61, 25). For an earlier consideration, see MacDermott (1986).

[57] James Tierney's work on the correspondence of Robert Dodsley provides primary source material that yields views of the ways such relations can alter depending on the status and reputation of the author involved. For example, his exchanges with the well-respected poet Thomas Gray whose tone is often dictatorial contrasts sharply with letters between him and the vicar-turned-occasional-author George Tymms who relies heavily on Dodsley's expertise (Tierney, 2004, pp. 148, 367).

press. His authors often wrote their own copy for brochures and newspaper advertisements, supplied information about any maps or illustrations for novels (including recommending and describing which scenes should be depicted) and, if the authors demanded 'local printing so they could read the proofs', sought bids and occasionally handled the arrangements with the printer (Selwyn, 2000, p. 333).

While this description illustrates close collaboration between Nicolai and his authors, its details – the proliferation of newspaper advertisements, increased use of illustrations for works such as novels and greater ease in working across geographic distances – are also suggestive of the changes within the trade. These transformations were tied to broader, material developments within society. Improvements in transportation and communication infrastructures such as roads, canals, stagecoach routes and postal systems; the development of sophisticated distribution networks and marketing techniques; the expansion of provincial and colonial markets; the growth of a consumer culture and advances in financial systems and procedures number among the most notable developments that would have altered the conditions in which booksellers in the 1760s worked from those a half century earlier (Laugero, 1995; Barker, 2003). Within the trade itself, the various responsibilities entailed in the production and publication of works became increasingly more specialized and segmented during the eighteenth century, and practices and operational structures adapted accordingly. Across much of the Continent, for instance, printing, wholesale selling and retailing roles were progressively being disentangled from one another. The large booksellers typically held the most power in the trade. This dynamic varied, however, according to particular geographic location and circumstances. In France royal measures that tightened the regulation of printing, combined with market forces, effected the division of the printer-bookseller's role into the three separate, distinct functions of printing, wholesaling selling and retailing (Rigogne, 2007b, pp. 554–55). In Norway, Sweden and, to a lesser degree, Finland, for example, bookbinders rather than booksellers or printers controlled the trade for most of the century, a situation attributable to these countries' historical reliance on imported books (Lindberg, 1981, pp. 228–29).

Along with this functional segmentation, the trade also experienced an increase in specialized lines of books such as the growth of antiquarian bookselling (discussed here in Richard Landon's essay (Chapter 12) from the perspective of auction and bookseller sales catalogues[58]), the purveying of children's literature (itself a new category) (Roscoe, 1973; Salman, 2001; Bottigheimer, 2005; Penny Brown, 2007, chs 3, 4 and 5) and remaindering.[59] New financial procedures for conducting business within the trade also developed. Particularly in Germany and the Netherlands, for instance, booksellers moved from the barter system in which they exchanged books or more often sheets transported in barrels as payment (*Tausch* or *Changehandel*) to cash-only transactions (*Nettohandel*) (van Goinga, 2003c, pp. 123–24; Fronius, 2007, pp. 145–46; North, 2008, pp. 10–15). In the German states the shift from barter to cash payments, instituted and favoured by those in the north, resulted in new methods of calculating profit margins; as one consequence of this move, publishers, again primarily ones in the north, could afford to pay authors more (Fronius, 2007, pp. 145–46; North, 2008, pp.

[58] For more on bookseller catalogues, see Gruys and de Kooker (1998) and Suarez (1999).

[59] Remaindering, the reduction in price of new works that had enjoyed poor sales, appeared in Holland in the 1740s, but its growth as a practice dates from the 1760s (van Goinga, 2003b, p. 142). In England James Lackington pioneered the practice, much to the consternation of the established trade (Feather, 1988, p. 120).

