The Economics of the Novel in Britain, 1750–1836

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation uses the British fiction market as a case study to investigate the responses of commercial publishers to the onset of the Industrial Revolution. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century bore witness to a slew of changes to the British economy: unprecedented population growth, the introduction of new manufacturing technologies such as the Fourdrinier papermaking machine, and the intensification of income inequality stemming from an increasingly capital-intensive inequality. By the early nineteenth century, fiction publishers found themselves caught in tension between a rapidly growing but highly stratified customer base on the one hand, and limits to market scope set by the uneven adoption of new technologies on the other. In order to navigate these challenges, publishers responded to the rising demand for fiction not by increasing the quantity of new novels, but by raising their prices. This strategy ensured that most novels were likely to be profitable even if sales were modest, but it also obliged publishers to rely on collusive arrangements to quash competition among retail booksellers.

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Abbreviations

ATCL: Troy J. Bassett, *At the Circulating Library: A Database of Victorian Fiction 1837–1901*, hosted by *Victoria Research Web*, http://www.victorianresearch.org/atcl/, first published 2007, last updated 30 March 2023.

BBF: Collective citation of the standard bibliographies of British fiction published 1750–1836: *TEN1* (1770–1799); *TEN2* (1800–1829); *DBF* (1800–1829); and *TEN3* (1830–1836). Citations of record numbers refer to information derived solely from bibliographical entries, or else to publication data recorded in the appendices. When I have consulted a print copy or digital facsimile of the book, I cite the book.

BBTI: British Book Trade Index, Bodleian Library, http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/.

BF: James Raven, *British Fiction 1750–1770: A Chronological Checklist of Prose Fiction Printed in Britain and Ireland* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1987).

CHBB4, CHBB5, CHBB6: John Barnard, D.F. McKenzie, David McKitterick, and I.R. Wilson, gen. eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999–2019), 7 vols.: *Volume 4, 1557–1695*, eds. John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie (2002), https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521661829 (*CHBB4*); *Volume 5, 1695–1830*, eds. Michael F. Suarez, S.J. and Michael Turner (2009), https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521810173 (*CHBB5*); *Volume 6, 1830–1914*, ed. David McKitterick (2009), https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521866248.

DBF: Peter D. Garside, Jacqueline Belanger, and Sharon Ragaz, *British Fiction, 1800–1829: A Database of Production, Circulation & Reception*, designer Anthony Mandal, first released 2004, updated c. 2009, Cardiff University, http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk. Entries are cited by record number. To navigate to an entry, add it to the end of the URL "http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk/titleDetails.asp?title=[record no. here]". For instance, the URL for the entry on M.W. Shelley's *Frankenstein* (*DBF* 1818A057) is http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk/titleDetails.asp?title=1818A057.

ECB: Robert Alexander Peddie and Quintin Waddington, eds., *The English Catalogue of Books, 1801–1836* (London: The Publisher's Circular, [1914]; repr., New York: Krauss, 1963), HathiTrust, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/msu.31293024403903.

ECCO: Eighteenth-Century Collections Online, Gale, https://www.gale.com/primary-sources/eighteenth-century-collections-online.

ESTC: English Short-Title Catalogue, British Library, http://estc.bl.uk/.

NCCO: Nineteenth-Century Collections Online, Gale, https://www.gale.com/primary-sources/nineteenth-century-collections-online.

PQDT: ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global, Gale, https://about.proquest.com/en/products-services/pqdtglobal/.

TEN1, TEN2: Peter D. Garside, James Raven, and Rainer Schöwerling, gen eds., *The English Novel, 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000): *Volume I: 1770-1799* by James Raven and Antonia Forster, with the assistance of Stephen Bending (*TEN1*); *Volume II: 1800-1829* by Peter D. Garside and Rainer Schöwerling, with the assistance of Christopher Skelton-Foord and Karin Wünsche (*TEN2*).

TEN3: Peter D. Garside, Anthony Mandal, Verena Ebbes, Angela Koch, and Rainer Schöwerling, *The English Novel, 1830–1836: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles*, first published 2003, last modified 21 November 2016, hosted by *Romantic Textualities*, http://www.romtext.org.uk/resources/english-novel-1830-36/.

A Note on Currency

Until 1971, the inhabitants of Great Britain denominated their currency in pounds, shillings, and pence (abbreviated £*sd*, from the Latin *libræ*, *solidi*, *denarii*):

1 pound sterling (£1) = 20 shillings = 240 pence.

The Royal Mint circulated the pound sterling in a bewildering variety of coinages. During the period principally covered in this dissertation, their relative values in England and Scotland were fixed at the following ratios:

1 shilling (1*s.*) = 12 pence

1 penny (1*d.*) = 2 half-pence = 4 farthings

1 guinea = 21 shillings (1717–1813)

1 crown = 5 shillings (from 1707)

1 sovereign = 1 pound (from 1816)

Notwithstanding the 1800 Acts of Union, the Irish pound remained an independent currency until 1826; for its exchange rate with the pound sterling, see Frank Whitson Fetter, *The Irish Pound, 1797–1826* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1955), 19–24, 129–30, *HathiTrust*, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015039391894.

As context dictates, I express money amounts in this dissertation using one of two notations:

1. £.*s.d.*, always preceded by the pound sign (*e.g.*, "£120" for one hundred and twenty pounds, or "£1.11.6" for a guinea and a half); and

2. decimalized shillings or pence, accompanied by the word "shillings" or "pence" whenever used (*e.g.*, "31.5 shillings" for a guinea and a half, or "5 pence" for five twelfths of a shilling).

Some of the sources I cite use other conventions abbreviating pounds with the italic lowercase letter l or the capital roman L (*e.g.* "120*l.*" or "120L" for £120) or abbreviating shillings and pence with a slash (*e.g.*, "10/6" for 10.5 shillings, "1/" for 1 shilling, and "/6" for 0.5 shillings). When discussing measurement of mass (or "weight"), I refer to the avoirdupois pound by the abbreviation lb.

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A helpful and well-documented resource for historical values of currency is "Five Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a UK Pound Amount, 1270 to Present," *MeasuringWorth*, 2019, https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/. *MeasuringWorth*'s "Income Value" index generally yields the most applicable comparison for books and other retail goods. As the necessity of interpreting the same sum in five ways should attest, however, the historical transvaluation of prices and wealth is ever a fraught exercise—not of because of evolving standards of living and fluctuating levels of income and wealth inequality. Studies that usefully situate income inequality within discussions of occupational structure, class, and culture include Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?: England 1783–1846* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 125–30; Robert D. Hume, "The Value of Money in Eighteenth-Century England: Incomes, Prices, Buying Power—and Some Problems in Cultural Economics," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 77.4 (Winter 2014): 373–416, https://doi.org/10.1525/hlq.2014.77.4.373; and Robert C. Allen, "Class Structure and Inequality during the Industrial Revolution: Lessons from England's Social Tables, 1688–1867," *Economic History Review* 72, no. 1 (February 2019): 88–125, https://doi.org/10.1111/ehr.12661.

Introduction

Preview: Novels for the shepherd's nook?

One Saturday in May 1825, Edinburgh's leading publisher Archibald Constable pitched to his star author (and silent partner) Sir Walter Scott "a total revolution in the art and traffic of bookselling." Scott had convened Constable and printer James Ballantyne at Abbotsford, the gothic country house he had recently erected in the Scottish Borders. Present, too, was Scott's son-in-law John Gibson Lockhart, who would recall a decade later, in his biography of Scott, that Constable's proposal "might almost have induced serious suspicions of his sanity, but for the curious accumulation of pregnant facts on which he rested his justification, and the dexterous sagacity with which he uncoiled his practical inferences."[1] "It is the cleverest thing," Scott himself raved, "that ever came into the head of the cleverest of all bibliopolic heads."[2] Although Constable's plan was doomed from the start, even its failure attests to the crucial insight that inspired him to pursue it.

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[1] John Gibson Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1839), 7:379, *HathiTrust*, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.aa0014253801.

[2] Walter Scott, letter to J.G. Lockhart, 5 May 1825 (probably in advance of the meeting itself), quoted in John Sutherland, *The Life of Walter Scott: A Critical Biography* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1995), 275–6. Sutherland, mistrustful of Lockhart's generally hostile depiction of Constable in the *Memoirs*, questions the accuracy of Lockhart's account of the Abbotsford proposal. Except insofar as Sutherland calls out the "extraordinary theatricality of the dialogue"—which I eagerly exploit in the coming pages—his doubts mostly concern the depictions of Constable's and Scott's personalities rather than the substance of the plan, and thus have little bearing on the present argument. Sutherland perceives Lockhart as contrasting a rambunctious, alcoholic Constable with a level-headed, judicious Scott. To the contrary, I show Lockhart depicts Scott as an attentive and persuaded listener. And surely, Lockhart's hostility toward Constable lends credence to his grudging admiration in this particular episode.

After proclaiming over a toast that "printing and bookselling, as instruments for enlightening and entertaining mankind, and, of course, for making money, are as yet in mere infancy," Constable drew from his pocket a heavily annotated copy of the United Kingdom's "annual schedule of assessed taxes." He had used the tax records, he informed his partners, to reverse-engineer national sales revenue estimates for such miscellaneous luxury items as hair powder, armorial bearings, hunting-watches, sward-cutters, and four-wheeled carriages. For Constable, the portrait of burgeoning consumer activity that emerged from these calculations—of a nation teeming with shopgoers who clambered for comfort, even the humblest among them frittering their earnings on contemptible trinkets—threw into stark relief what limited progress the book trade had really made by 1825. Buyers of hair powder alone constituted

> an army, compared to the purchasers of even the best and most popular of books. [. . .] He went on [. . .] that hundreds of thousands in this magnificent country held, as necessary to their personal comfort, and the maintenance of decent station, articles upon articles of costly elegance, of which their forefathers never dreamt, said that however usual it was to talk of the extended scale of literary transactions in modern days, our self-love never deceived us more grossly than when we fancied our notions as to the matter of books had advanced in at all a corresponding proportion. "On the contrary," cried Constable, "I am satisfied that the demand for Shakespeare's plays, contemptible as we hold it to have been, in the time of Elizabeth and James, was more creditable to the classes who really indulged in any sort of elegance then, than the sale of Childe Harold or Waverley, triumphantly as people talk, is to the alleged expansion of taste and intelligence in this nineteenth century."[3]

These were chastening words for anyone involved in literary commerce, but it took a peculiar burst of inspiration for Constable, the founding publisher of the *Edinburgh Review*,[4] to utter them to this

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[3] Lockhart, *Memoirs*, Vol. 7, 379–81.

[4] John Clive, "The *Edinburgh Review*: The Life and Death of a Periodical," in *Essays in the History of Publishing, in Celebration of the 250th Anniversary of the House of Longman 1724–1974*, ed. Asa Briggs (London: Longman, 1974), 113–40.

particular coterie, assembled in the little castle their joint enterprise had bankrolled. Walter Scott was arguably the most celebrated living author in Europe, and as the anonymous "Author of *Waverley*" he was certainly Britain's most popular and widely disseminated novelist. Ballantyne, silent throughout the meeting, had overseen the printing of well over 100,000 copies of Scott's novels in the eleven years that had passed since the publication of *Waverley*.[5]

Still, Scott was listening closely, and now he chimed in. Leaving aside periodicals, Scott supposed, few even of his landed neighbors "spent ten pounds *per annum* on the literature of the day." "No," Constable agreed, "there is no market among them that's worth one's thinking about," sated as most families were with a magazine or two, "or at best with a paltry subscription to some circulating library forty miles off." Constable now proposed a business model that would unite these wealthy but choosey readers with the unrecruited hordes of gewgaw-buyers revealed in his tax research: a 2- to 3-shilling-a-month subscription plan for twelve volumes a year, "which must and shall sell, not by thousands or tens of thousands, but by hundreds of thousands—ay, by millions!" Lapsing excitedly into Scots, he exulted at the commercial conquests that lay before him if he could bring more modest households into the fold of regular book-buyers:

> if I live for half-a-dozen years, I'll make it as impossible that there should not be a good library in every decent house in Britain as that the shepherd's ingle-nook [chimney corner] should want the sautpoke [salt bag]. Ay, and what's that? [. . .] why should the ingle-nook itself want a shelf for the novels?

By offering a plan for installments at sixpence a week, he continued, the series would be "so cheap that every butcher's callant [servant boy] may have them." *Waverley*, of course, would occupy the first

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[5] The sizes of most of Ballantyne's authorized editions of Scott's works are recorded in William B. Todd and Ann Bowden, *Sir Walter Scott: A Bibliographical History, 1796–1832* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1998). The sum of Ballantyne's known editions sizes of Scott's novels as of June 1825 is 101,300 copies. Print runs are unavailable for the fourth edition of *Guy Mannering* (94Ab), the third edition of *Ivanhoe* (140Ae), and the first editions of *The Abbot* (146A), *Peveril of the Peak* (165A), and *Quentin Durward* (167A). For the known sizes of Scott's first editions, see Appendix A2.

volumes in alternating sequence with Scott's recently commenced biography of Napoleon, and the rest of Scott's novels would follow.[6]

The proposal for what was to be *Constable's Miscellany*, and Scott's response, bore implications for their shared enterprise that were, by 1825, too obvious to speak aloud. Two years earlier, in an alarming report on Constable & Co.'s finances, junior partner Robert Cadell had calculated that adjusting for interest due on loans, the firm was making its partners a mere 1% return on its operating costs. Cadell—conspicuously absent, in Lockhart's telling, from the 1825 meeting—had warned Constable against risking capital on cheap miscellanies, urging him instead to focus on the high profits guaranteed by full-price editions of Scott's novels: "the author of Waverley," Cadell wrote, "is our main state and prop."[7] But lately, the prop was buckling. Unsold copies of Scott's five most recent novels had all been reissued with fresh new title pages dubiously labelled "THE SECOND EDITION," but in fact none had legitimately reached that milestone since *The Pirate* in 1822.[8] If Constable was correct, however, the Waverley novels were oversaturated only within the rarefied market set by their high retail prices. After all, those prices had climbed precipitously from 21 shillings for *Waverley* (1814) to 31.5 shillings for all his three-volume novels since *Kenilworth* (1821).[9] The retail price of one Waverley novel alone exhausted a sixth of the £10 annual book allowance Scott was now hypothesizing for landed households—and it surely would've enveloped most if not all of a butcher's total weekly earnings, let alone his callant's!

Notwithstanding the sound reasoning that undergirded it, Constable's Miscellany, in the form originally proposed, was scuttled even before his firm's collapse eight months later. Under pressure

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[6] Lockhart, *Memoirs*, Vol. 7, 381–2.

[7] Ross Alloway, "The Sequestration of Archibald Constable and Co.," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 103, no. 2 (June 2009): 221–43 at 239–40, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24293989.

[8] Todd and Bowden, *Sir Walter Scott*: see entries for *The Pirate* (157Aa-f), *The Fortunes of Nigel* (157Aa-b), *Peveril of the Peak* (165Aa-b), *Quentin Durward* (167Aa-b), *St. Ronan's Well* (171Aa-b), and *Redgauntlet* (178Aa-b). The labeling of reissues as new editions was common across Scott's oeuvre, but every novel up to 1822 had occasioned at least a second edition. For conceptual distinctions among types of issues within an edition, see G. Thomas Tanselle, "The Bibliographical Concepts of 'Issue' and 'State,'" *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 69.1 (1975): 17–66, https://www.jstor.org/stable/24302244.

[9] Todd and Bowden, *Sir Walter Scott*.

from his London partners Hurst, Robinson, who argued that selling the *Waverley* novels at sixpence a volume would render their stock of full-price copies unsellable, Constable had no choice but to reimagine the miscellany as a collection of original essays.[10] Constable would continue to push for cheap print until bankruptcy forced him out of the trade in 1826, but the most popular and successful oeuvre of novels in the English language to date had been forcibly cut out of his vision.

Yet perhaps entrepreneurial insight knows not death—only transformation. Ultimately, Constable's partner Robert Cadell would out-maneuver him in securing Scott's loyalty after the firm's bankruptcy, and in 1829, two years after Constable's ignominious death, Cadell & Co. finally oversaw the commencement a cheap "Magnum Opus" edition of the Waverley novels. But Cadell set the retail price of the new series at a far more conservative 5 shillings per volume.[11] Sold at double the lower-bound price Constable had envisioned for his Miscellany, the Magnum Opus edition remained an exorbitant stretch for the shepherd and the butcher's boy, especially without a weekly installment plan. Even so, the shrunken retail profit margin entailed by this strategy badly disquieted the English book trade. In London, some renegade retailers had the nerve to buy Magnum Opus volumes directly from the publisher and then sell them at a discount of 20% off the listed retail price, a rate against which retail booksellers who had purchased volumes at wholesale price were unable to compete.[12] In December 1829, a committee of booksellers met to formalize bans against retail price discounts that had long been policed only informally. Private retail purchasers who paid in cash were entitled to 10% off the retail price, and book clubs and reading societies to 15%. Otherwise, any retail bookseller who persisted in selling unremaindered books below the retail price would "have his name erased from the list of Booksellers"—would be banned, in other words, from the trade sales on which booksellers'

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[10] David Hewit, "Constable, Archibald (1774–1827)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, updated 2007, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6101.

[11] Jane Millgate, *Scott's Last Edition: A Study in Publishing History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1987), 1–14, 90–6.

[12] James J. Barnes, *Free Trade in Books: A Study of the London Book Trade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 6. The undersellers must have been buying directly from the publisher at a trade price of £0.3.7, meaning they earned a maximum profit of 12%. Most retailers could not compete with this price because they purchased copies downstream from wholesalers, probably at a discount to 80–85% retail price.

livelihoods depended. The Committee reassured those tradesmen excluded from deliberating on their resolutions that "they contain nothing but what is equally calculated to promote the respectability of the trade & to secure mutual confidence."[13]

Literary markets, modern economic growth, and fiction publishing

It is far from self-evident that Archibald Constable could have proved successful in his push for cheap literary print, even if the London book trade and his own bad debts had not interceded on his grandiose plans. Nevertheless, the core insight that inspired Constable's Miscellany has proven to be sound. At the time Constable made his proposal at Abbotsford, a series of fundamental transformations were well underway in the social and economic life of the British Isles. Following the economist Simon Kuznets, we may refer to these transformations collectively as the core facets of "modern economic growth." In his 1971 Nobel Memorial Lecture, Kuznets identified the key facets of modern economic growth to be the high, sustained increase of both population and *per capita* income; the technological and organizational innovations that enabled these trends to persist; and the evolution of social institutions and ideologies that allowed such innovations to proliferate, both domestically and internationally. Following the prevailing economic historiography of the mid twentieth century, Kuznets dated the outset of modern economic growth no farther back than "to the late eighteenth century," associating its origins with western European nations and especially "the Industrial Revolution in England." Where Constable saw Britons buying "articles upon articles of costly elegance," Kuznets saw the beginnings of "a long-term rise in capacity to supply increasingly diverse economic goods to its population." In other words, Constable's tax research allowed him to glimpse the very engine that propels capitalist societies, for better and for worse.[14]

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[13] Quoted in Barnes, *Free Trade in Books*, 175–6.

[14] Simon Kuznets, "Modern Economic Growth" (Lecture, Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences, 11 December 1971), https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/economic-sciences/1971/kuznets/lecture/.

The economic modernization of Great Britain has occasioned a vast literature, and the timing and extent of modern economic growth as Kuznets understood it remains the subject of vociferous debate. In the decades following Kuznets's Nobel lecture, longstanding assumptions about the primacy of the Industrial Revolution as the instigator of modern economic growth came under attack, and it is now no longer tenable to claim that technological innovation in the manufacturing sector of the British economy enabled rapid gains to productivity and living standards between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In the British Isles and northwest Europe, at least, modern economic growth now appears to have been a far more gradual development than Kuznets had supposed, with diverse causes that date back at least to the early modern period.[15] Nevertheless, several key socio-economic developments have withstood every kind of scrutiny that economic historians have subjected them to. As we will see, major studies, some of them quite recent, have lent credence to the interpretation that in its population size, occupational structure, income distribution, urbanization, and technological manufacturing base, the British Isles were indeed a different nation by the mid nineteenth century then they had been a century earlier.

To date, there has been no systematic study of the British book trade's response to the onset of modern economic growth. The reasons for this gap in scholarship are manifold, but perhaps the leading reason has been the perception among scholars that there *was* no such response. Historians have tended to regard early-nineteenth-century publishers as having successfully insulated themselves from economic modernization through a mixture of conservatism and collusion. As John Sutherland claims, "Most early nineteenth-century publishers were utterly incurious about the growth of markets and slow to keep up with a rapidly changing world." Sutherland cites the failure of Constable's Miscellany as a warning to the book trade against risky entrepreneurial forays into cheap print, which they heeded by doubling down on the publication of expensive books in editions that rarely exceeded

[15] For historiographical overviews of these developments, see Maxine Berg and Pat Hudson, "Rehabilitating the Industrial Revolution," *Economic History Review* n.s. 45, no. 1 (February 1992): 24–50, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2598327; Jan de Vries, "The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution," *Journal of Economic History* 54, no. 2 (June 1994): 249–70, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2123912.

1,000 copies. This business model was premised on what Sutherland euphemistically calls the tamping down of competition "to an acceptable minimum by a comfortable degree of co-operation."[16] This mode of "co-operation" among publishers and booksellers was the impetus for the rejection of Constable's Miscellany by his London distributors in 1825 and the punitive clampdown on undersellers of the "Magnum Opus" edition a few years later. Both developments typify the resistance to economic change that William St. Clair charts in the most ambitious and influential study of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literary markets, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*. Along with a handful of other book historians, St. Clair has argued that England's leading book tradespeople used their control over the intellectual property rights of literary works to enforce an artificial monopoly. What growth *did* occur in the book trade during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, according to St. Clair, was owing almost entirely to copyright reform, rather than to exogenous market forces such as population growth and technological change.[17]

To be sure, the anti-competitive strategies of the book trade were indeed major factors that no historian of print can afford to ignore. However, accounts such as Sutherland's and St. Clair's mistake surface continuities in the manufacturing and pricing of books for the absence of meaningful structural change. Publishing—especially literary publishing—remained restricted by artificial monopoly during the early nineteenth century, and in many respects it grew more so. Yet the socio-economic backdrop of commercial publishing was in the process of undergoing such extensive and unignorable change that it would be in error to interpret them as merely doubling down on older strategies. As the economist Joseph Schumpeter has argued, the fundamental condition of capitalism is "creative destruction," the process by which new technologies and institutions are perpetually making way for the flourishing of new business paradigms while rendering old ones obsolete. Because the fundamental condition of a competitive market economy is disruption, Schumpeter argues, any

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[16] John Sutherland, *Victorian Novelists and Publishers* (London: Athelone Press, 1976), 10–11.

[17] William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

account of the history of an industry that is premised on long-term continuities is bound to miss the bigger picture:

> Every piece of business strategy acquires its true significance only against the background of that process and within the situation created by it. It must be seen in its role in the perennial gale of creative destruction; it cannot be understood irrespective of it. [. . .] The usual theorist's paper and the usual government commission's report practically never try to see that behavior, on the one hand, as a result of a piece of past history and, on the other hand, as an attempt to deal with a situation that is sure to change presently—as an attempt by those firms to keep on their feet, on ground that is slipping away from under them. In other words, the problem that is usually being visualized is how capitalism administers existing structures, whereas the relevant problem is how it creates and destroys them.[18]

The fundamental challenge facing an economic history of the book trade is thus to understand not only how publishing and its ancillary industries evolved in the face of modern economic growth, but also to account for the wider structural changes that primed them for that evolution. The period from roughly 1770 to 1840, which literary historians usually refer to as the Romantic period,[19] bears the brunt of the challenges that this project entails, because it contains so many messy beginnings of trends that, within a few decades, would come to seem inexorable.

To be sure, this sweeping topic entails not only the whole of literary publishing during the Romantic period, but the whole of print more broadly. Why, then, have I written a dissertation titled "The Economics of the Novel in Britain, 1750–1836"? To be sure, I have not chosen to use long-form fiction as a case study because of any conviction about the special historical or cultural significance of fiction relative to other genres. In his survey of surviving eighteenth-century print items, Michael

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[18] Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, & Democracy* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003; first edn. 1943), 81–4.

[19] Debates about the start and end dates of the Romantic period are incessant and not particularly productive. William Galperin and Susan Wolfson propose the capacious time range 1750–1850 in "The Romantic Century," talk given before the North Amerian Society for the Study of Romanticism, 23–6 October 1996, *Romantic Circles*, https://romantic-circles.org/reference/misc/confarchive/crisis/crisisa.html.

Suarez notes that fiction appears only to have represented about 2% of all publications during the first half of the eighteenth century and about 3.5% during the second half, which leads him to wryly observe, "This fact may lead some bibliographers and book historians to question the emphasis on fiction publishing that characterizes so much of the work in our field."[20] Rather, I am fascinated by novels for the same reason Constable was fascinated by the prospect of a shelf for novels in the shepherd's nook. Novels epitomize leisure reading during an era when many kinds of leisure reading remained far out of the reach of the working classes. They are perhaps the prime example of what Thorstein Veblen called "conspicuous waste": so many hours frittered away imagining the tribulations of nonexistent people.[21] Constable, better than most modern literary historians, understood the constraints that the ecomomics of literary publishing placed on the socio-economic accessibility of fiction readership. The image of the shepherd and the butcher's calland reading novels represented one vision of long-term growth in the market. It represented the far pole on a spectrum of genre from practical utility to indulgent luxury in the pleasure of reading for its own sake.

This is a fascination that scholars of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literature have inherited from the figures they study. Since at least the 1957 publication of Ian Watt's paradigm-setting *The Rise of the Novel* (1957), literary historians have used fiction as a touchstone when trying to conceptualize the socio-economic make-up of literary audiences during the early phases of modern capitalist development.[22] Although Watt's own survey of socio-economic contexts of the novel was more nuanced and circumspect than his critics have sometimes given him credit, J.A. Downie is not radically off the mark with his reductive summary of the materialist basis for Watt's account: "the rise of the reading public, a more or less direct consequence of the rise of the middle class, leads in turn to

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[20] Michael Suarez, "Towards a bibliometric analysis of the surviving record, 1701–1800," in *CHBB5*, 39–61 at 48, https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521810173.003.

[21] Thorestein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the Evolution of Institutions* (New York: Macmillan, 1899), 154, *HathiTrust*, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiuo.ark:/13960/t9f55fj8b.

[22] Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1957).

the rise of the novel."[23] What a neat little row of dominos! The problem is that it is difficult to read and teach novels while also historicizing "the reading public" and "the middle class" as emerging facets of economic life in an industrializing capitalist nation. Who were the middle class? What did it mean for them to enter the ranks of the reading public? How exactly did that reading public go about "raising" the novel? My goal in this dissertation is to reckon not only with the ungainliness of these questions, but with the strangeness of the answers that demography, economic history, and publishing history yield when pressed to their epistemological limits.

There are, of course, pragmatic reasons to focus on fiction as well. The disproportionate interest that scholars have shown in the history of the novel has led to an extraordinarily rich documentary record of the genre. In particular, the major bibliographies of British fiction published since 1987 by James Raven, Peter Garside, and their many collaborators have yielded an almost comprehensive view of the publishing of first editions of novels during the years 1750–1836.[24] These bibliographies have yielded an extraordinary trove of statistical evidence on the fiction market, as well as serving as a finding aid for financial data in publishers' archives. As such, the bibliographical record of Romantic fiction is relatively easy to instrumentalize for statistical analysis—both in terms of the totality of the publishing of new editions, and in terms of detailed case studies of individual firms and market sectors.

Overview of the dissertation

This dissertation has three parts, each of which is comprised of two chapters. Each of the three parts treats the modernization of the book trade with a different level of scope. Part I deals with the whole of the British market for print, informed by demographic scholarship, estimates of

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[23] J.A. Downie, "The Making of the English Novel," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 9, no. 3 (April 1997): 249–266 at 250, https://doi.org/10.1353/ecf.1997.0030.

[24] Throughout this dissertation, I cite these bibliographies as *BBF*. See Abbreviations for an overview of these sources; I also offer fuller citations and a very historiographical overview of these bibliographies in Chapter 3.

macroeconomic growth, and excise data on the total output of the British paper industry. Part II focuses on the fiction market, using bibliographies to analyze all the novels published in Great Britain during each year between 1750 and 1836. Part III narrows the focus to the business connections and fiction output of a single publisher, Thomas Norton Longman, between 1797 and 1836, focusing on edition-level evidence of cost, sales, and profits. It may be helpful to think of the three parts as investigating the modernization of the market for print through successively narrower focal lengths: fisheye, then wide-angle, then telephoto.

Part I, Literary Markets and Modern Economic Growth, situates book publishing and its ancillary trades within two key facets of economic modernization: the population growth and the changing income structure of the British Isles in Chapter 1; and the expansion, industrialization, and mechanization of the British paper trade in Chapter 2. The topoi that these chapters inherit from economic history are the Demographic Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, respectively. Chapter 1 investigates modernization from the perspective of people, families, and socio-economic classes, while Chapter 2 investigates concomitant developments from the perspective of manufacturers, entrepreneurs, and tradespeople. Collectively, Part I of this dissertation aims to yield an account of how economic modernization influenced the demand of, and supply for, print matter.

Importantly, my method in Part I is not to study the book trade and literary readership in isolation. Rather, I investigate the wider economic factors that enabled their development. Although the available aggregate data on printing, book trade activity, and readership are useful and instructive, they unfortunately do not yield a coherent or continuous account of the market for print matter in Britain from the eighteenth century through the mid nineteenth. Even if there is reason to hope that continuous time series data on the growth of print during these years may someday exist, any conclusions we might draw from them would be misleading if they were not properly situated within a more expansive pattern of economic development, of which the book trade was only a subset. As such, the analysis that I perform in these two chapters is necessarily preliminary. Although the two most important problems I address in Part I—the size and income distribution of Britain's middle class in Chapter 1, and the replacement of hand-vat manufacture with Fourdrinier papermaking machines in

Chapter 2—both yield elaborate statistical estimates, my intention is not to cow the reader with quantitative rigor for its own sake. My goal is not to amass a grand master narrative of the modernization of literary markets, but to coordinate the many diverse, disciplinarily localized problems that such a narrative entails. Above all, my goal for Part I is to offer a methodological bridge between book history and economic history. I will in some measure have succeeded if I have made the data, methods, and debates that have been published in studies of Britain's economic development more permeable to students of literature and print.

Part II surveys the consequences of modern economic growth for the most well-documented sector of the British book trade during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century: the market for long-form fiction. Whereas Part I recontextualizes economic history to aid the ends of book history, Part II instrumentalizes bibliographies of British fiction to serve as economic data on the size of the fiction market, the structure of fiction publishing and distribution, and the evolution of the novel as a physical product. Chapter 3 offers a historiographical background of the bibliographies from which I have drawn data, while Chapter 4 offers a wide-ranging narrative of the genre's economic development.

In broad terms, the portrait of the fiction market at the outset of modern economic growth (*circa* 1750–1840) that emerges from my analysis in Part II is of demand steadily outpacing supply. Population growth and the consolidation of large discretionary incomes by families outside the landed gentry (a cohort we tend to refer to, not unproblematically, as the middle class or the bourgeoisie) led to what economists would call a rightward shift in the demand curve, while constraints on capital markets and anti-competitive book trade arrangements prevented a commensurate shift in the supply curve. For the first third of the nineteenth century, however, literary markets operated at a kind of local maximum, with high price levels and only modest growth to quantity supplied. For much of the nineteenth century, the profitability of small editions with high retail prices sheltered publishers from the "perennial gale of creative destruction." Yet in the long term, this publishing paradigm had innate sources of structural instability: following Schumpeter, it represented an effort by publishers "to keep on their feet, on ground that is slipping away from under them." What made small editions necessary

were constraints on the capital available to publishers and their input suppliers; what made high prices tenable was the existence of a robust and growing bourgeoisie whose members were reliably willing to pay these high prices—either individually in the case of direct retail sales, or collectively through intermediate institutions such as circulating libraries and book clubs. As working-class and lower-middle-class Britons began to enjoy income gains alongside the bourgeoisie, demand rose that a regime of high book prices was structurally ill-equipped to cater to.

Although Chapters 3 and 4 hack their way through interminable thickets of statistical evidence, incorporating evidence of some kind from *every* novel published between 1750 and 1836, Part II of the dissertation also reveals the limits of a bibliometric project that pretends to comprehensive treatment of its subject matter. One of the core insights of Chapter 4 is that novel prices tripled during the Romantic period, rising from an annual average of 2.6 shillings per volume in 1790 to 9.7 shillings per volume in 1836. while I am able to address many developments related to this trend—in the total aggregate output of first editions, the market structure and geography of the distribution network for novels, and the evolution of trade binding practices—ultimately, too little information survives on most editions to make marketwide claims about the specific economic motives for raising prices. Part III of the dissertation offers at once a supplemental and a corrective account of many of the problems that Part II poses. In these last two chapters, I survey the financial records of Thomas Norton Longman, the second-most prolific fiction publisher of the Romantic period. In Chapter 5, I discuss the structure of Longman's accounts and the insights that they generate about the microeconomics of fiction publishing. In Chapter 6, I instrumentalize the sample as a whole, tracing Longman's business relationships with his input suppliers and the effects of contemporary developments in the paper and printing industries on his production costs.

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As it winds inexorably through a wide array of topics and methodologies, this dissertation aims to make three principal interventions on the history of print. First, I aim to stake a new claim for the importance of the Romantic period to the evolution of print. Awkwardly situated between the "long

eighteenth" and "long nineteenth" centuries, the Romantic period has tended to borrow its coherence from aesthetic, intellectual, and political history. Here I seek to lay the groundwork for a more overtly socio-economic conception of the period's importance, rooted less in philosophic foment or political upheaval than in the steady culmination of gradual economic trends. If Romanticism and the Industrial Revolution are strange periodistic bedfellows, one of my goals is to make their shared lodgings more commortable.

Second, this dissertation places unusual emphasis, even by the standards of a book history project, on the minutiae of physical manufacture. This dissertation is relentlessly preoccupied with the *base* of literary history, and I will have relatively little to say about the *superstructure*.[25] This focus does not reflect any incuriosity or animosity toward traditional literary study. To the contrary, I have sought to lay as solid a foundation for literary study as I can by treating on topics that would not organically emerge as areas of focus.

Finally—and perhaps most arrestingly to those who peruse the following pages before reading them—my method is relentlessly quantitative. By my count, the finished document contains 55 graphs and 15 tables. Besides serving to document and explain the historical trends I describe, these figures have multiplied for the simple reason that I have come to rely on the visual and tabular display of information as an aid to my own thought and argumentation. Following the lead of Edward Tufte, I have tried to display the data I have collected in as coherent, multivalently functional, and aesthetically inoffensive a manner as possible.[26] For two key sources of data that have not been adequately documented in previous sources—the fiction distribution patterns of Colburn & Bentely in 1830, and the production costs of Longman & Co. from 1794 to 1836—I have reproduced the underlying data as fully as possible in Appendices A and B, respectively. These data have many applications besides those I apply here, both for the reception histories of individual works and the localized trade histories of

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[25] Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* trans. S.W. Ryazanskaya (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1993), https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/preface.htm.

