Notes

Introduction: Bookish Outliers

3. Sebastian Brant’s Das Narrenschiff (1494) includes a famous print of the Book Fool by Albrecht Dürer, often reproduced along with the verse in which the Fool declares he cannot understand the books he holds in his hands. The title page of Dibdin’s Bibliomania features both engraving and verse taken from a translation by Alexander Barclay printed by Richard Pynson in 1509, Bibliomania; or Book Madness (London: Longman, Hurst et al., 1809).
4. William St Clair, The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Heather Jackson points out that while for centuries every age felt itself to be flooded with too much to read, only in the early nineteenth century did reading become ‘part of the texture of everyday life, seemingly for everyone, as it had not been a generation before’, Romantic Readers: The Evidence of Marginalia (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 52.

14. Thomas Curson Hansard, *Typographia: An Historical Sketch of the Origin and 
Progress of the Art of Printing [...] Illustrated by Engravings, Biographical Notices, 
and Portraits* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1825), xi.

15. Aleida Assmann, ‘Re-framing Memory: Between Individual and Collective 
Forms of Constructing the Past’, in *Performing the Past: Memory, History and 
Identity in Modern Europe*, ed. Karin Tilman, Frank Van Vree, and Jay Winter 
(Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 40–1.

16. Michael Thompson, *Rubbish Theory: The Creation and Destruction of Value* 

17. Thomas Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell’s Letters and Speeches With Elucidations* 

18. Alan Everitt, ‘Country, County and Town: Patterns of Regional Evolution in 
England’, in *The Eighteenth-Century Town: A Reader in English Urban History, 

1 **Unmooring the Literary Word**

1. Deidre Lynch, *Loving Literature: A Cultural History* (Chicago: University of 
Chicago Press, 2015), 117; Jon Klancher, *Transfiguring the Arts and 
Sciences: Knowledge and Cultural Institutions in the Romantic Age* (Cambridge: 
Cambridge University Press, 2013), 86; Bernhard Metz, ‘Bibliomania and the 


3. On bibliomania, also see Paul Keen, *Literature, Commerce, and the Spectacle of 
Modern Histories of Learning and “Literature” in France’, *Modern Language 
Quarterly* 61.2 (June 2000): 253–86; April London, *Literary History Writing, 
1770–1821* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 49–54; James Raven, 
‘Debating Bibliomania and the Collection of Books in the Eighteenth 


7. Kristian Jensen, *Revolution and the Antiquarian Book: Reshaping the Past, 
also notes that the bibliomania marked a permanent change in the status of 
old books (Connell 25).

8. Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *The Bibliographical Decameron: Or, Ten Days Pleasant 
Discourse Upon Illuminated Manuscripts, and Subjects Connected with Early 
Engraving, Typography, and Bibliography* (London: printed for the author, 1817), 
3:49, 62. The work was printed by William Bulmer at the Shakspeare Press.

Geoffrey Nunberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 140.


13. This commitment to printing persists even though Roxburghe books have long become more scholarly. The club’s website commends not only the scholarly value of its books as texts but also their typographical interest as crafted objects showcasing the current art of printing.


15. Facsimiles in this period, as Joseph A. Dane demonstrates, were governed as much by the desire to demonstrate the superiority of current printing and engraving techniques as by the goal of making accurate copies of early printed books, *Out of Sorts: On Typography and Print Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 164–90.


17. *Gentleman’s Magazine* 83.2 (Sept. 1813): 211.


23. The *Athenaeum* delights in printing out Haslewood’s subtitle in full: ‘ROXBURGHE REVELS; or, an Account of the Annual Display, culinary and festivous, interspersed incidentally with Matters of Moment or Merriment. Also, *Brief Notices of the Press Proceedings by a few Lions of Literature, combined as the Roxburghe Club, founded 17th June, 1812.*’
24. Denise Gigante has shown how middle-class ‘taste’ was largely constructed through the denigration of both aristocratic ‘feasting’ and lower-class ‘eating’, Taste: A Literary History (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 7–10.
33. Margaret Russett’s argument that the career of minor Romantics was sponsored by an ‘excess of the signifier’ bears suggestively on bibliomaniac prose, although her own focus is the psychoanalytic syndrome in the work of reception performed by what she calls ‘canonical minority’, De Quincey’s Romanticism: Canonical Minority and the Forms of Transmission (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 9.
34. Heather Jackson points out that most of the English words beginning with ‘biblio’ were introduced during the period of the Romantic bibliomania, Romantic Readers: The Evidence of the Marginalia (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 209.

