

CARDIFF CORVEY

READING THE ROMANTIC TEXT



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SUBMISSIONS

This periodical is only as substantial as the material it contains: therefore, we more than welcome any contributions that members of the academic community might wish to make. Articles we would be most interested in publishing include those addressing Romantic literary studies with an especial slant on book history, textual and bibliographical studies, the literary marketplace and the publishing world, and so forth. Papers of 5–8,000 words should be submitted by the beginning of April or October in order to make the next issue, if accepted. Any of the usual electronic formats (e.g. RTF, Microsoft Word, WordPerfect, HTML) are acceptable, either by post or e-mail. Submissions should be sent to Dr Anthony Mandal, Centre for Editorial and Intertextual Research, ENCAP, Cardiff University, Humanities Building, Colum Drive, CARDIFF CF10 3EU, Wales (UK), mandal@cardiff.ac.uk.

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A NOTE ON THE FUTURE OF 'CARDIFF CORVEY'



THE CURRENT ISSUE of *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text* is the last under that designation. In order to reflect its widening remit and international presence, the journal will be relaunched as *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780–1840* [ISSN 1748-0116], as of the Winter 2005 (no. 15) issue. *Romantic Textualities* will develop its role as a fully peer-reviewed journal and will continue to publish every Summer and Winter of each year.

Romantic Textualities will carry three types of submitted publications:

1. ARTICLES

Articles we would be most interested in publishing include those addressing Romantic literary studies with an especial slant on book history, textual and bibliographical studies, the literary marketplace and the publishing world, and so forth. Submissions for articles (5,000–8,000 words) should be sent to the Editor (Mandal@cardiff.ac.uk).

2. REPORTS


We also supply reports on ongoing research, in the form of author studies, snapshots of research, bibliographical checklists, and so on. This material is not peer-reviewed, but provides a useful platform for scholars to disseminate information about their collaborative or individual research projects. Submissions for reports should be sent to the Editor (Mandal@cardiff.ac.uk).

3. REVIEWS

As of Issue 15, we intend on carrying reviews of recent publications relating to Romantic literary studies. In the first instance, publishers of suitable texts or potential contributors should contact the Reviews Editor (KillickPT@cardiff.ac.uk).

While the name and visual appearance of the journal will change to reflect its new function in Romantic-era studies, the critical focus on bibliography, textual scholarship, and print culture will remain the same—as the new title makes far more abundantly clear. Information about projects based within Cardiff University's Centre for Editorial and Intertextual Research will now be found solely on the Centre's website (<http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/ceir>). *Romantic Textualities* will continue to provide an archive of all

previously published articles, including those that appeared under the *Cardiff Corvey* banner.

In the first instance, *Romantic Textualities* will be accessible online @ <http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/romtext>, but the editors are currently seeking a friendlier alias for future issues. 



WORDSWORTH'S 'LIBRARY OF BABEL'

Bibliomania, the 1814 *Excursion*, and the 1815 *Poems*

Brian Robert Bates



IN 'BIBLIOMANIA: Book Collecting, Cultural Politics, and the Rise of Literary Heritage in Romantic Britain',¹ Philip Connell argues that the decade of the 1810s saw the rise of diverse strains of bibliomania involving the aristocratic gentleman, the burgeoning reading public, and the man of letters. Citing the famous sale of the great library of the fifth duke of Roxburghe, James Innes-Ker, Connell relates the aristocratic vogue for purchasing and collecting expensive literary treasures to a larger public interest in assembling the national literary heritage of the country. In the early nineteenth century, an aristocratic bibliomaniac could be understood publicly either as a self-absorbed collector, gratifying an insatiable desire for collecting rare and valuable books, or as a benefactor to society, accumulating a library of books that would add to the cultural capital of the nation. Connell suggests that this latter view developed largely during the late eighteenth century in conjunction with the reading public's broadening interest in collecting the literary past—a pursuit made economically possible with the end of perpetual copyright in 1774. Such widespread interest led to cheap and expensive scholarly editions of English literary classics and generally to a burgeoning concern for establishing and collecting the literary heritage of the nation. With this vogue for book collecting, Connell maintains that even an aristocrat's private library could be seen, 'symbolically at least, as a national resource'.²

Such antiquarian cravings for books in both the upper and middling classes was offset in the 1810s by what innumerable critics (most prominent in the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*) described as a deluge of modern books. What was needed to contain this onslaught of books, these critics maintained again and again, was a standard for measuring the national value of literary productions—a yardstick for deciding what should be read and why. Even further, with a public intent on collecting literary treasures, what should be collected and how should collections be made? This last question relates directly to how literary works might be read.³ The emerging literary class of the nineteenth-century man of letters responded to this call for bibliographic and hermeneutic order,⁴ in part, by fashioning themselves as disinterested readers and writers collecting together the cultural life of the nation.⁵ Connell singles out Isaac D'Israeli as such a leading man of letters who developed an anecdotal method

of writing, meant to bridge the gap between the learned and unlearned, by constructing a personal history that also points to a shared national history. Such a method featured ‘a collection of discrete particulars whose diligent accumulation and tasteful arrangement gestures toward a cohesive, organic conception of collective national.’⁶

Connell’s article offers a touchstone for understanding the cultural dialogue about books, which William Wordsworth responds to through the paratexts accompanying his publication of *The Excursion* (1814) and his collected *Poems* (1815).⁷ Seeking to re-enter a book-filled market in the 1810s, Wordsworth attempted to capitalise on and direct the bibliomania sweeping England by developing his own anecdotal method, which sets his works apart by placing them within an imagined coherent whole—a mini-library that unites his poems, presents a unified story of his poetic development, and reveals a connection between the past, present, and future cultural life of the nation. This essay points out some of the larger hypertextual organising principles behind Wordsworth’s 1815 categories, which function as both a portion and a reflection of his collecting and organising tendencies for his larger hypothetical *oeuvre*, outlined in his ‘Preface’ to *The Excursion* (1814).⁸

Presenting himself in his paratexts as a disinterested man of letters, Wordsworth recasts the values behind this bibliomania by recreating for and including his readers in the process of producing and collecting his poetry—a dual process that he styles in his 1815 ‘Preface’ as inextricable. More specifically, in one of his 1815 categories, ‘Poems of the Imagination’, his prose notes reveal his works as a modern classic, fit to be collected together and then re-collected by the public. These notes suggest how readers can gain control over the sheer mass of printed materials that they encounter, and they also identify ‘Tintern Abbey’, the finishing poem in this category, as a composite form that has grown not only out of the poet’s developmental tale of imaginative growth but also out of the growth of a nation.

I

The publication of *The Excursion, being a Portion of The Recluse* (1814) marks Wordsworth’s re-entrance into the print market.⁹ His dedicatory sonnet ‘To The Right Honourable William, Earl of Lonsdale, K.G.’, ‘Preface to the Edition of 1814’, and the ensuing ‘Prospectus’ leave no doubt that Wordsworth was marketing himself and his work as the very monument that his sonnet parenthetically hopes they will become (‘may it prove a monument!’). After the derisive reception of what critics perceived as the ephemeral and childish productions of his 1807 *Poems*, Wordsworth surrounded and guarded his fragmentary epic *The Recluse* with paratexts seen and unseen.¹⁰

As Stephen Gill succinctly points out in *William Wordsworth: A Life*:

The Excursion was a beautifully printed large quarto of 447 pages, prefaced by a dedicatory sonnet ‘To The Right Honourable Wil-

liam, Earl of Lonsdale, K.G. &c. &c.' and a six-page summary of the contents of each of the poem's nine books. After the text came six pages of notes and a sixteen-page *Essay Upon Epitaphs* accompanied by notes.¹¹

The Excursion was kept from the wider reading public by its high price, but it also was announced to the public (through its size) as an enduring monument. Not since his initial 1793 publication 'An Evening Walk' had Wordsworth chosen or been given the opportunity to publish in quarto. Wordsworth re-entered the print market by announcing the presence of his poems and himself in a book size that was typically placed in a library and not toted around, like his smaller octavo editions of *Lyrical Ballads* could be.

The Excursion was designed as a portion of a literary treasure, which appealed directly to Wordsworth's aristocratic patron William, Earl of Lonsdale, but its paratexts also describe the collective but as yet unactualised potential of his works for a wider audience. In fact, these paratexts announce the monumental value of the epic in terms of its ability to activate the collecting and collective powers of its readers.

What this sonnet, the 'Preface', and 'Prospectus' establish is the centrality of *The Excursion* not only for the as yet fragmentary *Recluse* but also for all of Wordsworth's poetic productions, both past and future.¹² These paratexts function as more than introductions to *The Excursion*: they operate as advertisements for what Wordsworth has already accomplished and what he will accomplish. In fact, what Wordsworth highlights as praiseworthy on several occasions throughout the 'Preface' is the 'laborious Work' that he has undertaken even to attempt the enormous undertaking of completing *The Recluse* (*PW*, v, 1). In this 'Preface' he goes to great lengths to point out the fragmentary but connected nature of all that he has written and all that he shall ever write. Even further, though, the 'Preface' foregrounds the importance of collecting, both collecting the life of the poetic mind and the life of poetic works. Wordsworth explicitly points out that his purpose in retiring 'to his native mountains [centred on] the hope of being enabled to construct a literary Work that might live' (*PW*, v, 2–3). In order to construct such a living work as *The Recluse*, Wordsworth collected his thoughts by 'tak[ing] a review of his own mind', which led to the construction of *The Prelude*, '[a] subsidiary to this preparation'.

Curiously, Wordsworth employs the word 'review' to describe the activity that led to his writing *The Prelude*. He styles himself as a poet-critic, engaged in a type of pre-reviewing activity (even before the act of writing) that leads to a preparatory poem which acts as both a critique of his powers and as a guiding force, enabling him to construct *The Excursion* that he now presents to the public.¹³ Wordsworth, ostensibly, has already studied his subject before he has written this poem; he has already considered the past in order to write the present: he has already been his own best critic. Consequently, he foregrounds his decision to publish 'the second division of the Work' because it

‘was designed to refer more to passing events, and to an existing state of things’ much more than the other two as yet unpublished parts of *The Recluse* (*PW*, v, 1). Wordsworth implies that his choice to begin publishing in the middle is owing to his sense of public responsibility.

By contrast, Francis Jeffrey, in his November 1814 review of *The Excursion*, relates Wordsworth’s publishing propensity to a distinct lack of public responsibility. In fact, Jeffrey diagnoses Wordsworth with a sickness—the type of bibliomania that was often associated with the idiosyncratic and self-serving collecting habits of aristocrats. The book size and material style of *The Excursion* might have prompted Jeffrey toward such an evaluation, but Jeffrey also provides a more detailed rationale, confiding to his readers that ‘had [Wordsworth] condescended to mingle a little more with the people that were to read and judge of [his poems], we cannot help thinking, that its texture would have been considerably improved.’¹⁴ While throughout the review Jeffrey clearly and strongly denigrates Wordsworth’s choice of rustic characters, bathetic failings in language, and passion for overwrought simplicity in *The Excursion*, his choice of the word ‘texture’—suggesting the structure given to an object by the size, shape, and arrangement of its parts—also harkens back to Jeffrey’s major criticism both early and late, focused on Wordsworth’s ‘peculiar system’. For Jeffrey, Wordsworth’s value to the public or lack thereof is to be found in this system: ‘His former poems were intended to recommend that system, and to bespeak favour for it by their individual merit;—but this, we suspect, must be recommended by the system—and can only expect to succeed where it has been previously established’ (*WCH*, 382). Here, Jeffrey inverts the familiar part/whole Wordsworthian proposition to whole/part, weighing the new production (*The Excursion*) in the balance of the past whole of Wordsworth’s productions. Because this poem is a part of that past system, Jeffrey argues that it must necessarily fail to succeed in the public eye. The poem has no place in the public because it offers no viable cultural space for the public to occupy.

Jeffrey saves some of his most caustic and exasperated remarks for the ‘Preface’ that Wordsworth affixes to *The Excursion*:

it is stated in the title—with something of an impudent candour—to be but ‘a portion’ of a larger work; and in the preface, where an attempt is rather unsuccessfully made to explain the whole design, it is still more rashly disclosed, that it is but ‘a part of the second part of a *long* and laborious work’—which is to consist of three parts.

After then lamenting what ‘Mr. Wordsworth’s ideas of length’ might be, Jeffrey asserts that this ‘small specimen [...] and the statements with which it is prefaced, have been sufficient to set our minds at rest in one particular. The case of Mr. Wordsworth, we perceive, is now manifestly hopeless; and we give him up as altogether incurable, and beyond the power of criticism.’ (*WCH*, 383)

Jeffrey makes public his decision to desert his patient (Wordsworth); he acknowledges the case as hopeless because Wordsworth has so continually 'been for twenty years at work on such matter as is now before us', and further because of the quantity that he 'is at this moment working up for publication upon the old pattern [...] it [is] almost hopeless to look for any change'. Nevertheless, although Jeffrey concedes that Wordsworth is beyond clinical (critical) help, he does maintain, '[w]e cannot altogether omit taking precautions now and then against the spreading of the malady'. While Jeffrey associates the malady with the longstanding perversion of taste that has marred Wordsworth's genius, he is most upset with the fact that Wordsworth keeps writing and plans to collect his works together all under the same system. He recognises Wordsworth's newest production for the public, accompanied by a 'Preface' that announces a type of collective system, as an idiosyncratic method of collating and organising his poems into tomes that might occupy a library, or even represent a type of microcosmic library themselves. Jeffrey understands Wordsworth's poems to be too self-involved, too attached to his '[l]ong habits of seclusion, and an excessive ambition of originality' (*WCH*, 384). Wordsworth appears bent on collecting his own poems into a library so that he can obsessively look at them all together. For Jeffrey, such a collection can have no value for the public for whom he, as a critic, presides as a doctor to his patients, and the health of the reading public and the nation can only be debilitated by the spread of Wordsworth's malady. In Jeffrey's view, '[t]his will never do' (*WCH*, 382).

Like Jeffrey, ironically, Wordsworth is intent on limiting the public's cravings for unhealthy stimulation met by the deluge of printed works in the 1810s. While Jeffrey describes Wordsworth's bibliomania as an idiosyncratic taste for hoarding together his own books in a private library, however, Wordsworth describes his collecting tendencies as a system for evaluating and combating the overwhelming production and circulation of books. Wordsworth's 1814 paratexts seek to transform readers from passive buyers plagued by a surfeit of books into active agents empowered by their capacity to recognise and take part in creating the organising principles behind the collections that they purchase.

In his 'Prospectus' to *The Excursion*, Wordsworth demonstrates how these cravings for ephemeral productions might be reshaped into a lasting appreciation for and desire to collect not only English literary classics but also contemporary classics of the English nation.¹⁵ A large portion of that responsibility rests on Wordsworth's ability to recreate for his readers the process of producing and collecting his poetry—a dual process that he styles in this 'Preface' as inextricable. The 'Prospectus' advertises itself and the hypothetical whole that it represents by intermingling the poet, the powers of his mind, his task, and his subject matter all in a prefatory epic proemium that foregrounds the poet grappling with the difficulties of what appears as an extended moment of pre-writing, pre-reading, and pre-editing. It functions as an index and overview of what is, what was, and what will come—all of which hinge on the rhetorical power of the 'Prospectus' to intermingle the creative powers of the poet and his readers.

The 'Prospectus' prompts readers to follow what Coleridge would describe as the 'revelations of [the poet's] own mind, producing itself and evolving its own greatness'.¹⁶ They are asked to evaluate his poetic labour, to see him as a labourer travelling like Milton's epic narrator who follows Satan's descent and ascent through Hell, Chaos, and towards Heaven. Wordsworth, though, describes the place and space that he travels in as both more awful and more fertile than that path because he 'must tread on shadowy ground, must sink/ Deep—and, aloft ascending, breathe in worlds/ To which the heaven of heavens is but a veil' (ll. 28–30). After passing through that veil, he reveals that the 'haunt, and the main region of [his] song' is 'look[ing]/ Into our Minds, into the Mind of Man' (ll. 40–41).