[26] Edward Tufte, *The Visual Display of Quantitative Information*, 2nd ed. (Cheshire, CT: Graphics Press, 2007).

individual booksellers. During any era in which commerce governs the circulation of literary texts, the business records of literary capitalists are necessary ingredients to reception history and the social geography of reading—even if they alone cannot and should not comprise the main course.

PART I.
Literary Markets and Modern Economic Growth

PART I CONTENTS

PART I FIGURES

PART I TABLES

Chapter 1. The Problem of Literary Demand: Population and Income

1.1. Conceptualizing the growth of the market for print

Book historians have long associated the growth of the production and circulation of print matter with the attendant growth of a nebulously defined "reading public."[1] This tradition has one of its origin stories in the 1791 memoirs of the innovative London bookseller James Lackington. In contrast to the sallow view that Archibald Constable articulated in his Abbotsford proposal of 1825 of the badly constrained growth of the book trade (discussed in the introduction), Lackington celebrated the socio-economic broadening of readership as a development already well underway. Lackington, like Constable, evoked the scene of the agricultural laborer's home littered with books among its humble cookware:

> Before I conclude this letter, I cannot help observing, that the sale of books in general has increased prodigiously within the last twenty years. According to the best estimation I have been able to make, I suppose that more than four times the number of books are sold now than were sold twenty years since. The poorer sort of farmers, and even the poor country people, who before that period spent their winter evenings in relating stories of witches, ghosts,

[1] The term "reading public," coined in the early nineteenth century by Samuel Taylor Coleridge and popularized in the early twentieth by F.R. Leavis, probably owes its popularity in book history to its use by Ian Watt in *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957), 35–59.

> hobgoblins, &c. now shorten the winter nights by hearing their sons and daughters read tales, romances &c. and on entering their houses, you may see Tom Jones, Roderick Random, and other entertaining books stuck up on their bacon racks, &c. If *John* goes to town with a load of hay, he is charged to be sure not to forget to bring home "Peregrine Pickle's adventures;" and when *Dolly* is sent to market to sell her eggs, she is commissioned to purchase "The history of Pamela Andrews." In short all ranks and degrees now READ. But the most rapid increase in the sale of books has been since the termination of the late war.[2]

Book historians have often cited Lackington's *Memoirs* as evidence that the floodgates of mass readership had opened by the beginning of the Romantic period. More than one scholar has uncritically cited Lackington's figure of a fourfold growth in book sales as if it were fact, without acknowledging the vague and anecdotal nature of his claim.[3] Perhaps Lackington was describing his own business, in which case it is important to keep in mind that he was a specialist in the remaindering of unsold stock from other editions. A fourfold increase in Lackington's sales could easily be the result of his entrepreneurial acumen, and not indicative of a larger trend. If Lackington's account has had a ring of truth that other sources might corroborate, the two most salient details to take into account are first, his relatively precise dating of the increase to "the last twenty years" (c. 1770–1790) and especially the years since the end of the American Revolutionary War in 1783; and second, the emphasis that he placed on the rural working class. What most excited Lackington was the prospect of *sustained* growth promised by rising working-class interaction with print in the course of both formal education and leisure reading. Lackington cited the increasing use of histories, romances, and volumes of poetry in classrooms, and he foresaw a flood of new, modestly upwardly mobile readers emptying out from Sunday schools to line bookshops and bookstalls. Whereas many British elites responded to the

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[2] James Lackington, *Memoirs of the First Forty-Five Years of the Life of James Lackington*, corrected and enlarged ed. (London: Printed for the author, 1792), 387, *HathiTrust*, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.31175035163875.

[3] St. Clair, *The Reading Nation*, 118; Jon Klancher, "The vocation of criticism and the crisis in the republic of letters," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism, Volume 5: Romanticism* ed. Marshall Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 296–320 at 301.

prospect of working-class readership with disgust and suspicion, Lackington's exultation of charitable education is refreshing in its barely diluted self-interest: "Here permit me earnestly to call on every bookseller (I trust my call will not be in vain) as well as on every friend to the extension of knowledge, to unite [. . .] in a hearty AMEN."[4]

The problem of assessing the validity of Lackington's account is twofold. On the one hand, as we will see, there is indeed considerable evidence to suggest that a commercial takeoff in the British market for print was underway during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and there is also evidence (albeit less certain) of an uneven continuation of this trend through the first quarter of the nineteenth. On the other hand, historians have generally found little evidence to support the premise that there was systemic growth in working-class reading on the scale that Lackington suggests—at least not in the decades during and immediately after his consideration. The expansion of state-sponsored education, the adoption of reading as a working-class leisure habit, the ethos of self-improvement through the self-motivated pursuit of "useful knowledge"—scholars such as Robert Altick, Jonathan Rose, David Vincent, and David McKitterick have found that all these topics are far more fruitfully studied during the mid-Victorian period than the Romantic period.[5] Ironically, those book historians who follow Lackington in identifying the beginnings of a modernizing book trade in a late-eighteenth-century "takeoff" are thus under pressure to find a more nuanced explanation than Lackington's own. The challenge scholars face is to develop an account of the growth of the Romantic-period book trade that does justice to the period's socio-economic complexity, without devolving into hand-waving appeals that the empirical record does not support.

The first order of business is to justify the Romantic period as an apt period to study the growth of the British market for print, without accepting Lackington's explanations and estimates at

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[4] Lackington, *Memoirs*, 388–90.

[5] Robert Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800–1900* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1957); Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), David Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working Class Autobiography* (London: Unwin Brothers, 1981); David McKitterick, "Introduction" to *CHBB6*, https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521866248.002.

face value. To this end, I do not think it is appropriate to follow William St. Clair by trying, from the outset, to treat book publication in isolati. We are better off first observing wider growth patterns in the total manufacture of print, on which literary publishing ultimately depended.[6] The first and most straightforward sign of such growth is the marked increase in the number of surviving items of print matter manufactured during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. This increase is comparatively easy to trace thanks to the *English Short Title Catalogue* (*ESTC*), a union catalogue that aggregates library holdings of Anglophone print matter through 1800. To be sure, data from the *ESTC* require caution. Because the *ESTC* includes many undated items (often grouped to the nearest year ending in 0 or 5) and many duplicate entries for "states" that likely originated from the same print run, it does not yield a continuous annualized time series of print matter. Book historians have sometimes compensated for this problem by graphing *ESTC* totals as moving averages, which, while instructive in broad terms, can also be misleading, since it spreads narrow increases in output across wide time frames.[7] In comparison, though, it is a relatively safe procedure to control for these problems by analyzing the quantity of *ESTC* entries for print items dated to years not divisible by 5; this is the method that Michael Suarez adopts in a major bibliometric study of *ESTC* entries of years ending in 3.[8] In Figure 1.1, I follow on Suarez's procedure by showing the *ESTC*'s entries for print items dated to 5-year intervals of years ending in 3 and 8.[9] What the *ESTC* shows is that there was, indeed, a massive and unprecedented increase in the manufacture of print matter during the last quarter of the

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[6] St. Clair, *Reading Nation*, 87–8, 455. Although St. Clair is correct to observe that the publication of books could have deviated significantly from the total manufacture of print, the heterogeneous sources he uses to estimate book publication as distinct from all print items do not yield a consistent time series. For a better empirical grounding of the problem, see Suarez, "Towards a bibliometric analysis," 59–61. Suarez finds that the share of print items comprising at least 11 sheets in the ESTC declined significantly between 1773 and 1793, falling from roughly 22% to roughly 14%. In the context of the period's growth, the number of books did still increase, but the increase was evidently comparatively modest.

[7] See for instance James Raven, *Bookscape: Geographies of Printing and Publishing in London before 1800* (London: British Library, 2014), 93.

[8] Suarez discusses his procedure in "Towards a bibliometric analysis of the surviving record," 39–43. Of particular importance are Suarez's caveats about items that do not survive, which he estimates to be about 10% of publications but was sure to be significantly higher for jobbing printing and other ephemera.

[9] Source for Figure 1.1: *ESTC*. I created this graph by performing year-limited searches of entries in England, Wales, and Scotland.

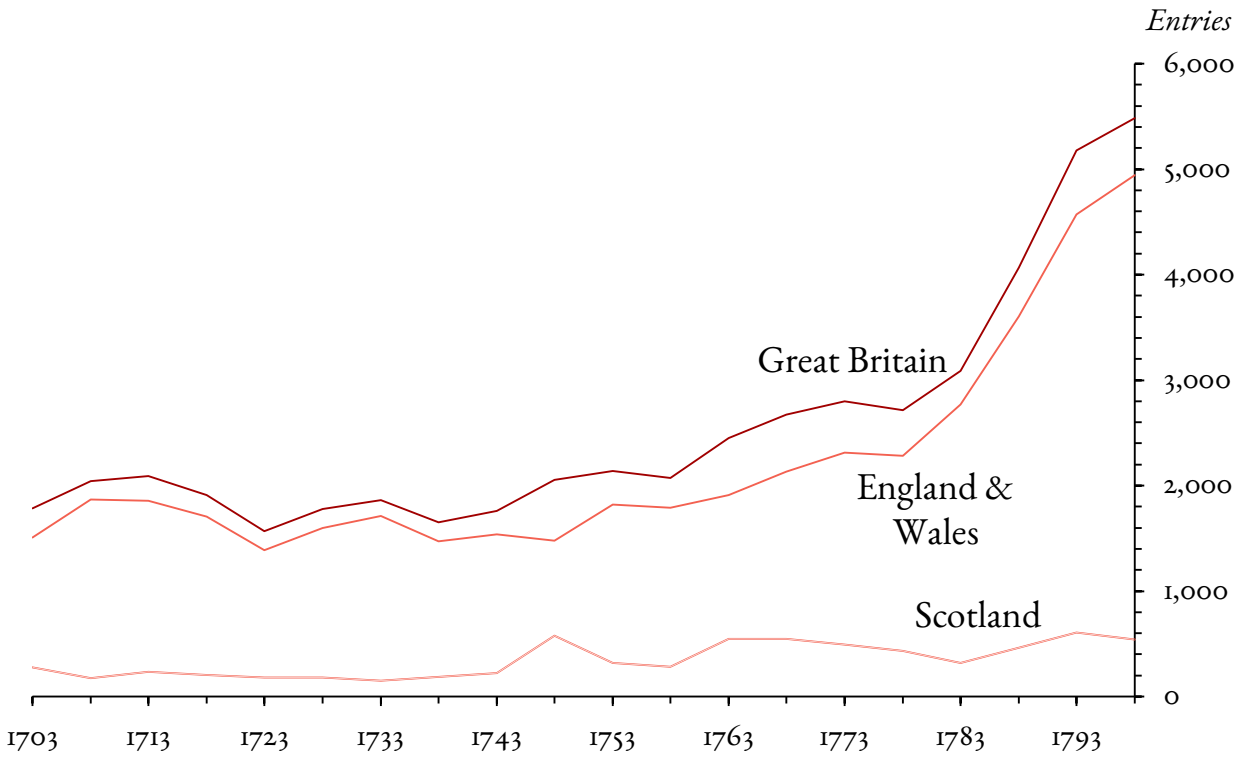

Figure 1.1. ESTC Entries at 5-year intervals, 1703–1798

eighteenth century. Annual totals hovered around 2,000 print items from 1703 to 1758, and there was only a gradual uptick from 2,056 to 2,801 items between 1748 and 1773. In comparison, the number of items on record *doubled* during the last 20 years of the sample, rising from 2,715 entries in 1778 to 5,418 entries in 1798.

At present, unfortunately, it is impossible to gauge the extent to which this extraordinary growth in print matter continued into the nineteenth century. The Nineteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue (*NSTC*) is far narrower in scope than the *ESTC*, meaning its tally of items is not directly comparable.[10] One alternate approach that we can take to gauge the long-term continuation of the eighteenth-century "take-off" is to study not the number of print items, but the number of commercially active printers. Fortunately, Ian Maxted has aggregated data on the number of master printers operating printing houses in the London metropolitan area between the late seventeenth

[10] . See Suarez, "Towards a bibliometric analysis," 40.

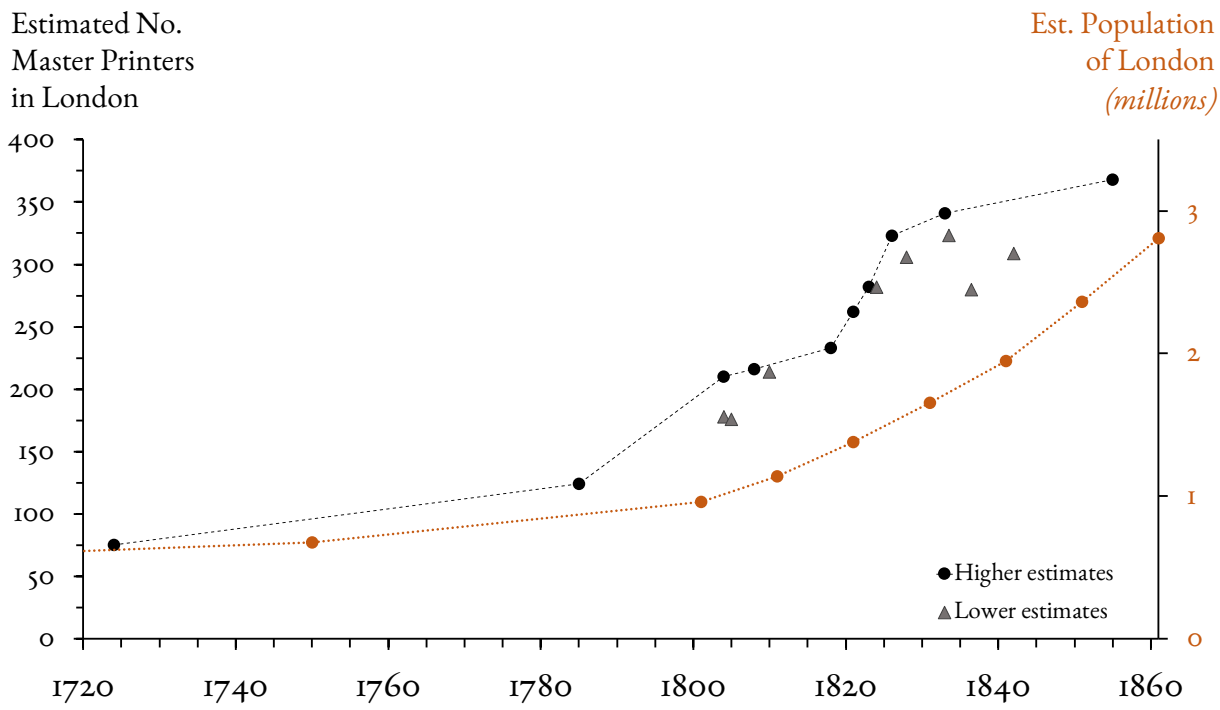

Figure 1.2. London master printers, 1724–1855

Contemporary tallies in trade directories compared with the city's population

century and the mid nineteenth.[11] Although we do not have a comparable record of all the printers in the UK, the fact that London remained the main hub of printing, publishing, and wholesale bookselling through the nineteenth century makes the tally of metropolitan printers a reasonable starting metric for the overall industrial growth rate. Since the *ESTC* shows that London's share of total printing output was falling by the last decades of the eighteenth century, the proportional growth in the number of British printing houses after 1900 was almost certainly larger than that of the London industry.[12] Figure 1.2 shows the tallies of active master printers in Maxted's sources in comparison to historical estimates of the population of London. From this graph, it is clear that the number of active

[11] Ian Maxted, *The London Book Trades, 1775–1800* (Kent, UK: Dawson, 1977), xxx. For the population of London, see E.A. Wrigley, *People, Cities, and Wealth,* (London: Blackwell, 1987), 133–90; B.R. Mitchell and Phyllis Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 20.

[12] Suarez notes a precipitous decline in the proportion of London imprints between 1783 and 1793; see "Towards a bibliometric analysis," 51–2. Cumulatively, the sources aggregated in the British Book Trade Index (*BBTI*) probably represent something close to a complete record of British printing houses during this period. However, BBTI does not make any effort to ensure discrete entries for each tradesperson, meaning that an accurate tally would require considerable cross-checking to eliminate duplicate entries.

master printers grew far more quickly than the metropolitan population through the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Maxted cites sources that tally at least 124 master printers operating in London by 1785, 210 by 1804, and at least 323 by 1826. These tallies suggest an increase of at least 70% during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and an increase of 160% during the entire period 1785–1826.

Together, both the *ESTC* and contemporary printing directories support the view that there was definite and rapid growth in the manufacture of print matter during this period, which could only have been economically viable if there were corresponding growth in distribution and use of print by the British public. Even if these statistics do not support Lackington's claim of fourfold growth in book publishing during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, they suggest that it is a reasonable start to suppose roughly twofold growth in printing, with continuation of that growth at a roughly comparable rate through the first quarter of the nineteenth century. I do not wish to overstrain the argument it is possible to make using these statistics alone, which require many caveats in addition to those I have already given.[13] I cite them here because they offer a reasonably sound reference point to show that it is indeed valid to speak of a significant and unprecedented take-off in print that began during the late eighteenth century and continued for some decades afterward.

In this regard, both the ESTC and the London manufacturing base of printing are representative of what James Raven has described as a gestalt view of commercial "progress" in the economics of print during the late eighteenth century. The formidable task that lies before us is to understand *why* such a take-off occurred. To put the question another way, how should we conceptualize the relationship between the onset of modern economic growth in the British economy and the specific growth that we are able to observe in the market for print? Where I must defer from

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[13] In particular, the manufacturing capacity of the London printing industry may have risen more quickly than the number of active printing houses. I have used the number of printing houses as an indicator for the present estimates because James Raven's analysis of press registration suggests that it preceded at a comparable rate; see *Bookscape*, Fig. 3.8 (inset). Raven finds that there were about 300 registered London presses in the early 1780s and well over 600 by 1818. Further complications arise from the fact that contemporary directories of master printers may conceal important information about the proprietorship and management of printing houses; see William B. Todd, *A Directory of Printers and Others in Allied Trades: London and Vicinity, 1800–1840* (London: Printing Historical Society, 1972), vii–xxiv.

Raven's view of this growth from the outset is in his argument that the late-eighteenth-century take-off warrants a certain vision of economic progress. Although Raven is familiar with the jaundiced late-twentieth-century historiography that challenges the longstanding view of the Industrial Revolution as a time of rapid improvement, he nevertheless stresses the coinciding nature of signs of growth in print with other types of economic growth in overtly celebratory terms:

> For those persuaded by the 'new economics' and the 'limits to growth' interpretations of the Industrial Revolution, the appearance in the following chapters of advances, increases and development might seem dangerously old-fashioned and neo-Whiggish. But from the perspective of the researcher in the local record offices and from study of a cross-section of what was actually published at the time, many of the more traditional points of emphasis do not seem so very wrong. Certainly, it is rather unfashionable to begin by suggesting that a very large number of economic and social statistics for the eighteenth century can be reduced to a crude upward curve which accelerates slowly (even levelling off) towards mid-century and then rushes skywards in the final two decades. With obvious short-term fluctuations, population totals, export trends, home consumption levels, the number of separate banking entries, bankruptcy figures and industrial production statistics all follow the curve. So do the statistics for the expansion of the book trades: the production of books and periodicals, the volume of jobbing printing, the number of bookseller-publishers, the number of bookbinders, the book trade apprenticeship figures, the number of retail bookshops, the number of circulating libraries and the number of book piracies.[14]

Raven's analysis here has two interrelated shortcomings, both of which gesture toward the failure of book historians to think about economic growth systematically. First, Raven invites the surprisingly simplistic view of the all-encompassing shape of a "crude upward curve," which seems in a disciplinary vacuum to exert its own logic and invite its own explanations. An upward curve may well support a vision of "advances, increases and development," but to assume it does so uncritically from the outset

[14] James Raven, *Publishing Business in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), 15.

indeed warrants Raven's self-indictment of "neo-Whiggism." Second, Raven describes the roughly concomitant increase in these variables without assessing their relative differences in timing and magnitude, and he demurs from judging causal relationships among them. If "population totals" and "the production of books and periodicals" both go up, does that observation truly constitute evidence of advancement or progress on its own? How ought we to judge differences in timing, magnitude, or rate of change between these variables?

What has been missing from accounts such as Raven's is a systematic effort to grapple with the causal relationship between the measurable growth of the book trade and other socio-economic trends. The first and most important step, which must precede even any refinement of our admittedly crude measures of print output, is to understand the role of population growth in economic development. If there was indeed any type of "progress" in the book trade of the kind that might warrant Whiggism, it ought to be visible by measuring the growth of the book trade not just in absolute terms, but *per capita*: this is the minimum effort that book historians must be willing to make in order to judge whether a growth trend in book trade activity actually translated to an increase in the average person's engagement with print. To be clear, making a claim for the historical agency of population growth is a complex problem in its own right, which has befuddled economic and material historians of all stripes. As Joel Mokyr has argued, neoclassical economic theory militates against the view that an increase in industrial demand alone is adequate to explain industrial growth: "As a matter of economic logic it simply is false that population growth, all other things held equal, will invariably increase the demand for industrial goods. Demand, after all, depends on consumers' income, not merely their numbers. Population growth will increase the number of consumers but decrease the input per capita due to diminishing returns. The net effect is indeterminate."[15] It requires considerable nuance to make economic claims about the agency of literary demand that will satisfy adherents of Say's Law, the classical doctrine that supply creates its own demand. A necessary first step, however, is that we know

[15] Joel Mokyr, "Demand vs. Supply in the Industrial Revolution," *Journal of Economic History* 37, no. 4 (December 1977): 981–1008 at 987–8, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2119351.

what there is to know about population, not least so that it can serve as a denominator for measures of *per capita* growth.

To this end, in the next several pages I will offer an overview of demographic research on the population of Great Britain during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. I will then proceed to assess the role that population growth has played in the growth of the book trade, which is a necessary first step to gauge the relative importance of other historical developments. My account partly overlaps with the summary that Suarez gives in the introduction to *CHBB5*; readers who are entirely unfamiliar with the scholarship on England's population history may wish to turn first to his more accessible and succinct account.[16] My goal is not only to offer a primer on this scholarship, but also to encourage book historians to reflect on the provenance of the data and the methodological problems that demographers and economic historians have needed to grapple with when interpreting them. In particular, I will emphasize the reasons that British population growth does not appear to have coincided with improvements to standards of living, of the kind associated with modern models of "demographic transition" in industrializing nations, in which population growth is initiated by declining mortality and followed up by low fertility and rising life expectancy.[17] The path that demographers have found the British population to have charted is stranger and more somber, and it tends to challenge conceptions, like Raven's, of upward-rising curves as progressive or heroic.

1.2. A fraught demographic revolution

Between 1740 and 1870, the human population of Great Britain and Ireland grew at a more rapid and sustained rate than during any prior era in its history. Although evidence of the total population of the entire archipelago is scant before the Census of 1801, Figure 1.3 sets the growth of

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[16] Michael F. Suarez, S.J., "Introduction" to *CHBB5*, 1–36 at 3–12, https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521810173.002.

[17] This is not to deny that certain subgroups of the British population may have gone through the demographic transition; see Richard T. Vann and David Eversley, *Friends in Life and Death: The British and Irish Quakers in the Demographic Transition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1–10.

Figure 1.3A. Population of the British Isles, 1300–1870

England, at least, in its long-term context.[18] In 1347, about 5 million people lived in England, roughly half of whom had succumbed to the Black Death by 1351. In contrast with continental Europeans, the English were slow to replenish their numbers during the late medieval and early modern periods.[19] Only by about 1630 did the country's population reach 5 million again—and there it hovered for more than a century, stabilizing at about 5.5 million between 1720 and 1740. From the 1740s onward, however, England's demographics transformed irrevocably. The growth rate reached an average of

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[18] *Sources for Figure 1.3: England (excluding Wales), 1086–1870 and Great Britain (England, Wales, and Scotland combined), 1700–1870: Stephen Broadberry, "A Millennium of Macroeconomic Data for the UK," first published 2010, Version 3.1 updated 2016, Bank of England, https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/statistics/research-datasets, Tab "A2. Pop of Eng & GB 1086–1870". The procedure used to arrive at these estimates is described in Stephen Broadberry, Bruce M.S. Campbell, Alexander Klein, Mark Overton, and Bas van Leeuwen,* British Economic Growth, 1270-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 3–45, 226–44. England & Wales (combined), Scotland, and Ireland, 1801–70: Mitchell and Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics*, 8–9.

[19] E.A. Wrigley, "British Population during the 'Long' Eighteenth Century, 1680–1840," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain, Volume 1: Industrialization, 1700–1860*, ed. Roderick Floud and Paul Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004): 57–95 at 58–9. Wrigley compares earlier estimates of England's pre-Black Death population, which range from 4 million to more than 6 million.

Figure 1.3B. Population of the British Isles, 1700–1870

0.7% per year between 1741 and 1800, then accelerated to 1.4% per year between 1801 and 1830. By 1770 the population had risen 20% to 6.5 million, by 1820 it had doubled to 11.2 million, and by 1870 it had nearly doubled *again* to 21.2 million.

To the extent that book historians have attended to this extraordinary growth rate, they have recognized that a quadrupling of England's population in 150 years must have entailed comparable increase in the magnitude of "the reading public," however parsimoniously defined. Contrary to Edmund Burke's purported estimate (likely apocryphal) that "there were eighty thousand *readers*" in England in 1790,[20] Suarez has shown that the number of *literate* Britons over the age of fifteen could

[20] "Preface" to *The Penny Magazine*, Issue 1 (London: Charles Knight, 1932): iv, Google Books, https://google.com/books?id=e6dbAAAAQAAJ (italics in original). This figure is often cited even though no one has ever reliably traced it back to Burke: see Altick, *The English Common Reader*, 49, and J. Paul Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1990), 62–3.

scarcely have been much less than 1.5 million by 1700 and 4.8 million by 1830.[21] In order to understand the full implications of this raw increase in readership for the book trade, however, we must attend to the dynamics of demographic growth. Boyd Hilton sums up this entire phase of English history by remarking that the country "just about managed to avoid a demographic catastrophe."[22] That Great Britain (though unfortunately not Ireland) was spared such a catastrophe, even in the face of occasional bad harvests, attests to a society largely cushioned from the disastrous "positive checks" predicted by Thomas Malthus in *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798) should the rate of increase outpace the agricultural food supply.[23] Although Great Britain evaded the Malthusian Trap, the years after 1740 taught Britons to wonder whether their increasing numbers might threaten Great Britain's long-term political stability and economic prosperity.[24] The causes, consequences, and geographical distribution of growth deserve at least as much attention from book historians as the comparatively modest improvements to literacy and education that occurred during the same period.

In fact, demographic history and the history of literacy are natural bedfellows. In their treatment of both early-modern and modern England, students of both disciplines rely on the same principal source: the Anglican parish registers instituted by Thomas Cromwell in 1538.[25] The definitive population histories of England during the modern era are a series of studies headed by England's leading demographer, E.A. Wrigley. Along with his various coauthors at the Cambridge Group for the

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[21] Suarez, "Introduction," 3–12. See also Kathryn Sutherland, "'Events . . . have made us a world of readers': Reader Relations, 1780–1830," in *The Romantic Period*, ed. David Pirie (London: Penguin, 1994), 1–48.

[22] Hilton, *Mad, Bad*, 5.

[23] Thomas Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (London: J. Johnson, 1798), 71–100, ECCO T95674. The dip in the UK's population visible from 1848–1851 in Figure 1.3 coincides with one of the worst disasters of modern European history, Ireland's Great Famine, in which potato blight and British policy failure killed about 1 million Irish and sent another million migrating out of the island. Historians have debated whether or not Ireland's demography before and after the Great Famine followed a Malthusian pattern: see Morgan Kelly and Cormac Ó Gráda, "*Why Ireland Starved* after Three Decades: The Great Famine in Cross-Section," *Irish Economic and Social History* 42 (2015), 53–61, https://doi.org/10.7227%2FIESH.42.1.3. However, the homeostatic pattern of England's early modern population shows that it certainly did *not* follow a Malthusian trend; see Goldstone, "Demographic Revolution," 13.

[24] For Malthus's sweeping influence on English Romantic poetry and *belles lettres* as well as population science and economics, see Robert J. Mayhew, *Malthus* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt6wprn5.

[25] J. Charles Cox, *The Parish Registers of England* (London: Methuen & Co., 1910), 1–3, *HathiTrust*, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo1.ark:/13960/t2j681f2m.

History of Population and Social Structure, Wrigley drew samples of baptisms, weddings, and funerals from the best-kept among these registers to compile running estimates of England's birth and death rates, life expectancy, age structure, and net migration inflows.[26] The major findings of the Cambridge Group's studies warrant special scrutiny, not least because they attenuate the overhasty conclusions about the growth of the English reading public we might draw solely from the resulting population statistics.

Besides discovering the sheer magnitude of England's demographic transformation during the long eighteenth century, Wrigley and his coauthors identified its principal cause: not declining mortality, but rising fertility. I stress this central finding because it is easily lost in the shuffle.[27] Although postnatal life expectancy did markedly improve, rising from 35 years in 1736 to 41 years in 1836, these gains were uneven across ages and regions.[28] The rising birth rate, Wrigley estimates, accounted for roughly 64% of England's growth after 1740.[29] In turn, the chief boost to fertility came from a source historians had not previously considered: a pronounced dip in the average age of marriage. As J.A. Goldstone has put it, about a fifth of the English population became "young marriers," forming households in their late teens and early 20s whereas a far larger proportion of previous generations would have postponed marriage another seven to ten years.[30] Because wives in the sample of parishes carried an average of one pregnancy to term every 30 months during their fertile

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[26] E.A. Wrigley and Roger S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541–1871: A Reconstruction* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981); E.A. Wrigley, R.S. Davies, J.E. Oeppen, and R.S. Schofield, *English Population History From Family Reconstitution, 1580-1837* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511660344. For an overview of these studies, their methods, and their limitations, see Emma Griffin, *A Short History of the British Industrial Revolution* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 29–52.

[27] Indeed, the only serious misstep in Suarez's analysis of England's population growth is that he does not place sufficient stress on the priority of fertility over mortality; see "Introduction," 4.

[28] Wrigely *et al.*, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution*, 541–4, 614–6.

[29] Wrigley, "British population," 68.

[30] J.A. Goldstone, "The Demographic Revolution in England: A Re-Examination," *Population Studies* 40, no. 1 (March 1986): 5–33 at 19, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2174277. This is not to downplay the smaller but still important contribution of extramarital fertility: see Wrigley, "British Population," 75–6.

years, a change in marriage age among even this relatively small cohort had a disproportionately large effect on the annual birth rate.[31]

Marriage was an expensive undertaking in the long eighteenth century for both the groom's family and the bride's, so the young couples who chose to embark on it earlier in life must have had strong economic and social incentives to do so. Historians disagree, however, about what these incentives were. David Levine proposes that the opportunities of rural "proto-industry" improved many young men's prospects of economic independence as freeholders or craftsmen, giving them the security to form households at younger ages.[32] More gloomily, Goldstone argues that working-class men were marrying earlier because they had been "proletarianized": the homogenization of wage labor having curtailed their economic prospects, they no longer considered marriage worth delaying because they now had no financially stabler future to look forward to.[33] For our purposes, the terms governing this debate are just as instructive as the positions taken within it. The cohort driving most of the growth clearly had scant discretionary incomes for expensive leisure items like books, irrespective of whether their lots were marginally improving. Emily Griffin's survey of working-class autobiographies underscores this point. The more fortunate autobiographers, like Nottingham grocer's assistant Arnold Goodliffe and an anonymous Scottish flax-dresser who went by the pseudonym "Jacques," tended to be those who delayed their marriages to develop a stable living arrangement and a modest savings. Others—like James Bowd, who married with a bed, a Bible, and three shillings to his name—rued that they had not managed to do the same.[34] For all of them, relatively small expenditures rapidly added up. The early Victorian reformer John Bates claimed he had married in order to cut down on the costs entailed in a long-distance relationship: "postage was very expensive then, each letter costing 10 *d.* [0.83 shillings], and rail was almost as dear, so I made short work of it and gained her consent."[35] If the

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[31] Wrigley *et al.*, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution*, 507–8.
[32] David Levine, *Family Formation in an Age of Nascent Capitalism* (New York: Academic Press, 1977).
[33] Goldstone, "Demographic Revolution," 20–33.
[34] Griffin, *Short History*, 46–7.
[35] Quoted in Griffin, *Short History*, 46.

written word was integral to Bates's courtship with his future wife, he was plainly also in a hurry to reduce its profile in his budget.

All this to say that we must not complacently assume population growth necessarily coincided with the improvements to standards of living we might reasonably expect had demographic growth been driven by rising life expectancy. Indeed, fertility-driven growth put tremendous strains on Britain's families, communities, and polity. The growing number of descendants per household not only raised Britain's dependency ratio (the share of people not of typical working age), but also posed serious threats to the intergenerational consolidation of wealth. On this front, propertied households felt a particular squeeze.[36] As R.J. Morris observes, the average middle-class family not only had more children to look after, but also needed to "provide an extra social and economic 'slot'" for its next generation.[37] Primogeniture was a powerful tool to protect estates from dilution among heirs, yet growing family sizes ramped up the pressure on eldest sons to support their siblings, sending many landed households into debt.[38]

Of course, the consequences of population growth were even more acute for laboring households. According to Hilton, the political burden of demographic shocks fell on the United Kingdom's "fiscal-military state," the complex of mercantilist policies in which public borrowing, indirect taxation, and protectionist tariffs funded military exploits and helped prop up domestic industry. Unusually among European countries, England's "fiscal-military state" also involved public welfare, in the form of the tangle of early modern redistributive policies known as the Poor Laws.[39] Compounding on more widespread private charity, the Poor Laws at least partly mitigated the strains

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[36] Quantitative evidence to back up the assumption that fertility drove growth evenly across socio-economic groups is necessarily scant. Gregory Clark uses wills to argue that wealthier Britons produced more surviving offspring than their poorer counterparts. This is an important finding even for those prone to distrust the quasi-Darwinian theory Clark uses it to support, namely that these heirs were responsible for proliferating the cultural memes of bourgeois liberalism; see *A Farewell to Alms* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

[37] R.J. Morris, *Men, Women, and Property in England, 1780-1870: A Social and Economic History of Family Strategies amongst the Leeds Middle Classes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 381–407.

[38] Hilton, *Mad, Bad*, 137.