42. Dane, for example, posits two Dibdins: a ‘systematic bibliographer’ whose work is foundational to modern bibliography, and a ‘more amusing’ antiquarian whose signature is a peculiar style (Dane 165).


54. [Thomas De Quincey], ‘The Street Companion: or The Young Man’s Guide and The Old Man’s Comfort, in the Choice of Shoes’, *London Magazine* 1 (Jan. 1825): 73–7. In a nicely ironic, real-life twist, Dibdin reports in his memoirs that when he returned to the shop where he had made his first book purchase, he found that ‘boots and shoes now occupy the place of quartos and octavos’, *Reminiscences* 1:85n. William E. A. Axon early displayed the closeness of De Quincey’s parody to Dibdin’s prose in ‘De Quincey and T. F. Dibdin’, *The Library*, 2nd series, 8 (1907): 267–74. For a recent reading of the parody, see Lynch 124–5.

55. Robinson’s ‘Ornamental Gentlemen’ offers one of the few discussions of Dibdin’s style.


65. On Lamb’s gastronomical bent, see Gigante 89–116.

66. The note appeared in the London Magazine (Oct. 1820), but it was deleted when the Elia essays were issued in book form in 1823. Lucas reprints the note, Works of Charles and Mary Lamb 2:346.


68. Isaac D’Israeli, Miscellanies; Or, Literary Recreations (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1796), 22.

69. Holbrook Jackson, The Anatomy of Bibliomania. In Two Volumes (London: The Soncino Press, 1930), 1:419. D’Israeli was by no means an extreme bookman in the sense of a bibliomaniac, but he was emphatically a man whose identity was intimately tied to the library; see my ‘Antiquarian Authorship: D’Israeli’s Miscellany of Literary Curiosity and the Question of Secondary Genres’, Studies in Romanticism 45 (Winter 2006): 523–42.

2 Typographical Consciousness and the Diffraction of Authorship


7. Like most historians of typography, Ames came from outside the world of letters (he was apprenticed as a plane-maker, and worked as a ship’s Chandler or ironmonger). Although in the more fluid intellectual world of the mid-eighteenth century, he became a member of the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Society, he was never fully accepted into these circles.


13. Rev. of Library Companion, Quarterly Review 32 (June 1824): 155, 158.


15. John McCreery, The Press, a Poem. Published as a Specimen of Typography, Parts I–2 (London: Cadell and Davies, 1803; London: T. Cadell, 1827), vi. As the subtitle suggests, McCreery originally conceived of the poem as an advertisement for his printing skills, and he printed both parts.

17. William Martin’s foundry supplied the Shakspeare Press, cutting for Bulmer the first Romantic typeface in England; Thomas Bewick, an old Newcastle friend of Bulmer’s, was a noted engraver and natural historian, and Bulmer printed many of the books he illustrated; James Whatman the Younger, son of James the Elder (inventor of wave paper) continued his father’s business, and ran a large paper mill with a sterling reputation for quality.

18. On the customs and conventions of the printing house, see Johns (74–108).


23. I appropriate the term ‘typo-poetical’ from Hansard, who uses it in reference to correspondence, Typographia, 284.


25. In Rouen, for example, Dibdin visits the premises of Mégard (‘the modern Bulmer, of Rouen’) but also the shop of Lecrène Labbay, printer of chapbooks, where he obtains ‘a dingy copy of the *Catalogue de la Bibliotheque Bleue*, A Bibliographical, Antiquarian, and Picturesque Tour in France and Germany’ (London: 1821), 1:129–33.


31. Rev. of Bibliomania, *British Critic* 37 (June 1811): 612 (William Beloe is the reviewer). In some sense Dibdin’s books could be seen as material experiments with the interplay between modern and archaic David Duff sees as

32. This difference between original and facsimile did not go unnoticed by Dibdin’s contemporaries. Witness the comment of one correspondent about the facsimiles of early printer marks in the *Bibliographical Decameron*: ‘only one objection can possibly be alleged; viz., they are too beautiful and, generally speaking, vastly superior to the original designs’ (*Reminiscences* 2:640). In a footnote Dibdin concedes that in general the correspondent was correct, but defends the facsimile singled out by the correspondent by saying it was faithful to the original ‘line for line’, and the perceived difference lay in the fact that the printers whose mark it represented (the Wechel family) had ‘an insuperable attachment to bad paper’ (*Reminiscences* 2:640–1 note).


34. The page numbers in ‘First Day’ follow on those of the ‘Introduction’; like the latter they are in roman rather than Arabic numerals. With ‘Second Day’ the pagination starts over again, this time in standard Arabic numerals.