10–15). 'Commission' or consignment selling in which new works were 'sold' to booksellers to vend with the right to return unsold copies took root in Holland and elsewhere (van Goinga, 2003b, p. 142). Publishing in parts or numbers and seeking subscribers in advance became favoured ways of financing publications and managing cash flow. In England copy-owning booksellers preserved their monopolies over valuable copies through closed trade sales (Belanger, 1975). The Dutch trade also saw the formation of cooperative associations that bought up stock list titles (including the copyright on them) (van Goinga, 2003a, pp. 123–24; Fronius, 2007, p. 127). In France the tightening of controls and imposed quotas on printing ironically resulted in the flourishing of the provincial book trade. The number of retail shops owned by those not engaged in printing multiplied dramatically in the provinces, and many printers became provincial wholesalers (Rigogne, 2007b, p. 554). The ensuing restructuring of the trade effected complex commercial networks that stretched from Paris to the provinces and beyond French borders, transforming the business of books in France (Rigogne, 2007b, pp. 556–61; see also Rigogne, 2007a).

While the structural changes in the French trade were spurred by new state controls, improvements in transportation and communications significantly assisted in the development of commercial and market networks in France and elsewhere. Improvements in infrastructures were crucial to the strengthening and expansion of distribution networks that enabled books, newspapers, journals and magazines to reach established and new markets across the Western and colonial worlds (Barber, 1976; Raven, 2000).[60] In the case of periodicals and newspapers, publication schedules were coordinated with coach and postal schedules: as the persona Isaac Bickerstaff tells readers in the first issue of *The Tatler*, 'I shall … publish such my Advices and Reflections every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, in the Week, for the Convenience of the Post.'[61] (In colonial markets the regular, distributive rhythm of a periodical produced in the home country, of course, did not hold; multiple issues of a title would be batched as a single shipment and would arrive in North American ports at irregular intervals (Nelson, 1993).) As in France, better distribution networks enabled provincial markets in various Western countries to become integral parts of larger national networks; these networks often fostered mutually beneficial, two-way exchange (Feather,1985; Wallis, 1990; Ferdinand, 1997). While competition locally, nationally and transnationally could be fierce (Darnton, 1979), cooperative associations were also formed that cut across one or more of these borders. Booksellers in England, for instance, partnered with Irish booksellers to produce and sell publications (Lennon, 2006, p. 85). The control of distribution networks could foster cooperation, but this control also could limit or shut out entirely the participation of others. When German authors attempted to establish publishing houses of their own in the 1770s and 1780s, for instance, their enterprises typically were short-lived, in part because they lacked access to distribution channels (Selwyn, 2000, pp. 303–304; Melton, 2001, p. 134).

The book trade also interacted with other professions and trades and, in more than a few cases, formed a part of extended networks with other trades. What Michael Harris has observed about the London trade – 'It is difficult to identify the configurations within the book trade without taking account of the intricate linkage involved in the publication of the

[60] For using GIS technology to map these networks across space and time, see MacDonald and Black (2000).

[61] *The Tatler*, no. 1, Tuesday, 12 April 1709.

full range of print … Texts, pictures, maps and music formed part of an integrated system which involved the London book trade but extended well beyond it' (1997, p. 110) – could be said about the book trade in many other urban centres and towns across the Continent. More and more the medical and legal professions were relying on printed forms and advertising, as were auctioneers (Harris, 2002, p. 292) and for peruke-makers, cutlers, milliners, tobacconists and any others in trade, having a trade card announced one's presence in the marketplace and directed patrons to one's services and shop. Both the search for new material and marketing efforts to promote books and other print artefacts as products of culture and 'taste' brought members of the book trade together with artists, musicians and related arts. The clustering of map-makers within particular areas of London and Paris facilitated collaboration among those directly involved in the production and selling of printed maps; not surprisingly interspersed among their establishments were the workshops of instrument-makers (Pedley, 2005, pp. 98–100). Globe-makers required print for their product, pattern-makers contributed their drawings to fashion periodicals and artists found work as designers for illustrations. A few innovative booksellers explicitly strengthened this link between their books and periodicals by offering consumer goods as premiums for purchasing a complete set or series of works.[62]