[39] Hilton, *Mad, Bad*, 21–2.

of demographic change, coming increasingly to supplement workers' wages during periods of crisis.[40] Protracted continental war also kept a generation of young men fed and uniformed—but only for so long. In the mid 1810s, about 400,000 newly discharged soldiers and sailors flooded Britain's labor force, contributing to a crescendo of popular and sometimes violent unrest.[41] It was laborers born during the acceleration of the Demographic Revolution—not least among them downwardly-mobile smallholders and artisans who felt or feared the creep of proletarianization—who launched revolts against textile machines in 1811–1816 (under "Ned Ludd") and against threshing machines in 1830–1832 (under "Captain Swing"). These unrests and their suppression would lend heft to Karl Marx's conclusion that capital accumulation structurally guaranteed the steadily rising conscription of a "disposable industrial reserve army [. . .] a mass of human material always ready for exploitation."[42]

It is in this broader context, finally, that literacy is best situated during Britain's Demographic Revolution. We should consider this period's gains to literacy not primarily as a ready-to-hand index for the ways habitual readership compounded on population growth to boost the ranks of the "reading public," but rather as an increment of humane achievement in a social structure that increasingly impeded even modest upward mobility. In an influential study, Roger Schofield tentatively estimates that during the years 1750–1840, the share of women able to sign their names on marriage registers rose roughly from 40% to 50%, while the share of men who could sign rose from 60% to 67%.[43] To be sure, the tipping of the scale toward majority female literacy that occurred during this period was an important development. Yet Schofield immediately points out that these modest gains to the national average conceal significant *regional* losses—losses of more than 10% in some parishes. Disparities followed well-worn grooves of occupational structure and inequality. Schofield

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[40] Joanna Innes, "The Distinctiveness of the English Poor Laws, 1750–1850," in *The Political Economy of British Historical Experience, 1688–1914*, ed. Donald Winch and Patrick K. O'Brien, 381–407 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[41] Gayer *et al.*, *Growth and Fluctuation*, 113.

[42] Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Vol. 1*, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Penguin, 1976), 784, 830. The most detailed social history of popular unrest during this period is Eric J. Hobsbawm and George Rudé, *Captain Swing* (New York: Pantheon, 1968).

[43] R.S. Schofield, "Dimensions of Illiteracy, 1750–1850," *Explorations in Economic History* 10, no. 4 (Summer 1973), 437–54 at 445–7, https://doi.org/10.1016/0014-4983(73)90026-0.

finds that in a sample of parishes in Bedfordshire, literacy tended to rise in parishes with relatively dispersed land ownership and a high ratio of artisans and industrial workers to agricultural laborers; it tended to fall in parishes that were predominantly held by a single landlord and that drew heavily on the Poor Laws. Schofield stresses that the "functional value" of an investment in literate education differed sharply among occupational groups.[44] Literacy was simply expected of elite and professional families by the early eighteenth century—with the further expectation of a classical education, which by the eighteenth century was serving as much to reinforce class stratification as to provide access to international communication networks.[45] For members of unlettered families, meanwhile, the time and direct cash expenses necessary for schooling were hard to justify unless they promptly brought new opportunities in the commerce or retail sectors.[46]

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In short, then, it is far from obvious that the growth of Great Britain's population during the Romantic period coincided with the types of improved living standards that we would ordinarily associate with the expansion of the reading public. Indeed, for many Britons, population growth coincided with a steady *worsening* of socio-economic opportunity across several generations. Although the gains to literacy (particularly female literacy) that occurred during this period are noteworthy, it is clear that they were far from uniformly distributed, and that they can only be properly understood in the context of comparative regional trends.[47]

What are the consequences of this analysis for the Romantic-period market for print? First of all, the interpretation of the Demographic Revolution clarifies the vantage that emerges from the statistical record of print, insofar as the growth in the manufacture of print appears smaller when

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[44] Schofield, "Dimensions of Illiteracy," 448–51.

[45] Lawrence Stone, "Literacy and Education in England, 1640–1900," *Past & Present* 42 (February 1969): 69–139 at 71–3, https://doi.org/10.1093/past/42.1.69.

[46] Schofield, "Dimensions of Illiteracy," 451.

[47] For an example of the comparative regional analysis of literacy during this period, see W.B. Stephens, *Education, Literacy, and Society, 1830–70* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 2–13.

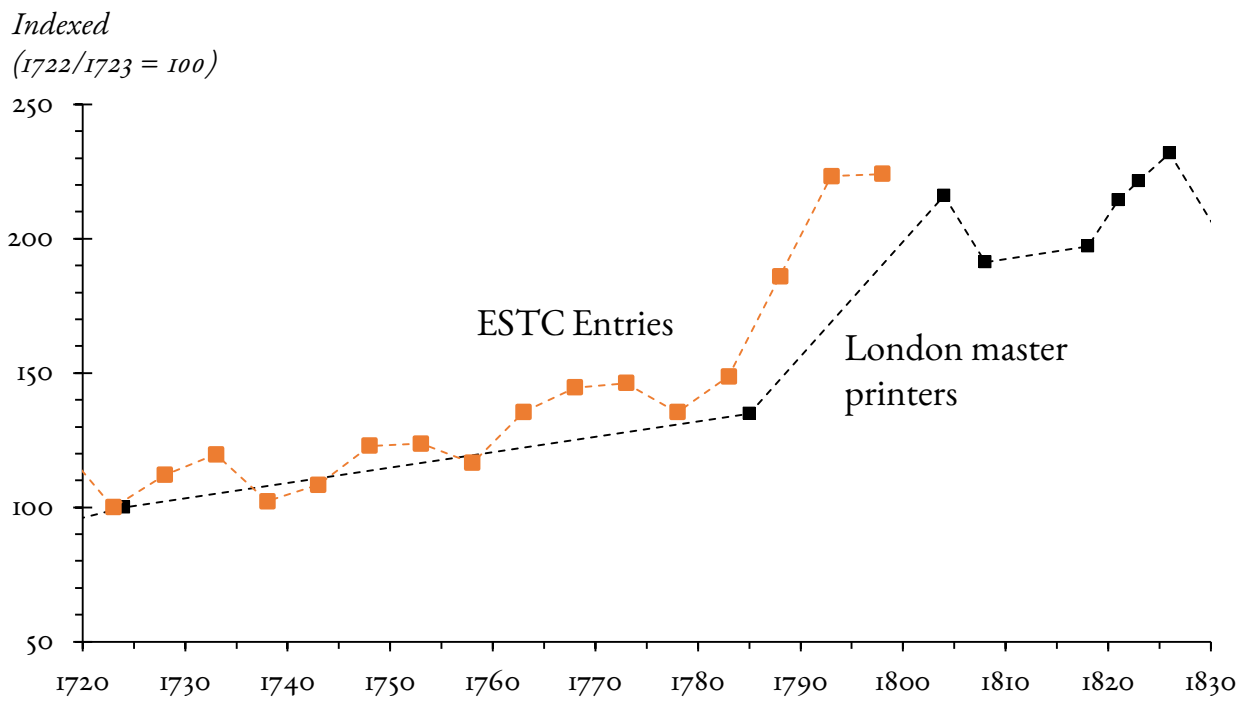

Figure 1.4. Indicators of the growth of the market for print, measured *per capita* (population of Great Britain)

measured *per capita* than it does in terms of raw magnitude. Even so, one insight that emerges from the statistical record is that the *per capita* manufacture of print was indeed rising. That is to say, population growth alone cannot explain all the growth that occurred in the market for print. If gains to literacy alone cannot explain this trend, we will need to cast out for other explanations.

Figure 1.4 shows the two indicators of growth that I discussed earlier in the chapter, annualized British *ESTC* totals and contemporary tallies of commercially active London master printers, measured *per capita* (*i.e.* using the population of Great Britain as a denominator). Judging from these estimates, *per capita* growth in the number of new print items per year was still fairly steady between 1724 and 1778, but it remained modest in comparison to the raw increase that fails to take population into account, with a growth of only 35%. The data still persistently show a "take-off" during the 1780s and 1790s, but the *per capita* growth rate is 65%, as opposed to an outright doubling. An interpretation of the *per capita* growth of London printing houses requires more caution. For the purposes of a preliminary analysis, it is clear that the London printing industry grew at a fairly similar rate to the

number of British ESTC entries during the last quarter of the nineteenth century—or perhaps somewhat more slowly, which would make sense if the national share of London printing continued to be on the decline relative to provincial printing. As far as London printing houses are concerned, the "take-off" was curtailed by a period of more fitful growth during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Together, what the two *per capita* trends suggest is that while the steep increase in British printing during the late eighteenth century is a persistent phenomenon, it needs to be understood in the context of what appears, across the entire scope of the Romantic period, to have been a more gradual pattern of *per capita* growth, which outpaced population growth but not dramatically so. Book historians may be tempted to read the "take-off" of the 1780s and 1790s in light of their own disciplinary hobby-horses. William St. Clair, for instance, attributes what he calls an "explosion of reading" during this period to the 1774 House of Lords ruling that ended *de facto* perpetual copyright in England, an argument which may have some merit. However, it is important to recognize—as St. Clair fails to do—that in a wider historical frame, the "take-off" coincides closely with a particularly rapid period of population growth.[48] Between 1770 and 1790 alone, the population of Great Britain grew almost 20%, from 8 million to 9.5 million, and this growth was compounded by the aging into adulthood of those born during the first wave of demographic increase. Perhaps it is fair to describe the late-eighteenth-century "take-off," following W.H. Jackson, as the beginning of "a reading boom, a boom activated not so much by social, political, or technological changes (although partly by them) as by competitive commercial activity [. . .]."[49] however, it is important to qualify Jackson's theory with

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[48] St. Clair, *The Reading Nation*, 88, 118–9, 453–6. St. Clair observes that book historians need to distinguish between absolute and *per capita* growth (which he somewhat misleadingly calls "real" growth). However, although St. Clair does attempt to draw such a distinction for the early to mid eighteenth century, he fails to do so for the 1770s through 1790s. St. Clair cites Wrigley and Schofield's population estimates in an appendix, but he does not bring the estimates to bear on the analysis of late-eighteenth-century growth, instead vaguely stating, "It was probably at some time towards the end of the romantic period that the curve of the growth of book production at last caught up with the growth of population, of incomes, and of the economy as a whole from which it had diverged at some time in the seventeenth century" (119).

[49] W.H. Jackson, *Romantic Readers: The Evidence of Marginalia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 9.

the recognition that what undergirded the "boom" was, in no small part, a raw increase in the number of readers. If this "reading boom" was followed by a period of comparatively slow growth, it may partly have been because the book trade encountered a limit in the ability of population growth alone to sustain the same upward momentum.

1.3. From population to income

What the foregoing analysis suggests is that the most arresting empirical fact of growth in the late-eighteenth-century market for print, the "take-off" of the late eighteenth century, may ultimately serve as a distraction from the more important development of the Romantic period, which is the emergence of a long-term pattern of *per capita* growth that evidently persisted (if unevenly) through at least the first quarter of the nineteenth century. This *per capita* growth trend appears to have been relatively slow and fitful. But it is no less significant given that population growth in England was attended by only modest gains to literacy and seems to have occurred against a somber backdrop of working-class "proletarianization." If literacy is unlikely to explain this trend, then what other changes in British society may have exerted an influence?

Previous accounts have rightly emphasized the growth of England's urban population (particularly in cities outside London), which accounted for more than half of the growth of western Europe's urban population during the eighteenth century, and which continued apace throughout the first half of the nineteenth. Along with urbanization came such attendant developments as the infrastructure of roads, canals, and other transportation networks; the proliferation of provincial banking; and the growth of the English retail sector.[50] More likely than not, all these trends exerted a greater influence than the expansion of working-class literacy on the growth of the market for print;

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[50] Suarez, *CHBB5* "Introduction," 5; Wrigley, *People, Cities, and Wealth,*, 133–90, 177–8; John Langton, "Urban growth and economic change: from the late seventeenth century to 1841," in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. Peter Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 453–90, https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521431415.020; Hoh-cheung Mui and Lorna M. Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth-Century England* (Kingston, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).

like literacy, however, they are probably best analyzed in a comparative regional context. Instead, the trend I will discuss in detail here is national income, and particularly the unequal distribution of income among socio-economic classes. It would not be entirely just to claim that income has been a neglected topic among book historians. Rather, the fact that British society was highly unequal during the eighteenth century and remained so through much of the nineteenth has created a surface impression of continuity. The prices of books in eighteenth-century Britain were "extortionately high," and they remained so during the nineteenth.[51] By all appearances, then, book historians have satisfied their duty to the problem of income inequality by comparing book prices to the incomes of various professions at given times. This approach has tended to reinforce the assumption that until working-class incomes began to rise, any changes to the socio-economic constituency of readership was unlikely to occur without what St. Clair has called the "tranching down" of retail prices.[52] Recent developments in economic history have shown that this approach, while instructive for the synchronic analysis of any single time period, is inadequate to the problem of how incomes changed over time. Indeed, the income distribution of the British population was changing rapidly during the Romantic period, and this development had serious consequences for the constituency of the demand for print matter.

To be clear, the evolving income distribution of the British population is not an obvious trend, and it has only emerged clearly after several generations of empirical research. During the second half of the twentieth century, economic historians have primarily analyzed income through a macroeconomic lens by studying changes in national income (also called gross domestic product, or GDP). The standard procedure has been to estimate the productivity and "value added" (the difference between input costs and final prices) of industries to trace their change over time. Successive estimates, first by Phyllis Deane and A.W. Cole in the 1960s and then by Nick Crafts and C.K. Harley in the 1980s and 1990s, have shown a tendency toward a downward reduction of the estimates of improved

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[51] Christopher Skelton-Foord, "To Buy or to Borrow? Circulating Libraries and Novel Reading in Britain, 1778–1828," *Library Reviews* 47, no. 7 (1998), 348–54 at 348, https://doi.org/10.1108/00242539810233477.

[52] St. Clair, *The Reading Nation*, 193–9.

productivity, lending credence to a "pessimistic" interpretation of the Industrial Revolution. There plainly still was growth in Britain's GDP *per capita* (Crafts and Harley estimate an average of 0.64% per year between 1760–1780, 1.38% per year between 1780–1800, and 1.9% per year between 1801–1831), but it was far more modest than historians had previously assumed.[53] This "pessimistic" view of national income during the early Industrial Revolution has been corroborated by new estimates of working-class income. In an article glumly titled "Pessimism Perpetuated," Charles Feinstein found that there was at most a 30% improvement to the average real earnings of English day-laborers between 1781 and 1836, compared to previous estimates upwards of 60%.[54]

Although the downward revision of estimates of both GDP *per capita* and working-class income has tended to support a "pessimistic" interpretation of the gains to productivity and living standards that occurred during the early phase of the Industrial Revolution, the relationship between the two variables has also lent a new sense of focus and coherence to economic historians' understanding of the structural changes that *did* occur. In particular, it has become increasingly clear that during the years 1790–1840, real wages remained more or less static while real GDP per worker was rising—modestly in comparison to later increases, but steadily nonetheless. In 2009, the economic historian Robert Allen has nicknamed this trend "Engels' pause," alluding to the excoriating contemporary observation of this trend by Friedrich Engels in *The Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1844*. Agreeing, up to a point, with Engels and Marx, Allen argues that most of the gains to national income during this period were being siphoned away from wages and toward profits (see Fig. X). Allen attributes this trend to the increasing capital accumulation that attended the adoption of new technologies and production methods in Britain's manufacturing sector. Where Allen deviates from Marxian analysis in his use of a modern macroeconomic growth model to argue that the divergence of wages and profits was a temporary result of the effect of technological change on the

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[53] For a survey of this literature, see Griffin, *A Short History*, 15–28.

[54] Charles H. Feinstein, "Pessimism Perpetuated: Real Wages and the Standard of Living in Britain during and after the Industrial Revolution," *Journal of Economic History* 58, no. 3 (1998): 625–658, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2566618.

relative demand for labor and capital; Allen argues that this trend had begun to correct itself by midcentury, when real wages finally began to rise steadily. Ergo Engels' *pause*—a word implying that Engels and Marx mistook one phase in capitalist development for an innate structural feature of it.[55]

Although there is room to argue about the causes of "Engels' pause" and Allen's relatively sanguine interpretation of its long-term significance, the divergence between wages and incomes during the Romantic period has emerged as a stable empirical finding, which has withstood several generations of withering scrutiny. As such, we should not be surprised to see that the trend's consequences are visible not only through macroeconomic estimates of growth, but demographic and sociological estimates of occupational structure. One of E.A. Wrigley's later major essays, co-authored in 2014 with Leigh Shaw-Taylor, draws on a sample of parish registers to identify trends in the proportion of British men and women employed in various sectors of the British economy *circa* the years 1710, 1817, 1851, and 1871. Shaw-Taylor and Wrigley group professions into three sectors: the primary sector, which was employed in the extraction of natural resources (mainly agriculture and mining), the secondary sector, which was concerned with the transformation of raw natural materials into commercial goods (clothing and textile manufacture, construction, &c.); and the tertiary sector, which was concerned with distribution, sale, services, and bureaucracy. As befits the "pessimistic" turn in the interpretation of the Industrial Revolution, Taylor-Shaw and Wrigley find that the shift in employment from the primary to the secondary sector between c. 1710 and c. 1851 was far more modest than economic historians had previously assumed (from 49.8% and 37.2% to 23.4% and 44.7%, respectively). These findings underscore that the shift of labor away from agriculture and towards manufacturing, previously identified as a key sign of the revolutionary nature of the Industrial Revolution, must have already been well underway during the early modern period. In comparison, and to their own surprise, Taylor-Shaw and Wrigley find that the most enduring site of change was the tertiary sector, whose occupational share doubled between c. 1710 and c. 1851 (rising from 12% to

[55] Robert C. Allen, "Engels' Pause: Technical Change, Capital Accumulation, and Inequality in the British Industrial Revolution," *Explorations in Economic History* 46, no. 4 (2009): 418–35.

22.8%). The authors argue that "the tertiary sector as a whole has, with a few exceptions [. . .] been somewhat neglected in studies of the industrial revolution [. . .]; the new evidence suggests that the notable rise in the importance of tertiary sector employment should figure prominently in discussions of growth and change generally throughout both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries." In particular, the authors stress the growing share of national income spent on tertiary products and the growing role of transportation and distribution in commercial networks.[56]

Together, Allen's analysis of the divergence of profits from wages and Taylor-Shaw and Wrigley's elucidation of the growth of the tertiary sector offer a fresh way for book historians to think about the role of income in growth of the market for print. In order to understand how the demand for print was growing, we need to attend not only to changes in *per capita* GDP and working-class incomes, but also the changing sectoral distribution of income. Although working-class engagement with print is still important to study, it is at least as important that we recognize who were the major beneficiaries of rising profits and the growth of distribution, services, and professions. In other words, we cannot escape talking about one of the great bugbears of literary and cultural history: the middle class.

1.4. The discrete rise of the bourgeoisie

It has become something of a cliché of literary history, and especially the history of the novel, to speak in nebulous terms about the rise of the middle class.[57] For that reason, I will try to be as parsimonious as I can in identifying the trend I am tracing. My concern here is not with the emergence of the middle class as a new socio-economic group or discursive category. Nor do I wish to relitigate the

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[56] Leigh Shaw-Taylor and E.A. Wrigley, "Occupational Structure and Population Change," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain, Vol. 1: 1700–1870*, ed. Roderick Floud, Jane Humphries, and Paul Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 53–88 at 57–64, http://doi.org/10.1017/CHO9781139815017.003.

[57] See George Boulukos, "The Secret History of the Rise of the Novel: The Novel and the Middle Class in English Studies," *The Eighteenth Century* 52.3/4 (Fall/Winter 2011): 361–82, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41468153.

place of the middle class in competing sociological accounts of Georgian England.[58] Rather, I am narrowly concerned with the discrete growth of the size and income share of a cohort of families distinct from manual laborers, farmers, and the landed gentry. Here, as with the evidence of macroeconomic and demographic trends discussed above, strong empirical evidence has emerged fairly recently to show that the late eighteenth century and especially the early nineteenth were a time of rapid change, with major implications for the question of who could afford books and other forms of print.

I have mentioned that the predominant method economic historians have used to estimate trends in national income is by estimating the output and "value added" of Britain's industrial sector. But there is another way of estimating national income: the estimation of income realized by households. This method has proven to be fraught. Tax records of the kind that Thomas Piketty, in his celebrated book *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, uses to estimate the unequal income distribution of France during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are not available for Britain during this period.[59] Instead, scholars of British income inequality must rely on contemporary estimates of socio-economic growth during the long eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which have been formalized as a genre of documents collectively called the "social tables." Prepared by political economists Gregory King (for 1688), Joseph Massie (for 1760), Patrick Colquhoun (for 1801) William Ray Smee (for 1846), and Robert Dudley Baxter (for 1868), the social tables sort the population of England and Wales into various occupational categories, estimating the size and average household income of each group. Since the late twentieth century, economic historians have successively revised data from the social tables using new estimates of population, price levels, and national income. The earliest serious advocates of the value of these documents to national income statistics were Peter Lindert and Geoffrey Williamson, who published heavily revised versions of the tables in 1982 and

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[58] For an exemplary overview of debates around the conception of the middle class, see Boyd Hilton, *Mad, Bad*, 124–33.

[59] Thomas Piketty comments on the relationship of his method to the sources I discuss here in *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 2014), 269–70, https://doi.org/10.4159/9780674369542.

1983.[60] For 25 years, all treatments of the social tables derived ultimately from Lindert and Williamson's revisions.[61] In 2019, however, Robert Allen published further heavy modifications to the Social Tables, and he also organized the tables' occupational categories into broad socio-economic cohorts that make long-term trends far easier to follow.[62]

There is no better way to appreciate the uses and limitations of the social tables than to observe how their revisions reframe basic questions about socio-economic access to print. In an important 2014 essay, Robert Hume—as far as I am aware, the only book historian to have recognized the significance of the social tables—used Lindert and Williamson's estimates to demonstrate the limited share of the English populace that could regularly afford books and other elite cultural products throughout the long eighteenth century.[63] At its most capacious, Hume argues, such a cohort could not have included anyone with an income below £100 per year; Hume reasonably takes £200 per year as a more sober lower bound for regular book purchasers. Although much of Hume's analysis is unimpeachable, he inherits one crucial flaw from older interpretations of the social tables. Lindert and Williamson assume that Colquhoun's estimates of incomes from 1801 reflect price levels current to that year. Allen, however, has since persuasively argued that although Colquhoun's estimates of the size of occupational classes derive from the Census of 1801, his income data must have been collected two or three years earlier: Allen proposes 1798, a date I will accept for the present purposes.[64]

This difference in timing may seem trivial, but it has important ramifications. During the autumn and winter of 1800–1801, grain prices spiked 77% due to poor harvests, mostly correcting by

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[60] Peter H. Lindert and Jeffrey G. Williamson, "Revising England's Social Tables 1688–1812," *Explorations in Economic History* 19, no. 4 (1982): 385–408, https://doi.org/10.1016/0014-4983(82)90009-2; "Reinterpreting Britain's Social Tables, 1688–1913," *Explorations in Economic History* 20, no. 1 (1983): 94–109, https://doi.org/10.1016/0014-4983(83)90044-X.

[61] See for instance Crafts, *British Economic Growth*, 11–17; Broadberry *et al.*, *British Economic Growth*, 321–8.

[62] Robert Allen, "Class Structure and Inequality."

[63] Robert D. Hume, "The Value of Money in Eighteenth-Century England: Income, Prices, Buying Power—and Some Problems in Cultural Economics," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 77, no. 4 (Winter 2014): 373–416 at 375–9, https://doi.org/10.1525/hlq.2014.77.4.373.

[64] Allen, "Class Structure and Inequality," 91. Allen similarly reassigns Massie's 1760 social table to 1759, but this change is less consequential for the present analysis.

1802.[65] Because of this inflationary spike, Hume is highly suspicious of what the social tables imply was a massive *nominal* (i.e. inflation-unadjusted) increase in the proportion of English families with high discretionary incomes during the late eighteenth century (those earning £100 per year, 6% in 1760 and 21% in 1801; earning £200 per year, 2.5% in 1760 and 7% in 1801). By adjusting for inflation, Hume concludes that the *real* (i.e. inflation-adjusted) growth in the share of families earning £100 (measured in 1760 sterling) was only 1 percentage point and that the share of families earning £200 even shrank.[66] If Allen is correct that Colquhoun's income data predate the transitory shock in grain prices, however, Hume's interpretation is inordinately pessimistic, and the share of comparatively well-off households must in fact have risen significantly during the second half of the eighteenth century.

Indeed, continuing for the moment with inflation-unadjusted prices, Allen registers an even larger proportional increase in the number of wealthy English households than do Lindert and Williamson. According to Allen's newer estimate, the share of families in cohorts with an average income of at least £100 rose from 6% in 1759 to 25% in 1798; the share of cohorts averaging £200 rose from 3% to 5%. Once we adjust for inflation, the 1798 increases become more modest but still robust, rising from 6% to 12% in cohorts averaging at least £100 in 1759 sterling, and from 3% to 4% in cohorts averaging at least £200. Allen's revised tables thus suggest a slightly narrower economic elite than do Lindert and Williamson's, but a far wider and more broad-based middle-income stratum—with proportional growth in both cohorts that adjustment for inflation alone does not whittle away.

More important even than the increase in the size and income levels of these newly monied cohorts during the late eighteenth century was the way this growth accelerated during the early nineteenth century. Allen's most important innovation on Lindert and Williamson's estimates is that he sorts the middle-income stratum into two separate categories, the upper and lower middle classes. This categorical distinction makes it possible for Allen to analyze *intra*-class income distinctions, which are crucial to the market for belletristic literature. Because the Victorian social tables (which are based

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[65] I discuss the inflation rate of the pound sterling, and specifically the spike of 1800–1801, in detail in Chapter 4.

[66] Hume, "The Value of Money," 376–8.

on income tax filings) are far less granular than those of King, Massey, and Colquhoun, Allen necessarily makes many debatable categorical decisions and not a few educated guesses. However, his treatment makes it possible to analyze the size and cumulative incomes of these cohorts diachronically, which no previous study has managed to do.

Allen separates the heads of households in the social tables' various occupational groups into six broad categories:

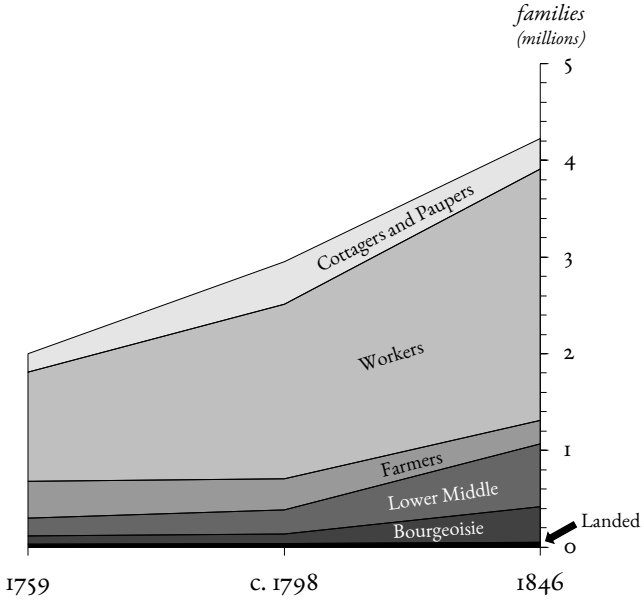
1. *the landed classes*, which include the titled aristocracy and gentry, as well as Anglican clergy and university teachers whose livings were funded by rent from aristocratic land;
2. *the bourgeoisie or upper middle class*, which include civil servants, lawyers, dissenting clergy, merchants, shipbuilders, ship and warehouse owners, naval and military officers, and half-pay officers;
3. *the lower middle class*, which include shopkeepers, tradesmen, school teachers, clerks, and miscellaneous craftsmen, artisans, and engineers;
4. *farmers*, which include greater and lesser freeholders and husbandmen;
5. *workers* in manufacturing, building, mines, farms, and domestic service, as well as soldiers and seamen; and
6. *the poor*, for whom contemporary terms in the social tables include "paupers," "vagrants," "debtors," and "lunatics."[67]

I have represented Allen's major findings graphically in Figure 1.5. Figure 1.5A shows the number of families that Allen estimates for each cohort, while Figure 1.5B shows each cohort's estimated aggregate share of total national income. From this graph, it is clear how consequential a period the first half of the nineteenth century was for the redistribution of income in England and Wales.[68] This is not to deny that there was a degree of continuity against which systemic changes unfolded. Allen finds that both the size and the absolute income share of the landed gentry changed

[67] Allen, "Class Structure and Inequality," 96–9.

[68] The source for Figure 1.5, along with all the statistical analysis in the remainder of this section not otherwise cited, is Allen, "Class Structure and Inequality," 32–8.

1.5A. Population by socioeconomic group



1.5B. Net income by socioeconomic group

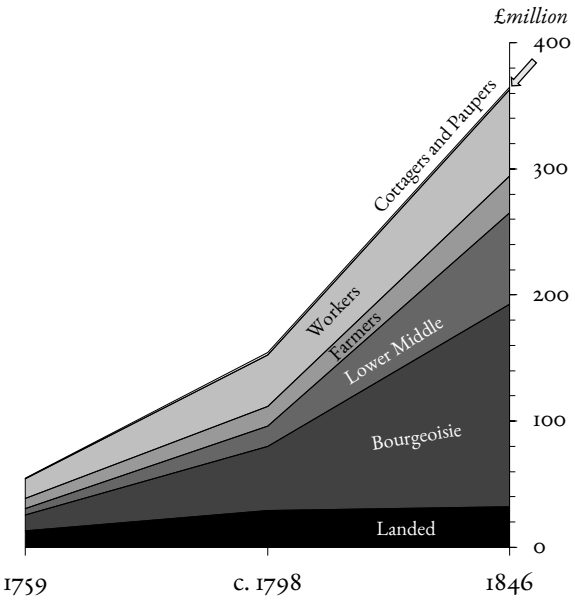


Figure 1.5. Trends in class structure, income, & inequality
Robert Allen's revision of the "Social Tables"

relatively little: their population share grew (increasing from 29,000 families in 1759 to 53,000 in 1846), but their average nominal income per family fell somewhat (from £756 to £603). In comparison with rising national income, this relative stasis translated to a considerable decline in the landed classes' share of income (from 24% in 1759 to 9% in 1846), but it is far from obvious that this relative decline necessarily translated to a decline in status or cultural influence. Meanwhile, most of the population growth associated with the Demographic Revolution was concentrated, as one might expect, among the working class, which Allen estimates grew from 1.1 million families in 1759, to 1.8 million in 1798, to 2.6 million in 1846. However, because this cohort saw almost no gains to income as a result of "Engels' pause" (the average income per family rose pitifully from £23 in 1798 to £26 in 1846), the cumulative income of the working class rose only from £41 million to £68 million. Their share of national income fell grotesquely (from 28% in 1759, to 27% in 1798, to 19% in 1846).

It is against the backdrop of the relatively unchanging gentry and the growing but stultified working class that the significance of the middle class becomes apparent. Counter-intuitively, Allen

finds that the proportion of lower middle class and the bourgeoisie actually fell slightly between 1759 and 1798 (from 9.5% to 8.6% and from 4.2% to 3.2%, respectively); even if their numbers were rising in absolute terms, the working class was growing still more quickly. However, the incomes of both cohorts more than doubled during these years. Allen estimates a more than twofold increase in average income across the middle class during these years, from £27 to £65 for the lower middle class and from £145 to £525 for the bourgeoisie. Between 1798 and 1846, the income gains of the middle class were more modest: the lower-middle class income rose to £112, while the bourgeois income fell slightly to £441 (bespeaking an increase in the regional and occupational diversity of this cohort, rather than a decline in status). However, the growth in the size of the middle classes during the first half of the nineteenth century was extraordinary. Allen estimates that the lower middle class comprised 188,000 families in 1759, 253,000 in 1798, and 649,000 by 1846. The bourgeoisie, meanwhile, comprised 84,000 families in 1759, 95,000 in 1798, and 364,000 by 1846. Cumulatively, both cohorts accounted for 24% of the population by 1846, and they were earning 64% of national income.

In broad terms, the consequences of these trends for the constituency of the demand for print are clear enough. Between the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth, there was a tremendous increase—even disproportionate to the extraordinary rate of population growth—in the number of households with incomes that allowed for the purchase of luxury items such as nonessential print matter. However, it is more challenging to assess, in specific terms, what the income estimates that attend Allen's revision of the Social Tables mean for the accessibility of print. First of all, the prices of books, pamphlets, magazines, &c. varied widely, and to judge their affordability to different social groups would require some fairly complex cross-sectional analysis of prices from a greater variety of sources than I can draw on here.[69] Second, the fact that the nineteenth-century Social Tables are less granular than those of the eighteenth century impedes the comparison of relative incomes across all the

[69] Simon Eliot has constructed a frequency table of prices for books in *Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser* at regular intervals between 1811 and 1891, which is certainly instructive even though it does not account for length or format; see "'Never Mind the Value, What about the Price?'; Or, How Much Did *Marmion* Cost St. John Rivers?," *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 56, no. 2 (2001): 160–97 at 180–1, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/ncl.2001.56.2.160.

sub-groups that make up the lower middle classes and bourgeoisie. For the turn of the nineteenth century, at least, it is possible to make inferences based on Allen's revised income estimates about the affordability of novels *circa* 1798. Novels are, of course, a non-representative genre, which I have chosen as a single concrete example and not to make generalizations about the market as a whole. At the very least, these estimates will be instructive for our treatment of the fiction market in Part II.

In 1798, there were two main ways to procure a novel commercially: retail purchase and subscription to a circulating library. Throughout the 1790s, the median retail price of a newly published three-volume novel was 10.5 shillings.[70] In a sample of circulating library catalogues collected by David Allen, the median annual subscription fee during the 1790s and 1800s was 16 shillings per year.[71] By ranking all the socio-economic categories from highest to lowest average family income, we can assess the profile of these expenses across the income distribution of England and Wales. Table 1.1 ranks each socio-economic group in order by average income, showing the estimated percentile of total income, the profile of a typical three-volume novel in the cohort's monthly income, and the profile of a typical annual circulating library subscription on annual income. I should stress that this is necessarily a tentative exercise. Allen's revisions of Colquhoun's cohort averages may not be representative of the total income distribution of each cohort, which is certain to have varied around the mean. Furthermore, families' total incomes were certain to deviate at uneven rates from the discretionary incomes left over after food and other living expenses.

Nevertheless, the findings are instructive in the very least because they illustrate the extreme orders of magnitude that attended socio-economic inequality during the Romantic period. For only the wealthiest 3% of English and Welsh families earning more than £600 per year, roughly 315,000 family members in all, was the retail price of a novel less than 1% of monthly income, which is about the minimum at which a novel could be considered a *trivial* purchase. For roughly the wealthiest 13% of families earning more than £120 per year—roughly 1.3 million people—a novel comprised less than

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[70] Raven, *TEN1* "Historical Introduction," 99. I discuss rising novel prices in depth in Chapter 4.3.

[71] David Allen, *A Nation of Readers: The Lending Library in Georgian England* (London: British Library, 2008), 148.