Such looking into the mind of man necessitates a similar but different kind of poetic travel and inquiry than the journey through *Paradise Lost*, which also begins in the middle and works both forwards and backwards as the epic narrative progresses from book to book. Consequently, Wordsworth will need the muse of *Paradise Lost*, 'Urania, I shall need/ Thy guidance, or a greater Muse' (ll. 25–26). Like the narrator from *Paradise Lost*, who on several occasions calls for Urania's guidance so that he will not lose the thread and theme of his epic, becoming lost in the midst of the design that he constructs, Wordsworth too foregrounds his need to find an organising framework for the epic that will speak of so much more than *Paradise Lost* could ever encompass, even with Milton's temporal design that reaches backward to the Creation and forward to Revelation. The 'Prospectus' privileges Wordsworth's organising framework over Milton's because Wordsworth's operates rhetorically to bridge the psychological gap between the poet and his readers.

His burden as a poet, the 'Prospectus' makes clear, is to chart the evolving and revolving relationship between the developing mind of an individual life (Wordsworth's) and 'Man', 'Nature', and 'Human Life' (l. 1). The 'Prospectus' seeks to connect all of these focal points, to 'chant [...] the spousal verse/ Of this great consummation' between the 'Mind of Man' and 'Beauty—a living Presence of the earth', between high subjects and low, between himself and mankind (ll. 56–57, 40, 43). Wordsworth sets up the possibility for such consummation through the form of this 'Prospectus' as epic proemium. Here, his blank verse is interrupted on a number of occasions by dashes that both divide and align his thoughts as they twist and turn between his narrative argument and apostrophic invocatory addresses. In fact, nearly all of the revolutions of the poet's mind are divided by such dashes, parsing this proemium into six sections that draw the reader on toward his 'Theme this but little heard of among men' (l. 68). While in the first third of the 'Prospectus' Wordsworth identifies 'the main region of *my* Song', by the end of line 71 he asserts, 'this is *our* high argument' (ll. 41, 71, italics mine). Lines 70–71 signal the climax of this shift from the poet's song to the mutual song/argument of the poet and his audience: 'And the creation (by no lower name/ Can it be called) which they with blended might/ Accomplish—this is our high argument' (ll. 69–71).

The rhetorical construction of these lines suggests how such 'creation' is contingent. Although Wordsworth implies that the 'blended might' of mind and world can produce a type of almost divine creation, the construction of 'blended might/ Accomplish' followed by '*our* high argument' (my italics) implies the necessity of the 'fit' reader to join in and even contribute to Wordsworth's poetic project. His use of 'might', directly preceding 'Accomplish' leaves the reader to actualise the poet's claim that 'this is our high argument'. These words suggest, through an indirect address to the reader—who has already been alerted by Wordsworth's proclamation a few lines earlier that he would 'arouse the sensual from their sleep/ Of Death, and win the vacant and vain/ To noble raptures' (ll. 60–62)—a consummation with the poet through the word 'our'. This 'blended might', then, could refer to the marriage of the reader to the poem (as an extension of the poet) and reciprocally to the marriage of the poet to the poem (as an extension of the reader).

The word 'might', therefore, implies both the poet's advice and request that the reader enact the possibility of the latent strength inherent in a union through the text between poet and reader, which could produce 'creation (by no lower name/ Can it be called)' (ll. 69–70). If the reader responds to the poet's call for 'blended might', then that inspired reader can move through the multivalent threshold that Wordsworth creates in the 'Prospectus'. Because the entire 107 lines of the 'Prospectus' are set off in quotations from the end of *Home at Grasmere*, this 'Prospectus' points backwards to the ending of the absent *Home at Grasmere* and forward to *The Excursion* and the design of the future *Recluse* that follows the 'Prospectus'. Even further, the 'Prospectus' points backwards through the 'Preface to *The Excursion*' to the poem that appears to have enabled the design of his poetic programme, *The Prelude*, and even provisionally outward to all of the other 'minor Pieces' that he would collect together in 1815.¹⁷ From this perspective the 'Prospectus' is a bridge or threshold between all of Wordsworth's works. It is proleptic in the sense that it continues forward *The Prelude*; it is analeptic because it recounts events leading up to *The Excursion*; it is elleptic in that it links together *Home at Grasmere* and *The Excursion*, but it also fills in the gap for all of his works, connecting each to each; so, it allows for a contiguous paralletic movement to all of his little 1815 poems. The 'Prospectus', then, even prepares the reader for how to read the 1815 poems.

If the reader faithfully and sympathetically crosses the threshold of the 'Prospectus' into the poetic world of '*our* high argument', then instead of remaining 'a doorway to incompleteness, fragmentation and ruin',¹⁸ the 'Prospectus' turns that fragmentation into a process of continual growth where the reader takes part in the 'creation' of what is no longer just Wordsworth's Gothic church but the construction of '*our* high argument'. Through the 'Prospectus', Wordsworth prompts the reader not only to begin 'extracting the system for himself', as he asserts in the 'Preface', but to take part in the creation of that system.

The 'Prospectus', then, also folds back on and illustrates the temporal and spatial dimensions that Wordsworth suggests in the 'Preface' through his Gothic church metaphor. Fittingly, Wordsworth compares the relationship between *The Prelude* and *The Recluse* to the construction of 'the Ante-Chapel [...] to the body of a gothic Church' (*PW*, v, 2). His use of the word antechapel suggests not only an entranceway into another part of a church; it also suggests the intimacy of a private, preparatory space. Wordsworth implies that the reader should enter the body of his poetic *oeuvre* after crossing through the recess of a subordinate, private, and as yet publicly absent place of worship, the threshold of *The Prelude*. Like the poet, the reader too must pass imaginatively through a personal and meditative chamber in order to enter into this metaphorical Gothic church, where Wordsworth maintains:

His minor Pieces, which have been long before the Public, when they shall be properly arranged, will be found by the attentive Reader to have such connection with the main Work as may give them claim to be likened to the little Cells, Oratories, and sepulchral Recesses, ordinarily included in those Edifices. (*PW*, v, 2)

Here, Wordsworth intermingles presence with absence, past with future, and parts with design. He asks his reader to construct the presence of the absent *Recluse* by passing through an absent *Prelude*, to project his past works into a coherent future 'main Work', and to imagine the reordering of the smallest, seemingly disparate 'Cells' as intricately necessary for the larger design. Since the 'Public' has long been exposed to his 'minor Pieces', Wordsworth seems to hope that his 'attentive Reader' will be able to construct the absent parts of this Gothic church by imaginatively inhabiting a fragmented but shared hermeneutic structure that asks the reader to complete it.

Faced with an incomplete Gothic church missing its central piece as well as many of its subsidiary pieces and filled with areas of light offset by uncertain 'Oratories, and sepulchral Recesses' clouded in dark, Wordsworth's reader is asked to work through his dismay at this shadowy incompleteness and to attune himself to the grandeur of a structure in the process of being constructed. As Mark Schoenfield suggests, Wordsworth is not only building a Gothic church, which his readers will help him complete; he is building an entire poetic community of readers centred around the building of this structure over time.¹⁹ The question is first whether the reader wants to be a part of this fictive construction and this fictive community and second whether the reader can participate in such a construction.

II

Wordsworth devoted two essays to these questions, and they function fittingly as book-ends to Volume I of his 1815 *Poems*.²⁰ The apparatus to these two volumes provides a cataloguing and collating system for his collected poems that leaves readers in little doubt that Wordsworth has kept his eye firmly and fixedly on

his object.²¹ These volumes, including a classification system that divides his life's work into different categories and also relates dates of original composition and first publication, detail the growth of a poet's mind; moreover, they foreground the efforts of a man ordering his life, his work, and his public. They portray him as a professional poet grappling with a hostile print market and review culture while also identifying him as a man of letters, attempting both to hold to and add on to the store of human knowledge by collecting together his life's work. While in the 'Preface to *The Excursion*', Wordsworth depicts his collected works as a Gothic church—an apt metaphor given the growing British nineteenth-century interest in Gothic churches as national treasures—in the 'Essay Supplementary to the Preface' (1815), he places himself and his works squarely within a library of his creation.

A few of Wordsworth's reviewers for his 1815 *Poems* identified this collecting propensity as an example of the frenetic bibliomania pushed upon the reading public by the force of an overwhelming, book-flooded market. In an unsigned review in the June 1815 number of the *Theatrical Inquisitor*, the reviewer expresses his exasperation over the number of books continually unleashed on the public: 'If the present race of authors was to be judged of from the quantity, and not the quality of their productions, the voice of censure would be wholly silenced; quarto succeeds to quarto, and poem to poem, in such rapid succession, that the public has no time to pause or doubt.'²² This reviewer describes the reading public (and review culture) as so overwhelmed by the sheer material productions of poetry that they have neither the capacity to stop and reflect on these productions nor the ability to question the presence of these books in the world. Arguing that at 'the very instant they are adjusting their critical scales to weigh the merit of one production, their attention is called off to the perusal of another', this reviewer throws up his hands lamenting, '[t]here is, indeed, scarcely one of our modern poets, who could not, out of his own works, furnish a very decent library, although it may not be so extensive as the Bodleian' (*WCH*, 521).

Here, this reviewer very acutely (though perhaps unintentionally) captures the tone and scope of Wordsworth's 'Essay Supplementary to the Preface'. The overwhelming deluge of books, the need to properly judge these books, and the question of how and what to collect together are all central concerns of his essay. More specifically, the 'Essay Supplementary' deals explicitly with market forces in the form of unrelenting and ignorant critics, diverse segments of the reading public, and greedy booksellers, while also providing a brief (skewed) history of the circulation and popularity of English writers since Shakespeare. Throughout this manifesto, leading up to his statement of manifest destiny for how the poet must 'create the taste by which he is to be enjoyed' (*PW*, II, 426), Wordsworth turns on the offensive, moulding literary history, his contemporary reception, and his own conception of his works to fit into the library that he imagines as a future treasure for the 'People, philosophically characterized' (p. 430).

Tellingly, the only moment in the entire ‘Essay Supplementary’ when Wordsworth reveals himself as writing from a specific place occurs in the midst of his attack on how critics have both created and tampered with the popularity of poetic works. Writing from his own private library,²³ Wordsworth takes Dr Johnson to task for what he sees as flawed statements about the reception and success of *Paradise Lost*: ‘Dr. Johnson has fallen into a gross mistake when he attempts to prove, by the sale of the work, that Milton’s Countrymen were “just to it” upon its first appearance’ (*PW*, II, 417). Specifically, he criticises Johnson’s explanation that the demand for *Paradise Lost* after its first publication was low owing to a lack of poetry-readers. Wordsworth’s response is both measured and biting:

How careless must a writer be who can make this assertion in the face of so many existing title pages to belie it! Turning to my own shelves, I find the folio of Cowley, 7th Edition, 1681. A book near it is Flatman’s Poems, 4th Edition, 1686; Waller, 5th Edition, same date. (p. 417)

Wordsworth insists that the market for *Paradise Lost* was full of readers buying poetry: if Milton’s epic did not sell better, it was because the taste of the public was directed toward other poetic pursuits.

Further, the manner in which Wordsworth locates and identifies these volumes when he turns toward his shelves suggests how inconsequential and randomly organised such a grouping of books is. From the folio of Cowley, his eye trails off to ‘a book near’ Cowley’s, Flatman’s, which then gives way to Waller’s book. Beyond the general period when these writers published, these books are grouped together on Wordsworth’s shelves only because they went through enough editions to render them popular. After dismissing Johnson’s argument, with evidence from his own private library, Wordsworth then implicitly dismisses the very collection that proves his point to the reader. What such a grouping of writers lack is an organic unity built from a shared national culture validated by time; they represent only the popular taste of that time period. Wordsworth pushes aside these books in his own library as a way to clear space for an imagined library of his own making—a library to be built up and passed down from one generation to the next.

A few pages later, Wordsworth further bolsters his literary history over Johnson’s by drawing attention to Johnson’s *Lives of the Poets*. After denigrating the false language, description, and feelings in Macpherson’s *Ossian*, Wordsworth turns to Dr Johnson, who:

was solicited not long after to furnish Prefaces biographical and critical for some of the most eminent English Poets. The Booksellers took upon themselves to make the collection; they referred probably to the most popular miscellanies, and, unquestionably, to their Books of accounts; and decided upon the claim of Authors to be admitted into a body of the most Eminent, from the

familiarity of their names with the readers of the day, and by the profits, which, from the sale of his works, each had brought and was bringing to the Trade. (*PW*, II, 425)

Controlled by the booksellers, who 'allowed [him] a limited exercise of discretion' in choosing who would be in the *Lives of the Poets*, Johnson (Wordsworth maintains) has produced a collection that is 'scarcely to be mentioned without a smile' (p. 425)—a collection that begins with Cowley and does not include Chaucer, Spenser, Sydney, or Shakespeare.

Johnson's collection lacks integrity and consequently the ability to embody any sense of English literary heritage because it was constructed under the direction of fashionable taste and market forces—a place where 'the Booksellers stalls in London swarmed with the folios of Cowley' (p. 417). The implication is that Wordsworth's self-collection possesses integrity because it was governed by the seemingly disinterested direction of the poet and not by the money-grubbing directions of booksellers. Even further, Wordsworth implicitly aligns his own collection with the power of Shakespeare's constructive genius. Praising Shakespeare as more than a 'wild irregular genius', Wordsworth maintains

that the judgment of Shakespeare in the selection of his material, and in the manner in which he has made them, heterogeneous as they often are, constitute a unity of their own, and contribute all to one great end [and] is no less admirable than his imagination, his invention, and his intuitive knowledge of human Nature!

(p. 416)

Curiously, instead of referring directly to Shakespeare's collected dramatic works (which Shakespeare did not collect himself), Wordsworth turns to Shakespeare's sonnet collection precisely because it was ignored and/or denigrated by critics for such a long period of time. His description of Shakespeare's work, though, also has a material referent as well as a philosophical-literary one. Throughout the eighteenth century, the industry for publishing Shakespeare's collected dramatic works soared. Wordsworth's mention of Pope's edition just previous to this passage is just one instance of poets and critics turning out collected and edited editions of the Bard's plays. By the end of the eighteenth century, Shakespeare's collected works had become an institution, a national heritage to be passed on from generation to generation—a self-contained library of beauties that inhabited the library of every man of taste.²⁴

Even more explicitly, Wordsworth singles out Percy's *Reliques* for particular praise as a collection that links past, present, and future all within the scope of a shared national literary history. Wordsworth describes the *Reliques* as 'collected, new-modelled, and in many instances (if such a contradiction in terms may be used) composed, by the editor Dr. Percy' (*PW*, II, 421). As a seemingly overlooked and too often slighted 'Compilation [that] was however ill-suited to the then existing taste of City society', the *Reliques* draw Wordsworth's praise because Percy has done more than simply edit and collect them. Although

Wordsworth does criticise Percy for the few unfortunate occasions that he decided to appear ‘in his own person and character as a poetical writer’ because that writing picked up the characteristics of the ‘unfeeling language of the day’ (p. 422), he warmly praises Percy’s editorial endeavours for making and providing a standard or example (new-modelled), for placing and forming these poems in the proper order (composing), and for drawing together materials from different sources (compilation).

What renders Percy a poet–creator and not just an editor, in Wordsworth’s conception, is that his collection drew so many imitators after making its first appearance into the world. In collecting the *Reliques* Percy has done more than draw together materials: he has brought together and united the English literary tradition of past and future. Unlike Macpherson’s *Ossian*, which showed an ‘incapability to amalgamate with the literature of the Island’, Wordsworth readily asserts (‘with a public avowal of my own’) that Percy’s *Reliques* has strongly influenced German literature ‘and for our own Country, its Poetry has been absolutely redeemed by it. I do not think that there is an able Writer in verse of the present day who would not be proud to acknowledge his obligations to the *Reliques*’ (*PW*, II, 424–25). Percy’s collection has succeeded because it demonstrates the ability to compile together diverse forms from the past that speak to and spur on present writers into the future.²⁵

The *Reliques* provide a continuum and continuity for English literature—the same status that he accords to the influence of his own *Lyrical Ballads* by pointing out ‘to what degree the Poetry of this Island has since that period been coloured by them’ (*PW*, II, 426). For Wordsworth, then, Literature that is valuable, that is durable, that is worthy of being collected and kept ‘is at once a history of the remote past and a prophetic annunciation of the remotest future’ (p. 429). However, such works must also wait to receive the recognition that they deserve. His consolation, though, comes with his assertion that with Literature such as his own ‘the *individual*, as well as the species, survives from age to age’ while ‘of the depraved, though the species be immortal the individual quickly *perishes*’ (p. 429). Wordsworth’s quasi-evolutionary stance of the strong individual poet of Literature, however, raises the question of how such an individual survives. How can the individual survive when without question the individual will literally die? How can the poet ignore the Public when the Public seemingly provides the only means by which a poet’s work can survive? Wordsworth answers with his avowed devotion to ‘the People, philosophically characterized, and to the embodied spirit of their knowledge, so far as it exists and moves, at the present, faithfully supported by its two wings, the past and the future’ (p. 430).