Newspapers, themselves a growing consumer and commercial phenomenon of the trade, were both products of print and a way to market printed books and pamphlets. Excerpts from prospectuses (Feather, 1984), a practice that first emerged in the early seventeenth century, were often recycled for newspaper advertising copy and appeared side by side with proposals for publishing by subscription. Abounding with book-trade advertisements proclaiming 'This day publish'd', newspapers visually situated books within the heart of consumer culture as the titles of publications straddled announcements of musical concerts and theatre performances, medicines to improve one's looks as well as health and the availability of consumer products such as silk goods and teas (Todd, 1953; Walker, 1973; McGuinness, 1984; Todd, 1989; Raven, 1993; Briggs, 1994; Schneller, 1994; Tierney, 1995; Tierney, 2001; Gotti, 2005; Raven, 2007a; see also Marker, 1982). Eighteenth-century newspaper advertisements provide one of the few extant sources that document the title as it circulated detached from its text. Divorced from their works, titles in this context embodied exchange value. They were promissory notes[63] of sorts, pledging a certain type of printed material, presumably of a certain value, as available for purchase, with different title valences conveying different gradations of worth to different audiences. Newspapers offered a space in which the virtual presence of authors, booksellers and copies-turned-publication met and presented themselves to readers.

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[62] For example, the English bookseller-publisher-printer James Harrison offered two mahogany table globes to customers who bought all the numbers of his *Geographical Magazine* and a pianoforte to purchasers of his *Piano-Forte Magazine*. A set of the globes, made by the famed William Bardin and bearing 'Published by Harrison & Co.' in its cartouche, is held at the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, catalogued as GLB0169: *The Geographical Magazine…* (1785, t.p.); *To the Lovers of Musick. Prospectus for The Piano-Forte Magazine…* (1796).

[63] Interestingly, this phrase was first coined in 1710 – the year when the title becomes the official, legal representative of given texts via passage of the Statute of Anne (Shevlin, 1999).

Die Lesewut, die Lesesucht, die Leseseuche, die unterhaltende Lektüre, die angenehme Lektüre

Eighteenth-century German expressions used to describe reading – *die Lesewut, die Lesesucht, die Leseseuche, die unterhaltende Lektüre, die angenehme Lektüre* (craze for reading, addiction to or mania for reading, reading plague, entertaining reading material and pleasant reading material) – signal a range of attitudes engendered by the expansion of reading and the type of works (those 'pleasing, entertaining and useful' publications aiming to 'delight and instruct') fuelling its growth, not only in the German states but throughout the West during the second half of the eighteenth century. While many viewed the growth of the reading public as a sign of progress and an enactment of enlightened ideals, others saw the development in threatening terms as the coupling of reading with words such as 'mania', 'addiction' and 'plague' indicate. More frequently than not, these intimations of reading as a form of irrationality, unhealthy obsession and disease were aimed at certain kinds of texts, especially novels, and certain readers, especially women.[64] Such discourse reflected anxieties about authority, newly exercised displays of literacy and the rapidly changing print marketplace. Books, newspapers, magazines and journals were becoming increasingly plentiful in the marketplace, and their appearance in greater and greater numbers marked efforts by the trade to cultivate and satisfy the desires of diverse readers while attracting new audiences. As one Genevan citizen observed in the 1790s, 'But as there is a prevailing mania for reading, which is fortunately become one of the necessaries of life, a regular supply of books must be found suited to every character, and to every capacity' (Pictet, 1793, p. 44). Although this writer refers only to books, the proliferation of newspapers and periodicals in the West played a noticeable role in the growth of the reading public during the eighteenth century.

In many Western countries state censorship hampered the newspaper's development, and on much of the Continent this control lasted well into the eighteenth century. What Robert Darnton has asserted about newspapers in France during the 1750s – 'papers with news in them – news as we understand it today, about public affairs and prominent persons – did not exist. The government did not permit them'. (2000, p. 2) – also applied, in varying degrees, to newspapers in other European principalities. Having enacted a freedom of the press law in 1766, Sweden was an exception, but before the century was over portions of the law were revoked and some restrictions re-imposed (Peterson, 2001, p. 160; Bandle *et al.*, 2005, p. 1251). The situation in the Netherlands, which had pioneered newspapers in the early seventeenth century and had quickly emerged as a leader in international news, was more liberal compared with much of Europe; yet, state and ecclesiastical restrictions did exist, and after 1725 the laws were more strictly enforced (Bots, 2003, p. 131). With the end of pre-publication censorship in 1695, Britain enjoyed the most liberal climate in the West. Its first daily paper, the *Daily Courant*, was founded in 1702, and the first evening newspaper, *Evening Post*, in 1706. While duties such as those imposed by the Stamp Act of 1712 attempted to rein in the English press, these duties and later taxes had little effect in dampening the enthusiasm for newspapers. Instead, the state relied on its strict libel laws to curb the press's power.