42. Joseph Strutt, *Glig-Ceman Angel Deod Or The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England: Including the Rural and Domestic Recreations, May-Games, Mummeries,
Pageants, Processions, and Pompous Spectacles, From the Earliest Period to the Present Time: Illustrated by Engravings selected from Ancient Paintings; In which are Represented Most of the Popular Diversions, 2nd edn. (London: White & Co., 1810), xlviii.


3 Printing Clubs and the Question of the Archive


2. The reconfiguration of the historical field in the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century has received a vast amount of attention. Of special pertinence to this chapter are the studies of Ann Rigney, Imperfect Histories: The Elusive Past and the Legacy of Romantic Historicism (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001); and Mark Salber Phillips, Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740–1820 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000) and On Historical Distance (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).


8. By mid-century there were at least twenty-two printing clubs; see the Rev. A. Hume, *The Learned Societies and Printing Clubs of the United Kingdom*, with a supplement by A. I. Evans (London: G. Willis, 1853).


15. These remarks appear in the Forster MS, quoted in Heather Henderson, ‘Carlyle and the Book Clubs’, 44, 45.

16. Pitcairn had collaborated with Scott and James Maidment on the private publication in 1822 of a collection of historical tracts titled *Nugae Derelictae*, and this collaboration may well have prompted Scott’s proposal to establish a publishing club.

17. Not incidentally, academics rarely appear on the roster of the early printing clubs, a point underlined by the Glasgow *Scotts Times* in 1829. Remarking the absence of the learned bodies from both the Bannatyne and the Maitland clubs, it took special notice of the fact that merchants of Glasgow were well represented in the Maitland Club ‘while the Professors in our University […] are absent!’ (*Notices* 123).

18. The club set a furious pace of publication in its first years, publishing forty-three volumes between 1823 and 1832.


23. I am drawing on Paul Ricoeur's phenomenological approach to the document as a 'trace', i.e. the present mark of the past passage of living beings, 
25. When it came to modernizing literary texts such as ballads and romances, however, Scott located these texts inside public culture and argued for modernization. Even as he expressed a certain sympathy for strict antiquaries like Joseph Ritson, for instance, he aligned himself with George Ellis in their debate over this issue, declaring in a review of the latter's *Specimens of Early English Poetry* that 'we do not think that, in a popular work, intelligibility should be sacrificed to the preservation of a rude and uncertain orthography' (*MPW* 17:15). Similar reasoning was to underpin his later argument that the function of the historical novel was to translate its historical subject 'into the manners, as well as the language, of the age we live in', *Ivanhoe: A Romance*, ed. Ian Duncan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 18.
27. 'Bishop Lesley's MS. History', *Blackwood's Magazine* 2 (Oct. 1817): 53. *Blackwood's* printed extracts from Lesley's manuscript, along with M'Crie's letter confirming it to be the bishop's original composition.
32. Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland From the Restoration of King Charles II. A.D.M.DC.LX. (Edinburgh, 1821), v.
33. Isaac D'Israeli, for example, includes the story of Mackenzie's manuscript memoirs in 'Recovery of Manuscripts', *Curiosties of Literature: A New Edition* (London: Edward Moxon, 1841), 6–9.


42. *A History of Carlyle’s Oliver Cromwell’s Letters and Speeches* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1992), 56. Trela gives the most thorough account of the making of the Letters and Speeches, and gives short shrift to the book’s status as a work of history, arguing that its value is aesthetic.


45. ‘Baillie the Covenanter’, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* 4:231.

46. As Heather Henderson points out, Carlyle’s unpublished notes in the Forster manuscript on both the Bannatyne and Baillie, not to mention his remarks on printing clubs in general, are markedly less temperate than in the published review, ‘Carlyle and the Book Clubs’, 43–4. Carlyle did, however, esteem Laing, as well as being obliged to him for answering queries in relation to his own project on Cromwell.


48. In an intriguing argument, Yoon Sun Lee stresses that for Carlyle the reading of history takes the form of arduous labour followed by a forgetting of this labour, thereby eliding the status of the past as something that has had to be constructed, *Nationalism and Irony: Burke, Scott, Carlyle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 108.


4 On the Borders of the Reading Public


5. ‘Facts Relative to the State of Reading Societies and Literary Institutions in the United Kingdom’, *Monthly Magazine* 51 (June 1821): 397. This report is the basis for St Clair’s tables on collective reading institutions (St Clair 264–6); Peter Clark, however, estimates the number of book societies as closer to 800 than to 600 in 1821, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 109.