Who such philosophic People are (or will be) is unclear,²⁶ but regardless, Wordsworth’s ability to appeal to these People is contingent on his works being kept alive in the present so that they can be read at a later date. The answer to such a problem is contingent on material conditions. What Wordsworth

needs is a literal place where his works can be collected and kept—a library that would place him at the end of the great line of works that he has catalogued as preceding his own.²⁷ In Wordsworth's terms, though, such a place must operate outside of the forces of the marketplace that is overrun by masses of new publications and governed by the opinions of the review culture and the ephemeral tastes of the public. In fact, Wordsworth is at pains to point out how his poems cannot possibly succeed in the contemporary market for poetry. Instead, the appeal that he tries to make for his collected works is one that is both antiquarian and prophetic. His works have both captured the spirit of the past (the *Lyrical Ballads* are a direct descendent of Percy's *Reliques*), while also proving their future worth in the number of imitators of *Lyrical Ballads* since its first publication. Last, they have earned a place next to the other treasures of English literature that he praises in his essay because they also failed as marketable poetry.

III

Nevertheless, Wordsworth does not completely dismiss the present. He is intent on creating his works as a future (but already present) modern classic, and the 1815 'Preface' provides the space for him to style his work as mediating between the past and the future heritage of the nation. In that 'Preface' he introduces his collected works as a mass of hybrid genres, which can both be divided but not separated from the schema that he develops for his entire poetic *oeuvre*. In fact, Wordsworth asserts their value by way of arguing for the sheer number of interlocking ways that the poems have been organised. What he constructs is an anecdotal history of his own mind and of recent cultural and literary history.²⁸ The 1815 'Preface' introduces a literary life—both collected and divided into pieces—which offers a window into the stylised mind of a poetic genius. However, the collection also offers fragments of early-nineteenth-century culture, a miscellany of English life, accessible to those people who wish to reconstruct it by trailing the footsteps of the poet re-collecting in tranquillity.

Fittingly, Wordsworth begins his discussion in the 'Preface' with himself. He points out what he finds to be the six elements necessary for the 'production of poetry' (*PW*, II, 431). These six categories move chronologically in two ways. First, they describe the process whereby composition happens, moving from the first step in this composition process to the final one. Then, they also suggest that these processes grow in the poet only over the course of his/her development as a poet. Wordsworth maintains that the powers of observation and description are first, but he makes these powers subservient to an exquisite sensibility, inciting the poet 'to observe objects, both as they exist in themselves and as re-acted upon by his own mind' (p. 432). Wordsworth, then, includes the governing power of reflection as a mediator that weighs the value of the two former poetic powers and facilitates synthetic comparisons between the objects of these powers. Fourth, Wordsworth adds, 'Imagination and Fancy,—to

modify, to create, and to associate.' Fifth, he articulates the importance of invention, which operates as a power that puts to use all of the first four categories to create characters in relation to incidents worked upon by the imagination and 'most fitted to do justice to the characters, sentiments, and passions, which the Poet undertakes to illustrate.' Finally, he rounds out his catalogue, by calling attention to the need for judgment, 'to decide how and where, and in what degree, each of these faculties ought to be exerted.' (p. 432)

Wordsworth, then, describes this hierarchy of poetic faculties as 'cast, by means of various moulds, into divers forms', as the narrative, the dramatic, the lyrical, the idyllium, the didactic, and the philosophical satire. His hierarchy of poetic faculties is broken up and distributed among the forms that poetry can be written in. However, Wordsworth neither says which forms have which faculties nor does he point out how those faculties might be employed differently given the type of mode in which they are employed. Even more confusing, he proceeds to argue that

It is deducible from the above, that poems, apparently miscellaneous, may with propriety be arranged either with reference to the powers of mind *predominant* in the production of them; or to the mould in which they are cast; or lastly to the subjects to which they relate [...] (*PW*, II, 432–33)

With three seemingly separate categories for organising his poems, Wordsworth subdivides his poems into

classes; which, that the work may more obviously correspond with the course of human life, for the sake of exhibiting in it the three requisites of a legitimate whole, the beginning, a middle, and an end, have been also arranged, as far as it was possible, according to an order of time, commencing with Childhood, and terminating with Old Age, Death, and Immortality. (p. 434)

While Wordsworth has specifically divided his poems into classes that pertain either to the powers of mind, to the poetic mould, or to the subject, he also has generally organised the poems according to a time-scheme leading from childhood to death and immortality.

Wordsworth does not end his system of classification here, however:

My guiding wish was, that the small pieces of which these volumes consist, thus discriminated, might be regarded under a two-fold view; as composing an entire work within themselves, and as adjuncts to the philosophical Poem, 'The Recluse' [...] (p. 434)

Even further, he also expresses his hope that 'individually' the poems will have a 'natural effect' on the reader. Not only does Wordsworth ask the reader to consider the power of the mind behind the creation of a given poem and group of poems, the poetic form that a poem and group are poems are written in, and the subject matter focused on in a poem and given group of poems, he also

asks that the reader consider the effects of the individual poem in relation to the larger effect of the two volumes as well as the relation between these poems as a whole to the larger (and unseen) whole of *The Recluse*.

Spatially, Wordsworth suggests that the individual poem makes up a portion of a larger hypothetical whole and that spatial progression is contingent on the temporal movement between poems and classes of poems that mimic the development of human life. While Wordsworth constructs a complex organising apparatus for these poems and alerts readers to the necessity of paying heed to this apparatus, he also leaves readers at liberty to discover the relationship between the poems that he has variously classified. What is important for Wordsworth in this preface is that readers recognise that they can approach his classification schema from a number of interlocking perspectives. In fact, he is at pains to point out that his collected works are readily available to readers with different levels of hermeneutic competence. Such a belief leads him to declare:

I should have preferred to scatter the contents of these volumes at random, if I had been persuaded that, by the plan adopted, anything material would have been taken from the natural effect of the pieces individually, on the mind of the unreflecting reader [...] for him who reads with reflection, the arrangement will serve as a commentary unostentatiously directing his attention to my purposes, both particular and general. (p. 434)

Wordsworth requires that all of his readers actively engage with his poems because, 'Poems, however humble in their kind, if they be good in that kind, cannot read themselves', but he also points out that the reader's mind must be 'left at liberty' after first being 'summoned, to act upon its thoughts and images.' (p. 435)

Wordsworth sets up interlocking signposts (his classification system) enabling his readers to wander productively through the imaginary library of his works. More importantly, he relates the coherence of this library to the activating powers of his readers. To carve out a pathway through Wordsworth's collection is to take part in recovering the future path of the nation. What he has produced is a living collection made whole only through his reader's willingness to take part in his textual design, rendering it a contemporary history of English culture. Similar to Connell's description of D'Israeli's anecdotal method, which attempts to construct the national character, Wordsworth's method also

imparts 'a certain activity to the mind,' [...] function[ing] as a kind of Arnoldian touchstone, restoring ties of 'remote or latent connexion' within the canons of literary history and thus imposing a fluid yet coherent and adaptive structure upon the ever-increasing multiplicity of books.²⁹

Wordsworth's 1815 *Poems* image forth a library of books not just to collect on shelves, but a library to enter into imaginatively where the activity of reading is

tantamount to collecting together, organising, and becoming a part of a living culture. Even further, Wordsworth's footnotes to his 1815 volumes underscore both how books can become a part of readers and how readers can become a part of books.

IV

While many critics of the 1815 volumes focused a great deal of attention on his two essays, in the *Monthly Review* for November 1815, the reviewer (probably Francis Hodgson) draws explicit attention to several of Wordsworth's poems in the section 'Poems of the Imagination' because of the network of footnotes that Wordsworth attaches to them.³⁰ After quoting a portion of Wordsworth's 'Essay Supplementary', which anticipates Wordsworth's fame in posterity, the reviewer sarcastically 'beg[s] permission to subjoin to this extraordinary passage, as we cannot help considering it, the following still more extraordinary quotation and note' (*WCH*, 558). This exasperated reviewer feels the need to beg permission of his readers to relate the following because it seems to be an anecdotal digression, moving away from the purpose of his review. In calling attention to Wordsworth's footnotes, however, the reviewer cleverly parodies Wordsworth's anecdotal movements within his 1815 volumes. Further, he highlights these textual movements from poetry to prose as proving his overarching evaluation of Wordsworth's classification system, 'that we do not remember to have ever met with so "Much Ado about Nothing" in any author'.

The reviewer provides two stanzas from 'I wandered lonely as a cloud' (untitled in the 1815 *Poems*), while also attaching at the bottom of the page Wordsworth's footnote:

The subject of these stanzas is rather an elementary feeling and simple impression (approaching to the nature of an ocular spectrum) upon the imaginative faculty, than an *exertion* of it. The one which follows is strictly a Reverie; and neither that, nor the next after it in succession, 'The Power of Music,' would have been placed here except for the reason given in the foregoing note.

As the reviewer points out, this other note refers directly to 'The Horn of Egremont Castle' and to the following ballad 'Goody Blake and Harry Gill': 'This POEM, and the ballad which follows it, as they rather *refer to the imagination than are produced by it*, would not have been placed here, but to avoid a needless multiplication of the *classes*' (*WCH*, 559). Wordsworth focuses these footnotes on the rationale behind the placement of poems, and each note supports the other in declaring the need to expand the category 'Poems of the Imagination' to include poems that refer to the imagination as well as those that are produced by it. The footnotes appear as an apologia for grouping poems together as a means to gain organising control over the sheer mass of materials available. However, the reviewer understands these notes satirically as representative examples pointing out the already compendious apparatus that the reader must confront in grappling with Wordsworth's poetry.

Such notes (exasperating for this reviewer) announce Wordsworth's poems as a modern classic. His collected poems appear not only to deserve notes that might shed light on the subject matter of a poem; they also merit notes that describe the manner in which poems have been organised together. These notes provide commentary that directs the reader's attention back to Wordsworth's overarching purpose for his collection. They supply a context within which to consider a given poem, but most prominently, they set up continuities between poems within the two volumes as well as the relationship to Wordsworth's extra-textual *The Prelude* and *The Recluse*.

In Volume II of 'Poems of the Imagination', Wordsworth attaches to 'French Revolution, as It Appeared to Enthusiasts at its Commencement Reprinted from "The Friend"' the following note: 'This, and the Extract, vol. I. page 44, and the first Piece of this Class are from the unpublished Poem of which some account is given in the Preface to *The Excursion*.' Wordsworth's note links together this poem with 'Influence of Natural Objects' (from page 44 of the section 'Poems Referring to Childhood' in Volume I) and with 'There was a boy' (the initial poem in 'Poems of the Imagination'). Not only does Wordsworth in the 'Preface' liken his classification system to the development of a human life, here he explicitly links together childhood, the first poem and the second to last poem in 'Poems of the Imagination'. The 'Influence of Natural Objects' with its headnote 'In calling forth and strengthening the Imagination in Boyhood and early Youth; from an unpublished Poem' makes clear that together all three of these poems tell the developmental tale of the poet's imagination. Wordsworth connects them together by pointing out that they are all three fragments from the publicly non-existent but supposedly complete *The Prelude*—a poem that Wordsworth describes in the 'Preface to *The Excursion*' as 'subsidiary' but necessary, as preparation for but inextricable from *The Recluse*.

Perhaps more important, with these connective notes, Wordsworth prepares his readers for the final poem in 'Poems of the Imagination': 'Lines Composed a few Miles above Tintern Abbey, on revisiting the Banks of the Wye during a Tour'. Curiously, for the 1815 publication of this poem Wordsworth alters the title from 'Lines Written', which several critics have interpreted as a manoeuvre drawing attention to the musical and oral nature of the poem. However, given the context that Wordsworth sets up in the preceding poem 'French Revolution', which links together three poems from different places in the volume all under the rubric of the development of the imagination from childhood to early manhood, composed takes on a different meaning. Given his praise for how Percy's *Reliques* are 'composed' in the 'Essay Supplementary', here 'composed' suggests that the lines are brought together and arranged out of composite parts. 'Tintern Abbey' is both a culmination and a composite form of Wordsworth's developmental tale of the imagination—a form that has grown in and out of the poet's mind over the course of five years of change (and for the 1815 volumes over twenty years of change). The three published parts mentioned earlier from the unpublished *Prelude* provide a context and window into 'Tintern Abbey'.

Moving from 'French Revolution' sets up an analeptic movement backward to Volume 1 and a proleptic movement forward to 'Tintern Abbey' while all four of these poems provide a hypothetical paralectic movement working within the subsidiary, but master narrative of *The Prelude*. With such a system, Wordsworth provides a rationale for how and why one collects together the works of the past with the works of the present—a system that involves the reader in the process of collecting and producing the literary treasures of a nation.


One of Wordsworth's poems in the section 'Epitaphs and Elegaic Poems' is even more extra-textually suggestive in its yoking together of poems as a means to unite a nation of readers. In the headnote, 'written, November 13, 1814 on a blank leaf in a Copy of the Author's Poem *THE EXCURSION*, upon hearing of the death of the late Vicar of Kendal', Wordsworth writes:

To public notice, with reluctance strong,
 Did I deliver this unfinished song,
 Yet for one happy issue;—and I look
 With self-congratulation on the Book
 Which pious MURFITT saw and read;—
 Upon my thoughts his saintly Spirit fed;
 He conn'd the new-born Lay with grateful heart;
 Foreboding not how soon he must depart,
 Unweeting that to him the joy was given
 Which good Men take with them from Earth to Heaven.

(*PW*, II, 336)

Here, Wordsworth calls attention to *The Excursion* as a material object. By pointing out that originally he had written this poem on a blank leaf in *The Excursion*, he foregrounds the actual existence of the book and not just a theoretical connection between this poem and his 1814 publication. This poem is now a part of *The Excursion*. What he has done is inscribed an epitaph for a public figure within the material space of an epic poem that charts the life, death, and times of early-nineteenth-century England. Even more specifically, Wordsworth inscribes an epitaph within a book that delineates the very nature of epitaphs as ties that bind together the living and the dead, the past, present, and future. In fact, Wordsworth attaches a sixteen-page-long note to Book v of *The Excursion* known as his *Essay upon Epitaphs*, which explicitly delineates the style and tone befitting such a proper epitaph. The first sentence of this *Essay* underscores the monumental status such an inscription provides for *The Excursion*: 'It need scarcely be said, that an Epitaph presupposes a Monument, upon which it is to be engraven' (*PW*, v, 444). As his essay points out, such a record 'among the modern nations of Europe, are deposited within, or contiguous to, their places of worship' (p. 448).

Wordsworth's epitaph presents the Vicar as having worshipped at *The Excursion*. The epitaph celebrates the 'saintly Spirit' of the Vicar of Kendal that has 'fed' upon Wordsworth's 'thoughts' in *The Excursion*. His fragmented epic

text appears like one of the village churchyards that Wordsworth describes in this essay, which 'is a visible center of a community of the living and the dead' (p. 450). Wordsworth even obfuscates the origin of the 'joy' that the Vicar has taken with him to Heaven. Did it come from his vocation or from his association with *The Excursion* where he has 'conn'd the new-born lay with grateful heart'? The Vicar even appears like one of Wordsworth's own characters in his poems—namely the Leech Gatherer in 'Resolution and Independence', who 'cons' the water in front of him, reading it like a book. 'Pious Murfitt' represents Wordsworth's ideal reader, studying, poring over, memorising, and even worshipping at *The Excursion*. The Vicar's active reading and emotional investment in *The Excursion* situate Wordsworth's fragmented epic as a link between the living and the dead, a work to be looked back on and revered for what it can provide in the future (in life and in death). As an appreciative (and now deceased) reader of *The Excursion*, Murfitt becomes a part of that fragmented poem—a character testifying to its seemingly monumental importance for all of mankind. Like the Leech Gatherer, Wordsworth transforms Pious Murfitt into a poetic model to be revered and imitated; he joins Wordsworth's cast of characters who give witness to the importance of Wordsworth's collected works as a modern classic central to England's literary heritage. 