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[64] Jacqueline Pearson (1999) is one of many to examine the 'dangers' reading posed for women; that her methodology often treats the historical and textually constructed reader as one and the same points to some of the problems facing scholars in addressing reading as an historical practice (Young, 2008).

Despite these variations in controls newspapers formed a decided part of eighteenth-century reading culture. By 1790 Londoners had their choice of 'thirteen morning and one evening dailies, plus a number of other newspapers appearing two or three times a week' (Harris, 2002, pp. 286–87; see also Aspinall, 1948). As for English provincial newspapers, 'at least forty titles were available in 1770', and by 1800 that number had grown to close to eighty (Barker, 1998, p. 95; see also Wiles, 1965 and Ferdinand, 1997). In France the *affiches* carried advertising, but they also offered local 'news and commentary' (Censer, 1994, pp. 54–86; Schechter, 2001, p. 140). Among other alternatives to the official state organ were the French-language gazettes (*gazettes de Hollande*) (Gruder, 2007, ch. 5), which were printed in neighbouring countries, and clandestine publications such as *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* (Church News) and *libelles* (libelous pamphlets) (Darnton, 1996, pp. 198–216).[65] Yet France lagged far behind England in its development of newspapers and periodicals, as Stephen Botein, Jack Censer and Harriet Ritvo's essay (Chapter 16) in this volume details. Lacking a centralized government, different German states experienced different levels of censorship, and some territories were able to develop a vibrant newspaper culture (Melton, 2001, p. 132). Despite differences in state control of the press, Western newspapers all shared the quality of a regular publication schedule, whether daily, bi-weekly or tri-weekly, that habituated those with literacy skills to the rhythms of regular reading and hastened the integration of the printed word into the fabric of daily life.

Periodicals cultivated a similar habit, and their numbers increased dramatically during the century's second half, especially in its later decades. This upsurge in the numbers of magazine and journals being produced corresponded to their diversity in subject matter and target audiences. The trade appealed to 'every character' and 'every capacity' of readers by producing both general interest and niche magazines and journals. As the century progressed, various periodicals targeting women (Adburgham, 1972, chs 6–9; Shevelow, 1989; Martin, 1991; Archangeli, 1999), catering to particular professions or trades, featuring humour or fine arts such as poetry or music, covering sports or religion, addressing children or a particular region[66] and more were launched. Some faltered soon after their appearance while others enjoyed more extended lives. Some were printed and published for their authors, often a sponsoring society, and some were the products of a learned body or a religious movement such as John Wesley's *Methodist Magazine*. From mid-century on engraved illustrations featuring a range of subjects from portraits to folding maps became increasingly common (Alexander, 1994). While the Netherlands participated in the Western trend of publishing specialized perioidcals, Dutch publications that appealed to general audiences had the best chance of success (Johannes, 1997, p. 124). What distinguished the Dutch Republic from its neighbours was its naturally limited audience for periodicals written in Dutch; a smaller country, it had only so many native-speaking Dutch readers and writers to support periodicals, and specialization reduced the potential pool even further (Johannes, 1997, p. 127).

The 'moral essay' periodicals, initiated by Richard Steele's *The Tatler* (1709–11) and Steele and Joseph Addison's *The Spectator* (1711–14)[67] and widely imitated in England and on the

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[65] For more on the French press, see Popkin (1990); Censer (1994); and Gruder (2007, chs 6–9).

[66] For a comparison between American and European periodicals, see Kamrath (2002).

[67] In June 1714 Joseph Addison, with Eustace Budgell and Thomas Tickell, revived the *The Spectator*, and this second series lasted six months.