Table 1.1. Income inequality and the accessibility of fiction reading:

Estimates from the Social Table of Patrick Colquhoun, England and Wales, c. 1798

Estimated Percentile	Socio-economic group	Est. total family members	Avg. net family income (£)	Median 1798 3-volume novel (10.5 shillings) as % monthly income	Median annual circulating library subscription, 1790s–1800s (16*s.*/year) as % annual income	Median 1836 3-volume novel (31.5 shillings) as % monthly income
0.00	King	5	199,090	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%
0.02	Peers	1,292	7,590	0.08%	0.01%	0.25%
0.02	Bishops	117	3,790	0.17%	0.02%	0.50%
0.04	Baronets	2,430	2,790	0.23%	0.03%	0.68%
0.2	Merchants, greater	9,000	2,490	0.25%	0.03%	0.76%
0.2	Knights	1,575	1,390	0.45%	0.06%	1.36%
0.5	Esquires	27,000	1,390	0.45%	0.06%	1.36%
2	Warehouse owners	2,250	770	0.82%	0.10%	2.45%
2	Manufacturers	112,500	770	0.82%	0.10%	2.45%
2	High offices	9,000	750	0.84%	0.11%	2.52%
2	Merchants, lesser	58,500	750	0.84%	0.11%	2.52%
2	Shipbuilders	1,350	670	0.94%	0.12%	2.82%
3	Gentlemen	90,000	630	1.00%	0.13%	3.00%
3	University teachers	2,000	600	1.05%	0.13%	3.15%
4	Shipowners	22,500	490	1.29%	0.16%	3.86%
4	Eminent clergy	4,500	470	1.34%	0.17%	4.02%
4	Lunatics [*sic*]	180	390	1.62%	0.21%	4.85%
4	Lawyers	49,500	340	1.85%	0.24%	5.56%
5	Liberal arts	73,350	250	2.52%	0.32%	7.56%
5	Theatre	4,000	200	3.15%	0.40%	9.45%
6	Low offices	47,250	190	3.32%	0.42%	9.95%
6	Engineers	22,500	190	3.32%	0.42%	9.95%
8	Freeholders, greater	180,000	180	3.50%	0.44%	10.50%
12	Shopkeepers	335,250	140	4.50%	0.57%	13.50%
12	Tailors, etc.	112,500	140	4.50%	0.57%	13.50%
13	Naval officers	31,500	139	4.53%	0.58%	13.60%
13	Military officers	58,788	129	4.88%	0.62%	14.65%
14	School teachers	90,000	120	5.25%	0.67%	15.75%
15	Lesser clergy	45,000	110	5.73%	0.73%	17.18%
15	Dissenting clergy	11,250	110	5.73%	0.73%	17.18%
25	Publicans	225,000	90	7.00%	0.89%	21.00%
25	Farmers	720,000	90	7.00%	0.89%	21.00%
31	Freeholders, lesser	540,000	80	7.88%	1.00%	23.63%
34	Clerks	270,000	65	9.69%	1.23%	29.08%
55	Workers in manufacturing	2,005,767	55	11.45%	1.45%	34.36%
58	Labourers in mines	180,000	40	15.75%	2.00%	47.25%
58	Merchant sailors	148,179	40	15.75%	2.00%	47.25%
60	Naval personnel	158,718	38	16.58%	2.11%	49.74%
60	Debtors	9,000	35	18.00%	2.29%	54.00%
60	Half-pay officers	18,068	35	18.00%	2.29%	54.00%
76	Male and female agricultural laborers	1,530,000	31	20.32%	2.58%	60.97%
77	Peddlers	3,600	30	21.00%	2.67%	63.00%
77	Lunatics	2,500	30	21.00%	2.67%	63.00%
79	Soldiers	243,970	29	21.72%	2.76%	65.17%
83	Pensioned soldiers	30,500	20	31.50%	4.00%	94.50%
83	Farm servants	340,000	20	31.50%	4.00%	94.50%
87	Domestic servants	384,057	20	31.50%	4.00%	94.50%
100	Paupers at work	1,040,716	10	63.00%	8.00%	189.00%
100	Vagrants	175,218	10	63.00%	8.00%	189.00%
	Total	9,430,378	22	29.03%	3.69%	87.10%

Source: Allen, "Class Structure and Inequality," 32–5.

5% of monthly income, which is perhaps an overgenerous threshold for regarding a novel as a *casual* purchase. (For comparison, the median US household income in 2021 was US$71,000, so 5% of the median monthly income would be $300.)[72] For the remaining 87% of the population, the purchase of a newly published novel at full price would be at best an extreme indulgence, and at worst an impossibility. For the bottom 25% of families, a single novel comprised at least one fifth of monthly income, and it comprised one third of the average monthly incomes of agricultural laborers and domestic servants. Although Colquhoun's table cannot yield an arbitrary "cut-off point" for the income threshold at which novels were or were not affordable.

In this context, it is easy to appreciate why circulating libraries were an attractive option for many readers. For about one third of the population, including almost the entirety of the cohorts in Colquhoun's table that Allen groups within the lower middle class, a subscription of 16 shillings per year comprised less than 1% of annual income. Even for the very poorest families, a typical circulating library's share of annual income was no higher than 8%. This comparatively low percentage does not necessarily mean that circulating libraries were attainable for such a broad customer base. Drawing on contemporary accounts of household budgets, economic historians have estimated that a typical working-class family spent roughly 88% of their earnings on food, drink, and rent, while a typical middle-class family spent roughly 58%.[73] After paying for servants, household maintenance, and clothing, even a moderately well-off family would need to weigh a circulating library subscription alongside many other luxury items in their budgets. It is clear, in this context, why Walter Scott was dismayed by the judgment that even most landed households contented themselves "at best with a paltry subscription to some circulating library forty miles off."[74]

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[72] Jessica Semega and Melissa Kollar, "Income in the United States: 2021," United States Census, 13 September 2022, https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2022/demo/p60-276.html.

[73] H.M. Boot, "Real Incomes of the British Middle Class, 1760–1850: The Experience of Clerks at the East India Company," *Economic History Review* n.s. 52, no. 4 (November 1999): 638–668 at 653, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2599322.

[74] Lockhart, *Memoirs*, Vol. 7, 381.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to perform similarly granular estimates for Smee's social table of 1846, by which time the median retail price of a three-volume novel had tripled to 31.5 shillings.[75] Because nominal prices were relatively consistent between 1798 and 1846, it is possible to form judgments about how much more limiting this price point would have been if population and income levels remained constant; as I show in the rightmost column of Table 1.1, only the wealthiest 4% of the population —those earning at least £470 per year—could have regarded 31.5 shillings as a casual purchase according to the threshold we have used for 1798. However, the massive growth of the size and cumulative income of the middle class documented in Smee's table complicates the account. According to Allen's revision of Smee's table, the share of families earning £467 per year had reached 10% in 1846, compared with just 4% in 1798. This statistic suggests that the proportion of the population that could potentially afford novels at full retail price was relatively unchanged. In light of raw population growth, there is ample room to interpret the Social Tables as suggesting that the absolute number of readers who could afford novels at these prices had increased. What had changed was that the gulf between these wealthy potential readers and the working class had widened grotesquely. For the average manual day-laborer, whom Feinstein estimates was earning 53 shillings per month between 1843 and 1847, a three-volume novel cost 60% of monthly income.[76]

Although there are many lacunae and sources of frustration in the social tables, I hope I have shown that they have important lessons to teach book historians and literary scholars. For our purposes, the most important single lesson is that there was a strong link between the affordability of belletristic print and the evolving fault-lines of class. Those families that could afford to regard a novel as a casual purchase also had access not only to a relatively comfortable standard of living, but also to a new horizon of intergenerational wealth consolidation. Boyd Hilton has argued that an income of

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[75] See the entries for 1846 novels in *ATCL*, http://www.victorianresearch.org/atcl/show_year.php?year=1846.

[76] Charles H. Feinstein, "Wage-earnings in Great Britain during the Industrial Revolution," in *Applied Economics and Public Policy*, ed. Iain Begg and S.G.B. Henry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 181–208 at 195.

about £250 was the minimum that a family needed to meet that horizon at the turn of the nineteenth century:

> Moving up Colquhoun's table to farmers, vicars, and military officers, these are people who even in times of scarcity would have had enough disposable income to participate in consumer society. They could rent a decent house and purchase furniture, clothes, education, medical treatment, and holidays. Roughly speaking, nearly one in four of the population belonged to families with an income of at least £120 per annum. However, in order to have pretensions to *upper*-middle-class gentility it was necessary to have an income of at least £200 per annum and preferably £300, a qualification which excluded retail tradesmen and schoolteachers. The pension awarded to a former senior commander in the Royal Navy in 1816 was roughly £250 [. . .] . According to this analysis the upper-middle class comprised a much wider band than the others in terms of income, though smaller in terms of numbers. For although £250 was a great deal less than the £10,000 and more earned by wealthy lawyers and merchant bankers moving in the penumbra of aristocratic society, it was sufficient to enable its possessor to join the ranks of those who invested capital. This is important because, while conventional definitions of wealth have centered on property ownership, the single most important characteristic of the late eighteenth-century upper-middle class was not to own real property but to possess or have access to capital assets for investment.[77]

To be sure, the full implications of the path toward long-term upward mobility that Hilton is outlining far outstrip what it is possible to study from the social tables alone. They entail what R.J. Morris has called "the property cycle," whereby the heads of households progressed from earning income primarily through wage-earnings and being net debtors in young adulthood, to earning income primarily through capital investment and being net creditors by late adulthood, passing whatever property they accumulated to their children and widows after death.[78] One of the lessons that

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[77] Hilton, *Mad, Bad*,
[78] Morris, *Men, Women, and Property*, 148–9.

the social tables have to teach historians of the novel is that through the mid nineteenth century, only the families who could afford to realize the property cycle could have afforded to buy novels at full retail price. The rental market for novels, was more socio-economically diverse; it included aspirants to the property cycle as well as those who had already achieved it.

1.5. Literary markets and the evolution of capital: the demand side

I hope I have persuaded any readers who have made it this far that socio-economic inequality is one of the defining problems—if not *the* defining problem—of literary markets during the Romantic period. We cannot understand how the growing population of the British Isles was participating in the market for print without understanding not only how many of them could read, but also how much they could *afford* to read. It is perhaps a harder sell to convince book historians that they therefore have a duty to familiarize themselves with historical scholarship on population and economic inequality—not only with its major findings, but also its historiography and quantitative methods. It seems to me that if we are to speak of the past without relying solely on anecdote, we will all need to make use of data sooner or later. If and when we do, we must beware of the monsters produced by the sleep of interdisciplinary reason. In an otherwise exemplary historical survey of the Romantic-period book trade, W.H. Jackson produces exactly such monsters by seeking out data not from the underlying source, but by offering a block quotation from a study by Kathryn Sutherland (who in turn cites the data secondhand). She follows this block quotation with the following reflections:

> [S]olid statistical data for pre-Victorian Britain are hard to come by. Kathyrn Sutherland's well-documented survey [. . .] refers guardedly to an "estimated" reading public, in the absence of reliable overall numbers, and bypassing the notoriously flawed figures available for lower-class literacy. There is some disagreement about population statistics. Whatever the details, however, the general pattern is plain. A doubling of the population coinciding with the rapid growth of cities, and the success of the Sunday School movement (from 1780) increased the

> number of readers and purchasers of printed matter. The presses and their dependent industries were busy.[79]

This analysis reveals the unobvious dangers of what appears, on the surface, to be a guarded, conservative application of historical statistics. Although Jackson recognizes that the data are important enough to cite, she does not believe they are reliable enough for any use except the identification of general trends. She judges that it is enough to cite what data exist secondhand, acknowledge their limitations, and move on to the more familiar and comfortably humanistic categories of evidence that cultural historians are trained to handle. The problem is that rather than following a legitimately skeptical procedure, Jackson simultaneously dismisses the data and relies on them, which ironically leads her to assert causal relationships where they are far from self-evident. This is not a personal failing on Jackson's part: it is symptomatic of the cultural historian's imbued habit of thinking that even when historical statistics are necessary, they are inherently untrustworthy and incidental to a project's larger goals, and that it is best not to dwell on them.

Jackson's analysis is symptomatic of a tendency in eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuryist book historical scholarship that I have tried to redress in this chapter: the habit of automatically assigning agency for historical change in the market for print to the growing size or inclusiveness of "the reading public." If there is validity to Lackington's judgment, in 1791, that "In short all ranks and degrees now READ," we must hold that judgment in sober balance against the view of literary markets that Richard Altick articulated when justifying the subtitle of his book, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public*:

> Since the term "reading public" has always been used elastically, attention must be called to the qualifying word "mass" in the subtitle. It is *not* the relatively small, intellectually and socially superior audience for which most of the great nineteenth-century authors wrote—the readers of the quarterly reviews, the people whom writers like Macaulay, the Brontës, Meredith, George Eliot, and John Stuart Mill had in mind. Here we are concerned primarily with the

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[79] Jackson, *Romantic Readers*, 5–6.

> experience of that overwhelmingly more numerous portion of the English people who became day-by-day readers for the first time in this period, as literacy spread and printed matter became cheaper. The "common reader" studied in these pages may be a member of the working class, or he may belong to the ever expanding bourgeoisie. In preceding centuries, [. . .] some hand-workers and some members of the lower-middle class had been readers; but not until the nineteenth century did the appetite for print permeate both classes to the extent that it became a major social phenomenon.[80]

It seems to me that if there is a fault of the book history covering this period, it has not necessarily been an over-emphasis on the socio-cultural dynamism of the "mass reading public" thus defined: it is, of course, a noble effort to correct literary history's bias against the subaltern. Rather, our discipline has failed to reckon with the dynamism of socio-economic elite that Altick correctly observes had defined literary markets before and throughout the nineteenth century. If we are not prepared to think systematically about inequality, then we risk confusing the economic agency of the newly empowered subaltern with that of an elite increasingly reconstituted by, rather than defined in contradistinction to, "the ever expanding bourgeoisie."

So I will end this chapter with a proposition that seems inescapable from the triangulation of "Engels' pause," the growth of Leigh-Shaw and Wrigley's "tertiary sector" of employment, and especially the revelation of the growing size and income share of the middle class sketched out in the social tables of Colquhoun and Smee. The problem of literary demand during the early phases of the Industrial Revolution is synonymous with the problem of the evolution of capital. The narrative that Allen' elucidation of "Engels' pause" tells is one of the substitution of labor for capital: nearly all the income gains of the early Industrial Revolution were being siphoned away from day-laborers' wages and toward profits. Allen's analysis of the Social Tables tells the same narrative from a different point of view: it shows how the growing profit share of national income was divvied up by a heterogeneous mix of capitalists, merchants, professionals, shopkeepers, and clerks. To be sure, this diverse cohort

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[80] Altick, *The English Common Reader*, 6–7.

exhibited upward mobility to various degrees, but their progress was being bankrolled by the persistence of grinding poverty and limited economic prospects by a growing and increasingly "proletarianized" working class. What worries me about accounts such as Jackson's, which reflexively associate the growth of the market for print with improvements to literacy and educational attainment, and Raven's, which take the coincident rise of population and print as justifying a Whiggish conception of progress, is that they do not take into account the fact that growth for the demand for print could in no small part have been driven by the intensification of inequality, and not its alleviation. Although some familiarity with the quantitative findings of economic historians is necessary to correct the disciplinary habits leading to these misconceptions, the necessary corrective narrative is not one that quantitative economic history alone can tell: it is a narrative that every method of historical and literary analysis must aid in telling.

Chapter 2. Portentous Gadgets: Paper and the Industrial Revolution

2.1. Overview

During an 1832 tour of England, the young American engineer George Escol Sellers paid his respects to Bryan Donkin, the inventor of the Fourdrinier papermaking machine. Over a long conversation at Donkin's workshop in Bermondsey, the two engineers talked shop, shared international trade gossip, and inspected Donkin's most recently erected Fourdrinier machine, which Sellers recalled as "certainly, the finest specimen of workmanship that I had seen in England, roughly 30 feet long and"60 inches in width between the deckels. The machine stood as it was to be placed in the mill, with shafting and gearing all complete." Amid their discussion of Donkin's latest improvements to the machine's operation and maintenance, Sellers sought Donkin's critiques of his most recent invention of his own, a rotating pulp dresser. Donkin, who was highly protective of his own trade secrets, advised Sellers of trusting any engineer with work in progress. Uncowed, Sellers explained why he was willing to speak so openly:

> I replied by repeating what Sir Walter Scott had said to my uncle, Rembrandt Peale, as to his friend, 'Honest Bryan Donkin, machinist,' that with such an endorsement I felt that I ran no risk, and should send the pulp dresser to him.
>
> His face brightened with a look of great satisfaction, as he said that when Sir Walter acknowledged the authorship of the Waverley Novels, and said that for a long time it had been known to twenty people, none of whom had abused his confidence, he was proud of knowing

> that he was one of the twenty; he then added, the acquaintance, and he might say, intimacy with Sir Walter had come about in a most natural way; he had frequent consultations with the Constables, the publishers of Scott's novels, on the subject of paper for that purpose, at which Sir Walter was often present.[1]

The trust that Constable and Scott placed in Donkin exemplifies the centrality of technological change to the evolution of literary markets during the early nineteenth century. In the previous chapter, I surveyed Britain's uneven shift toward an increasingly capital-intensive economy. The effects of that shift included rising productivity, but also rising inequality: technological change and expanding distribution networks led to an increase in *per capita* income, but nearly all the gains went to profits rather than wages. As I have argued, these developments had lasting effects on the demand for print. Yet the consequences for the supply side were no less profound. For literary markets, workshops such as Donkin's were crucibles of modernization: they turned out new technologies that altered the scale, speed, and efficiency of the manufacture of print, at the cost of disenfranchising ancient traditions of skilled and organized labor.

The goal of this chapter is to reinvestigate the role of the paper industry in the modernization of the British market for print. To the extent that population growth and the concentration of income gains among the middle class suggest an unevenly rising demand for print matter, book historians have a responsibility to figure out why *per capita* print output grew at the pace it did. I will argue that across the early phases of modern economic growth, the rate of growth for the manufacturing base of paper was, in no small part, the chief regulator of that pace of growth. I do not deny the importance of technological innovations in the printing industry that were contemporary to the Fourdrinier machine, especially the perfection of the iron hand-press, the steam-powered press, and stereotyped plates. My focus on paper is a calculated intervention, however. Biased, perhaps, by the more immediate influence of printing on textual reproduction and transmission, book historians have

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[1] George Escol Sellers, *Early Engineering Reminiscences (1815–40) of George Escol Sellers*, ed. Eugene S. Ferguson (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1965), 121–3.

tended to focus on printing when they discuss technological change at all.[2] Because book historians have not been asking enough of the right questions about paper, the pressing need of book history to reckon with this most crucial physical input of print matter has been more than a little cloudy. Although scholars such as R.H. Clapperton, Catherine M. Rodriguez, B.J. McMullin, and Cathleen A. Baker have yielded increasingly sophisticated and diverse body of scholarship on nineteenth-century paper, and particularly machine-made paper, the focus has generally fallen on the engineering of the machines and the physical characteristics of the paper, with far less attention to the market dynamics, entrepreneurship, and innovation that have made these developments possible and governed their proliferation as well as their invention.[3]

Two major exceptions are crucial to this study. (A third major exception, Joan Evans's professional biography of the papermaker and inventor John Dickinson, receives sustained attention in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.)[4] D.C. Coleman's *The British Paper Industry: A Study in Industrial Growth* (1958) remains, three quarters of a century after its publication, one of the defining case studies of British economic history.[5] Coleman, equally accomplished in his statistical analysis and his mastery of the archive, has perhaps cowed subsequent generations of paper historians and economic historians alike. However, the five-century sweep of his book means that there were many topics specific to the nineteenth century that could benefit from a more thorough case study. In the wake of the major

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[2] James Raven, "The Industrial Revolution of the Book," in *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. Leslie Howsam, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 143–61, https://doi.org/10.1017/CCO9781139152242.011; William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation*, 182–5. Raven mentions the Fourdrinier machine only in passing, while St. Clair argues pointedly that "The arrival of stereotyping was to have greater effects on the whole system of texts, books, and reading than any change since the arrival of print" (182). I will discuss St. Clair's relative minimization of the importance of the machine below.

[3] R.H. Clapperton, *The Paper-making Machine: Its Invention, Evolution and Development* (Oxford, UK: Pergammon Press, 1965); Catherine M. Rodriguez, "The Use of Web Seam Evidence to Determine Format," *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin* 28 (2004): 122–4; B.J. McMullin, "Machine-Made Paper, Seam Marks, and Bibliographical Analysis," *The Library* 7th Series, Vol. 9, No. 1 (March 2008): 62–88, https://doi.org/10.1093/library/9.1.062; Cathleen A. Baker, *From the Hand to the Machine: Nineteenth-century American paper and mediums: technologies, materials, and conservation* (Ann Arbor: Legacy Press, 2010).

[4] Joan Evans, *The Endless Web: John Dickinson & Co. Ltd., 1804–1954* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1955).

[5] D.C. Coleman, *The British Paper Industry: A Study in Industrial Growth* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1958).

developments in the historiography of modern economic growth that I surveyed in Chapter 1, and in light of a more accessible archival and statistical record of the paper industry, it is now possible to get out from under Coleman's shadow on many topics, questioning his assumptions and squeezing further insights from the quantitative record than he was willing or able to pursue. The other major trade historian has been John Bidwell, who, operating in a more fastidious, less quantitatively-minded bibliographical tradition, has made crucial contributions to understanding the relationship of papermakers and papermaking entrepreneurs to their customers and creditors.[6] Bidwell is primarily an Americanist, and his research on the British industry, while providing crucial supplements to Coleman's research, is by his own admission a byroad to his research, in its own way no less momentous than Coleman's, on Pennsylvania's Brandywine Papermill and other early American operations. Although my methods are very different from Bidwell's, and although my understanding of historical paper is at a nascent stage compared to his, one of my goals is to trace the consequences of key insights that his scholarship has introduced. In this regard, I am more indebted to his Bidwell's work than my citations alone are likely to reflect.

The emphasis that I inherit from Coleman and Bidwell alike is on the interplay between major technological shifts and more gradual, long-term trends. The central importance of the Fourdrinier machine presents a major crux for the problems of a periodizing term I have heretofore tried to use cautiously and sparingly, but which I can no longer put off grappling with: the Industrial Revolution. Many of the "pessimist" historiographical trends in economic history that I discussed in Chapter 1 have led scholars to reject the once standard mid-twentieth-century historical narrative of the Industrial Revolution, which identified technological innovation in Britain's manufacturing sector—particularly in the textile mills which were yielding the raw inputs of papermills—as the engine that jumpstarted modern capitalist growth. Economic historians are now less likely than they once were to agree with

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[6] John Bidwell, "The Brandywine Paper Mill and the Anglo-American Book Trade, 1787–1837" (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1992), shared by the author and cited with permission. Several of Bidwell's major articles, which I cite below in their original publications, are collected in *Paper and Type: Bibliographical Essays* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 2019).

the comically reductive summary of the Industrial Revolution offered by Thomas Ashton, from the words of a schoolboy in an oral examination: "About 1760 a wave of gadgets swept over England."[7] While the epoch-changing nature of the gadgets is unignorable, it is far from obvious how to measure and explain what changes the gadgets actually made. It is a still larger problem to situate the historical agency of the gadgets relative to their inventors and promulgators, their late adopters and gradual refiners, the material cultures of the customers whose wants the gadgets filled, and the wider backdrop of ideology and cultural practice that inspired the gadgets in the first place.[8] In this regard, the challenges imposed by the economic history of paper are typical of assessing the influence of technological change on modern capitalism. Coleman's statistical scholarship shows how the data contemporary tradespeople and government agencies yielded data that can address the productive consequences of technological change, while Bidwell's sedulous treatment of business records reveals the institutional contexts and human foibles of innovation that no line graph can trace.

In the course of this chapter, I exhaust practically every resource and method at my disposal to investigate the modernization of the paper trade. My analysis is oriented by the use of excise data—data we have cause to believe are fairly reliable, notwithstanding their flaws and limitations—to trace the estimated *per capita* growth of the paper industry from the mid eighteenth century through the mid nineteenth. Yet I show that everything from business biography, to the interrogation of Parliamentary testimony, to the physical analysis of the odd unbound book, has an important place in the problem of economic modernization. In the first half of this chapter, I trace the fitful evolution of the eighteenth-century trade, when population growth tried the limits of traditional hand-vat mills. In the second half of the chapter, I study the invention and, more importantly, the promulgation of papermaking machines in the context of this expansionary pressure, orienting my analysis around a new series of estimates of the rate at which hand-made paper replaced machine-made paper.

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[7] T.S. Ashton, *The Industrial Revolution, 1760–1830* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1948), 42.

[8] Problems of these kinds are addressed in Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); and Joel Mokyr, *The Enlightened Economy: An Economic History of Britain, 1700–1850* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).

What defines the entire sweep of the period is the perpetual minuet between two types of economic growth, which Joel Mokyr has termed "Solovian" and "Schumpeterian" growth.[9] "Solovian" growth, named for the preoccupations of the macroeconomic growth theorist Robert Solow, is the type of growth that occurs within an economy's existing stock of technology and productive processes. Solovian growth is driven by investment that increases average worker productivity, as when a papermill adopted multiple cylinder beaters in order to prepare pulp of differing fiber density.[10] Schumpeterian growth, which I have discussed in the introduction, is the growth occasioned by "the perennial gale of creative destruction," or the adoption of new technologies and production processes that enable new standards of scale and efficiency by rendering old ways of doing things marginal, if not obsolete. William Balstone felt the chill of Schumpeter's gale, for instance, when he realized his hand mill could no longer compete with machine mills in the manufacture of most grades of printing paper.[11] In the course of writing this chapter, I have become increasingly convinced that the centrality of paper to the supply chain of print means that the Schumpeterian dynamic of creative destruction, of the portent of a new economic order brought about by a "wave of gadgets." If I am right, the meaning and coherence of that narrative can emerge only in in relief to the more mundane history of Solovian growth that governs the adoption and implementation of new technologies.

2.2. A primer on the economic history of paper

2.2A. The nature of the paper trade: market structure and causality

The first problem to address, which will dog this entire chapter in various forms, is the problem of economic causality. When markets change, how can we go about assessing the reasons for

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[9] Joel Mokyr, *The Lever of Riches: Technological Creativity and Economic Progress* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 3–6. Mokyr also discusses "Smithian" growth, following Adam Smith's interest in geographic and sectoral expansion of markets as creating efficiency gains from the division of labor; and "[s]cale or size effects" driven by economies of scale.

[10] Baker, *From the Hand to the Machine*, 28–9.

[11] Thomas Balstone, *William Balstone: Paper-Maker, 1759–1849* (London: Methuen, 1954), 51–3.

the change? This question is of central importance to the relationship between papermaking and print matter of all kinds. The specific version of this question that book historians ought to ask is: During Britain's Industrial Revolution, did paper limit print, or did print limit paper? Or, to put the question more fully: did the supply of paper suitable for printing constrain the output of print matter, or did the output of print matter set bounds on the making of suitable paper? To my knowledge, book historians have not recognized this as an important crux, for the unfortunate reason that they have tended to leap straight to their preferred answers. Perhaps the most extreme, most reductive proponent of the view that paper limited print is Lee Erickson, who sees paper as the mechanistic regulator of literary history. The scarcity of paper during the Napoleonic Wars, Erickson claims, forced publishers to entice readers with the supposedly higher "marginal utility" of poetry; the abundance of paper later in the nineteenth century enabled the proliferation of wordy prose genres like fiction and the periodical essay.[12] To the contrary, William St. Clair, who argues for the centrality of intellectual property laws in more humane, but similarly monocausal terms, argues that it was not the availability of raw materials that set bounds on the growth of books and periodicals, but rather the artificial constraints on manufacture imposed by booksellers' state-sanctioned monopoly power. St. Clair insists that the production of printing paper only grew once the easing of monopoly power by intellectual property reform encouraged it to grow: papermaking machines and other industrial innovations "came after the expansion of reading was well underway, and were more a result than a cause."[13]

What Erickson and St. Clair's accounts have in common is that they neglect the fact that paper was a commodity in its own right, with its own complex economic, technological, and social history beyond its use as a material conveyance for the printed word.[14] Reading both historians' accounts, one

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[12] Lee Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form: English Literature and the Industrialization of Publishing, 1800–1850* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 6–7, 20, 26–7.

[13] St. Clair, *Reading Nation*, 87.

[14] The classic Anglophone history of papermaking is Dard Hunter, *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (New York: Dover, 1978; first edn. 1943). For a compelling introduction to the multifarious uses of paper as bibliographical evidence, see John Bidwell, "The Study of Paper as Evidence, Artefact, and Commodity," in *The Book Encompassed: Studies in Twentieth-Century Bibliography*, ed. Peter Davison (New Castle, DE and Winchester, UK: Oak Knoll Press and St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1992), 69–82.

is apt to forget that letterpress printing was far from the only use for paper. Besides reading books, Britain's ever-increasing populace had letters to write, foodstuffs to pack, walls to line,[15] pictures and prints to hang on those walls,[16] forms to fill, lotteries to bet on, royal proclamations to harken to,[17] and books to wrap and bind as well as read.[18] Book historians sometimes lose sight of their responsibility to a broader material culture of which print was only a part. This is what St. Clair does when he assumes *a priori* that demand for codex letterpress print so far outpaced the other uses of one of civilization's most useful substances as to drive the industry's growth path on its own. When considering the reasons demand for paper may have been rising during the Industrial Revolution, James Raven has more circumspectly stressed the importance of paper for financial bookkeeping and jobbing printing, both of which were becoming increasingly important to industry and commerce as managerial responsibilities multiplied and as promotion powered the growth of business.[19]

A related fault these accounts suffer from is a tendency to recognize the complex structure of the market for print, but to assume simplicity from its input suppliers. In fact, the market structure of the paper trade was no less complex than that of the book trade. Because the geography of paper production presented obstacles to vertical integration, its growth rate was constrained not only by the availability of raw inputs but by the robustness of supply and distribution chains. By 1800, about 420 papermills were dotted about England, their placement being dictated by the fall of clear rivers and streams to power water wheels.[20] Papermills relied for their supply of linen, hempen, flaxen, and cotton rags on mostly urban rag merchants, who in turn collected their wares from itinerant rag-and-bone men. (Gelatin from the bones was used as a sizing agent.) Until the late eighteenth century, a

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[15] Phillippa Mapes, "The English Wallpaper Trade, 1750–1850," (PhD dissertation, University of Leicester, 2016), http://hdl.handle.net/2381/39011.

[16] For the prominence of pictures and prints in propertied homes and the robustness of shops specializing in them, see Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behavior & Material Culture in Britain, 1660–1760*, 2nd edn. (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 37, 63.

[17] Michael Twyman, "Printed Ephemera," in *CHBB5*, 66–82, https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521810173.004.

[18] Bernard C. Middleton, *A History of English Craft Bookbinding Technique* (New York and London: Hafner, 1963), 64–8.

[19] Raven, *Publishing Business in Eighteenth-Century England*, *passim* but especially 66–79.

[20] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 219.

majority of rags were imported from mainland Europe. By the 1780s, about 70% of imported rags used in British mills came from Germany, which would remain Britain's only steady major source after the onset of the French Revolutionary War.[21] Having processed rags into paper, the mills sold their product to wholesale stationers, who collected paper in regional circuits, warehoused it, and sold it to booksellers and retail stationers, as well as exporting it abroad.[22] Input suppliers, manufacturers, and distributors were interreliant: bottlenecks and overstocks at any one phase were sure to be felt downstream.

The final context for the growth of the paper industry is capital. This is the most obscure topic to study, and therefore the most venial in book historians' neglect of it. But it is also probably the most important. When it comes to innovation, nothing is got by nothing. Industrial growth required investment, whether to bankroll the building of new mills, the expansion of existing ones, or the discovery of new methods to ramp up speed and efficiency. In particular, the massive (if halting) gains to *per capita* output that Britain's paper industry ultimately achieved by the mid nineteenth century would have been impossible without the research and development necessary for technological innovation. As John Bidwell has demonstrated, the invention and commercialization of papermaking machines were slow, sometimes sordid, and often financially perilous affairs for inventors and entrepreneurs alike.[23] The messiness of capital markets is most apparent in the case of the machines, as we will see in time, but the agency of investors and entrepreneurs was no less important during the nineteenth century than the eighteenth.

Keeping in mind these major economic contexts of the paper trade—the diversity of its products, the complexity of its supply chains, and the fitful dynamism of its capital formation—we can

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[21] For principal sources of rag imports 1725–1800, see Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 107, Table VI.

[22] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 163–6; Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1.8–13, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139542715.004. As Blayney shows, the word "stationer" originally referred to tradespeople in books and print in general, but by the late seventeenth century, it came increasingly to refer specifically to paper merchants and vendors of writing supplies ("stationary"). Throughout this chapter, I use the word "stationers" to refer solely to paper merchants, and usually to wholesale merchants.

[23] John Bidwell, "The Industrialization of the Paper Trade," in *CHBB5*, 200–17, https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521810173.010.

now address the original question: Did print limit paper, or did paper limit print? On first inspection, the obvious answer seems to be that across the long eighteenth century, paper limited print. According to D.C. Coleman, the paper industry during the long eighteenth century was "unquestionably a seller's market." Fortified against foreign competition by protectionist tariffs, the proprietors of papermills were excellently equipped to exploit steadily rising demand. Stationers were generally willing to tolerate short-term build-ups of stock, Coleman argues, which meant that mills were reliably able to "dispose of virtually everything they could make."[24] As such, the limiting factor on the entire distribution chain was the supply of rags. Raven's account of demand closely agrees with Coleman's depiction of supply. Stationers sporadically complained of paper shortages throughout the eighteenth century, and large purchasers often needed to ration supplies, not just for printing jobs but for business records and other intensive uses.[25] In this backdrop of chronic scarcity, the availability of paper set definite constraints on the scope of the market for print, limiting the viability of new bookselling-publishing operations and at times hampering the activity possible for existing ones.

Nevertheless, St. Clair's perspective on the limits to growth set by the market power of paper purchasers is far from irrelevant. Although papermakers could be sure of rising demand in the long term, short-term wholesale overstocks seem to have been more frequent and more damaging than Coleman recognizes. As B.J. McMullin points out, paper merchants *did* refuse to accept purchases of printing paper due to significant buildups of excess stock in 1801 and 1809—clear evidence that at times, the supply of paper could seriously outpace effective demand.[26] Even if these slumps were short-

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[24] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 166.

[25] Raven, *Publishing Business*, 66–9.

[26] B.J. McMullin, "Watermarks and the Determination of Format in British Paper, 1794–*circa* 1830," *Studies in Bibliography* 56 (2003/2004): 295–315 at 296–7, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40372200. These overstocks plainly entailed a massive share of annual paper manufacturing from these two years. Specifically, McMullin cites the refusal, in September 1809, of paper merchant named Keyes to accept royal printing paper (a common size, typically about 64 × 51 cm) from William Balston "until our present stock is lowered, which at present exceeds 1000 reams, nearer twelve hundred." 1,000–1,200 reams amounts to 516,000–619,200 sheets, roughly 10–12 tons or, in terms of area 16,000–20,000 m^2—more than enough to coat the 3.5-acre Lawn of the Academical Village at the University of Virginia. Keys' excess stock of printing royal alone would have constituted almost 10% of the 13,430 reams of printing royal counted toward excise duties as recently as 1793; see Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 351, Appendix II, Table 3.

lived, the acute risk of insolvency they created would have given pause to otherwise eager founders of new mills. Established wholesale stationers were the trade's dominant financiers,[27] so the mills most cushioned from risk by stable lines of credit were incentivized to serve particular merchants on favorable terms. The cartels that St. Clair deplores were not contained to bookselling—and indeed, recent work in economic history has shown that such collusive networks among members of interconnected trades were rife throughout the long eighteenth century.[28] Furthermore, although total vertical integration of the supply chain to a single firm was unsustainable during the eighteenth century, there was considerable partial vertical integration. It was not uncommon for stationers to run side operations as rag merchants, and a few of them even came to operate mills themselves.[29]

Thus, although the availability of rags set bounds on the amount of paper the British paper trade could produce, stationers exerted considerable influence over the pace and intensiveness with which new rag sources were put to use. Indeed, the involvement of stationers in the expansion of papermaking—both as capitalists and manufacturers—would ultimately set the terms of industrial growth in the nineteenth century. As technological change came to govern the pace at which mills made use of rag supplies, wholesale distributors increasingly became the arbiters of the expansion of the paper industry. It is no accident that England's two operational models of papermaking machine, the Fourdrinier machine and the Dickinson cylinder-mould machine, were both named for businessmen who began their careers as wholesale stationers.