NOTES

1. Philip Connell, 'Bibliomania: Book Collecting, Cultural Politics, and the Rise of Literary Heritage in Romantic Britain', *Representations* 70 (Summer 2000), 24–47.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
3. While my argument about Wordsworth's re-entry into the print market relates to the sheer number of publications (both poetry and prose) flooding the print market in the 1810s, further inquiry into this subject would have to take into account more closely the production of poetry anthologies, miscellanies, and eventually keepsakes. These anthologies typically featured a number of poets, and they were organized according to principles that would lead to their highest economic success. Consequently, popular poets, both contemporary and canonical, were often featured in ways that were immediately pleasing and easily readable. As Anne Ferry points out in *Tradition and the Individual Poem: An Inquiry into Anthologies* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001) short lyric poems and even excerpted poems became the norm, allowing readers to skip from poem to poem at their leisure and whim. Wordsworth's endeavours, then, not only counter the growing economic stagnation of publishing individual poets, which will come to a head in the 1820s: they also seem to combat the type of reading that these anthologies set up as pleasurable for a growing middle class readership.
4. John Gross's *The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters: Aspects of English Literary Life since 1800* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1969) provides a succinct history of the man of letters from the rise of the reviewing critic at the beginning of the nineteenth century to modern times.
5. During the first few decades of the nineteenth century, the eighteenth-century concept of the man of letters was undergoing redefinition, perhaps, most recog-

- nizably in Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria* (1817). In his article, Connell focuses his discussion of the burgeoning role of this new man of letters through an analysis of Thomas Frognall Dibdin's and Isaac D'Israeli's writings about bibliomania. In *Bibliomania; or Book Madness* (1809), Dibdin calls for the creation of well-informed bibliographers to help transform the aristocratic bibliomaniac from a self-serving collector into a public benefactor interested in collecting together the nation's literary heritage. By contrast, in his *Curiosities* (1817) and *Literary Character* (1822), D'Israeli seeks to appeal to a mass audience by establishing the man of letters as a mediator both appealing to and redirecting the wider reading public's book cravings through an anecdotal method of writing. Connell maintains that D'Israeli's anecdotal method was an appealing popular form because it enabled diverse classes of the reading public to 'aspire to a moment of cultural identification seemingly unconstrained by social class or narrowly institutionalized forms of knowledge'—Connell, 'Bibliomania', p. 42.
6. Connell, 'Bibliomania', p. 42.
 7. While I employ the term paratext as Gerard Genette describes it in *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), my particular use of the term follows Paul Magnuson's definition in *Reading Public Romanticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998). He sees the Romantic paratext as an entryway and exit from a text that offers roads into public discourses as well as hermeneutic ways into and out of texts.
 8. My argument about Wordsworth as a collector draws on a number of works about Wordsworth's classification system for his 1815 collection. An early study of Wordsworth's classification system appears in Arthur Beatty's *William Wordsworth: His Doctrine and Art in their Historical Relations* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1962). James Scoggins defends Wordsworth's category of Fancy and juxtaposes it with Imagination in *Imagination and Fancy: Complementary Modes of the Poetry of Wordsworth* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966). Francis Ferguson's book *Wordsworth: Language as Counter-Spirit* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977) offers a thoughtful and sweeping analysis of four of Wordsworth's psychological categories as developmental narrative. In *The Wordsworth Circle*, a series of articles discuss the function of Wordsworth's psychological categories, Wordsworth's role as editor, and his awareness of reader response: specifically, see Gene W. Ruoff's 'Critical Implications of Wordsworth's 1815 Categorization, with Some Animadversions on Binaristic Commentary', 9 (1978), 75–82; Judith B. Herman's 'The Poet as Editor: Wordsworth's Edition of 1815', 9 (1978), 82–87; James A. W. Hefferman's 'Mutilated Autobiography: Wordsworth's Poems of 1815', 10 (1979), 107–12; and Donald Ross, Jr's 'Poems Bound Each to Each' in the 1815 Edition of Wordsworth', 12 (1981), 133–140. Susan Meisenhelder's *Wordsworth's Informed Reader: Structures of Experience in his Poetry* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1988) is both a pointed and sweeping examination of the experience of reading the 1815 Poems. More recently, David Duff's 'Wordsworth and the Language of Forms: The Collected Poems of 1815', *Wordsworth Circle* 34 (2003), 86–90, takes up the issue of genre difficulties and paradigm shifts in the 1815 Preface.
 9. Unless otherwise noted, all passages from *The Excursion* are taken from *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, edd. Ernest de Selincourt and Helen Darbishire, 5 vols (1940–49; 2nd edn, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959). Hereafter, *PW*.
 10. After his 1807 *Poems*, Wordsworth published virtually no poetry. Although, between the publication of his 1807 *Poems* and the 1814 *Excursion*, he did publish his

- first *Essay Upon Epitaphs* in Coleridge's *The Friend* (1810), and he also published *The Convention of Cintra* (1809). Notably, Wordsworth withheld publishing 'The White Doe of Rylstone,' 'The Waggoner,' and 'Peter Bell' until after he unveiled his 1815 *Poems* closely on the heels of *The Excursion*. See Peter Manning's chapter 'The White Doe of Rylstone, The Convention of Cintra, and the History of a Career' in his *Reading Romantics: Texts and Contexts* (New York: OUP, 1990), for a detailed explanation of the political climate that influenced Wordsworth's reticence to publish these poems.
11. Stephen Gill, *Wordsworth: A Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 302.
 12. Here, Wordsworth employs the sonnet form as a means to provide a coherent structure for his anxiety about publication and the integrity of his work. Like several of Shakespeare's sonnets, Wordsworth's sonnet testifies to its own monumental status as a complete whole while also pointing metonymically to a larger whole. Wordsworth inverts the rhyme scheme of the final two lines from DE to ED, demonstrating his ability to manipulate poems, which only seem 'premature' within a coherent and contained structure.
 13. As Kenneth Johnston has shown throughout his book *Wordsworth and 'The Recluse'* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), Wordsworth creates this chronology for his public. In fact, composition of portions of *The Recluse* began before *The Prelude*.
 14. *William Wordsworth: The Critical Heritage, Volume 1: 1793–1820*, ed. Robert Woof (New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 385. Subsequent references will be given in the text and are abbreviated as *WCH*.
 15. In 'Rhetorical Structure of the Prospectus to *The Recluse*' from *Monumental Writing: Aspects of Rhetoric in Wordsworth's Poetry* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), J. Douglas Kneale succinctly unpacks the rhetorical nature of the 'Prospectus' by focusing on how it vacillates between proposal and apostrophe while also drawing attention to the complex allusive nature of its design in relation to Milton and Shakespeare.
 16. 'Unassigned Lecture Notes: Milton and Paradise Lost', in R. A. Foakes (ed.) *Lectures 1808–1819 on Literature*, 2 vols (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, and Princeton University Press, 1987), II, 428. Part of *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, gen. ed. Kathleen Coburn.
 17. Gerard Genette's discussion of cyclical continuations in *Palimpsests* offers several valuable insights that aid in describing the type of reading and rewriting activities that Wordsworth's intertextual relations invite. Specifically, I draw on the four types of hypertextual continuation that he describes as proleptic (a text that finishes another text), analeptic (a text that provides the events leading up to that text), elleptic (a text that bridges two texts), and paralletptic (a text providing contiguous present moments for another text).
 18. Thomas McFarland, *William Wordsworth Intensity and Achievement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 109.
 19. In *Reading, Writing, and Romanticism: The Anxiety of Reception* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), Lucy Newlyn provides a useful parallel for considering Wordsworth's Gothic church metaphor. Describing Coleridge's spoof-letter from a friend in Book XIII of the *Biographia Literaria*, she maintains that the reader who gazes on such a Gothic church and works through his initial frustration/dissatisfaction will move from resistance to awe, even becoming a part of the very Gothic structure that he contemplates (p. 82). In *The Professional Wordsworth: Law, Labor*

- & the Poet's Contract* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1996), Mark Schoenfield draws even wider cultural implications from Wordsworth's metaphor of the Gothic church: 'Wordsworth uses the architectural metaphor of a gothic church, the social function of which overflows its confines into the courts, the shops, the farms, the day-to-day life of the town, and which, because its construction takes centuries, is used before completion and requires its occupants to complete it imaginatively' (p. 195).
20. Even now, the most sustained and influential discussion of Wordsworth's 1815 essays appears in W. J. B. Owen's *Wordsworth as Critic* (Toronto: University Press of Toronto, and London: Oxford University Press, 1969).
 21. Initially, the 1815 *Poems* were to be published even closer in date to the 1814 *Excursion*, showing how intimately interrelated they were to his fragmentary epic. Wordsworth delayed the publication until 1815 largely in order to write the 'Essay Supplementary to the Preface' in response to the scathing reviews garnered by *The Excursion*.
 22. *Theatrical Inquisitor* 6 (June 1815), 445–50, reprinted in *WCH*, 521–22.
 23. In the 'Preface' to *Wordsworth's Reading: 1800–1815*, Duncan Wu describes the development of Wordsworth's private library beginning with his move to Grasmere in 1799, leading up to the collection of his library after his move to Rydal Mount in 1812. Wu also points out the difficulties of every knowing for sure all of the books that Wordsworth collected at given period of time.
 24. Marcus Walsh's *Shakespeare, Milton and Eighteenth-Century Literary Editing* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997) demonstrates explicitly how the edited works of Shakespeare and Milton in the eighteenth century become national treasures that invite competing editorial emendations, which highlight cultural shifts in the conception of authorship and hermeneutics.
 25. In 'Walter Scott, Antiquarianism and the Political Discourse of the *Edinburgh Review*, 1802–1811' from *British Romanticism and the 'Edinburgh Review'*, ed. Duncan Wu (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), Susan Manning underlines the incessant public discussion about the cultural importance of antiquarian collecting pursuits, both from a Whig of perspective of progress (Jeffrey) and from an elegiac Tory perspective (Scott). Taking Percy's *Reliques* as a point of reference for collecting tendencies that Jeffrey praises, Manning remarks that it 'was chronologically arranged to display the progress of poetry from primitive expression towards (relatively) reflective refinement' (p. 113).
 26. Such a statement seems to hark forward to a group of men of letters who champion Wordsworth, such as J. S. Mill, Matthew Arnold, John Ruskin, and Thomas Carlyle.
 27. My argument here counters the long-held argument of M. H. Abrams that Wordsworth's *Essay Supplementary* demonstrates how he turns his back on his audience and adopts an attitude toward poetry, perhaps best articulated by J. S. Mill in 'What is Poetry' (1833). However, my argument also differs from Newlyn's in *Anxiety of Reception*, as well as Andrew Bennett's *Romantic Poets and the Culture of Posterity* (Cambridge and New York: CUP, 1999), in that I do not understand Wordsworth here to be limiting his audience to a coterie circle, made up largely of close friends and family.
 28. Connell provides an excellent discussion of D'Israeli's anecdotal method in his essays, which 'blended biographical anecdote with history, criticism, and sociology

of literature gleaned from a bewildering variety of sources and ranging eclectically over time and place, polite and popular culture' ('Bibliomania', p. 40).

29. Ibid., p. 42.

30. See *Monthly Review* 78 (Nov 1815), 225–34, reprinted in *WCH*, 557–67.

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JAMES HOGG'S 'TALES AND SKETCHES' AND THE GLASGOW NUMBER TRADE

Peter Garside and Gillian Hughes



IN THE YEARS immediately following Hogg's death late in 1835, the Glasgow firm of Blackie & Son brought out two collected sets of his writing, *Tales and Sketches by the Ettrick Shepherd*, in six volumes, which was shortly followed by *The Poetical Works of the Ettrick Shepherd* in five volumes. Passing through various recycled forms, the sets together provided the main record of his literary output throughout the later nineteenth century. However, the texts in these sets can differ substantially from what was originally authorised by Hogg. Furthermore, as this article will attempt to demonstrate, such changes sometimes occurred for reasons which are inextricably connected with their mode of production.

A number of apparent inconsistencies within and between different copies of the two collections have had a confusing effect in some library catalogues. In the case of what is apparently the first issue of *Tales and Sketches* there is a disparity between on the one hand the dates of the engraved title pages, which have 1836 in the first two volumes and 1837 in the remainder, and, on the other, the imprints on the title pages proper which are all dated 1837—some libraries consequently list the set as 1836–37 and others as 1837. Further difficulties have been caused by what is generally taken to be a subsequent issue of the same set, in which both the titles are normally undated, and which has been speculatively catalogued with a variety of dates around 1850 (such conjectures possibly being guided by the advertisement lists which are commonly found in copies). In the case of the *Poetical Works* the printed titles of the first issue are usually dated 1838 (volumes 1–3), 1839 (volume 4), and 1840 (volume 5), but again there are inconsistencies with the engraved titles, and the apparent 'second' issue is to be found in either dated or undated forms.¹

Surviving copies of both sets which have not been rebound indicate that they first appeared in maroon cloth,² and this, together with a similar (18mo) format, invites comparison with the Magnum Opus edition of Walter Scott's *Waverley Novels*, whose single volumes in crimson cloth-covered boards at five shillings were issued monthly starting June 1829. In fact, the relative sizes of the different collections in a complete state might be taken as a physical measure of the significance of the two writers at the onset of the Victorian period, with

Hogg seemingly a pale imitator. (In Scott's case the forty-eight volumes of the *Magnum*, completed in 1833, went on to combine with physically similar editions of his poetry and prose and then with J. G. Lockhart's *Memoirs*, making in all nearly a hundred volumes in testimony to his work and life.)³ Yet, in spite of his image as the naive 'Ettrick Shepherd', a rustic intruder on the polite literary culture of the city, Hogg was interested in and well informed about the latest developments in publishing and printing and keen to make use of them in the dissemination of his own work. Examination of the actual circumstances underlying the planning and production of the *Tales and Sketches*, the one set in which Hogg can be said to have played some part, has made it possible to put together a more complete picture, one which shows a Scottish author attempting to operate positively at a significant moment in publishing history. The same investigations have also helped uncover a number of hitherto unrecognised bibliographical factors about the Blackie sets.

The idea for a collection of Tales, founded on rural stories but finding circulation among a new and expanding audience, can be traced back to an early point in Hogg's literary career, the first manifestation in several respects being his weekly serial *The Spy* (1810–11), which includes prototype versions of stories expanded in his later works. It is evident, for example, in his proposal to Archibald Constable in 1813, a year before the appearance of Scott's *Waverley*, to publish 'Rural and Traditionary Tales of Scotland', under the pseudonym of 'J. H. Craig of Douglas, Esq':⁴ an abortive scheme which later found partial expression in *Winter Evening Tales* (1820), his second and in terms of sales most successful single work of fiction, published from Edinburgh by Oliver & Boyd.⁵ Another (unexpected) sighting appears in the Longman Letter Books, in August 1823, at the point when the project which was to become *Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* was being mooted, the firm offering to consider Hogg's 'Tales of the Scottish Peasantry' once revisions had been made, though advising compression.⁶ In fact, in some respects it might be claimed that Hogg in the early 1820s was being forced into the channel of polite conventional three-decker style fiction, when his true instincts attracted him to more diverse and broadly popular forms of story-telling in print.