Continent (Boulard, 2005), enjoyed enormous appeal. Combining moral instruction with entertainment, these essays addressed 'the commerce of everyday life' and offered public lessons on regulating private behaviour while ostensibly eschewing politics (Shevelow, 1989, p. 4; Mackie, 1998). Such publications, according to one historian of the Enlightenment, 'eased the transition to a more secular and diverse print culture' and served to 'neutralize traditional attacks on novels' (Melton, 2001, pp. 96–97). At a more rudimentary level of literacy acquisition, historians of Danish literature have made connections between the highly popular seventeenth-century chapbooks and new forms of entertaining literature such as novels that flowed from the Danish presses in the latter part of the eighteenth century (Horstbøll, 1999, p. 774). Similarly, chapbooks in England, the *bibliothèque bleue* in France and the *pliegos de cordel* and *comedia sueltas* (short plays consisting of twelve to sixteen leaves and representing an intermediate form between chapbooks and literature) in Spain all served as material for learning to read and fostering a desire for the activity (Spufford, 1981; Chartier, 1987, pp. 240–64; Goldman, 1992). As the century wore on, the market ratio for imaginative and entertaining literature increased, and religious publications, which had long dominated lay reading material (though sermons and other forms remained quite popular and the number of religious texts actually increased in many areas), saw a decline in its share of total production. In Germany, for instance, lay religious texts held almost 20 per cent of the market in 1740, while imaginative literature accounted for slightly less than 6 per cent; by 1800 those figures had been reversed, with imaginative works accounting for 21.45 per cent of the works produced and religious publications only 5.8 per cent (Ward, 1974, pp 32–33). This trend was repeated throughout the West (for example, see Chartier, 1987, pp. 192–98; Darnton, 2001, pp. 161–62).

Latin texts also witnessed a decided decline as the century progressed. Figures from the Leipzig book fair catalogue in 1700 indicate that 38 per cent of the books produced in Germany were in Latin and 62 per cent in German; by 1800 only 4 per cent were in Latin and the remainder in the vernacular (Melton, 2001, p. 88). Germany lagged behind other countries in this shift; at the start of the eighteenth century only 10 per cent of books published in France were in Latin (Melton, 2001, pp. 87–88). In contrast, plays, novels, works of natural history, memoirs, travel writing and volumes of history were on the rise and, along with periodical publications, represented the changing tastes of readers. Miscellanies and anthologies offering 'excerpts from the best works' also grew in popularity, and fiction was a common component of many general interest periodicals (Mayo, 1962; Benedict, 1996). Sermons and devotional works continued to be popular, but readers were increasingly interspersing the reading of these works with other forms of secular print material. German readers were also consuming English works, and French were reading English works and English reading French (Fabian, 1976; see also Fabian, 1992). Book reviews included in journals and magazines as well as in publications dedicated solely to reviews such as the *Monthly Review* and *Critical Review* in England helped readers navigate the steady stream of works entering the marketplace.[68]

The price of purchasing books, especially new titles, was beyond the reach of many readers, though certain periodicals and cheap reprints of older works were more affordable. Yet when a

[68] Jan Fergus's work (2006) suggests that readers exercised independence from the reviews when selecting works to purchase. In addition to Antonia Forster's essay (Chapter 18) in this volume, see also Donoghue (1995, pp. 54–74); Rowland and Fink (1995).

Dr Aiken declared to his son in 1793 that reading was 'a *cheap* amusement' (Aiken, 1793, p. 292), he was able to make such a claim because of lending libraries (Hamlyn, 1946; Kaufman, 1964; Milstein, 1972; Cole, 1974; Fergus, 1984; Raven, 1996, 2007b; Manley, 2000, 2007; Allan, 2002, 2008; Jacobs, 2003; Colclough, 2007, pp. 88–117; Green, 2007; Ellis, 2009).[69] These lending libraries – *leihbibliothek* in Germany, *cabinet de lecture* or *bouquinistes*, a downmarket version that was often just a bookstall, in France – existed in multiple forms with different fees and different rules and procedures. While coffee houses had been an early form of a 'reading centre' in the first part of the century (Kaufman, 1969), by the second half commercial, proprietary and subscription libraries, along with reading societies and book clubs, had taken hold and continued to grow rapidly in number in the decades that followed. 'At least one hundred and twelve rental libraries in London and two hundred and sixty-eight in the provinces were established before 1800' (Raven, 1992, p 54). Indeed, Aiken explicitly directs his son's attention to the subscription library as an alternative to purchasing books: 'Learn, too, to distinguish between books to be *perused*, and books to be *possessed*.[70] Of the former you may find an ample store in every subscription library, the proper use of which to a scholar is to furnish his mind without loading his shelves' (Aiken, 1793, p. 292). The type of lending library the father is recommending was probably one that had a restricted membership and a quarterly or annual fee. These fees were often high, but they afforded access to far more books than many could afford to own. Some of these libraries operated as collectives in which members would pool funds and purchase books for the joint use of the society. Others were run by booksellers, and still others operated under different auspices; the fees and payment schedules ranged from a one-time rental charge for a single volume to monthly, quarterly or yearly dues.