18. Kaufman identified 110 book clubs, but he was able to locate original sources for only six of these, along with specific information for just six more. His work prompted a flurry of searching that uncovered new identifications and sources; see Allan, *Nation of Readers*, 24–61.
19. Record Books of Club Meetings, Cumbria Archive and Local Studies Centre, Barrow, BDSO 130/1/4.
21. ‘On a Plan of Reading’, *The Oeconomist; or Englishman’s Magazine* 2 (Nov. 1799): 328. The short-lived *Oeconomist* (1798–9) was the project of James Losh, a Unitarian reformer and lawyer. Klancher describes it as an attempt to carve out a space between middle-class intellectuals and radical artisans, anticipating the pedagogical thrust and ‘mass’ audience of the cheap periodicals that were to flourish in the 1830s, *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790–1832* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 43.
25. At an informal meeting with the Dalton Club on 7 July 2014, the members confirmed that the meetings continue to be governed by rituals transmitted through oral tradition. My thanks to the club members for their information and hospitality.
29. *Rules and Regulations of the Book Society at Sedgefield, With the Names of the Members, and a List of Books* (Stockton: printed by Christopher & Jennet, 1800), The list of books advertised in the title runs to well over 100 titles and includes an eighteen-volume set of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, suggesting that
despite a rule stipulating the books were to be sold to ‘the best bidder’ once they had circulated, the Society did not sell all its books.

30. *The St. Helens Book Club 1813–1913* (St Helens, 1913). The latter is an unpaginated souvenir pamphlet printed for the celebration of the centenary of the club held at the Fleece Hotel on 11 April 1913 (the printer is not identified).

31. This sequence is printed in the souvenir pamphlet cited in the previous note (no pagination).


33. Interestingly, the percentage of fiction bought each year by the Market Drayton has held steady from the beginning: Brown lists 26 per cent in 1814, 27 per cent in 2006–8 (Brown 42).


40. Le Faye points out that Austen's inference about Digweed was actually unjust: the details to which she incoherently referred do in fact appear in a parody of Crabbe included in *Rejected Addresses* (*Austen's Letters* 419n).


44. *The Country Spectator* (Gainsborough, 1793), 6–7. The volume is a collection of the two-penny weekly, which ran from October 1792 to May 1793. It was edited and largely written by Thomas Fanshawe Middleton, then curate of Gainsborough and later the first bishop of Calcutta.


47. My discussion of the Cumbrian market town is indebted to Marshall’s ‘The Rise and Transformation of the Cumbrian Town’.


49. See Walton 46; Boddy 104.


51. ‘Ulverston Book Club’, *Library History* 1.5 (Spring 1969): 171–2. These pages print the ‘Rules and Orders for the Establishment of a Book Club to be held at Ulverstone and to commence on the first Day of January 1756’, a document that had been recently found among papers deposited at the Lancashire County Record Office.


54. Dalton Book Club: Extracts of Members and Urswick Book Club, Cumbria Archive and Local Studies Centre, BDSO 130/7/6. Being a member of more than one club in remote regions was not unusual, the clubs themselves forming something of a network. Benjamin Newton, for instance, rector of Wath in the North Riding of Yorkshire village from 1800–29, belonged to both the Ripon Book Club (about five miles away) and the Bedale Book Club (about ten miles away), *The Diary of Benjamin Newton Rector of Wath, 1816–1818* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933).
60. [Eliza Walker], ‘Country Reading Societies’, *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* 22 (Jan. 1828): 216. Despite the essay’s female authorship, the narrator is gendered male.

5 A Provincial Itinerary: Reading the *Journals* of John Marsh

3. For a description of the manuscript books and an account of their complicated transmission history, see Brian Robins, ‘An Introduction to the Journals of John Marsh’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 59.1 (1996): 125–44.
16. I take this information from Emlyn Thomas, *Georgian Chichester* (Middleton on Sea: Emlyn Thomas, 2001), 1:79. His is a valuable study of Chichester in Marsh’s time, although he conflates the Book Society and the Library Society, incorrectly assuming the latter absorbed the former after 1794.
17. When Marsh proposed his friend Henrietta Poole for membership in the Book Society, for example, he noted that she ‘had for some time wish’d to belong to this Society instead of the Library Society, of w’ch she had been a Member, tho’ we had no other Female in the Society’ (‘History’ 17:98).
19. On a visit to London in April 1826, for example, Marsh hears that Walter Scott’s ‘new historic novel’ (*Woodstock*) is to be published the next day, and hurries to Longman’s to order it ‘for our Chich’r book-society’ (*Journals* 2:373).
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