Of particular interest here, indicating as it does a shift towards a new outlet, is a letter to William Blackwood of 19 March 1826: 'I think the whole of my select Scottish tales should be published in Numbers one every month with the Magazine [i.e. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*] to be packed with it and a part of the first No sent gratis to some of your principal readers.'⁷ This indicates that Hogg entertained possibilities for a popular monthly issue before the full conception of Scott's *Magnum* (earlier plans for an annotated edition of Scott had envisaged expensive volumes),⁸ and much at the same time as Constable's ground-breaking *Miscellany* idea, the first volume of which was in print (though not published) in December 1825.⁹ Hogg continued to press the idea of an extensive collection on Blackwood, with the *Magnum* in turn becoming the offered model, most notably in a letter of 26 May 1830: 'There is another [i.e.

plan] which I think might raise me a supply[.] It is to publish all my tales in numbers like Sir W Scott's to re-write and sub divide them and they being all written off hand and published without either reading or correction I see I could improve them prodigiously'.¹⁰ Blackwood nevertheless remained unmoved, even as Hogg in desperation claimed to have procured Lockhart as an editor and Scott as a patron,¹¹ and after the breakdown of their relationship in December 1831 Hogg turned to the alternative publishing option of London.

The result was his *Altrive Tales* (1832), published by James Cochrane, whom Hogg evidently had met near the start of a three-month visit to the metropolis, guided it would seem by a recommendation from the Edinburgh publisher, John Anderson.¹² Shortly before leaving for home in March, Hogg left a list outlining contents for the first seven volumes, this comprising a mixture of old, new, and revamped materials.¹³ An opening leaf found in some copies of the first (and only) volume of *Altrive Tales*, dated 31 March 1832, announces the series as 'Just Published, price 6s a volume, handsomely bound in cloth', and 'to be completed in twelve volumes, one every month, printed uniformly with the Waverley Novels'. While this last detail might again invite the idea of a Scott spin-off, it is worth bearing in mind that there were now other models for what was then an innovative attempt to break the mould in the marketing of fiction, by producing cheaper volumes for an extended audience, and in particular there are signs that Cochrane used the volumes of 'Roscoe's Novelist's Library' as a template.¹⁴ There can be no certainty as to how the venture might have fared without Cochrane's financial failure, which Hogg first heard about late in April shortly after his return, but in view of Hogg's lionisation during his London visit, linking no doubt as this did with the new 'populist' atmosphere of Britain in the months leading up to the passing of the Reform Bill, the prognostications were surely reasonably good. Hogg was devastated by the series' collapse, and immediately set about investigating alternative outlets, with Smith, Elder, & Co., the publishers of the annual *Friendship's Offering*, being one of the earliest nominated.¹⁵

Nearer to home, Hogg evidently had on his list Archibald Fullarton, who was based in Glasgow and Edinburgh, and with whom Hogg had very recently contracted to provide materials for an edition of the works of Robert Burns with an original memoir.¹⁶ Fullarton's main trade involved the sale of books in numbers or parts, issued in paper covers, and through which customers of limited means were enabled to purchase in instalments family bibles and other standard and literary works that otherwise would have been beyond their pockets. Fullarton had previously been in partnership with John Blackie in Glasgow under a variety of arrangements, until 1831, when the stock and plant were divided into two equal portions and the agencies shared out. Hogg cannot have mistaken the nature of Fullarton's trade—the first volume of the edition of Burns was eventually published in three parts, beginning 1 April 1834—and this factor must have been at least partly in his mind when making an awkward-seeming salvage attempt in a letter of 14 September 1832 ('By

the by will you take my Altrive Tales?’), the same letter showing a willingness to accept terms of a sixth rather than a fifth part of the retail price as author. Clearly refusal rankled: in another letter, a month later, Hogg calls Fullarton a ‘d—d fool not to proceed with the Altrive tales’.¹⁷

Yet it was through Fullarton, albeit by mistake, that Hogg found an unexpected solution. The rough gist of what happened is given in Agnes Blackie’s concise history of the firm, according to which a letter of Hogg’s addressed to Fullarton’s office was delivered to the house of Mr [Alexander] Martin, the Blackies agent in Edinburgh, and inadvertently opened by Martin’s wife, Martin then hastening to Hogg’s Edinburgh lodgings to apologise, and soon finding himself discussing a possible publication of Hogg’s Tales.¹⁸ The rediscovery of Alexander Martin’s letters to his employers, in the Blackie Archive, together with the survival of Hogg’s letters to the firm during these manoeuvrings, makes it possible to trace in greater detail what kind of negotiations took place. The first of Martin’s three letters, headed 6 February 1833, in addition to outlining the circumstances of Mrs Martin’s mistake, reports Hogg as saying that he had wanted to be ‘connected’ with Blackies, but that he was ‘not fond of selling Copyrights’; and ends with Martin stating that he had suggested a meeting of parties ‘either by letter or otherwise’. Martin’s suggestion that ‘Mr J. B. Jr.’ [John Blackie, son of John Blackie the firm’s founder] might make a meeting in Edinburgh in fact comes from his following letter of 7 February, fixing this at 1 p.m. on Saturday [9 February] at 5 South College Street.¹⁹ Perhaps unbeknown to the eager Martin, Hogg had already sent a letter on 5 February to Blackie & Son in Glasgow, offering them a much-expanded ‘Winter Evening Tales’, capable of being drawn out to twenty volumes ‘if the subscription went on successfully’. The same additionally states ‘one sixth part of the retail price’ to be his terms as author, and also floats as a suggestion that the printers be Oliver & Boyd in Edinburgh, this no doubt reflecting a desire to keep some control over his text. A further letter of Hogg’s to the firm, 11 February, records his response to the actual meeting, where he had found ‘Martin at his post and your letter to me’. While vaunting his own popularity especially in England, he intimates a preparedness to take less in profits, especially ‘if there are to be plates’; he also holds out an invitation to the firm’s principals to visit him at Altrive Lake (see Figure 1), his home in Selkirkshire, and proposes the ‘beginning of Nov^r’ (i.e. the start of the ‘reading season’) as an appropriate start-up time.²⁰

The last of Martin’s letters in this sequence, headed 13 February, is interesting in casting a rather different light on the meeting—one which no doubt partly accounts for Hogg’s somewhat strident tone in selling himself in his letter of 11 February. While accepting that a deal should be done, Martin states himself to have been suitably insistent: i) that the MSS should be delivered before publication commenced (see also below); ii) that it would not be possible to allow a sixth share each to two Edinburgh publishers, Oliver & Boyd and John Anderson; iii) that an author ‘could not expect to receive as much for the *2d Ed.* of any work as for the first’. Blackies, while clearly attracted by the proposal,

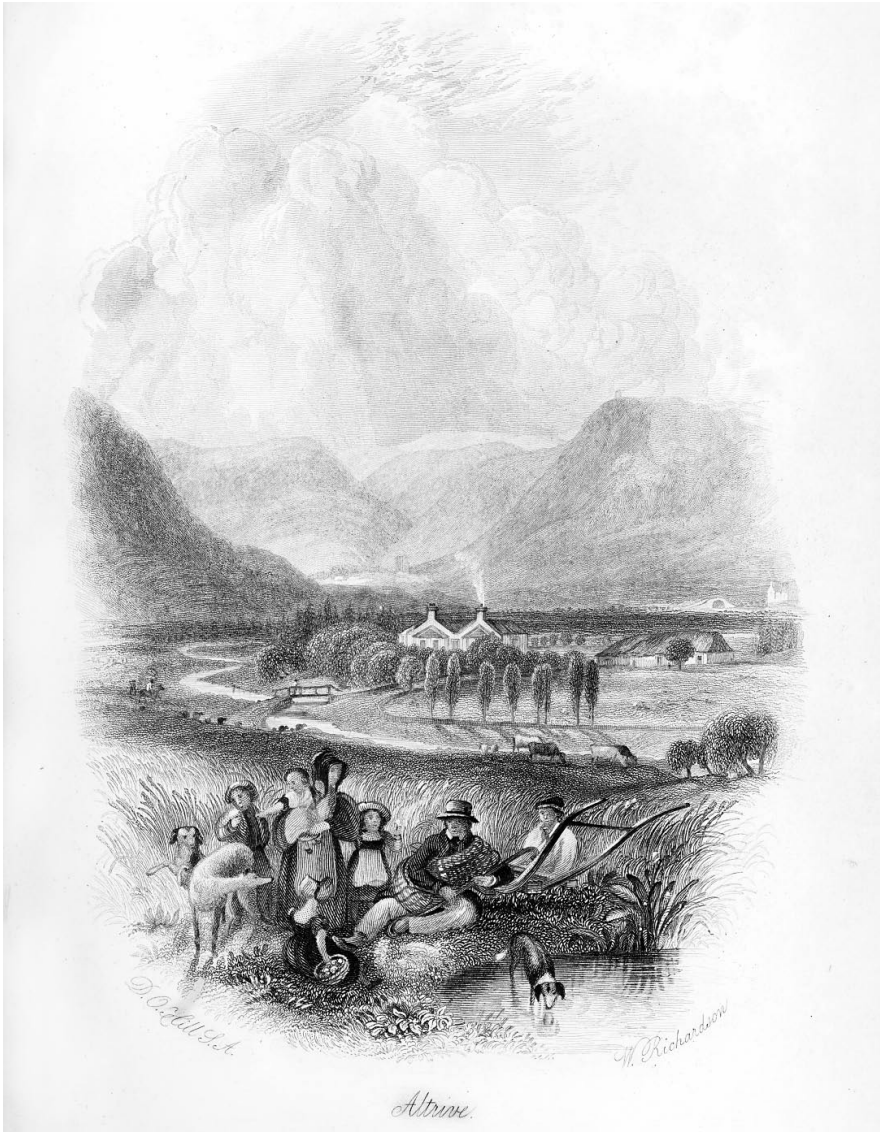


FIG. 1. VIGNETTE TITLE PAGE ILLUSTRATION TO VOL. 5 OF
TALES AND SKETCHES BY THE ETTRICK SHEPHERD, SHOWING 'ALTRIVE'.
THE FIGURES IN THE FOREGROUND ARE POSSIBLY MEANT
TO REPRESENT HOGG AND HIS FAMILY.

appear to have been keen to show that they ran their business their own way, were not prepared to pay large percentages to authors for repackaged materials, and didn't collaborate with other publishers.²¹

Agnes Blackie in her house history intimates that the visit to Altrive proposed by Hogg soon followed, but there is no record of such a meeting until November 1833.²² In fact, for much of the remaining year the bulk of Hogg's effort went into trying to activate other possibilities, the re-established Cochrane again coming into the frame with plans for an extended Altrive Tales, and Fullarton in September once more having the 'Winter Evening Tales' brought to his attention.²³ The main sticking point over Blackies, at least the one Hogg was prepared to acknowledge, was their halving of author's profits from Hogg's proposed sixth to a twelfth. Reading between the lines, however, it is possible to discern other negative factors for Hogg, among them the loss of control over printing, the absence of a familiar link with the Edinburgh or London trade, and the apparent desire of Blackie and his son to keep negotiations at arm's length. Another factor about which Hogg might have had more ambivalent feelings was the Glasgow firm's reputation as out-and-out number specialists, serving a largely religious and partly artisan readership. On one level, the prospect of enlarged sales was no doubt tantalising, not just as a way of realising larger profits, but also as a means of making contact with that wider audience Hogg seems to have thought to have been at last on the point of materialising. This newly-kindled enthusiasm can be sensed in a letter to Cochrane's new partner, John M'Crone, in August 1833 on the subject of an enlarged *Altrive Tales*: 'Why not employ a set of poor honest fellows for a percentage through all the three kingdoms to take in subscriptions like Blackie and Fullerton [*sic*]? I assure you their sales are immense amounting in some instances to 25,000 copies of very ordinary works.'²⁴ It can be sensed likewise in a letter to Lockhart, 17 September 1833, which appears to indicate that Hogg is on the point of acceptance: 'I have got an offer from a Glasgow subscribing Co. for a dozen vol's of tales of which they calculate they can sell 20,000!! in numbers.'²⁵ 'Numbers' is somewhat ambiguous, since Hogg had used the term earlier to denote a series of volumes, but in conjunction with 'subscribing Co.' there is a good chance that Hogg is entertaining the prospect of an issue initially in parts, themselves forming volumes as they unfolded. If so, as an author, he was facing new and hazardous territory.

Hogg sent the first instalment of copy for his collected prose tales to Blackie & Son, a marked copy of *The Brownie of Bodsbeck*, with an accompanying letter to the firm dated 11 November 1833, two full years before his death (thus implying that an agreement had then been reached), although the publication was in the event a posthumous one. Its ambiguous status has always posed particular problems for editors of Hogg's fiction: on the one hand there is evidence that Hogg himself shaped his work for the publication, adding a substantial amount of material, for example, to *The Brownie of Bodsbeck*,²⁶ but on the other the fact that the published collection demonstrates drastic bowdlerising and

ensorship of some of Hogg's finest writing, such as *Confessions of a Justified Sinner*.²⁷ A brief account of the Blackie publishing firm and an examination of the circumstances surrounding the eventual publication of *Tales and Sketches by the Ettrick Shepherd* will shed further light on it.

John Blackie had been born in 1782 in Glasgow, and become an employee of the firm of W. D. & A. Brownlie, pioneers in the number trade. A work was printed, divided into sections of so many sheets, and a sample prepared to show to potential customers. Travelling was an essential part of the business, canvassing for orders on the basis of the sample, delivering the sections to customers at regular intervals, and collecting payments. The Brownlie business appears to have been relatively modest, and Blackie's recollections of his youth included driving a cart from place to place himself, delivering orders.²⁸ Technical innovations in book production clearly favoured expansion and development of the number trade in the first third of the nineteenth century. Stereotype plates, for example, allowed the number publisher to print his copies in instalments according to indications of current sales rather than having to risk the printing of a large impression that might have to be expensively warehoused for some time before it was exhausted. The development of steel-plate engraving (which allowed the London Annuals to flourish in the 1820s and 1830s) also stimulated the number trade: in permitting many copies of engravings to be printed from the same hard-wearing plate the cost per unit was lowered, and high-quality illustrations could be included in relatively inexpensive publications, adding greatly to their attraction for the purchaser. Since the invention of the fly-embossing press in the mid-1820s mechanical embossing provided the opportunity of creating a cheap but showy standard binding.²⁹

John Blackie seems to have quickly realised the implications of these developments, and by the time *Tales and Sketches* was published he was the head of a rapidly expanding Glasgow-based empire, tightly controlled and organised with the help of members of his own immediate family, his days of going out with a cart long behind him. By 1816 the business occupied a purpose-built five-storey block at 8 East Clyde Street in Glasgow, and in 1826 Blackie's eldest son (also John Blackie) became a partner in the publishing firm at the age of twenty-one, the name changing to Blackie & Son when the partnership with Archibald Fullarton was dissolved in 1831. Up to 1836 the printing had been undertaken by George Brookman, Blackie's salaried partner in what was effectively an in-house printing establishment. By 1837, however, Blackie's second son, Walter Graham Blackie, had also reached the age of twenty-one and was then made the head of the family printing enterprise, now called W. G. Blackie & Co. In 1829 John Blackie had bought the eastern part of a printing premises at Villafield, taking over the western part as well in 1845 and erecting additional buildings on the site in subsequent years. The printing of engraved plates for the publications was also effectively a family business: William Duncan, a relative of John Blackie's wife, had trained in London and then been brought to Glasgow to act as manager of that department. By 1836 the five-storey building at East Clyde

Street was proving inadequate for the publishing side of the business even with the space created by the removal of the printing works to Villafield, and was transferred to larger and more central premises in Queen Street.

Agencies had been opened in different towns, with a network of men employed as ‘canvassers’ to show samples of publications to potential customers and take their orders, and as ‘deliverers’ to supply customers with the numbers as they were issued:

Of these Canvassers many are constantly employed in the city of Glasgow, and in the surrounding districts, all of them reporting success at the Office in Glasgow. [...] Each Deliverer has a given district round which it is his duty to go *once each month*. In some instances, as in the city of Glasgow, the district is gone round once every two weeks; and in some other few instances, in distant and thinly populated localities, the districts are only gone round once each two months, or once a quarter. Usually, however, the deliveries are monthly.