2.2B. Sources of historical data on the paper industry

Keeping in mind the inter-reliance between papermakers and their customers, we can now proceed to the empirical record of British paper production, which will be the thread that guides us through a maze of historical evidence. The embarrassment of riches we enjoy when studying British papermaking during the Industrial Revolution is no historical accident: it is a byproduct of Tudor and

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[27] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 164.

[28] Robin Pearson and David Richardson, "Business Networking in the Industrial Revolution," *Economic History Review* 54, no. 4 (November 2001): 657–79, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3091626.

[29] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 167.

Hanoverian fiscal policy. By 1507, a mere two decades after John Tate's founding of England's first papermill, the Crown was already levying Customs and Excise duties on paper as a form of indirect taxation on British consumers. By the turn of the eighteenth century, mercantilist tariffs were fattening the English trade by shutting out competition from French merchants, and the duties on English manufacturers became increasingly lucrative.[30] Excise officers visited mills regularly, and compliance was high in Britain—although not necessarily in post-Union Ireland, where mill owners were known to lay obstacles to bar customs officials from entry.[31] Twentieth-century economic historians have deemed the duties sufficiently universal in their enforcement—and records of their revenues sufficiently well-kept—to derive annual estimates of paper production by mass (popularly "weight") for England (1713–1861) and Scotland (1737–1861).[32]

A handful of book historians have made significant use of these data. Most prominently, Simon Eliot has used them to gauge the reliability of miscellaneous nineteenth-century bibliometric data.[33] Yet many of the most promising avenues that these data lay open for book history have gone untrodden. The richness of the data lies not just in their continuous and evidently reliable coverage, but in the ways they lend themselves to cross-sectional analysis when set in conversation with other types of historical evidence.

To this end, I have used the annualized population series described in Chapter 1[34] to estimate *per capita* paper production in Great Britain from the early eighteenth century through to the end of the Excise duty in 1859. We have good reason to believe that these data provide an excellent view of the

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[30] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 122–145; John Bidwell, "French Paper in English Books," in *CHBB4*, 583–601, https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521661829.030.

[31] For a detailed contemporary account of the laws and their enforcement, see Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopædia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences and Literature* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1819), Vol. 16, Z2*r* (page 17 of the entry on paper), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015057241112. For evasive strategies against excise officers by Irish mills, see Mapes, "The English Wallpaper Trade," 157–8.

[32] A. Dykes Spicer, *The Paper Trade: A Descriptive and Historical Survey of the Paper Trade from the Commencement of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Methuen & Co., 1907), 241–6; B.R. Mitchell and Phyllis Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics*, 263–4.

[33] Simon Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1994), 16–9.

[34] See sources to Figure 1.3.

quantity of newly made paper that Britons were using per year, not only because of the high compliance rate of English mills but because of the mercantilist context in which this growth occurred. By the mid eighteenth century, almost all paper consumed in Britain was made by British mills; conversely, and just as importantly, most British-made paper was consumed domestically. While the Excise ledgers offer only fragmentary data on international trade, they do show that net exports had fallen to less than 5% of total output by 1750 and to less than 1% by the 1770s, not rising above 1% until the 1850s. Exports, meanwhile, constituted less than 5% of total output until about 1840.[35] Thus, domestic consumption *per capita* in Great Britain could not have differed greatly from domestic production during the period principally under scrutiny.

In order to complement and complicate the narrative that emerges from aggregate total production, I have also collected all the data that the standard histories of the British paper trade proffer on rates of output by taxation class. The eighteenth-century Excise duties were notoriously convoluted, assigning different rates to different sizes classes of paper, and classification systems changed repeatedly over the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Unfortunately, the records thus pose formidable obstacles to the continuous tracing of output by category—not only printing paper, which is likeliest to interest the readers of this dissertation, but white paper more broadly. Nevertheless, the efforts of Coleman and A. Dykes Spicer have made data on output by category available for the more limited date ranges 1782–1793 and 1803–1837.[36] Drawing on these data, I offer preliminary estimate the growth rate of English printing paper during the Industrial Revolution. To be clear, this is a highly fraught exercise, not just because of lacunae in the surviving empirical record but because paper output was measured using several different variables during these years. The estimates I proffer in this chapter are therefore tentative. Nevertheless, I hope that in preparing them, I've eased the load of later studies by delineating some of the problems a more sophisticated approach must overcome.

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[35] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, Fig. 2 insert after 90, Fig. 7 insert after 200, 347.
[36] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, Appendix II, 350–2; A. Dykes Spicer, *The Paper Trade*, 241–4.

Finally, I have re-examined a wide array of sources testifying to the adoption of papermaking machines, and I have used these data to prepare new estimates of the rate at which machine-made paper replaced handmade paper between 1804 and 1836. This is the most important, and necessarily the most tenuous phase of the present chapter. Since there are no state-sanctioned data on paper-making machines, I must rely principally on sources prepared by members of the paper trade themselves. In particular, I rely heavily on the Parliamentary testimony that Henry Fourdrinier, the lead entrepreneur of England's earliest papermaking machines, offered in 1837 during hearings in which Commons considered (and ultimately rejected) a renewal of his patent.[37] By tallying the machines that Fourdrinier acknowledged in his testimony alongside external evidence of the machines that he did not, I estimate the number of machines that had been erected, the maximum amount of paper they were capable of making, and the amount of paper that trade norms and firsthand production statistics suggest they were likely to have made in practice. I then cross-check my estimates against evidence of the market concentration of the paper industry to judge whether my findings are realistic. Although this analysis faces many challenges and is likely to be subject to revision, I believe, at the very least, that my analysis corrects a series of misconceptions that have stemmed from Spicer's now century-old estimates of the rate of mechanization, which has exerted considerable influence on paper history and book history despite being poorly sourced and rife with unrealistic assumptions. Whereas Spicer assumes that papermaking machines slowly and steadily replaced hand-vat mills, I show that the adoption of paper-making machines by British mills was more fitful and uneven than paper historians have generally appreciated. Above all, I argue that the mass adoption of paper-making machines was no less grand an obstacle for the trade to overcome than its invention, and I argue that we cannot truly appreciate the role that modern economic growth has played in the evolution of the book trade and related industries without grappling with the problem of manufacturing capital alongside that of technological change.

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[37] House of Commons, "Report from the Select Committee to whom the Petition of Henry and S. Fourdrinier was referred, together with the Minutes of Evidence and Appendix," *Reports from Committees: 1837*, Vol. 16, 35–90, Google Books, https://books.google.com/books?id=KowSAAAAYAAJ (hereafter "Select Committee").

2.3. Industrial growth during the eighteenth century

2.3A. The beginnings of the Industrial Revolution

Figure 2.1 shows the annual quantity of paper charged with excise duty in Great Britain between 1713 and 1861. Like the population, the paper industry followed an exponential growth trend. For most of this period, however, the exponential growth rate of the paper industry outpaced that of the population, so that *per capita* paper manufacture, graphed in Figure 2.2, was almost continuously on the rise. Although Figures 2.1 and 2.2 can give the impression that this growth trend was the consequence of some natural law of economic development, there was nothing natural or inevitable about it. The jaggedness of *per capita* growth testifies to frequent fluctuations in annual paper output. Some of these disruptions followed expansionary and recessionary cycles in the British economy,[38] while others were the result of crises specific to the paper industry. What is perhaps most striking about the long-term growth trend is that the increase during the years ordinarily consigned to the first wave of the Industrial Revolution appears modest compared with two steep ascents that came before and after it—the first contained to the early 1780s and the second kicking off in the late 1830s. Nevertheless, a full investigation of the historical data will show that the paper trade was changing more rapidly than the chronology of its output alone would suggest. By bearing the uncertainties that attend innovation in its early phases, the years 1780–1830 footed the bill for far more rapid growth during the Victorian period.

It is important to recognize, however, that the dynamic of abrupt technological change and gradual proliferation of capital stock, which I have called an interplay between Solovian and Schumpeterian growth, was not unique to the period. We can see the same kind of fitful dynamic at work during the eighteenth century, if at a more modest scale than what came later. Figure 2.2 shows that the *per capita* growth of papermaking under the protective tariff wall was slow and steady, until it

[38] See Arthur D. Gayer, W.W. Rostow, and Anna Jacobson Schwartz, *The Growth and Fluctuation of the British Economy, 1790–1850*, (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1953), Vol. 1, *passim*.

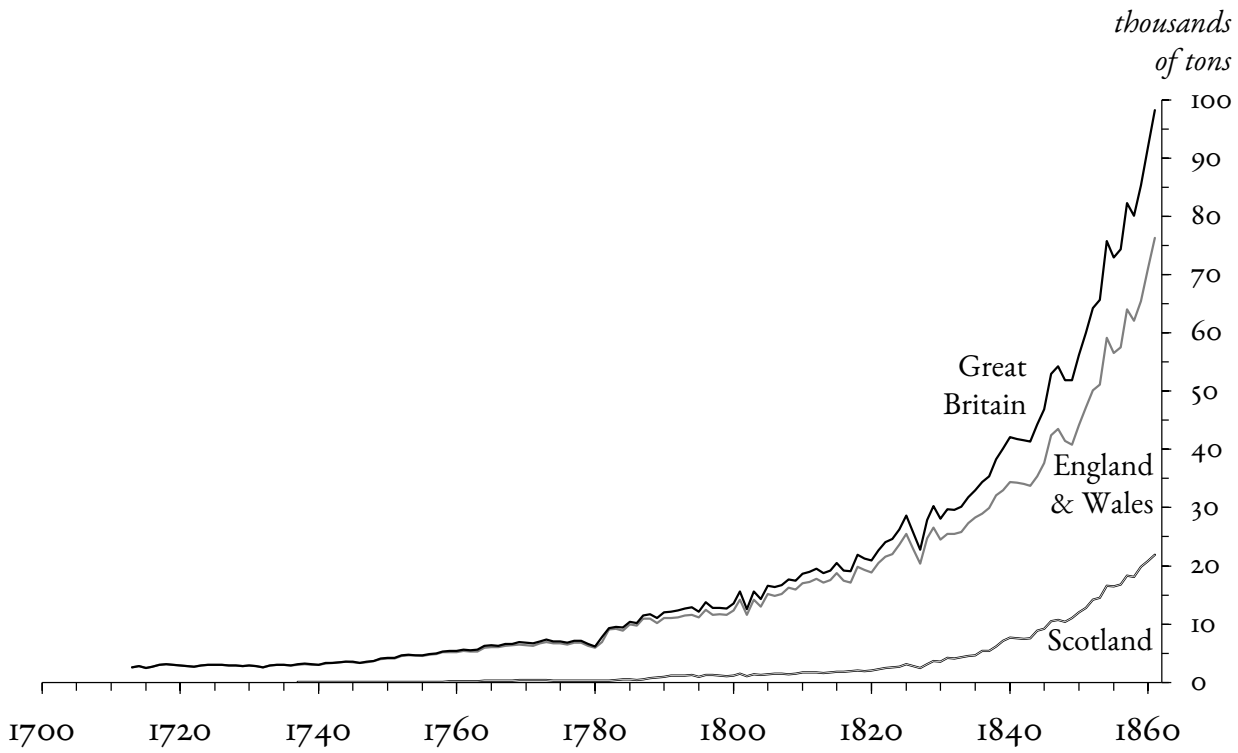

Figure 2.1. Paper charged with duty, 1713–1861

was punctuated by a great boom in the last quarter. Production declined briefly in the late 1770s alongside a dip in German rag imports from 1778–1779, likely caused by the War of the Bavarian Succession.[39] But the paper industry rebounded quickly, and manufacturing expanded to an unprecedented rate between 1780 and 1784. This boom may appear modest when compared to what would follow in the nineteenth century, but significantly, it established the capacity of the eighteenth-century paper trade to outpace demographic growth, decades before the invention of paper-making machines. Irrespective of whether James Lackington was correct to claim that book sales quadrupled between 1770 and 1790, the amount of paper made in Britain during these two decades alone nearly doubled, growing more quickly than the population by half.

Neither the steady initial growth nor the sudden leap could have occurred without the Crown's protectionist tariffs. Yet important industrial changes undergirded eighteenth-century growth

[39] See also Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, Fig. 2 insert after 90.

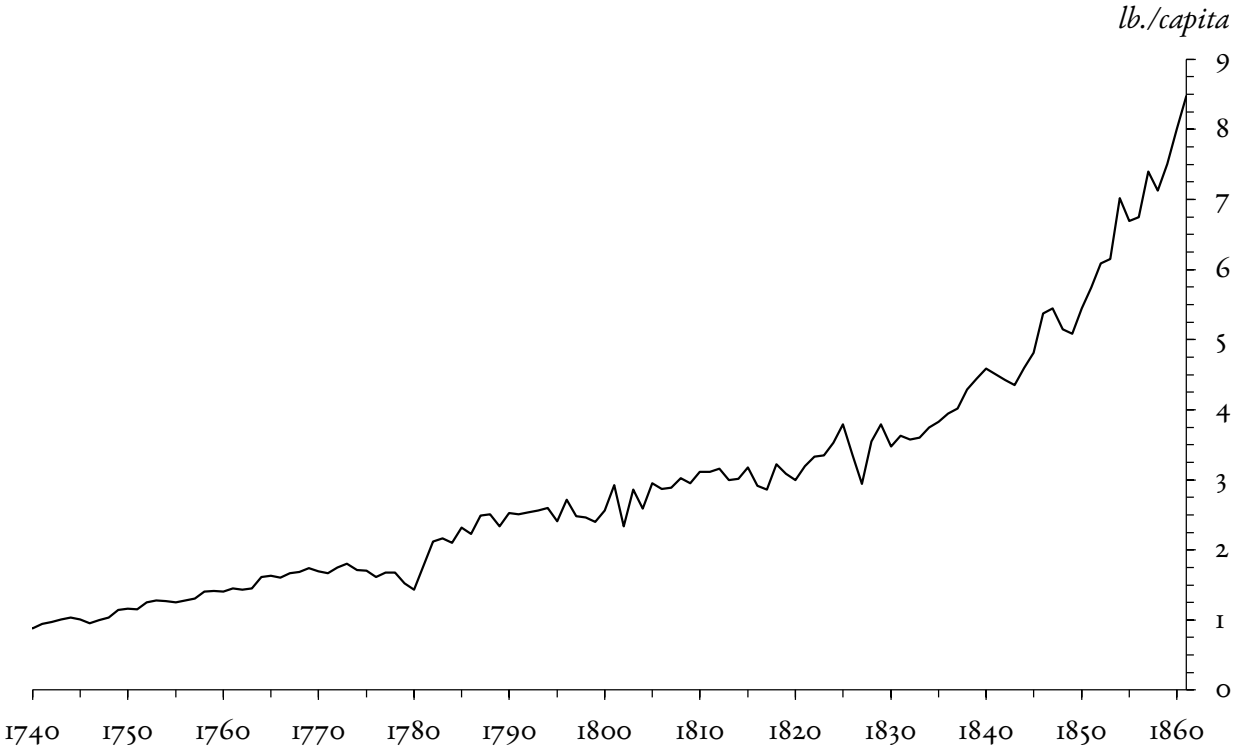

Figure 2.2. British paper charged with duty *per capita*, 1740–1861

too, which are indicative of the ways that the Industrial Revolution, classically conceived of as a late-eighteenth-century phenomenon, had a long and slow prelude at least as far back as the early modern period. In order to explain, I must digress for a moment on the preparation of stuff before it is made into paper. After the rags bought by a pre-industrial European papermill were sorted into grades, cut into large squares, and retted (left for several weeks in a watery solution to ferment), the resultant "half-stuff" needed to be macerated in order to further break down the woven structure of the rags so that it would form a durable sheet atop the mould. Since the mid twelfth century, half-stuff had been macerated using stamping mills, water-powered machines in which a row of beams (capped by spiked hammerheads or mortars) repeatedly struck the half-stuff in stone or oak troughs. Apart from retting, maceration was the papermill's most significant manufacturing bottleneck: a single pile of rags often took several days to reduce to stuff. No later than the 1670s, Dutch papermakers developed an alternative to the stamping mill, the cylinder beater—nicknamed the "Hollander" after its place of origin. The Hollander comprised a tub containing a beater roll lined with short knives. The revolution

of the beater roll conveyed half-stuff up though a narrow space between the knives and a metal bedplate lining the bottom of the tub. While the stamping mill remained preferable for fine papers, the Hollander macerated half-stuff in a fraction of the time, and it carried the added benefit of requiring significantly less power to turn. For many grades, the Hollander sufficiently disentangled fibers from their woven structure to remove the need for a separate retting phase, cutting down the time from rag to sheet from weeks to days.[40]

It is unclear how quickly papermills in the British Isles adopted the Hollander. During the mid twentieth century, Coleman judged that the invention wasn't unambiguously in use at English mills until the 1730s, casting doubt on whether late-seventeenth-century British and Irish papermakers' references to a beating engine reflected firsthand knowledge of its operation. More recently, however, Bidwell has pointed to an inventory that shows parts for a Hollander were shipped from London to Dublin *circa* 1690—clear evidence that the engine "helped to make British mills more competitive" against foreign imports by the turn of the eighteenth century. It is clear that Hollanders were in wide use in England by the 1750s, by which time members of the Royal Society of Arts bemoaned the effect their replacement of stamping mills was having on the quality of English copperplate printing paper.[41]

What the context of seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century technological innovation reveals, I have argued, is that the successive gains to productivity were already well at work well before England is supposed to have been swept by "wave of gadgets" in the late eighteenth century. Where there probably is some truth to the "wave of gadgets" account of the Industrial Revolution, however,

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[40] Hunter, *Papermaking*, 158–168; Bidwell, "French Paper in English Books," 594; Baker, *From the Hand to the Machine*, 20–33. Baker offers a particularly helpful treatment of the chemical intuition behind differences between methods of maceration (also called trituration). Without thorough maceration, water molecules cannot freely enter the space between the cellulose fibers constituting stuff, which they must do in order to facilitate hydrophilic bonding between cellulose molecules of overlapping fibers while the wetted stuff lies across the paper-mould. Hand-made paper often retains some of the original structure of its rags, sometimes visibly. (Allan Stevenson once memorably claimed to have spotted "knots from woolen underwear" in early sixteenth-century paper; see "Tudor Roses from John Tate," *Studies in Bibliography* 20 (1967): 15–34 at 27, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40371437). But different maceration processes lead to different levels of breakdown depending on how thoroughly individual fibers are fibrillated (frayed at the edges into freestanding fibrils). A disadvantage of cutting half-stuff with the Hollander rather than beating it with stampers was that the resultant stuff bonded less thoroughly on the mould, resulting in a less durable product.

[41] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 110; Bidwell, "French Paper in English Books," 595.

is in the idea that the late eighteenth century saw a new and growing tendency for technological innovations to be mutually reinforcing. As David Landes says of the Industrial Revolution in the most momentous book in the "wave of gadgets" tradition, *The Unbound Prometheus* (1969), "In all of this diversity of technological improvement, the unity of the movement is apparent: change begat change. For one thing, many technical improvements were feasible only after advances in associated fields. [. . .] For another, the gains in productivity and output of a given innovation inevitably exerted pressure on related industrial operations."[42] This is exactly the dynamic that increasingly unfolded in the paper industry, although on the ground it seems to have appeared less like a Whiggish progression than a mad scramble to deal with the indirect fallout of technological change. If technological innovation was an "Unbound Prometheus," it was no less a Pandora's Box.

The Hollander is an important case in point. It is clear that the proliferation of the Hollander is what enabled the takeoff of the late eighteenth century—or at least was a necessary precondition for that take-off. It is equally apparent, however, that the beater's blades were double-edged. Because of the new engine, the chief bottleneck in the production chain increasingly shifted from rag processing to rag acquisition. During the 1780s, rag merchants assuaged ever-rising demand by cultivating new import networks on the Continent—most prominently in Italy, which supplied about 1,000 tons of rags a year by the early 1790s. However, the onset of the French Revolutionary War rendered foreign rag sources increasingly unreliable. After Napoleon invaded Italy in 1796, Italian imports fell to a third of their peak; Belgian, eastern European, and (obviously) French imports sharply declined too. With German imports steady at 2,700 tons a year but no longer rising, total foreign rag supplies fell 28%—from 4,700 tons a year in 1790 to 3,400 in 1800 (see Figure 2.3).[43]

Under mounting pressure even before the worst of the curtailments, British papermakers scrambled to find better ways to make use of rapidly growing but problematic domestic rag supplies. During the late 1780s, the leading papermills undertook a flurry of research and development

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[42] David Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge University Press, 2003; originally published 1969), 2–3.

[43] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 107.

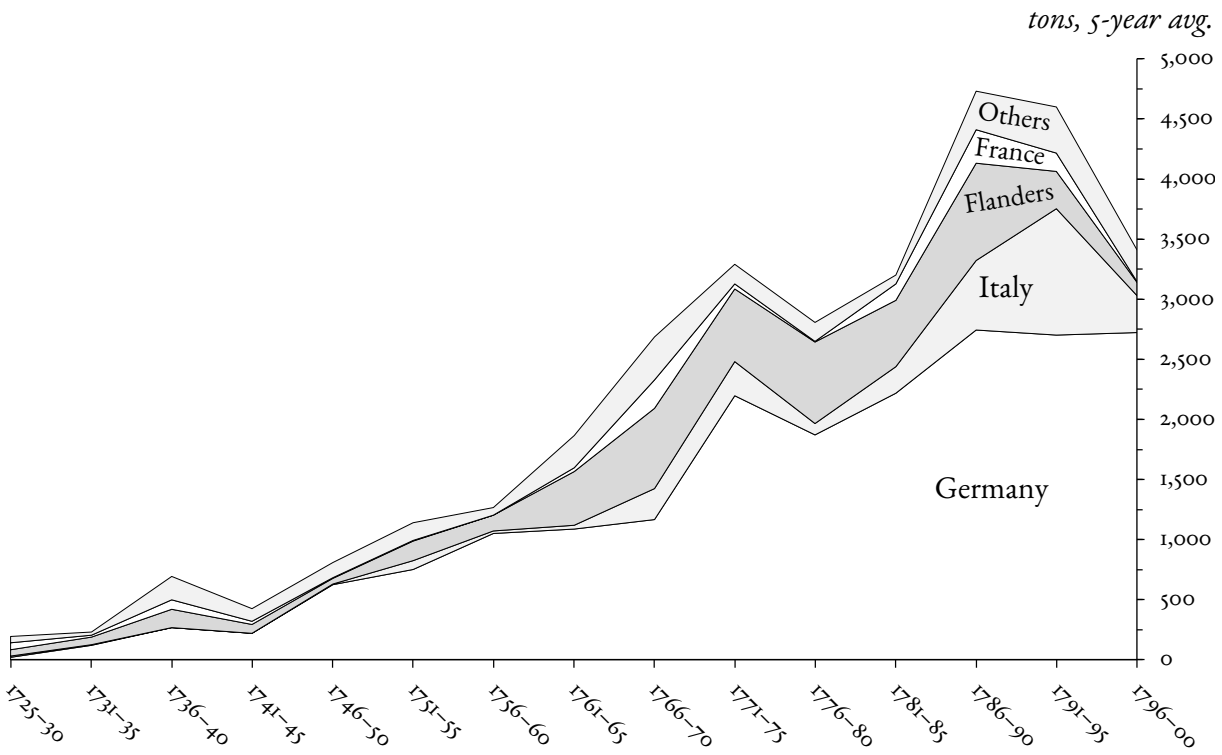

Figure 2.3. Sources of British rag imports, 1725–1800

initiatives to find a bleaching method for colored rags. When Kentish papermakers Clement and George Taylor licensed a 1792 patent for the use of "dephlogisticated marine acid" as a bleaching agent, many competitors, including industry leader James Whatman, complained that they had already been experimenting with similar compounds for the better part of a year.[44] Ultimately, it was Scottish weaver Charles Tennant's invention of a more stable and portable compound of calcium hypochlorite (produced by absorbing chlorine in lime) that went into wide use at both textile plants and papermills, where it was principally administered as a gas.[45]

2.3B. Crisis at the cusp of the nineteenth century

The influence of chlorine bleaching on industrial growth was probably relatively modest until the 1810s, and its use was not to the benefit of all kinds of white paper. Early bleaching methods often

[44] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*,
[45] Baker, *From the Hand to the Machine*, 67–8.

produced paper that was more visually pleasing than it was reliable. Printers complained that improperly chlorine-bleached paper would lose its adhesive properties almost as soon as it was wetted for presswork: the fiber loosened by repeated impressions "so clogs the type, that the work is rendered scarcely legible."[46] Nevertheless, by allowing many colored textiles to be whitened, chlorine bleaching certainly made it easier for papermills to benefit from the rapid growth of English textile production, supplementing the industry's growing reliance on domestic rag supplies at the expense of imports. Whereas a majority of rag supplies were imported through the 1780s, by the 1830s no more than 20% of paper could have been made from foreign rags, and by the 1840s as little as 10%.[47] The clearest sign that this trend toward independence was in full swing by the 1790s is that despite a 28% decline in rag imports between 1790 and 1800, annual paper production continued to rise in absolute terms and remained steady *per capita*.

The stability of national paper output should palliate claims (such as Erickson's) that publishers and other customers experienced widespread shortages at the turn of the nineteenth century.[48] This was indeed a time of crisis for the paper industry, but the reasons for the crisis were nuanced. Although demographic growth meant demand for paper was steadily rising in the long term, the industry faced severe short-term instability. After all, paper was not simply an extremely expensive commodity: the demand for it was also, to use the terminology of modern economists, highly *price-elastic*. That is to say, a 1% increase in price ordinarily would have led to a decrease of significantly more than 1% in quantity demanded by customers.[49] Unlike grains and other staple crops, which consumers had little choice but to continue buying when prices rose, paper was a relatively easy commodity for even its most intensive users to ration—especially during periods of economic instability such as recessions and bouts of general inflation. Working in concert, the continuously rising nature of demand and its high price elasticity of demand put the paper trade in an unenviable double bind. The

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[46] Rees, *Cyclop&dia*, Vol. 26, "Paper," Yir.
[47] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 214.
[48] Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form*, 26–7.
[49] For price elasticity of demand, see Jeffrey M. Perloff, *Microeconomics* (Boston, Madison-Wesley, 2008), 28–33.

relative scarcity of rags pushed prices up, but in the short term there was no guarantee that customers would be willing to pay prices necessary to cover the resultant markups during especially challenging years. The aforementioned retail slumps and consequent wholesale overstocks of 1801 and 1809 both coincided with the worst price hikes. Although wholesalers could eventually sell off their excess inventory, such delays imperiled the capacity of many shops to pay their debts. Overstocks also dissuaded the manufacturing sector from ramping up production. In the face of the 1801 crisis, the amount of paper assessed for excise fell 18.1% in 1802 (from 15,629 to 12,604 tons), before rebounding in the next year.

These complex market dynamics have been somewhat obscured by the industry's other major stressor at the turn of the nineteenth century: tax reform. In 1794, to help finance the French Revolutionary War, Parliament restructured the excise duty on paper, replacing the previous morass of ad valorem duties per ream with a simpler tax charged by weight. This new policy increased taxes on most grades, especially tending to penalize grades with high mass per ream such as printing paper. In April 1801, Parliament raised the duty on white paper from 2.5 to 5 pence per lb.[50]

To be sure, the increased excise duty was a considerable burden, which paper merchants needed to offset to their customers by increasing the surcharge of price on manufacturing costs. The duty undoubtedly contributed to a crisis that came to a head in 1801, a year when consumers struggled to bear high prices and much of stationers' stock languished in warehouses unsold.[51] In my view, however, taxation has received disproportionate emphasis, for two principal reasons. First, much of the firsthand evidence we have of this development comes from the testimony of papermakers, stationers, printers, and booksellers at a March 1802 Parliamentary Committee assigned to investigate complaints about the excise.[52] These tradespeople had strong incentives to attribute their woes to the excise duty.

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[50] Bidwell, "The Industrialization of the Paper Trade," 204.

[51] Thomas Balstone, *William Balstone*, 23.

[52] House of Commons, "Report from the Committee on the Booksellers and Printers Petition," 22 March 1802, Sessional Papers of the House of Commons, Vol. 14 (1796–1802), 164–71, *ProQuest*, https://proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.rchc-000203?accountid=14678 (hereafter "Report from the Committee").

Clearly they were persuasive, since Parliament reduced the excise on most grades to 3 pence per lb in 1803.[53] Yet the petitioners' reasoning was often shaky. Wholesale stationers Richard Jones and Eliezea Chater, as well as papermakers John Bates and Freeman Gage Spicer, all testified that rag prices hadn't risen since the excise duty was raised in April 1801—a claim meant to support the argument that rising prices were almost entirely attributable to taxes.[54] Given that papermills had responded to overstocks by cutting back on manufacturing, however, it's hardly surprising that rag prices had stalled in the short term. The behavior of rag prices during this slump is clearly irrelevant to the behavior of rag prices in the months leading up to the excise hike. Second, the annualized nature of most time series data on paper prices and industrial output naturally tends to corroborate any narrative that stresses year-specific factors. Coleman collected data on the prices per 516-sheet ream of demy printing paper paid by the publishing firm Longman & Co. between 1797–1860. By calculating and charting yearly median prices, Coleman was persuaded that the 1801 excise increase was indeed largely to blame for the spike, and he accepted that the 1803 reduction brought at least temporary reprieve.[55]

The story becomes a little more complicated, however, if we trace the median price Longman & Co. paid for demy paper not by year, but by *quarter* (see Figure 2.4).[56] Although there was indeed a spike in prices when Parliament raised the excise in April 1801, it is also clear that the prices Longman & Co. paid for demy were already rising almost uninterruptedly between the summer of 1798 and the winter of 1800–1801. Admittedly, the fact that tradespeople knew the excise hike was up for debate in Commons may have prompted anticipatory price gouging. Wholesale stationer James Street testified that "under contemplation of the proposed duty," he had raised prices to about half the level of the expected increase, in order to cushion his sales against the coming shock of new taxation.[57] However,

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[53] Bidwell, "The Industrialization of the Paper Trade," 204.

[54] "Report from the Committee," 167.

[55] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 202–4.

[56] Source for Figure 2.4: Longman Impression Books 1–2, reproduced in *Archives of the House of Longman, 1794–1914,* 73 microfilm reels (Cambridge, UK: Chadwick-Healey, 1978), reel 37.

[57] "Report from the Committee," 165.

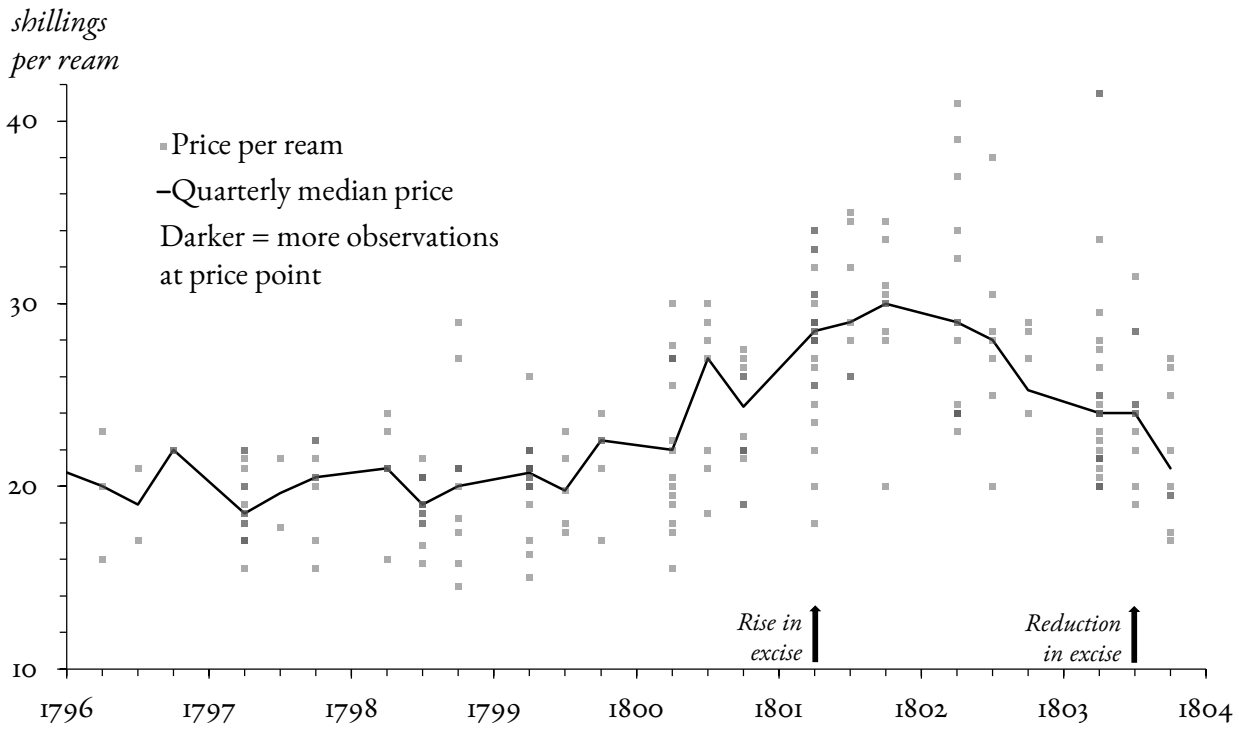

Figure 2.4. Trade prices of demy printing paper, 1796–1803
From Longman's Impression Books, sorted by quarter

the fact that prices were already rising well before the new excise was even proposed establishes that other market forces besides taxation were at play.

2.3C. Measuring eighteenth-century paper manufacture: from quantity to mass

The turn of the nineteenth century is a logical place to pause our narrative, for methodological reasons as well as thematic ones. I have suggested that the Excise duty was just one of many problems that bedeviled the British paper industry and its trade customers at the turn of the nineteenth century. However, tax reform certainly does present the largest *methodological* challenges to the reckoning of paper production during this era—particularly for those who hope to trace long-term changes in the production of printing paper and other specific grades.

As I have mentioned, the standard estimates of total paper assessed for duty (charted in Figure 2.1) were calculated by B.R. Mitchell and Phyllis Deane, who derived their estimates from the

manuscript records of H.M. Customs & Excise.[58] Importantly, however, these production totals do not exist in the manuscript archive as Mitchell and Deane record them. To arrive at their estimates, Mitchell and Deane in fact melded together two discrete datasets: (1) assessed totals measured by the ream during the years 1713–1793, and (2) assessed totals measured by the ton during the years 1794–1861. Mitchell and Deane specify that in order to estimate eighteenth-century output in tons rather than reams, they follow a conversion factor previously recommended by Coleman:

> [Amount of paper charged in reams + 2 (amount of paper charged in bundles) × 9.712 (value of paper charged *ad valorem* in £s)] × 20 / 2240.
>
> 1 bundle = 2 reams (10 Anne, c. 19).
>
> 1 ream = 20 lb. (an average figure calculated from various sources [. . .]).[59]

Obviously, the accuracy of Coleman's conversion factor depends on how well 20 lb approximates the average mass of a ream of paper made during any given year between 1713 and 1793. For the purposes of book history in particular, however, this problem deserves more scrutiny than either Coleman or Deane and Mitchell gave it.