While reading as a topic for study has attracted increasing attention among book historians and other scholars (Wiles, 1976; Rivers, 1982, 2001; Darnton, 1984; Hall, 1994; Raven, Small and Tadmore, 1996, chs 9, 11, 12; Matthew Pentland Brown, 2007), only a sampling of the multiple subjects that its histories and practices entail appears here.[71] No mention has been made of literacy rates (Klancher, 1987; Vincent, 1989, 2000; Munck, 2004; Monaghan, 2005), nor have specifics on the economics of book-purchasing been offered beyond some generalities about affordability. Neither have the spaces and places of reading from the interiors of libraries and their furnishings (Raven, 1996) to the family reading circles (Michaelson, 2002), from the rural to the urban been addressed. And while 'some information about the external circumstances of eighteenth-century reading' has been offered, no speculation 'at its effects on the hearts and minds of readers' has been ventured (Darnton, 1996, p. 85). Covering any one of these topics while still providing the contours of the macro-changes affecting reading and readers would require far more space than is available here. Yet the steady appearance of studies devoted to eighteenth-century reading and its readers indicate that this subject is far from being neglected by other hands. Four recent works, appearing in quick succession and dealing with Britain alone, suggest the vitality and diversity of approaches being pursued in

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[69] For those working on libraries in the British Isles, Robin Alston's regularly updated database is an invaluable tool: *Library History Database* (http://www.r-alston.co.uk/contents.htm).

[70] For the books this young gentlemen purchased, he would have likely had personal bookplates that distinguished these works as his property (Lee, 1991).

[71] For recent overviews of issues and discussions of methodological problems, see Raven (1998); Allan (2003); Jackson (2004) and Colclough (2007, pp. 1–28).

mapping reading and readership. Among the many contributions of William St. Clair's *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (2004) is the quantitative data about production costs and pricing of books that afford a macro-narrative of the economic contexts for understanding readership. In *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (2006), Jan Fergus adopts the reverse of a macro-narrative and employs the archival records of Midland booksellers to conduct a demographically rich analysis of actual readers. Using a variety of sources such as reading journals, annotations, diaries, commonplace books and representations of reading, Stephen Colclough's *Consuming Texts: Readers and Reading Communities, 1695–1870* (2007) combines studies of individual readers with those of reading communities to reconstruct the great variety of practices within specific, given historical moments and to posit the significance of these practices within these diverse historical frames (2007, pp. 26–7). While David Allan's *A Nation of Readers: The Lending Library in Georgian England* (2008) also draws upon a variety of sources, this work uses the lending library, in its diverse manifestations, to set its parameters and argues for the central role these institutions played in the expansion of the late eighteenth-century reading public.

Brief Overview of the Essays

The Physical Book, or Matters Material

The five essays reprinted in Part I take us from the printed page to the binding that covers eighteenth-century books. Philip Gaskell's essay (Chapter 2) focuses on British paper and particularly the relationship between paper size and watermarks. In Chapter 4 C.J. Mitchell decodes the compositorial habits for quotation marks, affording not only a means of detecting false imprints but also a better understanding of regional printing practices across national borders.[72] John Harthan's delineation of the rococo style of book illustrations in Chapter 3 offers a transnational framework for examining the frontispieces and plates that form an important paratextual component of eighteenth-century works. In Chapters 1 and 5 Giles Barber and Howard Nixon, respectively, address binding, but while Barber discusses the materials and their significance, Nixon concentrates on the practices and production costs of binding.