A system of local offices had also been established to control activity in areas at a distance. A circular letter to employees of 4 October 1842 explains that the business of the Deliverer was also ‘to try and ingratiate himself so into the good graces of his Subscribers that they may be ready to support us by a continuance of their favours when they finish their present works’, taking notice of the reader’s taste and bringing suitable works to the attention of theological readers, clergymen, weavers, schoolmasters, farmers, and so on. Readers of a literary inclination should have their attention drawn to ‘Burns, the Book of Scottish Song, the Casquet and Republic, Hogg & Goldsmiths works, &c.’³⁰

Tales and Sketches as first published reflects the status, aims and ambitions of the Blackie enterprise in 1837. ‘Hogg’s Tales’ is entered on opening 88 of the firm’s Stock Edition Book, 1813–1864 (see Figure 2, p. 39), as consisting initially of thirty ‘Parts @ 1/-’, five to each of the six volumes making up the work. Initially 2,000 copies were produced of parts 1–5 (volume 1) in December 1836, of parts 6–10 (volume 2) in January 1837, of parts 11–15 (volume 3) in March, of parts 16–20 (volume 4) in June, and of parts 21–25 in September (volume 5), while 3,000 copies of parts 26–30 (the final volume) were produced in November. The Stock Edition Book also records new printings of each part at intervals in numbers varying from 2,000 down to 250 copies according to demand.³¹ These entries certainly suggest that *Tales and Sketches* was envisaged as a work published in numbers, a notion reinforced by physical examination of the work, the volumes being similar in size, each consisting of gatherings A–2G in sixes, representing ten Royal sheets in 18mo.³² Each part, then, would appear to consist of two sheets of the work or 72 pages of text, a calculation seemingly confirmed by a surviving publisher’s sample of *Tales and Sketches* in Stirling University Library, containing this amount of text, and probably representing the stock-in-trade of one of Blackie’s canvassers on the hunt for orders.³³

Hogg's Tables

Commenced 1834	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
Aug 8	200	200	200	200	200	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Sept 9	"	"	"	"	"	200	200	200	200	200	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Oct 1	200	200	200	200	200	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Nov 12	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Dec 12	"	"	"	"	"	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1835	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Jan 11	1000	1000	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Feb 11	"	"	1000	1000	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Mar 11	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Apr 11	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
May 11	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
June 11	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
July 11	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Aug 11	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Sept 11	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Oct 11	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Nov 11	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Dec 11	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
1836	500	500	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Jan 6	200	200	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Feb 6	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250
Mar 6	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500
Apr 6	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500
May 6	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500
Jun 6	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500
Jul 6	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500
Aug 6	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500
Sept 6	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500
Oct 6	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500
Nov 6	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500
Dec 6	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500
1837	700	700	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650
1838	700	700	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650
1839	700	700	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650
1840	700	700	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650
1841	700	700	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650
1842	700	700	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650
1843	700	700	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650
1844	700	700	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650
1845	700	700	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650
1846	700	700	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650
1847	700	700	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650
1848	700	700	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650
1849	700	700	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650
1850	700	700	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650

FIG. 2. STOCK EDITION BOOK, 1813-64, BLACKIE ARCHIVE, ARCHIVES & BUSINESS RECORDS CENTRE, UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW, UGD61/4/1/1, OPENING 88.

An obvious objection to this theory is that the part calculated often ends in mid-sentence, but clearly the early-nineteenth-century purchaser accepted this peculiar feature of the work with equanimity, since it occurs in other Blackie publications of the time, such as Thomas Stackhouse's *A History of the Holy Bible* [...], published in twelve two-shilling parts in 1836.³⁴ More seriously, however, there is no suggestion of an initial publication of *Tales and Sketches* in numbers in surviving advertising material, contemporary reviews, or the Stirling publisher's sample, each of which refer only to volume publication at five shillings, a volume appearing at intervals between December 1836 and December 1837.³⁵ A prefatory advertising leaf in the second volume of what is clearly a set of *Tales and Sketches* as originally issued in the Bodleian Library (at 37.137–42) compares the forthcoming work to 'the admired editions of Scott, Byron, Crabbe, Burns' (and, above, all Scott's Magnum Opus edition of the *Waverley Novels* was clearly the model here).³⁶ On balance it would seem probable that Blackie & Son published the work volume by volume, but that it was carefully constructed to leave the way open for a subsequent number publication and designed to be marketed in the context of their various part-works, with customers taking volume one probably being expected to purchase subsequent volumes as they appeared. The firm's Stock Edition Book demonstrates that it is comparatively meaningless to discuss the work in the conventional terms of first and subsequent editions since sheets were produced at intervals to meet the demand for fresh copies, clearly from the same stereotype plates. Minor changes were made to the stereotype plates from time to time, while some later sets substitute a number of tales on pages 275–338 for Hogg's pastoral drama 'A Bush Aboon Traquair' in the second volume.³⁷

Purchasers were clearly meant to feel that for their five shillings a volume they were obtaining a luxury item, manufactured to the highest standards of modern book production. The original binding of the Stirling sample and Bodleian set has an embossed harp within a laurel wreath, for example, and each volume included an engraved title page and an engraved frontispiece comparable in quality to those of the *London Annuals*, 'illustrative of scenes described by the author, or connected with his life' as the advertising leaf in the Stirling sample expresses it. These engravings were advertised as important features of the collection: a prefatory advertisement in the second volume, for instance, devotes half a page to describing the engravings to the first two volumes and concludes '*Volume third* will appear on the 1st of April, illustrated by a beautiful view of ROSLIN GLEN[see Figure 3, p. 41], and the ABBEY OF MELROSE', without any indication of what Hogg tales are to be included in the forthcoming volume. The illustrations were also widely praised in contemporary reviews, even at the expense of Hogg's fiction.³⁸ A notable feature of the construction of the Blackie edition of Stackhouse's *History of the Holy Bible* is that, while some of its twelve parts end with the text in mid-sentence, each begins with a fine map or other quality engraving and some parts also contain



FIG. 3. FRONTISPIECE PLATE TO VOL. 3 OF *TALES AND SKETCHES BY THE ETTRICK SHEPHERD*, TITLED 'ROSLIN'.
[A VIGNETTE ILLUSTRATION OF 'MELROSE ABBEY' FOLLOWS ON THE TITLE PAGE.]

a second illustration, showing the importance of the engravings in attracting and retaining customers.

The preponderance of religious works in the publications of Blackie & Son during these years and the fact that the heartland of the firm's operations was in the devout Presbyterian and evangelical west of Scotland suggests that the bowdlerisation of *Confessions* in the *Tales and Sketches* was probably the work of the firm rather than Hogg himself, Blackies being 'exceptionally keen not to cause offence amongst their main constituency of subscribers'.³⁹ In other instances Blackies and their employees might have needed to make adjustments to the length of tales to create an exact fit for their space limit of ten sheets per volume. 'The Fords of Callum' (originally published in *Friendship's Offering* for 1830, pp. 187–96), for example, when it was substituted for part of 'The Bush Aboon Traquair' in later sets of *Tales and Sketches* was deprived of two passages relating to an old peasant couple's scepticism about the existence of supernatural beings and Hogg's comment on it—these *particular* passages may have been eliminated from a desire to avoid the suggestion that Hogg himself was superstitious, but clearly the tale had to be cut somewhere so that it did not overrun the pages formerly allotted to Hogg's pastoral drama. Hogg's death would leave the Glasgow firm with a relatively free hand to censor in deference to reader sensibility, and to make any cuts demanded by the tight format of their publication.

It is also worth considering that the success of the number trade was heavily dependant on the publisher's punctuality and reliability. If subsequent instalments were delayed or failed to fulfil the promises made for them, then subscribers might discontinue the work. This was clearly a risk in any case, the surviving paper cover for Stackhouse's *A History of the Holy Bible* stating firmly and probably with a degree of wishful thinking, 'Those taking the First Part are bound to take the whole Work'. A surviving printed notice to the subscribers for the Blackie edition of Aikman's *History of Scotland* shows that the author and publishers had differed about the length of the work and the provision of an Index as the numbers were produced, and that this had inconvenienced purchasers. The later companion set to Hogg's *Tales and Sketches* of his *Poetical Works* was to be similarly hampered by John Wilson's failure to deliver his much-advertised memoir of Hogg in the final volume of the five-volume set. 'A Life of the Author, by Professor Wilson, of the University of Edinburgh' had featured prominently in advertisements for the collection, set in large type above the line mentioning the engravings at the head of the prefatory advertising leaf to the first volume of the set, which also referred to the closeness of Christopher North and the Shepherd (in the 'Noctes Ambrosianæ' series in *Blackwood's Magazine*) and pronounced of Wilson that 'of all men he is the *one* to whom we should look for biographical reminiscences and characteristic sketches of the Poet'. The bitterness towards Wilson of Blackies' letter to Mrs Hogg of 23 August 1841 is therefore understandable: 'We fear no hope need be entertained that Professor Wilson will fulfil his promise—indeed were he


to do so now we question whether any benefit would arise'. Clearly Wilson's failure had adversely affected sales.⁴⁰ The firm's Edinburgh agent, Martin, in his account of negotiations with Hogg in February 1833 was probably expressing a general Blackies view in stating, 'My own opinion is, that it were preferable in most cases, to have the Mss. out of the author's hands before we proceeded to publish'.⁴¹ It seems likely that Hogg would have expected his work to be published volume by volume as he supplied copy, and that Blackie & Son wanted the whole work or most of it in hand before beginning to publish. Ironically, Hogg's death would make all his prose work that then existed into final copy for publication once an agreement had been reached with his widow as the copyright holder in his work.

The whole Blackie enterprise was designed to provide a centralised system of book production, where the publisher was effectively printer, engraver, and sales staff too, and where the author's role was limited to handing over his copy and then receiving his profits subsequently. The traditional space between printer and publisher which Hogg had so successfully occupied on numerous occasions to influence the production of his work had simply been closed up. Blackie & Son required an absent author, and by 1837 they had got one.

As the century progressed the firm's grip on the two collected sets tightened, and at the same time the number-driven nature of the operation becomes more transparent in their records. A receipt signed by Mrs Hogg shows that on 26 October 1860 for a sum of £150 she relinquished all interest in the copyright of the materials contained in them.⁴² By this point, the firm had already been engaged in a number of methods for disposing of old stock, including sets at reduced prices, sales of individual volumes with altered title pages matching the specific contents,⁴³ and the issuing of sets in parts. The clearest indication of the last mode is found in an advertisement in an undated catalogue listing *Tales and Sketches* as 'In 6 vols. price 5s or Parts, 2s. each', and likewise the *Poetical Works* as 'In 5 vols. at 5s., or Parts, 2s. each'.⁴⁴

A few years after Mrs Hogg had sold any remaining rights, the whole collection was again reset in larger format under the editorship of the Revd Thomas Thomson (who provided a Life of the author), and in this instance a number issue clearly preceded any sale in volumes. The Stock Edition Book, 1838–1900, shows the serialisation in detail, through twenty-six parts, from inception in June 1863 through to September 1865, with an initial run of 2,000.⁴⁵ The option to buy in book form (volume 1, Tales; volume 2, Poems and Life), clearly came on its completion, an advert from a Catalogue of 1865 offering the New Edition 'In 26 parts, super-royal 8vo, 1s. each; or 2 vols., cloth extra, 32s.'—the last price presumably incorporating the extra for cloth binding. The Stock Edition book then records another issue in thirty parts late in 1873; and a Catalogue of 1874 offers for sale the 'Centenary Edition' 'In 15 parts, 2s. each, forming two handsome volumes super-royal 8vo'. Finally, after another reprinting itemised in thirty parts in the Stock Edition Book, the Centenary Edition is advertised

in a catalogue of 1884 as 'In 15 parts at 2s. and 30 parts at 1s. each; forming 2 volumes sup.-royal 8vo, 36s'.⁴⁶

Scholars and bibliographers are still liable to think of the Thomson-edited *Works* as comprising two large and narrowly printed volumes, but the Blackie records make it unquestionably clear that the initial sale was in numbers, and that thereafter the option of purchasing in parts held at least equal weight with sales of entire volumes. In such respects, this second operation offers a useful retrospective insight into the original 1836–37 production of the *Tales and Sketches*, where spatial as well ideological considerations may well have played a significant part in distorting Hogg's original work. 

NOTES

1. *The Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue* (CD-ROM version, 1996) records datings for *Tales and Sketches* of [1836], 1837, [185–?], and [1852?], and for the *Poetical Works* of 1836/40, 1838, [1838?], [183–], and 1855.
2. Sets of the original issues of *Tales and Sketches* and *Poetical Works* are found in the Bodleian Library (at 37.137–42 and 10 THETA 74–78 respectively). The bindings have turned greyish, and the front hard covers bear a harp design, with the legend 'Naturæ Donum'. A similar, though less plain design, with gilding and a more elaborate harp, is found in later sets. In both instances, the poetical works were uniformly bound with the prose.
3. For the most authoritative account of the planning and production of the *Magnum Opus*, see Jane Millgate, *Scott's Last Edition: A Study in Publishing History* (Edinburgh: EUP, 1987); the uniform nature of the later sets is described there on p. 48.
4. Letter of 20 May 1813, Hogg to Archibald Constable, National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS) MS 7200, fol. 203. We are grateful to the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland for permission to quote from this and other manuscripts.
5. The work was published in association with G & W. B. Whittaker in London, with Oliver & Boyd retaining the management. It is noticeable that at a later point Hogg was contemplating a reunification of *Winter Evening Tales* with his first published fiction, *The Brownie of Bodsbeck; and Other Tales* (1818), which had fared poorly in the hands of William Blackwood and John Murray: 'I want The Brownie &c [...] all published in a set as *Winter Evening tales* and either a continuation in other two vols or not as you please' (NLS Accession 5000/188, Hogg to George Boyd, 17 Oct 1822).
6. Longman Archives, Part 1, Item 101, Letter-book 1820–25, no. 396C (Longman & Co. to Hogg, 11 Aug 1823; typed transcript by Michael Bott). A subsequent letter to Hogg from Owen Rees, giving the green light for the 'Confessions' project, throws doubt on this other scheme: 'With respect to the Scottish Tales &c, before you can do any thing it will be necessary for you to have the consent of Messrs Oliver & Boyd; and after all it may be doubtful whether a republication at this time would answer' (25 Oct 1823; no. 388B, typed transcript). We are grateful to the University of Reading Library for permission to quote from the Longman Archives in this paper.
7. NLS MS 4017, fol. 138.