Between 1782 and 1793, the UK Office of Excise assessed not only the number of reams produced within each class in England, but also the dimensions of each ream, which were standardized according to common names by the late eighteenth century. Coleman reports English paper production from 1782–93 (measured in reams) by each of the five taxation "tables" recorded in the Library of H.M. Customs and Excise:

> Table 1. Writing
>
> Table 2. Fine writing and copper-plate printing
>
> Table 3. Printing
>
> Table 4. Ordinary and colored
>
> Table 5. Brown and whited-brown

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[58] Mitchell and Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics*, 461–2.
[59] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 346, first pair of brackets in original.

Coleman records these data graphically for all twelve years, and he prints detailed totals of sizes produced within each table for 1782, 1788, and 1793. After the unit of assessment shifted from reams to "weight" in 1794, it took the better part of a decade for the Excise Office to settle on stable taxation classes. As a result, production data by class are unavailable until 1803. From 1803 through 1837, paper was sorted into three classes:

Class 1. White (i.e. printing, writing, and drawing)

Class 2. Colored, wrapping, and brown

Class 3. Pasteboard, millboard, and scaleboard

Because discrete classes were eliminated altogether with further simplifications to the tax code in 1837, however, both Coleman and Mitchell and Deane paid scant attention to the 1803–1837 data. Their first priority was to assess total industrial output for as long a stretch of the nineteenth century as possible, rather than tracing trends of individual types of paper, which meant mostly ignoring the behavior of subsets of the industry for the periods when more detailed statistics were available. Thankfully, however, the nineteenth-century taxation class data are a matter of record, since A. Dykes Spicer printed them in the appendices to his 1907 study of the British paper trade.[60]

I will begin by considering the most detailed Excise data from 1782–1793. Thanks to Coleman's compilation of these data, it has been a relatively straightforward matter to estimate how the cumulative sheet and ream counts of classes of white paper made during these years compared with their cumulative sheet areas.[61] I should stress that these estimates are more precise than they are accurate, since the sheet dimensions associated with the common names for sizes varied somewhat over time and from mill to mill. Thankfully, however, the variations were small enough that the estimates below cannot be far off the mark.[62] The most striking finding, and perhaps the most important, is that the proportion of paper produced within each "table" was remarkably steady across the entire period.

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[60] Spicer, *The British Paper Trade*, Appendix III, 241–6.

[61] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, Appendix II, 350–2.

[62] For instance, Labarre records that the dimensions of printing demy varied from a length of between 22–23 in (55.8–58.4 cm) and a width anywhere between 17.5–19.25 in (44.5–48.9 cm).

White paper consistently comprised about 45% of annual totals by ream, with printing, writing, and fine writing & copperplate printing each comprising about 15% of ream counts per year (see Figure 2.5).[63]

Of course, not all reams were created equal. The cumulative sheet dimensions of a ream—the total amount of area that all the sheets in a ream would occupy if lain out flat—varied considerably. In particular, the average ream of printing paper had a significantly larger cumulative area per ream than that of the other two classes. One reason for this difference is that there were ordinarily 516 sheets per ream of printing paper, whereas there were ordinarily 480 sheets per ream in all the other classes.[64] More importantly, reams with large sheet dimensions were far more common for printing paper than for the other white classes. No less than 90% of the reams of printing paper assessed for duty in 1793 had sheet dimensions of 0.20 m^2 or larger, compared to just 7% of writing paper and just 18% of fine writing/copperplate printing paper. The average sheet of printing paper occupied 0.30 m^2, compared to just 0.17 m^2 for the average sheet of writing paper and 0.16 m^2 for the average sheet of fine writing/copperplate printing paper. These proportions were stable across the period 1782–1793 (see Figure 2.5). In concert with the larger number of sheets per ream, the larger sheet area of printing paper meant that the printing paper made in 1793 would have occupied about twice as large an area per ream as each of the other two grades. As such, printing paper constituted 35.4% of the reams of white paper made in this year but 52.0% of the cumulative area. For scale: If all the English paper assessed for excise duty in 1793 could be laid out flat, it would occupy 58.1 k m^2, or 98% of the area of Manhattan. Roughly 30.2 km^2 of that area, reaching perhaps from Battery Park to East 59th St., would have been covered by printing paper.

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[63] . Figure 2.5 is based on Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 95, Fig. 3. Because Coleman does not reproduce the underlying data in a table, I have estimated percentages from his Fig. 3 by estimating the magnitudes of output from measurements of the Fig. taken with a micrometer, and then calculating percentages from the estimated magnitudes. A comparison of the estimates to the years recorded in Appendix II suggests that this procedure has been accurate to within half a percentage point.

[64] Joseph Bateman, *The Laws of Excise; Being a Collection of All the Existing Statutes Relating to the Revenue of Excise* (London: A. Maxwell & Son, 1843), 584, GALE|F0105582472.

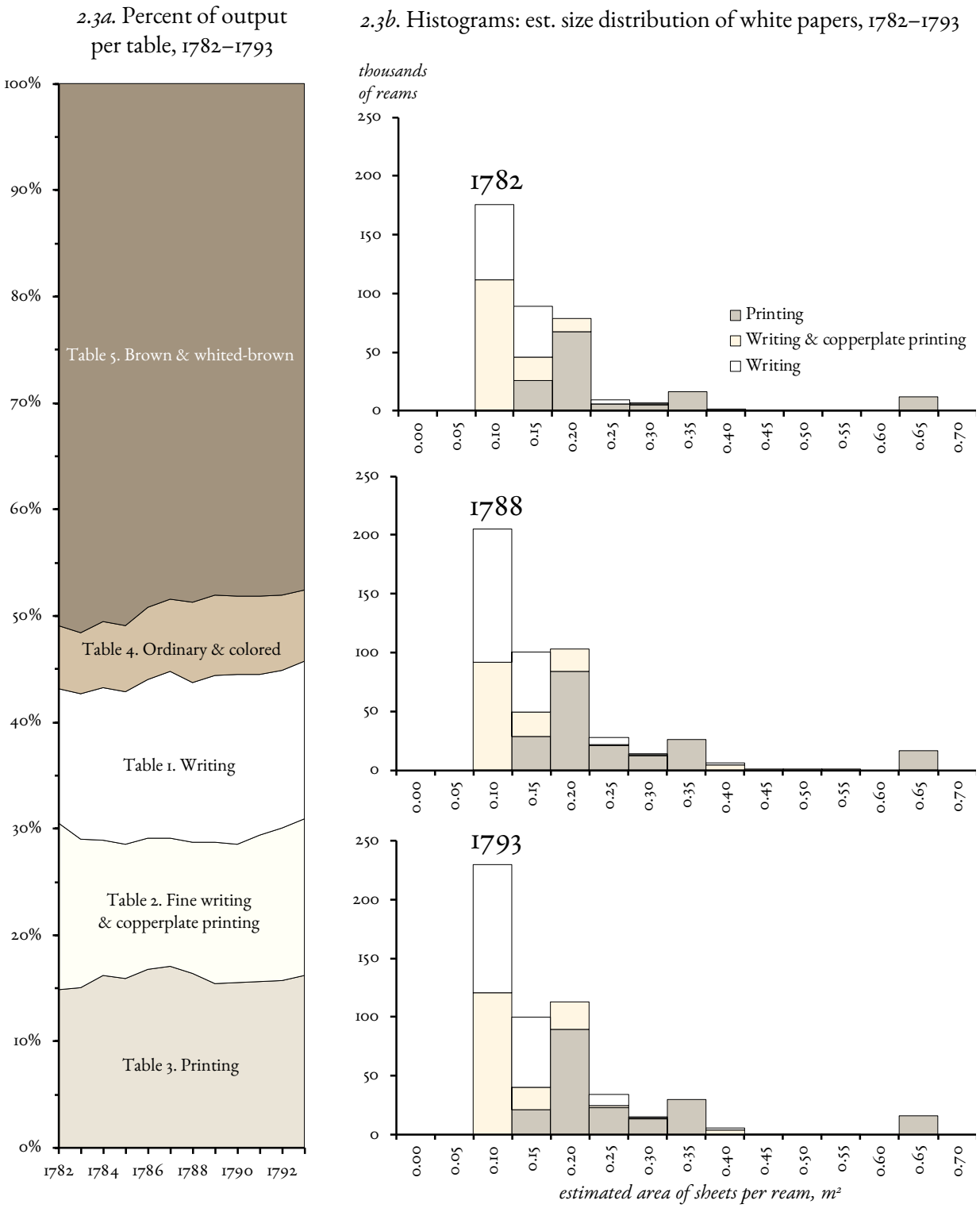

Figure 2.5. Paper by excise classes, 1782–1793
England, measured by the ream

During the late eighteenth century, then, the Excise tables suggest that English printing paper made up about one third of all new reams of white paper made in a year, but about half of the cumulative sheet area. Was the divergence in "weight" comparable? To answer this question, we unfortunately must rely on more piecemeal evidence than that kept by the Excise records. According to testimony presented before Parliament in 1802, a typical 516-sheet ream of printing demy (ordinary sheet dimensions 17.5 × 22 in or 44.5 × 55.9 cm) had a mass of 21 lb (9,525 g) while a typical 480-sheet ream of writing demy (ordinary sheet dimensions 15.5 × 20 in or 39.4 × 50.8 cm) had a mass of 24 lb (10,886 g).[65] This discrepancy should not be surprising. Although the ream of printing demy would have had 36 additional sheets and cumulatively, and although each sheet of printing demy would have occupied 1.33 times the area, writing paper was ordinarily made from finer pulp than printing paper, which entailed a final product with a significantly higher concentration of cellulose fibers per unit volume. Since the flatness and bulking properties of historical paper make its volume fiendishly difficult to measure, the most practical measure of this difference is mass per unit sheet area, or *area density*, measured in grams per square meter (g/m^2). What the 1802 Parliamentary testimony underscores, then, is that a sheet of writing demy ordinarily would have had a signficantly higher area density than a sheet of printing demy. In the example of the 1802 Parliamentary testimony, we can estimate that the writing demy had about 1.53 times as much mass per unit area as the printing demy: the area density of the writing demy was about 113.3 g/m^2, whereas the area density of the printing demy was about 74.2 g/m^2.

To be sure, area density would have been affected by sheet thickness and the properties of the pulp used to make the paper, both of which are sure to have varied over time and from mill to mill. In lieu of a large, ready-to-hand sample of loose paper, I hope one data point will serve to demonstrate that the area density I estimate for printing paper is at least plausible. I own a sewed, unbound copy of Volume 5 of Walter Scott's *The Life of Napoleon Buonaparte* (Edinburgh: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, & Green and Edinburgh: Cadell & Co., 1827), which comprises 216 leaves with dimensions of

[65] "Report from the Committee," 170.

193 × 123 mm (area 2.37 × 10^{-2} m^2) and has a mass of 391 g. The average area density of the leaves in this volume, then, is 76.2 g / m^2.[66] The true area density of the leaves is slightly lower, since the printing ink and the glue and thread on the spine contribute slightly to the mass.

For the moment, I am unable to perform comparable calculations of the area density of every grade of paper, which nothing short of a creatively constructed large-scale sampling procedure of major library and museum holdings could proffer. Nevertheless, I hope the reader will indulge me in some back-of-the-envelope calculations. If we assume writing and copperplate-printing paper indeed had about 1.5 times the mass per unit area as letterpress printing paper, we can estimate that the average ream of printing paper had 1.26 times the mass of the average ream of writing paper and about 1.31 times the mass of the average ream of fine writing/copperplate printing paper.[67] In this case, we can further estimate that printing paper constituted 41.5% of the paper made in 1793 by mass. This sum is certainly less than the 52.0% we arrive at when counting by area, but it is still significantly more than the 35.4% that the Excise data might have suggested if we assumed the mass of all reams to be equivalent, as Deane and Mitchell estimated following Coleman's proposed average.

Cumulatively, these estimates suggest that on average, printing paper almost certainly "weighed" significantly more per ream than other grades of white paper. Its area density may have been lower than that of the finer classes, but its greater sheet count per ream and its larger average sheet area more than made up for the difference. Converting back from area density to mass, we can crudely estimate that while the average ream of writing paper might have had a mass of about 20.2 lb (9,171 g), the average ream of printing paper might have had a mass closer to 25.6 lb (11,611 g), a difference of about 27%. Thus, although Coleman's estimate that the average ream had a mass of 20 lb is reasonable when describing *total* national paper production near the turn of the nineteenth century, it would likely be a stark underestimate for printing paper as a subset of that total.

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[66] 391 g ÷ (216 × 2.37 × 10^{-2} m^2) = 76.2 g/m^2. For comparison, the area density of modern A4 office paper is ordinarily 80 g/m^2.

[67] Recall that the average sheet areas of these classes in 1793 were 0.16 m^2.

The thrust of these estimates is in agreement with the opinions of contemporary tradespeople, for whom the question of relative masses per ream was not a matter of harebrained cliometric procedures but of how taxation affected their bottom line. The likelihood that printings had a higher mass per ream than other grades is partly what underlies Bidwell's description of the 1794 shift in taxation from reams to mass as "fundamentally a regressive measure penalizing those least able to bear the burden of taxation, the manufacturers of printing grades."[68] England's papermakers, stationers, and booksellers made this case vehemently before Parliament in 1802. When the committee members grilled Commissioner of Excise William Jackson on this point, he had the wherewithal to reply—evasively, but not with outright dishonesty—that the sheer complexity of the trade's output made it impossible to proffer any definite judgments:

> [Q.] Are you not aware that altering the duty in 1794, to per lb. instead of per ream, caused that duty to fall heavier on printing than writing paper, in proportion to the value of the weight of the two papers?—[A.] Upon some sorts of printing paper, compared with writing paper, it certainly did.
>
> [. . .]
>
> [Q.] Does the unequal proportion of burthen on printing and other papers [. . .] appear to you to be accurate?—[A.] It is impossible to answer that question, without entering into considerable calculation. In 1794, when the alteration in the duty took place, it was the wish of His Majesty's Ministers to have made a distinction in favour of the inferior letter press paper; and many of the trade, as well as many practical officers of the revenue, were consulted upon the subject; the consideration occupied a long time, and after the most mature consideration, at was agreed on all hands that such a distinction could not possibly be admitted, without great risk to the revenue, and danger of again introducing that confusion which had been before experienced.[69]

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[68] Bidwell, "The Industrialization of the Paper Trade," 204.
[69] "Report from the Committee," 167–8.

There is plainly some casuistry in Jackson's admission that "*some* sorts of printing paper" were heavier. His hand-waving assertion that certain empirical questions were impossible to answer "without entering into considerable calculation" must have been maddening to papermakers, stationers, and book tradespeople, for whom the lopsided effects of the new duty were plain to see. Yet in an era before difference engines, let alone spreadsheets, the sheer complexity of such calculations was a real argument in favor of a simple policy like a flat duty. Jackson and his colleagues needed to anticipate the likelihood that if the Office of Excise treated printings preferentially, papermakers might try to game the system by dubiously expanding their definition of the category. The simplification of the excise duty was what made it regressive, and the lack of continuous data on printing paper as a subset of the total is the direct result of the Crown's pragmatic decision to accept a regressive policy as a reasonable price to pay for reliable war revenues.

What does this convoluted triangulation of ream counts, area, and mass leave us? At the very least, I hope I have shown that while Coleman's estimated conversion factor 1 ream = 20 lb is reasonable for the industry's output as a whole, it is inadequate to the problem of tracing the manufacture of white paper. Consider the period most urgently in need of estimates. During the nine years 1794–1802, the Office of Excise was unable to record excise statistics for white paper as the subset of the total, either in reams or tons. If we cavalierly assume that the average mass of a ream was 20 lb throughout the period, the implausible narrative emerges that these unmeasured years *just so happen* to be a time of propulsive growth in the making of white paper, even while the growth in total output—including colored paper—was relatively sluggish. For this narrative to be true, the amount of white paper made per year must have risen from 5,460 tons in 1794 to 11,864 tons in 1803, suggesting a meteoric average annual growth rate of 7.9%. (In comparison, the average annual growth rate of white paper was 3.2% measured by reams from 1782–1793, and 2.8% measured by mass from 1803–1837.)

For this reason, I will confine my observations here to the eighteenth century, for which we have a comparatively stable denominator of total paper, reams, in relation to gauge the movement of a

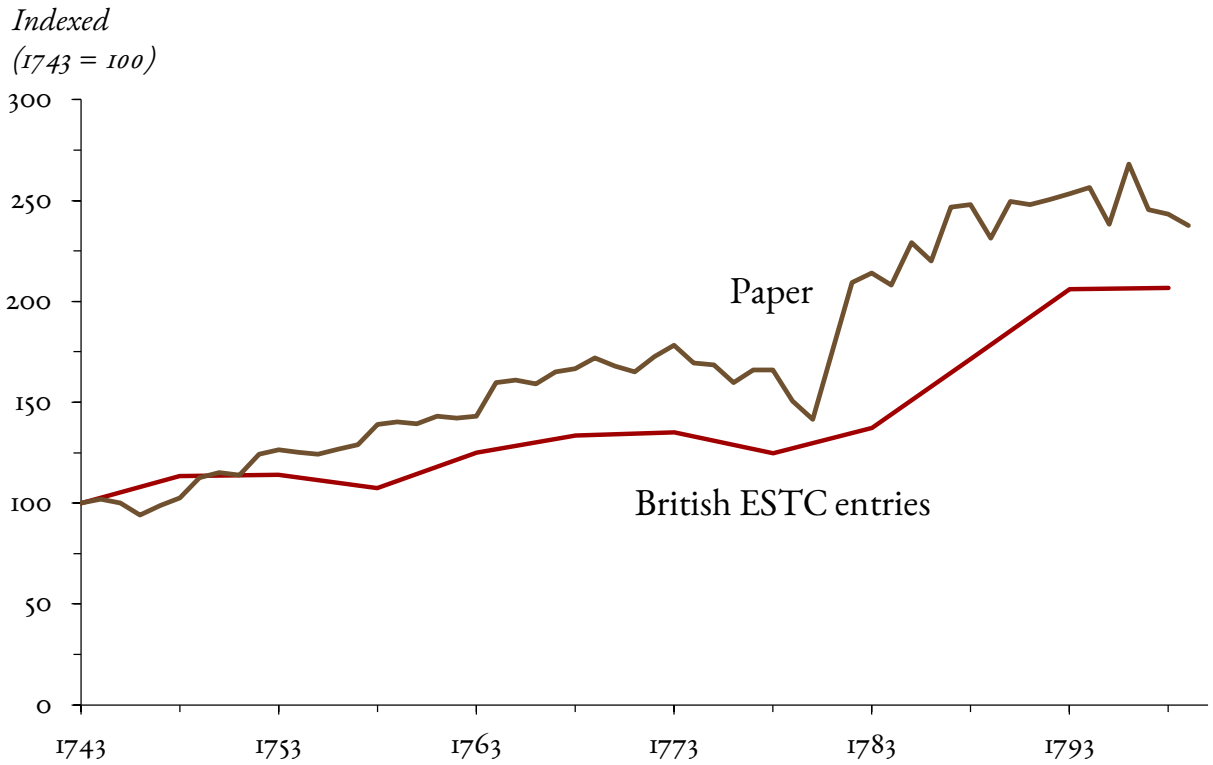

Figure 2.6. Paper vs. ESTC entries *per capita*, 1743–1798

relatively stable numerator, number of print items recorded at 5-year intervals in the ESTC.[70] In Figure 2.6, I compare *per capita* paper production with *per capita ESTC* entries. What this comparison reveals is that there was, by all appearances, a systematic link between the two variables. Although the quantity of paper increased at a faster rate—an observation that is not particularly meaningful without a more detailed breakdown of length and edition sizes than I can attempt here—it is striking that both variables dip suddenly during the 1770s, only to rise dramatically during the 1780s and 1790s. Although an argument based as imperfect a dataset as the *ESTC* must always proceed cautiously, it does not seem far-fetched to hypothesize that this dip and recovery may help to elucidate the dependence of the market for print on the growth rate of the paper industry. Figure 2.6 provides evidence for the proposition that paper limited print. More specifically, what the data show is that the printing and publishing industries could not grow without their primary manufacturing input growing as well.

[70] See Chapter 1.1.

When German rag imports were interrupted during the late 1770s, it sent a shudder down the entire supply chain, leading to a dip in *per capita* print items. When paper manufacture experienced an unprecedented "take-off" in per capita output during the early 1780s, a corresponding "take-off" in *per capita* print items—a take-off coinciding closely with both James Lackington's claims of a "fourfold growth in book sales" and William St. Clair's hypothesis of an "explosion of reading" following on the 1774 Donaldson v. Becket ruling.[71] While the closely coterminous *explosion of papermaking* is certainly not the only cause of this take-off, it appears likely that it was a necessary pre-condition.

2.4. The mechanization of the paper industry

2.4A. Invention versus implementation

Despite the many methodological hurdles that the Excise data on paper present, I hope I have persuasively shown that a careful analysis is capable of furnishing us with concrete insights about the way that growth in the market for print during the eighteenth century was contingent on growth in the manufacture of paper. Unfortunately, the empirical record does not allow us to press this analysis further, since granular and readily comparable data are less available for both industries after 1800. However, if it continued to be true that paper limited print at the turn of the nineteenth century, which the relationship between excise totals and prices certainly seems to suggest, then the dynamism of the paper industry during the early decades of the nineteenth century was so extreme that it cannot have failed to have comparable ramifications for the market for print. Refer back to Figure 2.1. Between 1780 and 1830, output rose at an average rate of 1.8% *per capita* per year, leading to a daunting increase from 1.4 lb to 3.5 lb of assessed paper for every Briton. From 1831 to 1861, the average *per capita* increase proceeded at a still more daunting pace of 2.6% per year. By 1861, the end of the period covered by continuous excise totals, British papermills were producing 8.5 lb of paper for every Briton—ten times what they had been making in 1735.

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[71] Lackington, *Memoirs*, 38; St. Clair, *The Reading Nation*, 118.

The causes of this revolution in papermaking are at once obvious and mysterious. To be sure, no one can doubt their largest single efficient cause: the invention and widespread adoption of papermaking machines. Yet in my judgment, the many paper historians who have recounted the history of these machines have not adequately explained the internal changes that allowed such a massive break from the relatively fitful pace of growth during the eighteenth century. The story of the mechanization of the paper industry is not merely a heroic tale of invention, whose protagonists are ingenious engineers; it is also a more fraught, sordid narrative of the capital accumulation underlying the widespread adoption of the machines, whose telling must call on a motley chorus of entrepreneurs, investors, and manufacturers. This narrative is far messier, but it must be told if book historians want to understand how the Industrial Revolution has effected the proliferation of print during the modern era.

As a first order of business, I will summarize the convoluted story of how the first commercially operational papermaking machine came to be invented in England. The earliest operational papermaking machine was a small hand-cranked device, designed during the late 1790s by Louis-Nicholas Robert, a French clerk and engineer employed at the Essones papermill of Saint Léger Didot. With Didot's material support, Robert built a working prototype of his design, and in September 1798 he applied for a patent from the French government, which he received in 1799. After a legal dispute with Didot, Robert sold the rights for his machine to Didot. Lacking the capital necessary to render the machine commercially viable in France, Didot hired his brother-in-law, Royal Navy clerk John Gamble, to arrange for the design's patent in England. Gamble arrived in England in March 1801, and soon he met brothers Henry and Sealy Fourdrinier of Fourdrinier & Bloxam, a prominent firm of London stationers who operated both a wholesale establishment on Sherborne Lane and a retail store on Charing Cross. The Fourdriniers were, in Gamble's words "much pleased and astonished" with Robert's invention, and they agreed to supply the funds to render it commercially operational. Once

the Peace of Amiens allowed Didot to arrive in London in 1802, he, Gamble, and the Fourdriniers each took a one-third share of the UK patent on Robert's machine.[72]

With this initial consortium in place, Gamble arranged for Robert and Didot to ship Robert's working model to England, and the Fourdriniers commissioned series of experimental trials to improve on the design at the Dartford factory of the millwright John Hall. Bryan Donkin, a former apprentice of Hall's who until then had worked as a mouldmaker, soon emerged as the project's lead engineer. In April 1803, with Hall's blessing and the Fourdriniers' bankroll, Donkin transferred the project's base of operation to a factory special-made for the purpose in Fort Place, Bermondsey. By March 1804, Donkin had erected a working model of his improved design at the Fourdriniers' new manufacturing site, Frogmore Mill. He immediately set about building a bigger, more powerful machine, which was first set to work at the Fourdriniers' adjoining Two Waters Mill in 1805. This machine received steady alterations through 1807, when Gamble and the Fourdriniers secured Parliamentary approval for a renewed and extended patent on the improved machine.[73]

It was during these years of R&D at Bermondsey that Donkin and his team transformed Robert's promising idea into something commercially operational on a mass scale. Dard Hunter, the leading twentieth-century Anglophone historian of hand papermaking, refers repeatedly to the papermaking machine as fundamentally Robert's invention; despite acknowledging Donkin's ingenuity, Hunter describes the machine prototyped at Bermondsey as "patterned entirely after the plans of Robert."[74] In reality, the machine at work in Two Waters by 1807 bore about as much resemblance to Robert's 1798 model as a fully grown chicken does to the embryo in an egg. To be sure, Donkin's design capitalized on Robert's crucial insight, which was that if the two ends of a gauze

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[72] Bidwell, "The Brandywine Paper Mill," 179–182; Clapperton, *The Paper-Making Machine*, 15–25; John Gamble, "The Origin of the Machine for Making Endless Paper, and Its Introduction into England," *Journal of the Society of the Arts* 5 (12–13 November 1857): 237–9, Google Books, https://google.com/books?id=mT1JAAAAcAAJ. Despite their surname, the Fourdriniers were native Englishmen. Like many members of the English paper trades, they were descendants of Huguenots who had settled in England during the early eighteenth century after the Huguenot diaspora that followed from the 1685 revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

[73] Clapperton, *The Paper-Making Machine*, 25–33.

[74] Hunter, *Papermaking*, 349.

screen, or *wire*, were sewn together to form an endless surface, the wire could form a kind of conveyer belt, which overcame the constraints of the rectangular deckle outlining the mould that limited the area of a handmade sheet. Along the wire, the various parts of the machine could emulate all the discrete tasks of the traditional three-person hand vat team of vatman, coucher, and layer. The vatman's labor of dipping a mould into a vat of pulp suspended in water, Robert had realized, could be replaced by the even, continuous discharge of pulp onto the wire from a large wooden stuff-chest. In place of the vatman's shake of the mould (which was necessary to encourage drainage and spread the pulp evenly across the mould surface as the sheet was forming), Robert had introduced a shake to the wire by adding a hexagonal gear wheel to the hand-crank mechanism. Robert had replaced the tasks of both the coucher (who solidified the newly-formed sheet by pressing it onto a felt) and the layer (who transferred the sheets into a pile for pressing) with a pair of felt-coated rollers that squeezed out excess water, followed by another roller around which the newly formed roll of paper, or *web*, was steadily wound.[75]

Despite the ingenuity of the basic principles underlying Robert's machine, Donkin soon determined that it was far from being commercially operational. So he set about designing machines that were far bigger and more versatile in the kind of paper they were capable of making. Robert's wire was about 10 ft long and 2 ft wide (3.0 × 0.6 m), and the width of a web of paper made along it was fixed inflexibly by the placement of metal bars in the place of the hand-mould's traditional deckles.[76] By contrast, the top-facing surfaces of the wires of Donkin's earliest machines had widths of 4 to 5 ft and lengths of 24.5 to 33.5 ft (between 1.22 × 7.5 m and 1.52 × 10.2 m)—potentially more than eight times the maximum area of Robert's machine—with adjustable deckle straps to suit reams of various dimensions.[77] Worse than the small size of Robert's machine was the inconsistent quality of its paper,

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[75] Clapperton, *The Paper-Making Machine*, 18–20.

[76] Robert, letter to the French Minister of the Interior, 9 September 1798, quoted in Clapperton, *The Paper-Making Machine*, 17; Richard L. Hills, *Papermaking in Britain, 1488–1988: A Short History* (London: Athlone Press, 1988), 93. Hills remarks that the dimensions of Robert's wire lent themselves to Columbier, a size in common use for wallpaper.

[77] Clapperton, *The Paper-Making Machine*, 44.

which Donkin attributed to the irregular flow of pulp and the failure of Robert's shaking mechanism to encourage proper fiber bonding. Donkin rectified these problems by extensively redesigning the machine's "wet" end, the section along which the web of paper initially formed. Besides adding an agitator to regularize the discharge of pulp, Donkin developed a more reliable shake apparatus, which allowed the machine's operator to adjust the amplitude and frequency of the wire's vibration to suit the fiber properties of the pulp at hand. Donkin also added considerable length and complexity to the machine's "dry" end—the section that pressed the web to drain excess water and ensure solidity—installing endless felts to eliminate the manual labor of regularly replacing the press-rollers' felts and allowing the machine to run at upwards of 34 ft (10.3 m) per minute.[78]

These and other improvements made the Fourdrinier machine of 1807 a device of extraordinary complexity, relying on the interaction of numerous precision parts. Hunter's assessment that Donkin's machine was "patterned entirely after the plans of Robert" is sensible only if one regards as inconsequential such stupendous additions as the replacement of Robert's hand-crank mechanism with a water wheel, the use of a complex apparatus of pulleys and pinion wheels to regulate the speed of the machine's operation, and the addition of a second pair of press-rolls, to name a few.[79] I stress the differences between Robert's machine and Donkin's not to sanctify the latter nor to belittle the former. Clearly, the mechanization of paper would have been impossible without both engineers' contributions. Rather, my point is simply that Robert's machine of 1798 could not have launched a technological revolution in papermaking on its own. Hunter's judgment is the product of a Romantic mode of technological history that prioritizes inspiration over implementation, and clearly implementation was what took up the lion's share of the time and expertise necessary to produce the machine that mills ultimately adopted.

Indeed, the sheer complexity of the Fourdrinier machine can obscure the principal accomplishment of Donkin's engineering, which was to substitute capital for labor on a grandiose

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[78] Clapperton, *The Paper-Making Machine*, 24–33.
[79] Clapperton, *The Paper-Making Machine*, 34–43.

scale. Labor agitation at Essonnes and other French mills, after all, was what had inspired Robert to design his original prototype.[80] The purpose of Donkin's increasingly sophisticated alterations and additions was to bring Robert's motivating impulse to fruition—to make a machine that emulated, as precisely as possible, the skilled labor routines of hand papermaking that the vatman, coucher, and layer traditionally learned over years of apprenticeship and onsite experience. By making such a substitution possible for all but the finest and most specialized grades of paper, the Fourdrinier machine did something far more radical than merely to cut costs by reducing labor output per unit time. In a matter of decades, the machine all but completely overturned the deeply embedded culture of the ancient apprenticeship-journeyman system, turning hand-vat manufacture from a necessary productive phase for all grades of paper into an ever-shrinking niche of the industry.[81] Such revolutions are not worth launching in half measures. It would have little profited the Fourdriniers to commercialize a device that failed to outperform the hand-vat team on speed, cost, and reliability for most utilitarian-grade papers. Clearly, the Fourdrinier machine and other labor-saving technological innovations in related industries—for instance, the steam-powered printing press—played a major role not only in the growth of manufacturing, but in the class struggle that attends the adoption of capital-intensive methods of production. Little wonder that in 1837 papermaker James Low attested before Parliament, with palpable relief, that "this Fourdrinier's machine has in a great measure done away with the means of combination" ("combination" here meaning unionization). Little wonder, too, that machine-breakers besieged several Buckinghamshire papermills during the "Captain Swing" labor revolts of 1830.[82]

The development of technology that enables such profound socio-economic upheaval never occurs in a vacuum. The improvements introduced in Gamble and the Fourdriniers' 1807 patent required time, factory space, materials, and a roster of engineers—the prerequisite for all of which was a steady stream of capital investment. It is for this reason that we call the machine patented in 1807 not

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[80] Bidwell, "The Brandywine Paper Mill," 181–2.
[81] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 258–316.
[82] "Select Committee," 12; Evans, *The Endless Web*, 52–3; Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*, 144.

the Robert papermaking machine, nor the Donkin papermaking machine, but the Fourdrinier papermaking machine. Between 1804 and 1807, Henry and Sealy Fourdrinier paid Donkin the extraordinary sum of £31,830.16.4 for the R&D and construction of machinery and associated equipment at Frogmore, Two Waters, and St. Neots.[83]

Much about the early history of British paper mechanization follows from the specific circumstances under which the Fourdriniers funded these ventures. As he applied for patent renewal in his insolvent later years, Henry Fourdrinier argued that his debts were the result of the labors necessary to perfect the Fourdrinier machine. The truth, as Bidwell has shown, paints Fourdrinier in a less heroic light. In order to make his argument to Parliament, Henry Fourdrinier concealed from the Select Committee the massive scale of the manufacturing operations intended for the three mills in which his firm owned a controlling stake. He did so to strengthen his claim that it was the R&D associated with the machine, and the R&D alone, that had bankrupted him—that his financial ruin had been a kind of entrepreneurial martyrdom on behalf of the British public. This argument would have been less persuasive had Fourdrinier acknowledged the scale of mismanagement that had gone into his firm's attempt to implement the machine for their own manufacturing operation. The fiscally responsible method for the Fourdriniers to make a return on their starting capital, Bidwell has argued, would have been to concentrate on licensing the machine to other papermills, earning annual royalties from the long-term savings that the mills incurred. Instead, the Fourdriniers took the far riskier path of tying up capital in their own manufacturing operations. Of the £31,830 the Fourdriniers paid Donkin from 1803 to 1807, less than half had gone to R&D. The remainder had gone to the construction of additional machines and equipment across their three mills. Ultimately, the Fourdriniers had sunk £30,000 into St. Neots alone, cumulatively spending as much as £60,000 on R&D and plant costs by 1810.[84]

The Fourdriniers' justification for incurring these expenses had been to capitalize on both their intellectual property and their competitive advantage as the machine's earliest adopters, at once earning

[83] Clapperton, *The Paper-Making Machine*, 46.
[84] Bidwell, "The Brandywine Paper Mill," 189.

patent royalties from other mills and collecting sales revenues on their own paper manufacture. However, their massive debts and the long-term deferral of revenue from both their mills (which faced massive startup costs) and their licensees (who needed to amortize their fees across relatively small yearly installments) ultimately prevented the Fourdriniers from realizing profits from either venture. In 1810, after a disastrous series of financial mismanagements, the firm was declared bankrupt. Henry Fourdrinier managed to limit his personal liability, but he was permanently ostracized from the manufacturing sector of the paper trade. His interests in Frogmore, Two Waters, and St. Neots passed to his creditors, and he spent much of the rest of his life embroiled in acrimonious legal proceedings.[85]

Crucially, the Fourdriniers' bankruptcy also threw the ownership of the patent on the Fourdrinier machine into uncertainty. In the course of disposing of the firm's assets, Fourdrinier's creditors sold the Bermondsey to Donkin, who was now authorized to build Fourdrinier machines independently of the Fourdriniers. The terms of Parliament's 1807 renewal meant that the Fourdrinier machine remained under patent protection until 1822, so Donkin's customers were still obliged to pay licensing fees to the patent holder. It remained unclear, however, to whom exactly these fees were due. Fourdrinier's creditors split into three hostile factions, each of whom claimed the patent. Ironically, despite the patent's obvious value, the rancor over its ownership presented a forbidding morass to potential adopters of the machine, and it is unlikely that what revenues the existing licensees drew can have far exceeded the claimants' mounting legal fees. The court cases dragged on until 1825, by which time the patent had expired and there were no license revenues left to realize.[86]

2.4B. The pace of mechanization: new quantitative estimates

In 1801, all paper made in Britain was handmade, and by 1850, nearly all paper made in Britain was machine-made. The question is: How quickly did machine-made paper replace handmade paper? Although the Office of Excise kept excellent records of the total amount of paper made in Great Britain during these years, no contemporary observer kept track of how much paper was handmade

[85] Bidwell, "The Brandywine Paper Mill," 189–92.
[86] Bidwell, "The Brandywine Paper Mill," 192–4.

and how much was machine-made. It may be possible to arrive at such an estimate through the physical analysis of manufacturing clues in a sufficiently large and representative sample of nineteenth-century papers. Not all paper leaves interpretable evidence, however, and physical evidence such as seam marks become less common from the mid 1820s onward.[87] The other method is to rely on ancillary historical evidence of the number of mills, vats, and machines active in Great Britain during any given year, using this information to arrive at statistical estimates of the historical rate of mechanization. The physical and ancillary methods both have pros and cons, and ultimately the two methods are complementary. I will focus on the ancillary method here.