Matters Authorial

In Chapter 6 Carla Hesse reconstructs the publishing history of late eighteenth-century French women writers to argue for their enhanced participation in the public sphere in the years following the French Revolution. Keith Maslen, in Chapter 7, examines the practice of authors undertaking the publication of their works; his essay, expanded and revised, formed part of a later, book-length study, *Bowyer Ledgers, the Printing Accounts of William Bowyer Father and Son … 1699–1777* (1991), which he edited with John Lancaster. Eschewing the trend to date the origins of the conceptual transformation of authorship from the century's second half,

[72] Although Mitchell adheres to the standard belief that press figures were unique to England, that impression has been challenged by recent work (see Dawson, 2004).

in Chapter 8 John McCarthy situates authorship as a concept that developed concurrently with the anonymous public.

Trade Matters: Practices and Practitioners

Two of the essays in Part III cover topics minimally addressed in the introduction: in Chapter 13 Renato Pasta considers the state of the literary market and aspects of readership in eighteenth-century Italy, while in Chapter 11 Wallace Kirsop argues for the need to examine subscription publishing across borders despite the practice's associations with the local. Cyprian Blagden's essay on the Stationers' Company (Chapter 9), John Feather's examination of the effects of the 1710 Act of Anne on the trade and in the courts (Chapter 10) and Michael Treadwell's explication of London trade publishers (Chapter 15) all deal with institutions or practices specific to England. The essays by James Raven (Chapter 14) and Richard Landon (Chapter 12) are also rooted in a British or English context. Raven's chapter offers an impressively detailed look at the changing role of the bookseller, while Landon examines the centrality of auction catalogues in reconstructing the antiquarian trade against the backdrop of Pollard's *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue* and an international project on the history of Dutch sales catalogues.[73] To varying degrees all these essays furnish avenues for comparative work.

Periodicals and Newspapers, or Matters Serial

While all four essays in Part IV concern serialized publications, their diversity demonstrates the complexity of the periodical as a genre and its significance to 'book' history. Noting the desultory effects that aspects of nineteenth-century scholarship have had on the study of periodicals, Stephen Botein, Jack R. Censer and Harriet Ritvo argue in Chapter 16 for the need to consider far more than simply the political content of newspapers and journals; equally important is the need to examine their non-political reporting and their 'packaging or buffer content'. Christine Ferdinand, in Chapter 17, not only demonstrates the important role newspaper advertisements played in selling books, but also addresses prospectuses and auction catalogues. Antonia Forster's essay (Chapter 18), published four years after her second volume indexing eighteenth-century English book reviews had appeared (Forster, 1990, 1997), examines both the agents and practices that constituted this new genre. In Chapter 19 Michael Harris offers a theoretical examination of periodicals and the institutional problems that have led to their neglect within book history.

Reading and Related Matters

In the final section three of the six essays address topics from a colonial American perspective. Ross Beales and Jennifer Monaghan's examination of literacy (Chapter 20) draws attention to a number of issues – literacy rates, literacy within the context of primers and spelling books and the relationship between literacy and gender or race – and manages to do so effectively in a brief amount of space. In Chapter 21 Beales and James Green offer an equally compact look at the various libraries, their stock and patrons in the New England and Mid-Atlantic colonies.

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[73] Book Sales Catalogues of the Dutch Republic, 1599–1800. See Gruys and Kooker (1998).

Joost Kloek and Wijnand Mijnhardt, in Chapter 22, present an overview of eighteenth-century Dutch culture and book trade, with a heavy focus on the practices and institutions related to reading. In Chapter 23 Thomas Walker discusses Adalbert Blumenschein's 1,600-page manuscript that describes a diversity of European libraries of the types not noted in this introduction. Drawn from his *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (1992), Michael Warner's essay (Chapter 24) explores the emergence of the public sphere in colonial America. Acquiescing that a 'reading revolution' did occur at the close of the eighteenth century in Germany, in Chapter 25 Reinhard Wittmann sketches an overview of the research that must be gathered to understand the causes underlying the transformations from 'intensive' to 'extensive' reading.

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