8. The volume price proposed by Archibald Constable late in 1825 had been a guinea (21s) a volume: see Millgate, *Scott's Last Edition*, p. 5.
9. Basil Hall's *Voyage to Loo-Choo*, not published until January 1827, owing to Constable's financial failure: see Millgate, *Scott's Last Edition*, pp. 91–94.
10. NLS MS 4036, fol. 102.
11. In a letter of 30 Sep 1830 to Blackwood, Hogg claims to have got Scott's support for 'our proposed publication of my Scottish tales in monthly numbers' (NLS MS 4027, fol. 194).
12. That John Anderson was the link is suggested by a letter of Cochrane to Hogg, 18 June 1835: 'I was delighted to see your friend John Anderson in London [...] It was Mr Anderson who introduced my name to your notice & I have always felt grateful to him' (NLS MS 2245, fol. 262). This most likely refers to John Anderson, junior, whose shop was at 55 North Bridge Street; the designation 'junior' was used to distinguish him from another bookselling John Anderson, whose premises were in the High Street. We are indebted to Richard Jackson for information about John Anderson. A detailed account of the presentation of this single volume is given in the Introduction to the Stirling/South Carolina Edition of *Altrive Tales*, ed. Gillian Hughes (Edinburgh: EUP, 2003).
13. Letter to [?Roscoe and Richie], 19 Mar 1832, in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University: James Hogg Collection, GEN MSS 61, Box 1, Folder 17. For the probable recipients see Hogg's letter to John McDonald of [c. 18 May 1832] in NLS MS 2245, fols 168–69: 'I hope you have the list of what tales each vol. is to consist [...] I left the charge with Roscoe and Richie who were Cochrane's correctors of the press [...]'.
 14. The copy of *Altrive Tales* in the Bodleian Library (at 256.e.14869) contains a last (unnumbered) leaf advertising 'The Novelist's Library', with biographical and historical notes by Thomas Roscoe. This series, published by Cochrane and Pickersgill, ran for nineteen volumes, 1831–33; the original bindings (though yellow rather than green) resemble in basic design *Altrive Tales*.
15. See Hogg's letter to John M'Donald, 3 May 1832, which suggests that 'Smith, Elder, and Coy [sic]' take over the 2,000 (from 3,000) copies of *Altrive Tales* which, according to Hogg, have not been released (in Mrs Garden, *Memorials of James Hogg, The Ettrick Shepherd*, 3rd edn (1885; Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1904), pp. 268–71). Hogg probably knew of the firm through his friendship with Thomas Pringle, the editor of *Friendship's Offering*.
16. Fullarton's letter offering terms, which included a fee of 100 guineas to Hogg, is in NLS 2245, fols 208–09; a copy of the same by Hogg, with Hogg's letter of acceptance, both also dated 23 Apr 1832, is in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University: James Hogg Collection, GEN MSS 61, Box 1, Folder 47.
17. NLS MS 3813, fol. 66 (Hogg to Fullarton, 14 Sep 1832); Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University: James Hogg Collection, GEN MSS 61, Box 1, Folder 36 (Hogg to Fullarton, 14 Oct 1832). For the issuing of *The Works of Robert Burns*, edited by the Ettrick Shepherd and William Motherwell, 5 vols (Glasgow, 1834–36), see J. W. Egerer, *A Bibliography of Robert Burns* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver & Boyd, 1964), pp. 167–68.
18. Agnes A. C. Blackie, *Blackie & Son 1809–1959: A Short History of the Firm* (London and Glasgow: Blackie & Son, [1959]), pp. 11–12. Hogg's original letter to

- Fullarton, postmarked 30 Jan 1833, and endorsed 'To be left at his office / Edin^r, still survives (NLS MS 3813, fol. 71); it makes no mention of any *Tales* project.
19. Blackie Archive, Glasgow University Archives & Business Records Centre, UGD61/8/1/1, items 6 and 7. We are grateful to the Archivist for permission to quote from the Blackie Archive in this paper and to reproduce the entry from the Stock Edition Book as an illustration.
 20. NLS MS 807, fols 16–17, 18–19. These letters were apparently once positioned alongside Martin's in the same Blackie letter book (see note above), but are recorded there as having been sent 'To National Library Feb 1937'.
 21. Blackie Archive, UGD61/8/1/1, Item 10.
 22. Evidence of an eventual meeting can be found in a letter from Hogg to Mrs William Laidlaw of 4 Nov 1833: 'Mr Blackie of Glasgow was here the other day and I bargained with him for six Vols of *Tales* offering him sixteen more which he declined contrary to every rule of Grammar' (Queen's University of Kingston, Ontario: Miscellaneous Collection). We are grateful to the Queen's University of Kingston, Ontario for permission to cite this letter in the present paper. In his letter to the firm of 25 Mar 1834, addressed from Altrive, Hogg also refers to his nephew James Gray as someone 'whom Mr Blackie jun. has met here' (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University: James Hogg Collection, GEN MSS 61, Box 1, Folder 30).
 23. For the idea of an extended *Altrive Tales*, see James Cochrane's letter to Hogg of 9 Aug 1833, with plans for '1500 Copies of Vols 2 & 3—uniform in all respects with the first volume' (NLS MS 2245, fol. 230); and for the extended 'Winter Evening *Tales*' plan, Hogg's letter to Archibald Fullarton, 5 Sep 1833: 'Mr Blackie was to have called on me before this about The Winter Evening tales but he has not done so and they are as yet entirely unappropriated. He offered me only *one twelfth* of the retail price which I refused but as he sells to the trade at half price I am not sure that the proffer would not have been advantageous. I should like to have your advice' (NLS MS 3813, fol. 73).
 24. Letter to John [M'Crone], 3 Aug 1833, owned by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle: Brooke Collection, vol. VI, fol. 83A. We are grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle for permission to cite this letter here.
 25. NLS MS 934, fol. 220.
 26. Hogg to Blackie & Son, 11 Nov 1833, in NLS MS 807, fols 20–21. See also Douglas Mack's discussion in 'Note on the Text' in his edition of *The Brownie of Bodsbeck* (Edinburgh and London: Scottish Academic Press, 1976), pp. xx–xxvii (pp. xxiii–xxv).
 27. Discussed most fully and most recently in *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, ed. P. D. Garside (Edinburgh: EUP, 2001), pp. lxxii–lxxix.
 28. See Agnes Blackie, *Blackie & Son*, pp. 5–8.
 29. See Iain Bain, 'Gift Book and Annual Illustrations: Some Notes on their Production', and Eleanore Jamieson, 'The Binding Styles of the Gift Books and Annuals', in Frederick W. Faxon, *Literary Annuals and Gift Books: A Bibliography 1823–1903*, rev. edn (1912; Pinner, Middlesex: Private Libraries Association, 1973), pp. 19–25 and 7–17 respectively.
 30. Information on the firm's changing partnership arrangements and business premises is taken from W. G. Blackie's privately printed *Sketch of the Origin and Progress of the Firm of Blackie & Son, Publishers* (Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1897), pp. 16–35, 49. The quotations giving an idea of the work of the firm's canvassers and

- deliverers are from two items in the archive of the firm, now in the Archives & Business Records Collection of the University of Glasgow. These are, respectively, a printed *Introductory Account of the Number Trade* (Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1847), pp. 3, 4, and a letter from the firm to its Deliverers of 4 Oct 1842, both in an album of catalogues (UGD61/4/2/1).
31. Stock Edition Book 1813–1864, opening 88 (UGD61/4/1/1): see Figure 2. The entry for *Tales and Sketches* continues on openings 96 and 112, while there is an entry for the companion set of *The Poetical Works of the Ettrick Shepherd* on opening 91.
 32. A Catalogue in the Blackie Archive, the estimated date of which is Mar 1843, describes the five-volume *Poetical Works*, a set uniform with *Tales and Sketches*, as ‘Roy. 18mo.’ (UGD61/4/2/1), which was also the format of the earlier volumes of Scott’s Magnum Opus edition of the Waverley Novels (see Millgate, *Scott’s Last Edition*, p. 36).
 33. This sample, which includes an advertisement for the work, the engraved title page and frontispiece to the first volume, and seventy-two pages of *The Brownie of Bodsbeck* in a now-faded binding of the first issue *Tales and Sketches* is gold-stamped with the word ‘SPECIMEN’ on the front cover (Stirling University Library, Res MAS 810E36).
 34. The Bodleian Library copy (at 101.h.137) of Thomas Stackhouse, *A History of the Holy Bible [...]* (Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1836), consists of parts 1–4 and 6–11 of a twelve-part work, the front cover of the first part being bound into the volume as a title page. Each part consists of ten eight-page gatherings, preceded by an engraving.
 35. An advertisement for the first volume in the *Glasgow Argus* of 16 Jan 1837 describes *Tales and Sketches* as ‘Publishing in 6 vols. at 5s. each. Vol. 2 will be issued in February’, while the Stirling sample advertises the work as to be ‘published in volumes, price 5s. each, and will be completed in about six volumes’.
 36. The set of *Tales and Sketches* in the Bodleian Library at 37.137–42 is one of the few that can be clearly demonstrated as being a first issue set, partly because it contains original advertising leaves and has not been rebound and partly because the addresses given on the engraved and printed title pages, printer’s colophons, and publisher’s addresses reflect the changes effected by John Blackie to the firm at the time of first publication. Vols 1 and 2, for instance, were printed by George Brookman, vol. 3 bears the odd colophon of ‘D. Cameron & Co., Buchanan Court’, while vols 4, 5, and 6 were printed by ‘W. G. Blackie & Co., Villafield’. Similarly the engraved title page to volume 1 gives ‘8 East Clyde Street’ as the place of publication with a date of 1836, while subsequent volumes give the Queen Street address and 1837.
 37. One such minor correction, made in the stereotype plates to the text of ‘Confessions of a Fanatic’, is noted in *Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, ed. Garside, p. xcvi (n. 166). An undated set owned by Gillian Hughes, with a more elaborate standard binding than those of the Bodleian set and Stirling sample, includes the replacement tales for ‘A Bush Aboon Traquair’.
 38. The advertising leaf cited is in vol. 2 of the copy of *Tales and Sketches* in the Bodleian Library at 37.137–42. For an example of the emphasis placed on the engravings see the review of the first two volumes in the *Glasgow Argus* of 2 Feb 1837, which, after a general discussion of Hogg’s character as a peasant poet and his relations with Scott and with *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, states that

the 'elegance of these volumes is especially deserving of notice. We have seen nothing handsomer or in better taste from the Scottish press. The illustrations, two in number to each volume, are superb'. The review then goes on to devote two paragraphs to detailed descriptions of the four engravings of the two volumes published to date, and states, somewhat baldly, 'we should consider it a work of supererogation as well as beyond the narrow limits of a newspaper critique, to enter into a discussion of the literary merits and characteristics of the Ettrick Shepherd'.

39. *Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, ed. Garside, p. lxxviii.
40. The paper cover to the first part of Stackhouse's work is bound into the Bodleian copy at 101.h.137 as a title page. Blackies' 'Notice to Subscribers' is to be found in the Blackie Archive at UGD61/12/3/17, together with another printed notice suggesting that subscribers to Aikman's *History of Scotland* had been placated by the addition of two engravings to the work over and above the number originally promised. The advertising leaf may be found in the first volume of the set of *Poetical Works* in the Bodleian library at 10. THETA. 74–78, while Blackies' letter to Mrs Hogg of 23 Aug 1841 is in Stirling University Library, MS 25, Box 2 (3). Vol. 5 of some early sets of the Blackie edition of Hogg's *Poetical Works* have a separate notice to subscribers dated May 1840 pasted to the front end-papers to explain the substitution of Hogg's own memoir of his life for the promised memoir by Wilson, with a facsimile of Wilson's autograph promise that 'a Memoir of Mr Hogg, on a more extensive scale than was at first contemplated, is now in preparation by Professor Wilson, and will be published [...] within a few Months, in the same style and form as these volumes'. The work, however, never appeared.
41. Martin to Blackie & Son, 13 Feb 1833, in UGD61/8/1/1 Item 10.
42. Blackie Archive, UGD61/1/11/2 (Bundle of Assignments with Authors, unnumbered item). A record of royalties paid to Mrs Hogg for the two original sets, 23 Aug 1841, survives in Stirling University Library, MS 25, Box 2 (3). This shows royalties of £270 from 2,000 copies sold of the *Tales*, £135 from the sale of a further 1,000 of the same, and £42 4s from 500 of the *Poems*. These sums are calculated at the rate of 10% of a reduced price of 27s and 22s 6d for the two sets respectively (i.e. 4s 6d a volume), the result being marginally better than the one-twelfth of retail price mentioned during the Hogg–Blackie negotiations.
43. In an undated Catalogue [marked in pencil 28 Jan 1852], giving trade and retail prices, the *Tales and Sketches* are listed at a reduced price of 21s (trade 15s 9d), and the *Poetical Works* at 17s 6d (trade 13s 2d). In another undated Catalogue, probably for the trade, the volumes are listed as on sale individually ('in fancy cloth, gilt') under separate titles: e.g. 'THE QUEEN'S WAKE, and other Poems', retail price 3s 6d, and 'MEMOIRS AND CONFESSIONS OF A FANATIC, and other Tales', at the same price. This tallies with some surviving volumes which have engraved title pages with these volume-particular titles rather than the old generic headings. Both catalogues mentioned above are found in the Blackie Archive, UGD61/4/2/1.
44. Blackie Archive, UGD61/4/2/1. Immediately following this in the same undated catalogue is a full-page advert for *The Imperial Family Bible* ('to be completed in about 36 Parts, at 2s. 6d. each'), the earliest complete edition of which is 1844, with another edition in 1858. Its prominent featuring here under the heading 'New Works and New Editions', together with the apparent hedging about the parts needed for completion, argues more strongly for the earlier date here and for the catalogue belonging to the early 1840s.

45. Blackie Archive, UGD61/4/1/2 (Stock Edition Book, 1838–1900), pp. 212–13. The completed 1865 *Works* contains 148 numbered gatherings of eight pages each, and it would seem that the individual Parts consisted of five or six such gatherings each. Gillian Hughes has seen a surviving paper-covered part in the family papers of Mr David Parr of Nelson, New Zealand, who is a descendant of James and Margaret Hogg.
46. Blackie Archive, UGD61/4/1/2, pp. 213–14, 273–74; undated catalogues, [1865], [1874], [1884], UGD61/4/2/1.

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REFERRING TO THIS ARTICLE

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Gillian Hughes is joint general editor of the Stirling/South Carolina Research Edition of the Collected Works of James Hogg, for which she has edited *Tales of the Wars of Montrose* (1996), *Lay Sermons* (1997, with Douglas S. Mack), *The Spy* (2000), *Altrive Tales* (2003), and *The Collected Letters of James Hogg: Volume 1, 1800–1819* (2004, with associate editors Douglas S. Mack, Robin MacLachlan, and Elaine Petrie). She also edits the annual journal *Studies in Hogg and his World*. Forthcoming publications include the two remaining volumes of Hogg's letters and a biography. She is currently James Hogg AHRB Research Fellow at the University of Stirling.





'THE ENGLISH NOVEL, 1800–1829'

Update 5 (August 2004–August 2005)

*Peter Garside,
with Jacqueline Belanger, Sharon Ragaz, and Anthony Mandal*



THIS PROJECT REPORT RELATES TO *The English Novel, 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction published in the British Isles*, general editors Peter Garside, James Raven, and Rainer Schöwerling, 2 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 2000). In particular it offers fresh commentary on the entries in the second volume, which was co-edited by Peter Garside and Rainer Schöwerling, with the assistance of Christopher Skelton-Foord and Karin Wünsche. The present report represents the fifth and last Update in what was intended to be a series of annual Reports, each featuring information that has come to light in the preceding year as a result of activities in CEIR and through contributions sent by interested individuals outside Cardiff.

The entries below are organised in a way that matches the order of material in the *English Novel, 1770–1829*. While making reference to any relevant changes that may have occurred in previous Updates, the 'base' it refers to is the printed Bibliography and not the preceding reports. Sections A and B concern authorship, the first of these proposing a change to the attribution as given in the printed Bibliography, and the second recording the discovery of new information of interest that has nevertheless not led presently to new attributions. Section C includes one additional novel (though not seen), which appears to match the criteria for inclusion and should ideally have been incorporated in the printed Bibliography. Section D lists a title already in the Bibliography for which a surviving copy could not be previously found, while the last two sections (E and F) involve information such as is usually found in the *Notes* field of entries. As previously, those owning copies of the printed Bibliography might wish to amend entries accordingly. An element of colour coding has been used to facilitate recognition of the nature of changes, with red denoting revisions and additions to existing entries in the Bibliography, and the additional title discovered being picked out in blue. Reference numbers (e.g. 1805: 10) are the same as those in the *English Novel, 1770–1829*; abbreviations match those listed at the beginning volume 2 of the *English Novel*, though in a few cases these are spelled out more fully for the convenience of present readers. EN3 refers to the online *The English Novel 1830–36* (<http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/1830s>).

This report was prepared by Peter Garside, with significant inputs of information from Drs Jacqueline Belanger and Sharon Ragaz, while working on the last stages of the now completed online database *British Fiction, 1800–1829: A Database of Production, Circulation & Reception* (<http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk>). A number of the details included in this last report are already incorporated there, and it is hoped that those not assimilated will be added at the next updating of the database. Information relating to the first English translation of Benjamin Constant's *Adolphe* (1816: 22) has kindly been supplied by Cecil Courtney of Christ's College, Cambridge; that relating to William Child Green's *The Woodland Family* (1824: 44) by Gillian Hughes.

A: NEW AND CHANGED AUTHOR ATTRIBUTIONS

1819: 47

[?GILLIES, Robert Pierce].

OLD TAPESTRY; A TALE OF REAL LIFE. IN TWO VOLUMES.

Edinburgh: Printed by James Ballantyne and Co. for W. and C. Tait, Prince's Street; and G. and W. B. Whittaker, Ave-Maria-Lane, London, 1819.

I xiii, 325p; II 319p. 12mo. 12s (ECB, ER, QR).

ER 31: 556 (Mar 1819); QR 21: 268 (Jan 1819).