Re-opening the case. Because I am not the first historian to have conducted such an estimate, so I had better explain why the present analysis is worth the trouble. Every study that makes claims about the historical rate at which machine-made paper supplanted hand-made paper in Great Britain traces back ultimately to the estimates printed in A. Dykes Spicer's book *The Paper Trade* (1907).[88] Spicer claimed that the majority of British paper was machine-made by the early to mid 1820s, less than 20 years after the erection of the first fully operational Fourdrinier machine in a working mill in 1807 (see Figure 2.7). Most historians who have cited Spicer's claim accept it uncritically, and the few who have treated Spicer's underlying statistical narrative with due skepticism have not offered a counter-narrative to supplant it. My goal in this section is to amass just such a counter-narrative.

Although Spicer did not outline his estimation procedure in prose—an oversight that has perversely contributed to the impression that he was reporting facts rather than estimates—the various tables of his appendices make it possible to retrace his basic method. In any given year from 1804 onward, Great Britain had a certain number of commercially active papermills, some of them making paper at vats (operated by the three-person hand team of vatman, coucher, and layer), and some of them using papermaking machines. Rather than estimate the amount of machine-made paper directly,

[87] McMullin, "Machine-Made Paper," 67–8.
[88] A. Dykes Spicer, *The Paper Trade*, Appendices V–VI, 247–252.

2.7A. Est. no. operating machines compared with est. operating vats

2.7B. Estimated percentages of output

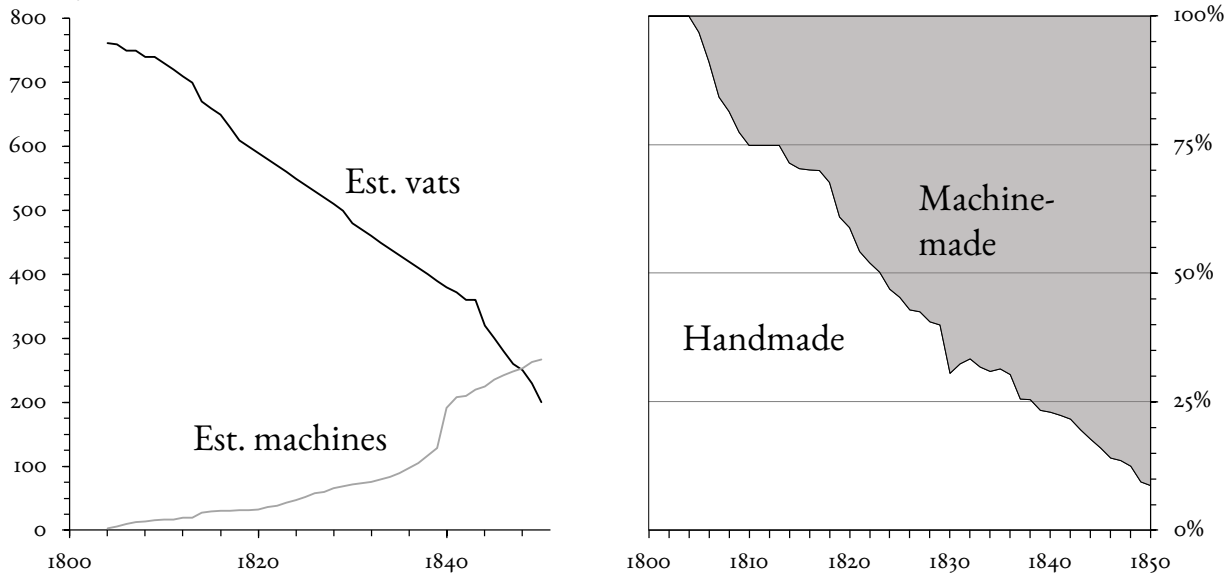

Figure 2.7 Spicer's estimates of handmade vs. machine-made UK paper, 1801–1850

Spicer opted to estimate the amount of hand-made paper and subtract it from the manufacturing totals recorded in Excise records. His calculation for any given year was:

total paper – total estimated hand-made paper =total estimated machine-made paper.

Spicer's procedure evidently entailed the following steps. First, he estimated the number of papermills active in Great Britain during each year of the nineteenth century. Second, he estimated the rate of decline in the number of hand-operated vats at work in those mills. Third, he estimated the amount of annual hand papermaking from said vat counts. Fourth, he subtract the annual hand-manufacture estimate from the annual Excise total to estimate the amount of paper that was machine-made in each year. And fifth, he inferred the annual number of active papermaking machines from this difference. Spicer's estimation procedure was respectable given the materials available to him at the time, but subsequent research has shown that he made serious factual errors and distorting assumptions at each phase of his analysis.

Spicer began, reasonably enough, by considering how many papermills were open in Great Britain during the nineteenth century. Since the surest sign of rapid mechanization in the nineteenth-century paper trade was increasing market concentration (*i.e.* a smaller number of mills producing a larger share of aggregate output per mill), the aggregate number of mills open in Great Britain should serve as a good indicator of the rate at which machines outpaced hand-operated vats.[89] Spicer proffered the best data available in 1907 on the number of mills active in England from 1838–1870, which tended to suggest rapid decline during these years. In England specifically, Spicer counts 416 mills in 1838, down to 306 mills by the 1850s. For the British Isles *in toto*, Spicer finds there were 525 mills in 1838, down to 385 by 1860.[90]

Importantly, however, Spicer failed to cite any sources to establish how many mills were active before 1838. In lieu of any statistics then available for the years 1801–1837, he seems to have made a series of extrapolations based on the Excise totals. First, Spicer supposed that the tally of mills open in 1838 represented a comparably rapid, steady drop-off from the number of mills open in the 1800s—and with them, the number of hand-operated vats at work in those mills. He assumed that there were 762 hand vats at work in the UK in 1804 but only 400 by 1838, nearly a 50% decrease in a matter of 34 years. He then made the concomitant assumption that this decline occurred at roughly a linear rate, estimating that there were 760 hand-operated vats at work in 1805, 660 in 1815, 540 in 1825, and 430 in 1835.[91] Spicer concluded that all the paper recorded by Excise totals that wasn't made at this number of vats must have been the product of machines.

In short, Spicer's estimation procedure for early-nineteenth-century paper mechanization relies almost entirely on guesswork, and not on firsthand historical data about the number of mills open between 1800 and 1838. These may have been the best guesses any paper historian could make at the turn of the twentieth century, but subsequent research has rendered them obsolete. Five decades after

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[89] That increasing market concentration was a symptom of mechanization had become, by the 1860s, "a platitude of the trade"; see Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 227–8.

[90] Spicer, *The Paper Trade*, 247.

[91] Spicer, *The Paper Trade*, 249-51.

Spicer's study, A.H. Shorter compiled an authoritative checklist of the number of mills open in England during the first six decades of the nineteenth century.[92] Shorter showed not only that there were more mills at work between the 1830s and the 1850s than those Spicer had been aware of, but also that the closure rate relative to the 1800s was far less steep than Spicer had assumed. According to Shorter's tally, the number of mills active in England rose from 434 during the years 1800–1810 to 516 during the years 1821–1830, only falling to 491 by 1831–1840 and to 432 by 1841–1850.[93] Shorter's data fail to corroborate Spicer's assumption that England saw a rapid march toward high market concentration during the first third of the nineteenth century.

It is clear, then, that Spicer was relying on untenable assumptions about the rate of mill closure from 1801 to 1838. Spicer's mismeasure of mills does not bode well for his estimate of the rate at which machines overtook hand manufacture during these years. Having assumed a roughly linear decline in the number of hand-operated vats at work in Great Britain from 1804 to 1838, Spicer consequently also assumed a roughly linear decline in the annual output of hand-made paper during these same years. As far as I can tell, Spicer then estimated the amount of machine-made paper manufactured per year by subtracting his estimated hand-vat totals from the aggregate totals of the Excise data. His estimate implies a steady and practically uninterrupted decline in the number of hand-operated vats, which is supposed to have commenced immediately with the adoption of the first Fourdrinier machine in 1804 and continued unremittingly for the next four decades.

The most puzzling aspect of Spicer's procedure is his estimate of the number of papermaking machines in operation from 1804 onward. Spicer's estimates are somewhat comparable to Henry Fourdrinier's account of the machines earning him royalties through 1822.[94] However, Spicer fails to cite or even mention Fourdrinier's Parliamentary testimony anywhere in his book, which does not inspire confidence that Spicer was aware of the statistics there contained. And while Spicer estimates a

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[92] A[lfred] H[enry] Shorter, *The Historical Geography of the Paper-making Industry in Engliand* (PhD diss., University of London, 1954). Coleman prints Shorter's decadal totals and graphs the annual tally of open mills in *The British Paper Industry*, 218–9.

[93] Cited in Coleman, 219.

[94] Coleman notes as much; see *The British Paper Industry*, 198.

far smaller number of machines active in the UK *circa* 1837 than does Fourdrinier (100, compared to Fourdrindier's estimate of 279), his hand vs. machine production statistics assume an unrealistically high average capacity from the early machines. Spicer takes for granted that the average machine produced the equivalent of anywhere between nine and 14 vats during the years 1807–1822; although such a high productive capacity may have been possible for the largest machines, Fourdrinier and his contemporaries never claimed an average capacity higher than that of five to seven vats.[95] Apparently, Spicer did not estimate the amount of machine-made paper manufactured in England through the 1830s at all, nor did he cite evidence of the number of machines active in Britain during the first half of the nineteenth century.[96] Instead, he estimated hand production and then subtracted it from total output. In lieu of direct quantitative evidence of the market structure of the British industry during the early nineteenth century, Spicer guessed at the underlying parameters of mill and vat counts during the period 1801–1837. The data that Shorter and other paper historians have since collected show that all these guesses were wrong.

Ironically, no one did more to propagate Spicer's dubious chronology of mechanization than D.C. Coleman, who reproduced Spicer's estimates graphically—somewhat against his better judgment. Coleman conceded that "Some of his [Spicer's] estimates for numbers of vats and machines at different times during the century on which Spicer's calculations are in part based, seem questionable."[97] If anything, Coleman's assessment is overgenerous. Nevertheless, Coleman accepted

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[95] For example, Spicer reports that in 1811 there were 17 machines and 720 hand-operated vats in the UK (249), and that the machines produced 4,942 tons in 1811 while the vats produced 14,723. For this to be true, the average machine would have needed to produce 14.2 times as many tons of paper as the average vat. The unrealistic nature of this assumption will be apparent based on statistics recounted below.

[96] Spicer claims that "in 1840 there were 190 machines in existence (though not all these were in working order)," but he fails to cite a source; see *The Paper Trade*, 65. The closest contemporary basis I can locate for this figure is that by 1851, the firm of Bryan Donkin & Co. had erected 190 Fourdrinier machines. This total had been reported a year earlier in Robert Walter Sindall, *Paper Technology: An Elementary Manual* (London: Charles Griffin & Company, 1906), 205, https://books.google.com/books?id=CaVAAAAAIAAJ; Sindall's accuracy has since been corroborated by other sources. However, we must recall first that only 37% of Donkin's machines were erected in the United Kingdom, and second that other engineers besides Donkin supplied UK papermills with machines. Furthermore, Spicer's 11-year transposition of this statistic from 1851 to 1840 is not a trivial error. Donkin had only erected 133 Fourdrinier Machines by 1843: Donkin & Co. built 58 machines between 1843 and 1851, most of them for international customers. See Gutiérrez-Poch, "British papermaking engineering," 9.

[97] See Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 205–7; see especially Fig. 9.

that Spicer's data "tell a plausible tale, for what is known of the extension of machine production would suggest that it was not until the later 1820s that hand-made production would begin to fall sharply."[98] In the same chapter, however, Coleman had critiqued Spicer's estimated annual tally of operational papermaking machines in greater depth, correctly pointing out "that the sudden leap which Spicer's figures take from 129 [machines] in 1839 to 191 in 1840 does not seem to compel confidence in their yearly accuracy for the early decades."[99] Indeed, although Coleman's decision to represent Spicer's estimates graphically may suggest implicit acceptance of Spicer's conclusion that the machines outpaced hand manufacture in the 1820s, Coleman arrived at the starkly less sanguine interpretation that "mechanization did not become truly widespread until the 1830s and thereafter."[100] Despite recognizing the dubious nature of some of Spicer's parameters, Coleman ultimately saw Spicer's quantitative estimates as insightful—and therefore worthy of graphical reproduction—in no small part because they served as a useful counterpoint to the assumption that the earliest Fourdriniers outpaced hand-operated vat output practically as soon as they came into use.

In subsequent studies, however, the nuances of Coleman's interpretation of Spicer's estimates have mostly been lost in citation. The first promulgator of misconceptions is Philip Gaskell's venerable *New Introduction to Bibliography* (1972). Although Gaskell did recognize that Coleman derived his graph of the pace of mechanization from Spicer's appendices, Gaskell accepted Spicer's underlying narrative of declining vat counts during the early nineteenth century uncritically, reporting Spicer's claim that the British Isles had about 750 vats in operation in 1801 as if it were a fact rather than mere guesswork. Gaskell failed to treat Spicer's operative assumptions with even the modicum of skepticism that Coleman had, and so he began his section on machine-made paper by reporting Spicer's finding as

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[98] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 205. Admittedly, Coleman presents Spicer's estimates with visual rhetoric that tends to corroborate his own interpretation of a "sharp fall." Coleman's Fig. 9 charts Spicer's data on a logarithmic scale, which has the effect of flattening variation within the same order of magnitude and thus obscuring the near-linearity of Spicer's estimates of falling hand-made output through the late 1830s.

[99] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 198.

[100] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 205.

an authoritative statement: "In 1800 all paper was still made by hand from rags, and it was not until the 1820s that the production of machine-made paper exceeded that of hand-made, even in Britain."[101]

At the very least, Gaskell's summary does register some of the caution with which Coleman reproduced Spicer's statistics. Gaskell's point, like Coleman's, was that mechanization proceeded relatively slowly during the early nineteenth century. For scholars interested in literary and book trade history of this period, however, the cautious note has been easy to miss. Lee Erickson summarized Coleman's presentation of Spicer's data with the statement that "By 1825 over half of all paper in England was made by machine": in the context of Erickson's argument, this claim is now calculated to underscore the speed, not the slowness, with which technological innovation was supposed to have been transforming the book trade by that date.[102] Peter Garside, looking to gauge how the Fourdriniers affected novel manufacture, cites Gaskell without recognizing Coleman or Spicer as the underlying sources, and although Garside's summary registers Gaskell's intention of underscoring that the transition was a relatively slow one ("it was not until the 1820s that the production of machine-made paper exceeded that of paper made by hand"), Garside's analysis of book manufacture shows that he believes the transition to majority mechanization was well enough in earnest by the mid 1810s that it already should have been reducing book production costs.[103]

If nothing else, I hope I have convinced any readers who have born with me through this morass of data that Spicer's estimates of the rate at which machine-made paper should not be taken at face value. The task I have set for myself is to arrive at new estimates of the rate of mechanization, which are more in line with the chronology of industrial development that emerges from sources unavailable to Spicer in the early twentieth century. I would not wish readers to take my estimates at face value any more than Spicer's. Doubtless, I will have committed errors and oversimplifying assumptions; I would be flattered to imagine if, a century from now, some future paper historian

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[101] Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 215.

[102] Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form*, 27. Alexis Weedon repeats this sentence verbatim in *Victorian Publishing*, 64; and in "The Economics of Print," 160—both times citing Coleman but not Erickson.

[103] Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 44.

skewers my procedure as I have skewered Spicer's. One lead my account has on Spicer's however, is that it makes all the data sources and all the operating assumptions of my estimation procedure transparent.

Baseline estimates: hand manufacture in 1800. According to A.H. Shorter, there were about 420 papermills operating in England and Wales in 1800; Excise revenues show that 14,161 tons of paper were manufactured in these two countries during this year. Together, these statistics suggest an average output of 33.5 tons per mill annually, or 1,332 lb per mill per week. Supposing, as Coleman does, that an average ream weighed about 20 lb, the output of an average mill during 1800 would thus have been roughly 66.6 reams per week.[104] Supposing, furthermore, that the average productivity of a team of workers at a vat was 4 reams (roughly 2,000 sheets) per day—about 80 lb per day—we can estimate that the average mill had roughly 2.4 vats in operation, for a total of about 1,008 vats across all English mills. While these estimates are impossible to verify or falsify with any great precision, they certainly fall within realistic bounds. For comparison, the 133 papermakers who signed the 1803 resolutions of the United Society of Paper Makers operated a total of 400 vats, or 3.3 vats per mill, an average Coleman argues is likely "overweighted by the larger manufacturers of the south."[105] Unfortunately, I am unaware of any statistics comparable to Shorter's for Scottish papermills.[106] By applying the English mill and vat parameters arrived at above to Scottish Excise revenues, we can estimate that Scotland's 1801 output of 1,468 tons of paper were the product of roughly 106 vats across about 44 papermills.[107] In all, then, Great Britain had about 464 papermills operating about 1,114 vats in 1801.

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[104] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 346.

[105] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 154–6. Bidwell judges that "the average size of British papermills remained between one and two vats throughout the eighteenth century"; see "The Brandywine Paper Mill," 75. But larger mills of three vats or more were growing increasingly common by the turn of the nineteenth century, and it does not take many outliers to skew an average rightward.

[106] Coleman estimates that there were anywhere between 30 and 50 papermills active in Scotland between 1790 and 1830; see 218. Since Excise totals aren't consistently available from Irish mills until the 1820s, I have opted to exclude Ireland from the present analysis altogether, accepting that some of the mechanization attributed to Great Britain actually occurred in Ireland. The mismeasure is probably relatively small. I can find reference to only three papermills erected in Irish mills by 1837, two in Cork and one in Blarney; see "Select Committee," 37.

[107] The frequency of vats per mill was probably lower in Scotland than in England, considering that most of the island's largest manufacturers were geographically concentrated in England.

Importantly, my assumptions about vat usage err somewhat on the side of underestimate. Timothy Barrett, citing Jérôme Lalande's entry on papermaking in *Description des arts et métiers* (1761), concludes that "Depending on the size, weight and quality of the paper type being made, a skilled three person team could produce between fifteen hundred and four thousand sheets a day."[108] In 2016, Barrett and a team of student volunteers at the Iowa Center for the Book succeeded at making 2,000 sheets in one ten-hour workday. Besides proving the realism of Lalande's lower-end statistic, Barrett's experiment helped establish how the higher-end daily output could be possible for certain sizes and grades with a skilled vat team and sufficiently fast-draining pulp.[109] Significantly fewer than 1,100 vats, then, could potentially have been responsible for making the 15,629 tons of paper produced in Great Britain during 1801. Spicer estimated that in 1804, 762 vats could have accounted for the manufacture of 15,451 tons of paper, which implies an average daily output of 111.1 lb (about 5.5 reams or about 2,750 sheets) per day.[110] This scale of production was certainly plausible. At full capacity, James Given's two-vat Brandywine papermill near Philadelphia produced 2,000 reams in the later six and a half months of 1787, for an average of just under 5.5 reams per vat per day.[111] However, I am skeptical of the premise that all or nearly all of Britain's papermills were operating near peak capacity throughout the year. There could not have been a one-on-one correlation between the number of vats in use and the amount of paper made in them at all times. Consider again the recession of 1802, during which aggregate output of paper fell 18.1%. Shorter's tally of firms suggests that while a handful of mills did close during this year, the vast majority of mills managed to weather the slump, which is part of why the industry managed to return to its pre-recession output by 1803.[112] It stands to reason that many

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[108] Timothy Barrett *et al.*, "Background: European Papermaking Techniques 1300-1800," *Paper through Time: Nondestructive Analysis of 14th- through 19th-Century Papers*, University of Iowa, 2011, last modified 2 September 2022, http://paper.lib.uiowa.edu/european.php.

[109] Timothy Barrett and Barry Phillips, "Chancery Papermaking 2016 – 2000 Sheets in One Day," Iowa Center for the Book, YouTube, 4 October 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bggttPftmVs.

[110] Spicer, *The Paper Trade*, 249.

[111] Bidwell, "The Brandywine Paper Mill," 37.

[112] Cited in Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 219.

mills were operating below full capacity at any given time due to staff and input constraints, managerial inefficiency, and the ordinary ebb and flow of demand across the calendar year.

These statistics present a baseline against which to estimate mechanization of the paper industry during the first four decades of the nineteenth century. My procedure will be first to tally the number of papermaking machines that contemporary sources establish were erected for commercial use in Great Britain, next to determine the likely average output of these machines, and then to estimate the chronological change in the amount of machine-made paper per year from 1807 to 1836. By subtracting the estimated amount of mechanized paper from Excise totals, I will then estimate the industry's total share of machine-made paper and the rate of decline in hand-vat production. At this stage, Shorter's historical directory of papermills will offer a useful check on the realism of my estimates. We should expect that as the market share of machine-powered mills rose, so too did market concentration, as an increasing number of hand-powered mills were unable to compete with machine-powered mills and ultimately closed. Thus, we should expect the number of mills in England to have declined roughly in proportion to the decline in the amount of hand paper produced per year.

Papermaking machines erected 1807–1822. During his 1837 Parliamentary testimony, Henry Fourdrinier was asked "How many machines were at work on the expiration of the patent?"—that is, since the 1822 expiry of Parliament's extension of the 1807 patent for the Fourdrinier machine. In reply, Fourdrinier presented the Committee with a list of 42 machines to whose owners he had granted patent licenses during the years 1807–1822, along with the license date, and the vat equivalence of dues ("No. Vats") owed on each licensee's machine.[113]

Although useful, Fourdrinier's list poses several challenges to the present estimation. Most pressingly, many Fourdrinier machines known to have been erected by 1822 are absent from the list, and it is unclear whether Fourdrinier failed to mention them because he was unaware of their construction, because he considered them irrelevant to the Parliamentary inquiry, or through motives of deliberate concealment. Shorter managed to locate fire insurance policies for at least six additional

[113] "Select Committee," 37.

Fourdrinier machines erected between 1811 and 1820.[114] And then there was the activity of John Dickinson, the Fourdriniers' chief rival, whom Fourdrinier and his allies never mentioned in the course of their 1837 testimony.[115] Dickinson operated many machines during the early to mid nineteenth century, none of which were subject to Fourdrinier's patent license. I estimate that in total, Dickinson's mills had two machines at work by 1810, three by 1812, five by 1817, seven by 1826, upward of nine by 1825, and upward of 13 by 1838.[116] And there was one further machine, designed and put into active commercial use by Thomas Cobb, for which he filed patents in 1807 and 1812.[117]

Besides these alternative designs, there were still other papermaking machines that Fourdrinier had clear motives not to include in his tally. By 1810, Donkin had built four Fourdrinier machines for holders of the machine's patent: two for the Fourdriniers themselves at Frogmore and Two Waters; and two at St. Neots, including one for John Gamble in 1807 and another in 1810 for Matthew Towgood, who bought Gamble out in the aftermath of the Fourdriniers' bankruptcy. Frogmore, Two

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[114] Shorter, *Paper Making*, 102. Shorter counts one machine at Wolvercote by 1811; one at Munton Dow's Aston Furnace Mill, Birmingham by 1816; one at Hampton Gay, Oxfordshire by 1819; probably one at Cream's Mill, Lancashire by 1819, and at least two at Bridge Hall Mills, Lancashire by 1820. Shorter also notes the policy for a Fourdrinier machine at John Dickinson's Apsley Mill by 1812, which is almost certainly the first of Dickinson's Fourdrinier machines; I exclude this machine from the present tally in favor of the more detailed account below.

[115] The only reference to Dickinson is during the testimony of George Virtue, who acknowledges the cylinder-mould machine but does not comment on Dickinsons' scale of operation; see "Select Committee," 30.

[116] As far as I can tell, there is no known record of all the machines Dickinson had operational at any given date; my tally is a surmise based on the various records cited in Evans, *The Endless Web*, 26–7, 30–1, 36, 53, 71; supplemented by Bidwell, "The Brandywine Paper Mill," 206. By 1823, Dickinson apparently had three machines (two cylinder-mould machines and one Fourdrinier machine) at work in Apsley Mill and two machines (both cylinder-mould machines) in Nash Mill. (Dickinson paid Bloxam two payments of £100, the assignee of the Fourdriniers' patent, first in 1814 and again in 1817. Evans mistakes these payments for transactions associated with the purchase of two Fourdrinier machines, but Bidwell shows that Dickinson paid these sums for permission to move two cylinder-mould machines from Apsley Mill into Nash Mill; these payments were part of the terms of his compact with the Fourdriniers' patent claimants, which restricted the locations at which he could store his invention.) Apsley Mill had the steam power necessary to power three machines as early as 1815, and Nash Mill still had two machines as late as 1829. An 1826 diary entry by Dickinson's wife establishes that Home Park Mill, then under construction, was being outfitted for two machines. Evans reports that in 1838, Croxley Mill, erected in 1829, "was enlarged to produce fourteen tons of paper a week" (53). Given that the larger of the Nash Mill machines produced 28 reams of demy per day, or roughly 2 tons per week, it seems likely that fourteen tons per week would have entailed the erection of roughly seven such machines. Unfortunately, Evans gives no indication of the number of machines operating at Croxley before 1838.

[117] Clapperton, 58–60.

Waters, and St. Neots were all still operational in 1822, so the absence of these machines from Fourdrinier's tally is perplexing. Even if these mills were no longer outfitted with their original machines, any additional or replacement machines should have warranted mention.[118] Given that Fourdrinier was presenting Parliament with a list specifically of machines granted licenses, he may have been electing to answer a slightly different question from the one actually posed to him. Certainly, as Bidwell has shown, Fourdrinier deliberately underplayed the scale of his own manufacturing ambitions during his campaign for patent renewal. Had Fourdrinier acknowledged the machines erected at his and Gamble's mills, he might have invited embarrassing questions about the role of the financial mismanagement of his manufacturing ventures in his bankruptcy.[119]

In all, then, I count at least 60 non-prototype papermaking machines erected as of 1822: the 42 Fourdrinier machines on Henry Fourdrinier's list of patent licensees; the at least four additional Fourdrinier machines erected for the mills of the patent holders; the at least seven machines at work in John Dickinson's mill (including at least one Fourdrinier machine and at least four cylinder-mould machines); Thomas Cobb's *sui generis* machine; and the six additional Fourdrinier machines on Shorter's checklist.

Papermaking machines erected 1823–1836. In addition to his list of machines active in 1822, Henry Fourdrinier also presented Parliament with detailed statistics on the total scale of papermaking with Fourdrinier machines during the 1830s. At one Select Committee hearing, Fourdrinier was asked, "What saving have the public already received from these machines?" In reply, he presented an account of the number of Fourdrinier machines he acknowledged to have been erected in the UK between 1807 and 1836, deriving estimates of their savings to manufacturers by calculating the difference between the machines' imputed annual operating costs and the costs that he estimated a hand-vat team would incur to produce the same amount.[120] In all, Fourdrinier counted 280 machines: 42 erected during the years 1807–1822 when the machine was under patent, and 238 erected after the patent's expiry between 1823

[118] Clapperton, *The Paper-Making Machine*, 44–7, 51
[119] Bidwell, "The Brandywine Paper Mill," 195–7.
[120] Clapperton, *The Paper-Making Machine*, 296.

and 1836. This tally is reasonably consistent across Fourdrinier's testimony. When asked point-blank to state "the number of machines now [1837] at work in the United Kingdom," Fourdrinier answered, "Two hundred and seventy-nine, each machine doing the work of five vats."[121] Fourdrinier also presented a detailed cross-sectional account of how many mills had a single machine at work and how many had two or more; the sum of all the machines across all the mills on this list comes out to 243.[122] Given that Fourdrinier counts no fewer than 40 machines erected during the years 1835–1836, this cross-sectional tally of machines by mills likely reflects the state of the industry about two years earlier (*circa* 1834), rather than being in outright conflict with Fourdrinier's other estimates.

Needless to say, Fourdrinier's tally suggests extraordinary growth in the mechanized sector of the paper industry during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. How did Fourdrinier arrive at these statistics? Although Fourdrinier ceased active management of the machine's patent by the time bankruptcy proceedings commenced against his firm in 1810, he was apparently conducting ongoing market research to keep track of the dues that would be owed him if he succeeded at securing a patent renewal. For this reason, Coleman's interpretation of Fourdrinier's testimony strikes me as unduly hostile:

> Fourdrinier also stated that 279 machines were then (*i.e.* in 1837) at work in the U.K. This figure cannot, however, be taken at its face value, for it was qualified with the phrase, "each machine doing the work of five vats." It was customary at the time to reckon the capacity of paper-making machines in terms of the number of vats' work they were estimated to be able to do in a given time. [. . .] Thus what Fourdrinier presumably did to reach the figure of 279 was to express each machine as a five-vat equivalent, thus giving a false impression of the total number of machines of different sizes then at work. Spicer also gives estimates for the number of machines at work: the totals for 1822 roughly agree—38 according to Spicer, 42 according to

[121] "Select Committee," 37.
[122] "Select Committee," 36.

> Fourdrinier—but Spicer's figure of 105 for 1837 bears no relation to Fourdrinier's figure of 279. [. . .] Yet another set of figures gives 356 machines as the total at work in the UK in 1842. Obviously these figures cannot be made to bear the weight of precise deduction. But, assuming that the totals for 1822 are correct and that the total for the 1837 period lies somewhere between the two extremes of 105 and 356, the implication is again that mechanization did not become truly widespread in the industry until the 1830's and thereafter.[123]

To be sure, Fourdrinier's claim that every machine erected was doing the work of five vats should not be taken at face value. However, I cannot accept Coleman's convoluted proposition that Fourdrinier knew the true number of machines at work, yet opted to reverse-engineer his tally of 279 machine by converting from machines to vat equivalents, only then to convert back to a machine count. Fourdrinier's cross-sectional tally of mills with multiple machines of various vat capacities establishes that he must have been keeping an itemized list of the machines at specific mills. I consider it far likelier, then, that Fourdrinier made the simplifying assumption, in the interest of pleading his case before Parliament, that each machine he tallied had the productive capacity of five vats. Contrary to Spicer's estimates, furthermore, there is no reliable evidence to suggest that as few as 105 Fourdrinier machines had been manufactured by the mid 1830s. As I have already shown, Spicer's figures bear no relation to any firsthand data on the number of machines active before 1838, but are instead based on erroneous assumptions about the number of mills active in Britain during the early decades that the Fourdrinier machines were in use.

To the contrary, a survey of the state of British machine manufacture establishes that Fourdrinier's tally of 279 machines by 1836 is entirely plausible. According to Ure's *Dictionary of Arts and Manufactures* (1839), Bryan Donkin's Bermondsey operation alone had supplied "no fewer than 133 complete automatic paper machines" by the mid to late 1830s, "each of a value of from 1200*l.* to 2000*l.*, to different manufactories."[124] Of the 191 Fourdrinier machines Donkin had built by 1851, 83

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[123] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 198.

[124] Andrew Ure, *A Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1839), 932.

went to mills in Great Britain. Considering that Donkin's manufacture largely shifted to foreign customers from the 1830s onward, the majority of these 83 British machines must have been erected by the time of Fourdrinier's 1837 testimony.[125] And while Donkin commanded a near-monopoly on the manufacture of Foudrdrinier machines while the patent was in effect,[126] several other engineers were specializing in the construction of Fourdrinier machines by the mid 1820s. Among the most prominent were George and William Bertram, who opened a workshop near Edinburgh in 1821, and Donkin's protégé George Tidcombe, who founded his Watford Engineering Works in Hertfordshire in 1826. With the Fourdriniers' 1807 patent lapsed by 1822, the Fourdrinier machine's design principles came to be disseminated widely enough that even engineers with no background in papermaking were capable of building them to order.[127] Some enterprising manufacturers even built their own machines: Charles Davidson of Aberdeen, for instance, built a Fourdrinier machine for his own mill in 1827, followed by a second one in 1844.[128] By 1832, Scotland had at least 30 machines across 23 mills; considering that the country accounted for only 13.8% of paper production in Great Britain during that year, a net total of about 196 machines across the entire island (Fourdrinier's reported total as of 1832) is clearly plausible.

Indeed, if anything Fourdrinier is likelier to have undercounted papermaking machines built after 1822 than he is to have overcounted them, just as he did for the period when his patent was still in effect. Unfortunately, the lack of an itemized total list of machines makes it impossible to identify which machines Fourdrinier failed to count for this later period. We know from the 1807–1822 list that the later tally certainly excludes all the machines at Frogmore, Two Waters, and St. Neots, as well as all the machines at John Dickinson's mills. Collectively, these must have included at least 17 machines by 1836, bringing the total count up to 296 machines.

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[125] Gutiérrez-Poch, "British papermaking engineering," 9–17.

[126] In 1813 Donkin's former mechanic Lewis Aubrey began advertising his own Fourdrinier machines at a competitive price, but it is unclear whether he actually built any; see Clapperton, *The Paper-Making Machine*, 73–4.

[127] Clapperton, *The Paper-Making Machine*, 209, 237, 337–342; Gutiérrez-Poch, "British papermaking engineering," 11–13.

[128] Clapperton, *The Paper-Making Machine*, 97.