Corvey; CME 3-628-48253-4; ECB 422; NSTC 2M18581 (BI BL, C, E, O).

Notes: Dedication 'to Flint Popham, Esq.', signed 'M. W. M. Brasen-Nose College,' Oxford, Mar 1819. Normally attributed to M. W. Maskell, matching the initials of the Dedication. This title, however, was claimed as Gillies's at least twice during appeals to the Royal Literary Fund (RLF). 'Old Tapestry. A Novel. 2 vols. 1816 [*sic*]' features in a 'List of Works' sent as part of an appeal in Apr 1838 (RLF 22: 708, item 5); and again as part of a completed list of 'Titles of Published Works' on a form dated 2 Jan 1850, this time as 'Old Tapestry a Novel—12mo. Edinb. 1819' (RLF 22: 708, Item 19). The Edinburgh manufacture and management of the work also accords with Gillies's career.

B: NEW INFORMATION RELATING TO AUTHORSHIP, BUT NOT PRESENTLY LEADING TO FURTHER ATTRIBUTION CHANGES

1805: 10 ANON, THE MYSTERIOUS PROTECTOR: A NOVEL. DEDICATED TO LADY CRESPIGNY. Further to the apparent attribution of this novel to Lady Crespigny in J. Brown's Circulating Library in Wigan, as reported in Update 4, advertisements have been found in the *Morning Chronicle* and *Star* newspapers for 6 Dec 1805 stating that the novel was 'Corrected and revised by Lady Crespigny'. This evidently formed part of a marketing ploy, however, and no mention of any such direct assistance is found in the ultra-respectful Dedication of the novel to Lady Crespigny signed 'M. C.'. Lady Mary Champion

de Crespigny (1748?–1812), née Mary Clarke, is one of most commonly-found persons in subscription lists to novels early in the 19th century. Apart from writing *The Pavilion. A Novel* (EN1 1796: 35), she was also the acknowledged author of *A Monody to the Memory of the Right Honourable the Lord Collingwood* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1810).

1805: 68 TEMPLE, Mrs {F.}, FERDINAND FITZORMOND; OR, THE FOOL OF NATURE. A review in the *Flowers of Literature* for 1806 identifies the author as the same Mrs Temple whose *Poems* it had reviewed in 1805: 'Her preface is here signed F. Temple: the *Poems* appeared under the name of Laura Sophia Temple' (p. 502). The title is also mentioned in an introductory section on 'Novelists' in the same issue of the journal: 'Mrs. Temple, the fair author of some excellent poems, of which we took ample notice in our preceding volume, has produced a ponderous novel, in five volumes, entitled *Ferdinand Fitzormond*' (p. lxxvii). The combined attribution also gains credence in view of all three works involved, *Flowers of Literature*, *Ferdinand Fitzormond*, and *Poems* (1805), being issued by the same publisher, viz. Richard Phillips. On the other hand, according to J. R. de J. Jackson's *Romantic Poetry by Women: A Bibliography, 1770–1835* (1993), pp. 346–47, Laura Sophia Temple (1763–after 1820) was married to Samuel B. Sweetman, which does not accord with the initial 'F'. as found in the 'Advertisement' to *Ferdinand Fitzormond*. There may, however, be some significance in Temple's mother, the wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Temple, being named Frances. The address 'To the Reader' in *Poems* (1805) is dated 'Chelsea, Dec. 16, 1804'; the 'Advertisement' to *Ferdinand Fitzormond*, London, May 1805. Laura Sophia Temple was also the acknowledged author of *Lyric and Other Poems* (1808) and *The Siege of Zaragoza, and Other Poems* (1812).

1808: 47 GENLIS, [Stéphanie-Félicité, Comtesse] de, SAINCLAIR, OR THE VICTIM OF THE ARTS AND SCIENCES. TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF MADAME DE GENLIS. According to the concluding comment to a notice of Genlis's *The Siege of Rochelle* (1808: 48) in the *Critical Review*, the above title was also translated by Robert Charles Dallas: 'This novel, as well as 'Sainclair', which we have already noticed, is translated, as we understand it, by Mr. Dallas, the author of Percival, &c.' (Appendix to 3rd ser. 13 (Jan–Apr 1808), 525–28). Unlike 1808: 48, however, the present title-page does not attribute the translation to Dallas, and the *Critical Review*'s assertion must be regarded with some scepticism in view of this inequality.

1816: 22 CONSTANT DE [REBECQUE], Benjamin [Henri]; [WALKER, Alexander (*trans.*)], ADOLPHE: AN ANECDOTE FOUND AMONG THE PAPERS OF AN UNKNOWN PERSON, AND PUBLISHED BY M. BENJAMIN DE CONSTANT. An account of this first English translation, together with valuable details concerning Alexander Walker, the translator,

can be found in C. P. Courtney, 'Alexander Walker and Benjamin Constant: A Note on the English Translation of *Adolphe*', *French Studies*, 29: 2 (Apr 1975), 137–50. As Courtney describes, Walker (1779–1852) was a medical student in Scotland, and contributor to several medical journals, who came to London to seek literary work, and was in communication with Constant (who had also studied at Edinburgh University) during the latter's visit to England (Jan–July 1816). Walker went on to have a prolific literary career of his own, writing or contributing to a variety of medical and scientific works, and acting from 1824 as the general literary editorial of the hugely ambitious though short-lived *European Review*, whose aim was to publish editions simultaneously in four different languages. Walker was evidently committed to the Encyclopaedic ideal, and a strong sense that all knowledge is related underlies a succession of more popular informational works produced in the 1830s, including *The Nervous System* (1834), *Intermarriage* (1838), *Women psychologically considered ...* (1839), and *Female Beauty* (1837), the last nominally at least by Mrs Alexander Walker. Library catalogues, however, have sometimes failed to link the translator of Constant with the 'physiologist' Alexander Walker, and indeed there has been a more endemic failure to bring the whole oeuvre under one single identified author. A copy of Walker's somewhat eccentric pamphlet *The Political and Military State of Europe, 1807; an Address to the British Nation ...* (Edinburgh: James Ballantyne & Co., 1807) reportedly contains a list of other works by Walker in preparation, including novels, though without precise titles for the novels being given.

Additional information about the original editions of *Adolphe* in French that shortly preceded the above translation can be found in Courtney's meticulously detailed *A Bibliography of Editions of the Writings of Benjamin Constant to 1833* (London: MHRA, 1981), pp. 47–62. Whereas the EN2 1816: 22 entry merely states 'Paris, 1816' for the French original, in actuality there were clearly two separate editions in French, one published from London and one from Paris, the London edition slightly ahead of the other. The first of these (Courtney 18a) bears the imprint of Henry Colburn (London) and Tröttel [*sic*] and Wurtz (Paris); this was entered at Stationers' Hall on 7 June 1816, having been delivered on 30 Apr to the London printers Schulze and Dean. The first Paris edition (Courtney 18b), published by Treuttel and Würtz in association with Colburn, and presumably set from proofs sent from London, appears to have been published on or about 15 June 1816. A second edition (Courtney 18c), effectively a reissue of the first Colburn French edition, with new preliminaries and the addition of a 'Préface de la seconde édition', was probably first issued in July or Aug [additional source: first advertisement in *Morning Chronicle*, 17 Aug 1816]. Walker's translation (Courtney 18i), another Colburn production, incorporates the same Preface, and a copy was apparently entered at Stationers' Hall on 3 September 1816. A useful summary of the chronology of the different editions can also be found in C. P. Courtney, 'The Text of Constant's *Adolphe*', *French Studies*, 37: 3 (July 1983), 296–309 (pp. 296–97); while similar bibliographical

information also features in the Introduction to the same author's edition of *Adolphe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989).

1819: 23 [BALFOUR, Alexander], CAMPBELL; OR, THE SCOTTISH PROBATIONER. A NOVEL. A useful account of this novel, and the three others written by Alexander Balfour (see 1822: 17, 1823: 21, and 1826: 12), can be found in David Macbeth Moir's 'Memoir' of the author in Balfour's posthumously-published *Weeds and Wildflowers* (Edinburgh, 1830). Whereas the above novel was published from Edinburgh by Oliver & Boyd, its three successors were published by A. K. Newman at the Minerva Press, this offering a fairly unusual instance of a domiciled Scottish fiction writer publishing in London at the height of the indigenous 'Scotch Novel' (James Hogg provides another instance). Moir offers a critical commentary on each title, with that on *Highland Mary* (1826) pointing to two levels of esteem in the fiction industry: 'if we seldom find it in the boudoir of the great, the circulating-library copies are dog-eared, and thumbed to tatters,—no very uncertain criterion (whatever be Mr Hazlitt's theory) of its merits' (p. lxxxv).

1825: 30 FOUQUÉ, [Friedrich Heinrich Karl], Baron de la Motte, THE MAGIC RING; A ROMANCE, FROM THE GERMAN. Further support for Update 4's identification of Robert Pierce GILLIES as the translator can be found in the Royal Literary Fund archive, where this title forms part of lists accompanying three appeals by Gillies to the Fund (RLF 22: 708, Items 5; 8, 19).

1826: 38 [GILLIES, Robert Pierce], TALES OF A VOYAGER TO THE ARCTIC OCEAN. NSTC 2G10257 and 2A15071 describe Harvard as attributing this title to George Robert Gleig. No substantiation, however, has been discovered for such an attribution, and the present Hollis electronic catalogue for the Harvard libraries makes the more conventional attribution to Gillies. Nevertheless this title, and the second series of *Tales of a Voyager* (1829: 33), seem to sit awkwardly with other contemporary works by Gillies. In his *Memoirs of a Literary Veteran* (3 vols., 1851), Gillies's narrative covering the years 1825–30 highlights only one novel: 'Returning to town at Christmas 1829 [...] the first use I made of my little gasp of time was to finish a book, "Basil Barrington" for which Mr. Colburn paid me £200 before it was written' (III, 213). *Basil Barrington and his Friends* (EN3 1830: 50) mentions no other works 'by the author' on its title-page, which seems an odd omission since Colburn was also the publisher of both series of *Tales of a Voyager to the Arctic Ocean*. Two other works published in the early 1830s, *Ranulph de Rohais* (EN3 1830: 51) and *Thurlston Tales* (1835: 46), published by William Kidd and John Macrone respectively, do however describes themselves as 'by the Author of "Tales of a Voyager to the Arctic Ocean"'. Both these latter are likewise conventionally at-

tributed to Gillies, though whether by title association or for more substantive reasons is a moot point. Certainly, viewed as whole, the two series of *Tales of a Voyager* together with *Ranulph de Rohais* and *Thurlston Tales* appear to form a distinct group, with *Basil Barrington* lacking any visible connection with any of its constituents.

Further doubt is cast by the records of the Royal Literary Fund, which include a series of appeals made by Gillies and lastly his widow, which as a matter of course meant providing lists of his works. “Basil Barrington and his Friends” in three vols. published by Colburn’ is given prominence in Gillies’s first letter to the society on 20 June 1831 (RLF 22: 708, Item 1), and was subsequently listed in appeals made in 1838, 1846, 1850, and 1859 (Items 5, 8, 19, and 28). At no point on the other hand is there any mention of the two series of *Tales of a Voyager to the Arctic Ocean*, *Ranulph de Rohais*, or *Thurlston Tales*. Certainly in his appeal of 1850, Gillies introduced the possibility that not all his writings were included: ‘I regret to say that some of these are the only part of my published works which it is *in my power* to obtain & submit to the society’ (Item 19). But it is unlikely all four novels would be suppressed or difficult to find; and, unless other supportive evidence can be found, Gillies’s authorship of 1826: 38, 1829: 33, as well as EN3 1830: 51 and 1835: 46, must be considered as at least doubtful.

C: NEW TITLES FOR POTENTIAL INCLUSION

1825

ANON.

DE COURCY: A TALE.

Isle of Wight: The Author, 1825.

397p.

CLU-S/C PR.3991.A1.D34 [not seen]; xNSTC.

Notes. Described from the CLU copy in OCLC Accession No. 3787624, and not found in any other catalogues. Evidently a rare of Isle of Wight imprint, which nevertheless has the external makings of full-length work of fiction.

D: TITLES PREVIOUSLY NOT LOCATED FOR WHICH HOLDING LIBRARIES HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY BEEN DISCOVERED

1824: 44

GREEN, William Child.

THE WOODLAND FAMILY; OR, THE SONS OF ERROR, AND DAUGHTERS OF SIMPLICITY. BY WILLIAM CHILD GREEN.

London: Printed and published by Joseph Emans, No. 91 Waterloo Road, 1824.

lii, 557p. 8vo, ill.

Manchester, Deansgate Library (Special Collections); xNSTC.

Notes: Engraved t.p. gives title as 'The Woodland Family; or The Sons of Error and Daughters of Simplicity. A Domestic Tale'. Author's Preface dated 30 July 1823. Every third gathering of four numbered at foot of page alongside signature from No. 1 to No. 23, indicating an issue in parts. Eight engraved plates (one missing in present copy), including Frontispiece.

Further edn: 1826 (MH 18488.8.10; NSTC 2G20225). This Harvard copy has the imprint of 'J. M'Gowan and Son Great Windmill Street, Haymarket'.

E: NEW INFORMATION RELATING TO EXISTING TITLE ENTRIES


1801: 60 SICKELMORE, Richard, RAYMOND, A NOVEL. OCLC entry (Accession No. 49374069), itself based on copy in Library at University California, Berkeley (PR.5452.S16.R3.1801), describes as containing 'List of subscribers'—vol. 1, pp. [vii]–xii'. None was found in the Corvey copy used for the Bibliography entry,

1822: 76 TROTTER, Robert, LOWRAN CASTLE, OR THE WILD BOAR OF CURRIDOO: WITH OTHER TALES, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE SUPERSTITIONS, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS OF GALLOWAY. OCLC entry (Accession No. 43658913), itself based on copy in Library at Columbia University (GR145.G3.T76.1822g), describes as containing 'Subscribers' names', pp. [160]–168. The BL copy at RB.23.b.12566 is also reported as saying 'List of subscribers' names within numbered pagination at end of text', that pagination ending at p. 168. The copy at E NG.1177.f.4, which formed the Bibliography entry, ended at p. 157, and so evidently lacked the subscription list.

F: FURTHER EDITIONS PREVIOUSLY NOT NOTED

1807: 15 COTTIN, [Sophie Ristaud]; MEEKE, [Mary] (*trans.*), ELIZABETH; OR, THE EXILES OF SIBERIA. A TALE, FOUNDED ON FACTS. ALTERED FROM THE FRENCH OF MADAME DE COTTIN. The Bibliography entry is based on the Minerva Press edition, located at Yale University, at that point considered to represent the first published translation. Advertisements in the *Morning Chronicle* on 23 Jan 1807 and the *Star* on 18 Feb 1807 point to a possibly earlier 1-vol. edn issued by Oddy and Co., W. Oddy, and Appleyards. These adverts are apparently matched by the entry in OCLC (Ac-

cession No. 12265756), itself based on the copy at Indiana University (PQ2211. C53.E613.1807). The Indiana catalogue describes this as: *Elizabeth, or, The Exiles of Siberia: A Tale founded upon Facts from the French of Mad. Cottin*, London: Printed for Appleyard [and 2 others], 1807, 254p. The Glasgow University Library catalogue also describes a similarly-titled work (Sp. Coll. Z6-I.22), published by Appleyard, 1807.

1816: 37 JOHNSTONE, Mary, THE LAIRDS OF GLENFERN; OR, HIGHLANDERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. A TALE. OCLC entry (Accession No. 32517107), itself based on copy in Library at the University of North Carolina (PR.4826.J6.32.L3), describes a copy of this novel with the joint imprint: London: Printed at the Minerva Press for A. K. Newman: Edinburgh: John Anderson'. John Anderson's name is missing in the Corvey copy used for the Bibliography entry, whose t.p. and colophons match that of a routine Minerva Press title. It is not impossible, though, that the work was actually initiated in Edinburgh, and then sold on to Newman and Co. 

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The matter contained within this article provides bibliographical information based on independent personal research by the contributor, and as such has not been subject to the peer-review process. For the sake of consistency with *The English Novel*, the formatting conventions used in this article differ from those of the usual *Cardiff Corvey* stylesheet.