Table 2.1. Tally of known paper-making machines erected in the British Isles, 1804–1836

Year	Henry Fourdrinier's license tally	Est. machines at John Dickinson's mills	Other known machines	Cumulative total
1807	13		3	16
1810		2	1	19
1811			1	20
1816	2	1	1	24
1817	4	3		31
1818	7			38
1819	6		2	46
1820	3		2	51
1821	5			56
1822	2	2		60
1824	34			94
1826	30	2		126
1830	43			169
1832	45			214
1834	46			260
1836	40			300

Machine production: capacity versus output. Having surveyed all the available evidence on the number of machines erected through 1836 (which I have summarized in Table 2.1), we can now proceed to the no less challenging question of how much paper they can and did make. In an 1806 statement, Henry Fourdrinier boasted—and not without justification—of the capabilities of the machine bearing his name:

> The expedition of the machine is so great, that it makes paper from four to five feet wide [48–60 in, or 1.22–1.52 m], at the rate of 148 1/2 square feet [13.8 m²] per minute, or 8,910 [827.7 m²] per hour; thus manufacturing the astonishing quantity of 106,900 square feet [9,931.3 m²] every twelve hours. Two men only are required to attend the machine; one to supply the vat with pulp, the other to change the rollers as they become loaded with paper.[129]

This was a machine of stupendous productive capacity compared to a hand-vat team. Consider that a sheet of demy printing paper typically had dimensions of 44.5 × 55.9 cm (17.5 × 22 in), for an area of 0.249 m² per sheet. A 516-sheet ream thus had a cumulative sheet area of 128.5 m². In terms of

[129] "Select Committee," 43.

undifferentiated area, the machine in question could potentially produce the equivalent of 77 reams worth of paper in a day—14 times as much as our higher-end estimate of 5.5 reams a day for a typical hand-operated vat, and 19 times as much as a vat operating at a more lax rate of 4 reams a day. In purely mechanical terms, then, Fourdrinier's claims seem accurate enough. In order to ensure the daily output Fourdrinier described, a machine with a 60-inch wire width needed to run for 12 hours at a speed of no more than 30 ft (9.1 m) per minute; actual speeds reported in practice after 1807 ranged from 25 to 36 ft (7.6 to 11.0 m) per minute.[130]

Doubtless, however, Fourdrinier was describing the outer limits of what even the biggest and fastest Fourdrinier machines were capable of making in practice. A large, well-supplied, and efficiently operated mill could certainly feed enough pulp into a machine to meet this quota, although such heavy use would have entailed frequent repairs—particularly to the wire, which wore out far more quickly than did a vatman's handheld mould.[131] The more fundamental constraint on output, however, was the relationship between wire width and sheet dimension. In order to avoid waste, the adjustment of the Fourdrinier machine's deckle straps for sheets of various dimensions would have tended to limit the wire width actually in use, significantly reducing its daily capacity compared to the ideal rate posited by Fourdrinier.[132] If each ream of printing demy were cut from rolls made when the deckle straps were set to the desired sheet width of 56 cm, the machine's actual capacity would be reduced to between 6 and 8.5 times as much as that of a hand-operated vat—still impressive, but only about 45% of the quantity that Fourdrinier suggested in his 1806 statement.

Clearly, then, the actual capacity of the Fourdrinier machines depended heavily on the uses they were put to as well as their size and rotation speed. By 1813, Donkin reported that the largest machines on his price list had the productive capacity of 12 vats.[133] Fourdrinier, however, never claimed license dues for any machine in commercial use with an output higher than that of 10 vats. In 1837,

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[130] Bidwell, "The Brandywine Paper Mill," 182–3.
[131] McMullin, "Machine-Made Paper," 65, 77–8.
[132] McMullin, "Machine-Made Paper," 66, 71.
[133] See Bidwell, "The Brandywine Paper Mill," 183; Bidwell tends to accept the higher-end estimates.

Fourdrinier and his customers tended to cite a typical machine's daily capacity as equivalent to that of either five or seven vats.

Fourdrinier and Donkin's repeated recourse to vats rather than reams or tons as a measure of productive capacity is understandable, given the impossibility of predicting their customers' exact use cases. However, the insistence on vats obviously frustrates our present purpose, which is to estimate not only how much the early machines *could* produce, but also how much they *did* produce. We should prefer, then, to know how many reams of paper at various sizes a typical machine actually produced in a working mill. Although I am unaware of any such statistics for a mill that used only Fourdrinier machines, John Dickinson wrote a detailed account of the standard daily rates of output for his machines at Nash Mill in 1823. During a 12-hour workday, Dickinson's "Great Machine"—presumably the largest of his cylinder-mould machines—ordinarily produced 28 reams of demy or 20 reams of double foolscap, which works out to between 3.6 and 5 times as much as a hand-vat team producing 5.5 reams a day. Dickinson's "small machine"—either a smaller cylinder-mould machine or a small to medium-sized Fourdrinier machine—ordinarily produced 15 reams of royal or 20 reams of an unspecified second size, suggesting an output between 2.7 and 3.6 vats a day.[134] Considering that the cylinder-mould machines were comparable in speed and quality to the Fourdrinier machines, and that by 1813 Donkin was not advertising any Fourdrinier machines with a capacity lower than that of 3 or 4 vats, the rates Dickinson describes were almost certainly lower than the maximum productive capacities of his early cylinder-mould machines, as well as the early Fourdrinier machines.

This finding is important, as it lends credence to the suspicion that early papermaking machines were rarely, if ever, put to work at their maximum capacity. Although the wire dimensions of the Fourdrinier machines produced through 1810 suggest that they must have all had the productive capacity of at least five vats, Fourdrinier lists their licensees as only owing dues equivalent to two or three vats; these low license rates continued even as Donkin's listed minimum capacity for his machines

[134] Evans, *The Endless Web*, 36.

increased during the 1810s.[135] If the license dues reflect the actual output of the mills using them, they proffer strong evidence that the machines were being under-utilized by their early adopters.

The likelihood of under-utilization leads to a methodological dilemma. In order to estimate the pace of paper mechanization, are we better off trying to determine the amount of paper the machines were capable of making, or the amount of paper they collectively are likely to have made in practice? Ultimately, I have opted to estimate both capacity and output. Given that the true pace of mechanization is unknowable, it is unquestionably useful to estimate a "best-case scenario" for the machines, which other kinds of evidence can then temper to suggest something closer to the real extent of the machines' use. Based on the available evidence, I believe an appropriate way of estimating the *capacity* of early papermaking machines is to assume that from 1807 to 1836, the average machine could produce seven times as much as the average hand-vat team, roughly 38.5 reams or 770 lb per day. Although Henry Fourdrinier and others tended to say that the typical machine had a capacity closer to five vats, assuming a higher average accounts for the complication that machines with capacities of six to 12 vats were likely to drag the mean above the median.[136] Estimating the actual *output* of the machines involves even more flagrant guesswork. I have opted to assume that on average, a machine did the work of four vats, roughly 22 reams or 440 lb per day. I consider this likelier to be an overestimate than an underestimate. Although Donkin's 1812 price list suggests he had ceased erecting machines with a productive capacity any lower than four vats, the average vat count that Fourdrinier imputed to machines erected during the years 1816–1836 was only 2.3 vats.[137] It may, then, have been common practice, or even the norm, for the early Fourdrinier machines to work at less than half capacity. However, there is little to gain by pressing this argument without a fuller account of the plant conditions of early adopters than I can offer here. In short, although I would not tender the foregoing estimates of the pace of mechanization of the paper industry unless I believed them to be an improvement on Spicer's 1907 estimates, they are far from the last word on the topic.

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[135] Clapperton, *The Paper-Making Machine*, 44; "Select Committee," 37.
[136] "Select Committee," 47.
[137] "Select Committee," 37

2.4C. Interpreting the rate of mechanization

Using the data surveyed thus far, we can now proceed to estimate the growth rate of the mechanized sector of the British paper industry from 1804 to 1836. In order to perform these estimates, I have made the following two calculations:

> Machine-made paper (tons) = no. machines × imputed annual capacity per machine
>
> Market share of machines (percentage) = machine-made paper ÷ total production counted toward Excise

For each year in which a tally is possible,[138] I have performed these calculations both for estimated machine capacity (assuming an average of 1 machine = 7 vats) and the estimated average use of machines for commercial production (assuming an average of 1 machine = 4 vats). Figure 2.8 shows the annual percentage change in both these estimates in comparison to the 1907 estimates of mechanization by A. Dykes Spicer, which I have critiqued in detail above.

What is the ultimate lesson of this procedure? If past accounts have tended to posit a steady transition from hand to machine in the British paper industry, the counternarrative offered here is one of delayed but violent rupture. In his 1907 calculations, Spicer had supposed that the total output of machines rose fairly steadily during the first two decades of their use, such that roughly half of British paper was machine-made by 1822. To the contrary, the present estimate suggests that scarcely more than one third of British paper could have been machine-made by that year—even accounting for the erection of 22 more machines by that date than those Spicer had accounted for. Contrary to Spicer's estimates, Henry Fourdrinier's testimony and the other sources of evidence establish that few new machines were erected during the years 1808–1816. There was a steady, if relatively modest, uptick during years 1817–1822, when estimated capacity rose from 23% to 35% of annual production. Only after 1822, however, is there evidence of a true takeoff, with an average of 20 new machines per year

[138] It is important to note that unlike Spicer, I have not performed estimates for every year. Because of the structure of the underlying sources, tallies have only been possible for the years represented in Table 2.1. Thus, the present estimates should only be compared with Spicer's for these years, and the lines connecting the dots for these years in Figure 2.8 should be treated with particular caution.

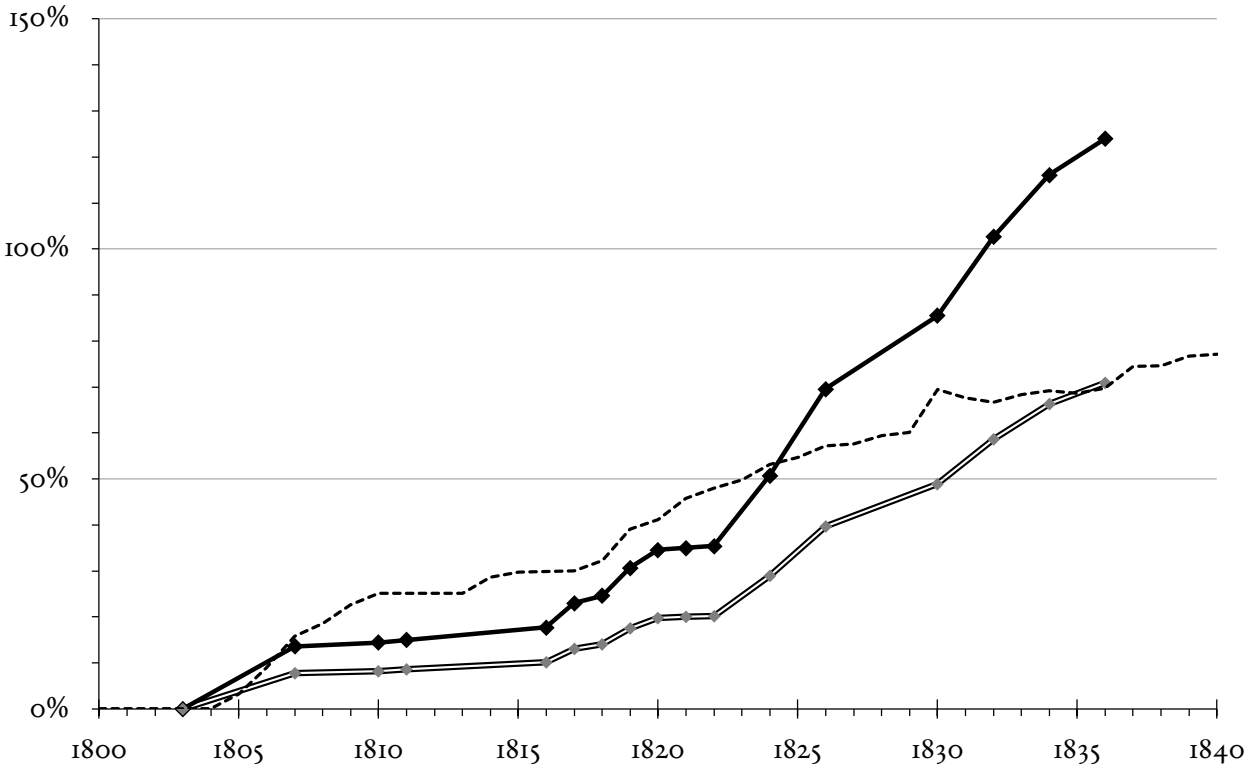

Figure 2.8. Estimated mechanization rate of the British paper industry, 1804–1836

erected from 1822 to 1836. From 1822 to 1824 alone, capacity rose from 35% to 51%, exceeded 100% by 1832, and it had catapulted to 124% of total output by 1836. In other words, these estimates suggest that by the early 1830s, enough machines had been erected that if all of them were put to their fullest possible use, the machines on their own could have produced more paper than the total industrial output actually observed from Excise totals.

Of course, I must immediately qualify this claim by acknowledging that most of these machines were almost certainly not being pushed to their maximum capacity. Bearing in mind, once again, the uncertainty that inevitably attends any estimate of the utilization of the machines, my crude estimate of 1 machine = 4 vats implies a significantly slower trajectory than that implied by capacity alone. On the basis of this estimate, only about 20% of British paper could have been machine-made by 1822. In practice it is unlikely that more than 50% of paper was machine-made till 1832 at the earliest, with the machines having a market share closer to 70% by 1836. This is still likely an overestimate, in which case the actual rate of mechanization was probably somewhat slower than is represented here.

Still, even a relatively sallow interpretation of the data does not overcome the most striking finding, which is the rapid and sustained takeoff in the use of machines from the 1820s onward. Before 1822, the machines were a growing but still uncertain market niche. Within a matter of years after 1822, the machines were well on their way to market supremacy.

If these estimates are accurate, they dramatically recontextualize the role of the transition from hand to machine manufacture in the long-term evolution of the British paper industry. In particular, these findings clarify the reasons for the paper industry's relatively modest *per capita* growth between the 1800s and the 1820s. It is not a novel finding that the invention and early adoption of the Fourdrinier machine failed to result in an immediate manufacturing boom. After all, Excise total show that while raw output doubled between 1801 and 1836 (rising from 15,629 to 34,337 tons), rapid population growth meant that *per capita* output scarcely rose at all (rising only from 3.1 to 3.9 lb per capita). It makes intuitive sense that the need for a transitionary period should be largely to blame for this sluggishness, as investors reallocated capital and manufacturers learned to use their newly acquired machines with growing efficiency. However, the rate at which machine-made paper replaced hand-made paper from year to year has important implications for how this transition occurred. In his 1907 estimates, Spicer found that there was a roughly linear increase in machine manufacture from 1804 through 1850 (recall Figure 2.7). This finding only makes sense if the hand-vat portion of the industry had immediately begun to suffer a slow death by attrition almost as soon as the Fourdriniers unveiled their machine—that is, if the number of hand papermills in operation was steadily declining by the late 1800s, and continued declining at a more or less linear rate through 1850 as investors steadily redeployed capital from hand mills to machine mills. That is not what happened. As A.H. Shorter's directory of English mills establishes, the number of papermills in England continued to rise through the 1820s. it was only around 1830 that the number of mill closures began to outpace the number of new mills going to work.[139] Even more strikingly, market concentration failed to increase during these years in the manner that we should expect if the steady adoption of machines translated to steadily

[139] Shorter's figures are represented tabularly in Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 219.

increasing output. In both 1810 and 1820, the average output per mill in England was roughly fixed at 41 tons per year. This average suggests that the average mill still did somewhat less than three vats' worth of output per year—not radically higher than the average of 2.4 vats per mill that we imputed for the industry in the year 1800.

To the contrary, the delayed and rapid onset of mechanization after 1820 that I am positing here is in perfect accord with the timing of market reorganization when Excise totals and mill tallies establish that it *did* occur. Instead of a slow death by attrition in the hand-manufacturing sector, what we can observe instead are two phases of transition by papermakers and their investors: (1) a "Wait and See" phase from 1804 to 1822, followed by (2) an "All In" phase from 1822 onward. During the "Wait and See" phase, the number of hand-vat papermills seems not to have shrunken, but it likewise failed to grow appreciably. Notwithstanding rising demand and the alarming effects it was having on price—and notwithstanding the growth of domestic rag sources at the turn of the nineteenth century—investors mostly seem to have cautiously withheld from investing the capital necessary to expand either the hand *or* the machine sector of the market, whatever its long-term promise. In the context of contemporary market uncertainty, their caution seems prudent enough. Opening a hand papermill meant risking its almost immediate obsolescence, while commissioning the erection of a machine meant tying up a tremendous amount of capital in a relatively untried invention.

Indeed, it seems likely that uncertainty around the machines was a major hindrance to the market growth of the paper industry during the early phase of Britain's Demographic Revolution. It was only once this uncertainty cleared that the "All In" phase occurred, the benefits of the machine were obvious, and papermakers and their investors transformed the industry in a rapid and violent gale of creative destruction. The surest sign of the abruptness of the transition is the ballooning of market concentration among papermills. Even as papermills began closing at an accelerating rate, the average annual output per mill rose from 41 tons in both 1810 and 1820 to 88 tons by 1840—suggesting that the

working facilities in use at the average mill had risen from the equivalent of three vats to six.[140] By 1840, in other words, any given English papermill was more likely than not to be equipped with a Fourdrinier machine. It is scarcely possible that such a stark shift toward mechanization could have been in effect any earlier than the 1820s, in lieu of a comparable change in market structure.

I hope I have shown, at the very least, that the distinct pace of mechanization I am proposing here is plausible, and that it offers insights on other demonstrable trends in the structure and output of the paper industry. But why should papermills have followed such a pattern of development? Why was the adoption of machines so modest through the 1810s, and why did the takeoff occur after 1822? Two interrelated factors, I believe, are at play. The first was the grim fate of the Fourdriniers and their intellectual property. It is crucial to keep in mind that while 13 Fourdrinier machines had been erected by 1807, there are only records of two more being erected between 1807 and 1816. This period of negligible growth coincides with a time of financial disaster for the Fourdriniers, crescendoing as the firm's debts worsened and climaxing with the firm's bankruptcy in 1810. The assignees of Henry Fourdrinier's bankruptcy proceedings, embroiled in their own internal disputes over the ownership of the machine's patent, evidently failed to collect any patent license fees between 1810 and 1816 as customers exploited the situation by begging various excuses to withhold payment—themselves becoming the target of lawsuits that dragged on until 1827. As Bidwell has observed, this chaotic and litigious atmosphere was unwelcoming to potential customers: "Until the patent expired in 1822, papermakers who wished to invest in this promising new technology could not be sure where to begin, whom to contact, and how much to pay."[141] It was only after the patent expired that the fog of entrepreneurial uncertainty was lifted. With the earliest adopters having proven the Fourdrinier machine's efficacy, that new and existing papermill proprietors and investors were finally free to meet the surging demand for paper in earnest. Then, and only then, commenced the steady closure of hand-

[140] Note that this vat count assumes a relatively lax output of 80 lb (roughly 4 reams or 2,000 sheets) per day, for reasons discussed above in my analysis of the state of the paper industry in 1800.

[141] Bidwell, "The Brandywine Paper Mill," 189–91, 196.

vat papermills and the steady, technologically driven growth in *per capita* output that typifies the classic conception of the Industrial Revolution.

The second, concomittant factor that enabled a takeoff after 1822 was an expansion in the capacity of British engineers to supply machines to mills. In the 1810s, Donkin had been granted independent ownership of his Bermondsey workshop during the Fourdriniers' bankruptcy proceedings. It thus became possible for him to erect Fourdrinier machines independently, even if the responsibility of his customers to pay licenses on the disputed patent was a legal gray area. The firm of Donkin and his son likely remained the dominant supplier of machines to both domestic and foreign customers well into the Victorian period. After 1822, however, it became legal for any competent engineer to erect a Fourdrinier machine, and the development of improvements to the machines such as drying cylinders and the dandy roll reflected an increasingly decentralized base of engineering knowledge. In the coming decades, Donkin and his early competitors were joined by a growing cadre of workshops in Britain's papermaking districts, who were able to capitalize on economies of scale in machine production by serving foreign as well as domestic customers.[142] The role of British workshops in this international market is one of the most neglected topics in paper history. It was ultimately these secondhand adopters, more so than the Fourdriniers or even Donkin, who are responsible for the promulgation of machine-made paper in the modern world.

Indeed, it is with an international frame that we can best conclude what has, as a matter of methodological necessity, been an analysis tightly constrained in its geographical scope to the British Isles. If the tally of machines offered here is reasonably accurate, it is likely that the years 1822–1836 represented the key moment in a roughly logarithmic adoption rate. Compared with Henry Fourdrinier's testimony that 42 machines had been erected by 1822 and 279 by 1836 (and I have argued that the true total is closer to 60 by 1822 and 300 by 1836, even if the number of machines still in use was somewhat lower), estimates during the Victorian period imply a steep levelling off, with 380

[142] Miquel Gutiérrez-Poch, "British papermaking engineering, its growth and the origins of its decline," talk given before the Economic History Society Annual Conference, University of London, (31 March 2017), 9–17. Cited with the author's permission.

machines in use by 1851 and 413 by 1862.[143] The relatively modest Victorian growth in machines likely reflects, at least in part, the growing size and speed of new machines.[144] but it was also the product of the British and Irish paper industry reaching a kind of "carrying capacity" in the number of machines they required to meet their production quotas. The engineers who supplied these machines made possible the extraordinary increases in per capita paper production that occurred in the British Isles from 1840 onward, but to realize economies of scale beyond an increasingly saturated market, they ultimately needed to export their manufacturing to western Europe, Scandinavia, Russia, and the United States and Japan.[145] The papermaking machine was never a solely British invention, and its full implications are still playing out in developing countries where domestic papermaking continued to be handmade well into the twentieth century.

2.5. Literary markets and the evolution of capital: the supply side

As I have repeatedly stressed throughout this chapter, the estimates I offer on the mechanization of the British paper industry are necessarily tentative. However, one stable finding has emerged clearly through the morass of evidence I have brough to bear on the problem: the paper industry could only grow if investors allowed it to grow. The evolution of the paper trade was driven by the interaction between "Solovian" growth, with the routine capital investment within the industry's existing stock of technological know-how, and "Schumpeterian" growth, with its injection of new technologies that disrupt the existing industry. The invention and proliferation of the Fourdrinier machines reveals the complexity of that dynamic and its dynamism over time. The narrative I have tried to outline in broad strokes quantitatively will not be complete until the human contexts of investment are part of it: not just the Fourdriniers and their direct investors, but the

[143] Gutiérrez-Poch, "British papermaking engineering," 4.
[144] Spicer, *The Paper Trade*, 69–72.
[145] Gutiérrez-Poch, "British papermaking engineering," 4.

entrepreneurship and credit arrangements that went into other mills—the successes as well as the failures.[146]

Capital has not yet emerged clearly as a core point of emphasis in book history. Although some scholars have discussed the strains of the credit economy on booksellers and the importance of Britain's expanding banking industry, we do not yet have an account of capitalization as a dynamically unfolding, creatively destructive process. One of William St. Clair's most ill-considered arguments in *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* is his refutation of the premise that capital markets presented an obstacle to the growth of the book trade:

> It is sometimes suggested that, until the late eighteenth century, the growth of reading in England was limited by a shortage of capital. As long as the market for printed books was not yet fully mature, so it is said, the publishers had insufficient money with which to finance new publications and the expansion of industry was therefore held back. However, explanations relating to capital availability carry little conviction. A prosperous country with a growing economy which built spa towns of Bath and Cheltenham as well as innumerable country houses, which settled colonies in North America, founded cities in India, sent fleets of ships to China every year, and dominated the slave trade, all from private funds, did not suffer from any shortage of capital nor from the means of mobilizing it.[147]

This passage is aggravating for several reasons—first of all, because St. Clair does not seem to have understood the point the scholars he cites are making about risk as an obstacle to investment. But more importantly, St. Clair does not recognize that the relevant question is not whether investors *could* make sufficient investments to expand the scale of printing and publishing, but rather when they *did* and why. St. Clair's incuriosity about the topic of capital investment, beyond the special topic of the returns on intellectual property, is indicative of his failure to consider larger problems attending the evolution of the credit economy. In order to correct this neglect, book historians will need to think

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[146] Bidwell describes the mood of capital markets leading up to the invention of the Fourdrinier in "The Industrialization of the Paper Trade," 204–5.

[147] William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation*, 86.

more systematically about the relationship between publishers and their input suppliers. In this regard, it is instructive to compare papermaking with printing. Although there is not, to my knowledge, a centralized body of evidence on the mechanization of the printing industry, the papers of Strahan and Spottiswoode (considered more fully in Chapter 6) reveal the complexity of the plant management and the amortization of debt that went into the adoption of the firm's steam-powered presses and stereotype foundry.[148] The problems that attend the mechanization of both printing and papermaking are not only problems of technology: they are problems of capital, which require us to seek evidence to understand who was bankrolling the changes and what their incentives were.

These questions position book history at the vanguard of thorny questions about the role of capitalism and technology in the evolution of human culture. Whereas economic historians have moved past the narrow interpretation of the Industrial Revolution as a "wave of gadgets," it is time that book historians wrestle with the challenges that "gadgets" pose to a traditional humanist interpretation of changing technologies of text. After all, that foundational gadget of book history, the printing press, has occasioned complex questions and vociferous debates about the human agency underlying technological change and whether technology has a deterministic influence on culture.[149] If the Fourdrinier papermaking machine, like the printing press, was an agent of change, it is about time that we reckon with exactly what kind of agency it had.

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[148] Richard Lutes, "Andrew Strahan and the London Sharebook System, 1785–1825: A Study of the Strahan Printing and Publishing Records" (PhD dissertation, Wayne State University, 1979), 31–6, *PQDT* 7921690.

[149] Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, "An Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited," *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 1 (February 2002), 27–105, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/532098; Adrian Johns, "How to Acknowledge a Revolution," *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 1 (February 2002), 106–125, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/532099.

PART II.
The Evolution of the British Fiction Market

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Chapter 3. Bibliography and the Publishing History of British Romantic Fiction

3.1. Overview: Nowhere to go but up?

Up! up! up!—The British novel is damned to rise. It's a spatial metaphor that literary historians seem unable to wriggle out from under. A phrase Clifford Siskin calls "as perplexing as it is enchanting," Ian Watt's title *The Rise of the Novel* has a peculiar staying power not least because it invites open-ended connotations of organic growth—be that growth aesthetic, cultural, economic, or simply numeric.[1] While it may or may not be true to say that novels "rose" during the eighteenth century, bibliographers have shown that from 1700 onward, there certainly came to be ever more of them. Figure 3.1 thus tallies, by imprint year, the first edition of every known work of long-form Anglophone prose fiction published in the British Isles from 1700 to 1901.[2] Up! up! up! they go—a

[1] Watt, *The Rise of the Novel*; Clifford Siskin, "The Rise of the 'Rise' of the Novel," in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English: Volume 2: English and British Fiction 1750-1820*, ed. Peter D. Garside and Karen O'Brien (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2015), https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780199574803.003.0033.

[2] Sources for Figure 3.1: 1700–1739: William H. McBurney, *A Check List of English Prose Fiction, 1700–1739* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960). 1740–1749: Jerry C. Beasley, *A Check List of Prose Fiction Published in England, 1740–1749* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1972). 1750–1769: James Raven, *British Fiction 1750–1770: A Chronological Checklist of Prose Fiction Printed in Britain and Ireland* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1987) [hereafter *BF*]. 1770–1829: Peter D. Garside, James Raven, and Rainer Schöwerling, general editors, *The English Novel, 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000): *Volume I: 1770-1799* by James Raven and Antonia Forster, with the assistance of Stephen Bending; *Volume II: 1800-1829* by Peter D. Garside and Raven Schöwerling, with the assistance of Christopher Skelton-Foord and Karin Wünsche [hereafter *TEN1–2*, respectively]. 1800–1829: Peter D. Garside, Jacqueline Belanger, and Sharon Ragaz, *British Fiction, 1800–1829: A Database of Production, Circulation & Reception*, designer Anthony Mandal, first published 2004, updated c. 2009, Cardiff University, http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk

progeny no less perplexing, no less enchanting in their sheer number than the mythic premise of an originary cultural font from which they are all supposed to have sprung.

As I have argued in this dissertation thus far, upward-trending lines of this kind can be deceptive without historical context. Whatever aesthetic or cultural developments *the rise of the novel* may signify, *the increase of novels* represents, before anything else, the proliferation of a commercial product. As such, the literary history of the genre requires contextualization not only in the growth of the market for print, but also in contemporary patterns of socio-economic development. From a wide historical vantage, it may seem clear enough that the loosely exponential growth trend in Figure 3.1 represents an organic response to what Simon Kuznets called "modern economic growth." Once "novels," "romances," "tales," &c. had established themselves as a publishing staple across the first four decades of the eighteenth century, the fiction market had all the perks of economic modernization on its side, billowed not only by rising population, literacy, and income, but also the industrialization and mechanization of book manufacture. In short, there was nowhere to go but up.

The problem with this narrative is that it relies on too wide a historical vantage, taking too much for granted about the relationship between economic growth and literary proliferation. What I want to focus on in Part II of this dissertation is the troubled relationship between literary and economic periodization, which complicates an interpretation of increasing fiction publication as a necessary or inevitable byproduct of modern economic growth. Judging from Figure 3.1, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, known by literary historians as the Romantic period, would

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[hereafter *DBF*]. 1830–1836: Peter D. Garside, Anthony Mandal, Verena Ebbes, Angela Koch, and Rainer Schöwerling, *The English Novel, 1830–1836: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles*, first published 2003, last modified 21 November 2016, hosted by *Romantic Textualities*, http://www.romtext.org.uk/resources/english-novel-1830-36/ [hereafter *TEN3*]. An important complication to this graph—numerically small but conceptually significant—is that while the bibliographies covering 1750–1836 include fiction published throughout the British Isles, those covering 1700–49 include editions only from Great Britain. For bibliometric coverage of earlier Irish fiction, see Rolf Loeber and Magda Loeber, *A Guide to Irish Fiction, 1650–1900* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), lv–lvi. Because this bibliography is arranged alphabetically rather than chronologically, it is difficult to compare its eighteenth-century coverage with that of the British bibliographies directly. However, Loeber and Loeber find that publication of fiction by or about the Irish was infrequent (well under 5 titles a year) until the 1750s at the earliest, a count that includes works published in Great Britain and abroad.

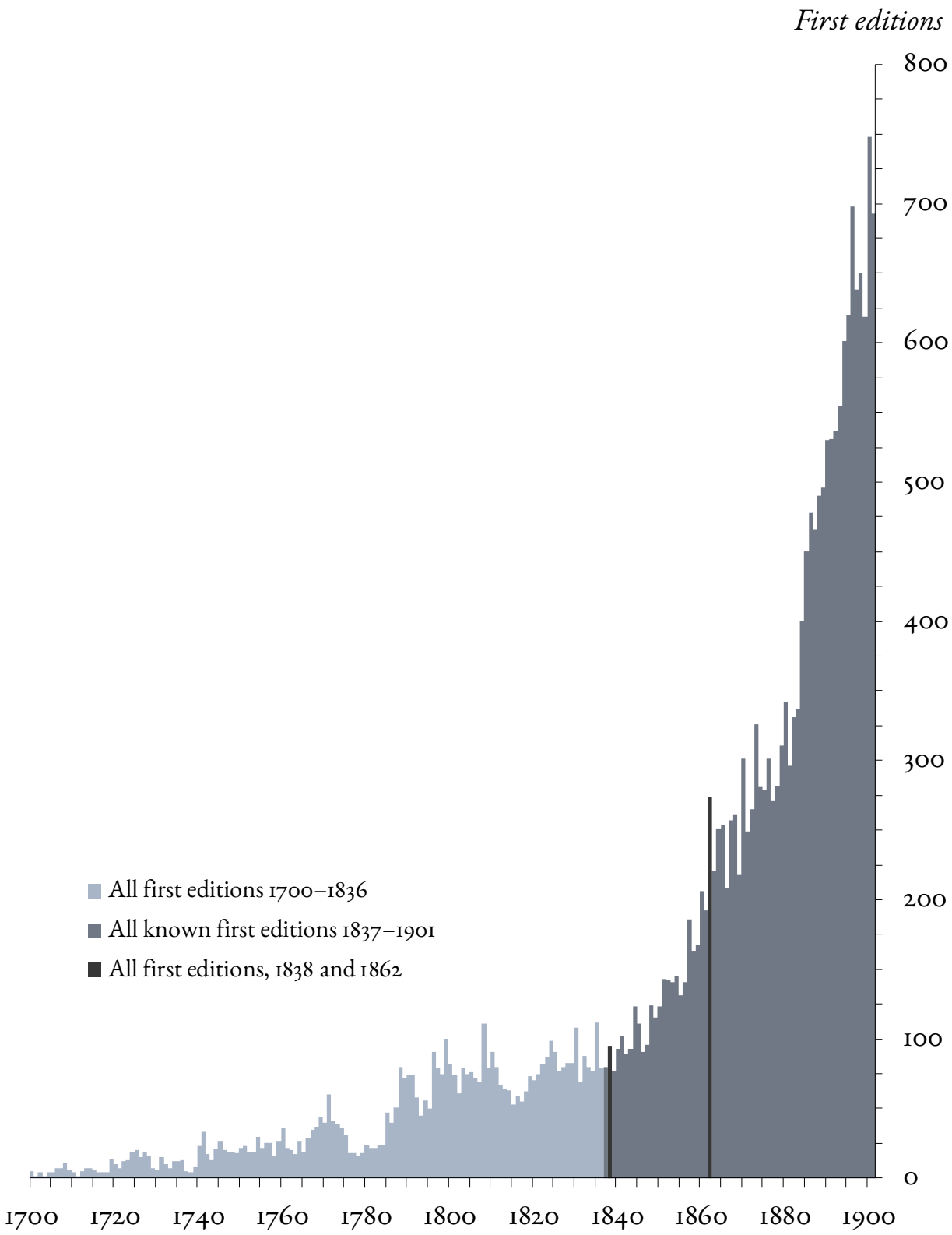

Figure 3.1. Output of long-form British fiction, 1700–1901

not appear to be a particularly fruitful time frame to study the effects of economic modernization on fiction publishing. After a great increase in the publication of new titles during the late 1780s, there followed a long period of negligible growth, which persisted through at least the mid 1830s. It is not obvious that there was a proper "take-off" in fiction publishing until 1850 at the earliest. Little wonder that Peter Garside, the leading bibliographer of Romantic fiction, has summed up the entire period with the following assessment: "As a whole, the era is best viewed as one of consolidation rather than outright expansion."[3]

The premise of Part II of this dissertation is that the Romantic fiction market was far more responsive to the onset of modern economic growth than Garside's interpretation of "consolidation" would suggest. Publishers responded to economic modernization less by increasing the scale of output than by altering their business strategies to accommodate the uneven, fitful nature of that growth. In Chapter 4, I will offer a historical narrative of those strategies, contextualizing the limited growth of the fiction market by focusing on the evolution of the novel as a commercial product. But first, in the present chapter, I address the methodological challenges that are necessary to undertake this narrative.

In the first half of this chapter, I offer a survey of the standard bibliographies British fiction that have been compiled by Garside, James Raven, and their many collaborators for the period 1750–1836 (collectively abbreviated *BBF*). These bibliographies offer an exceptionally rich trove of data; they are practically unmatched in the breadth and depth which they document the total commercial output of a literary genre over a long stretch of time. In order to avail ourselves of the insights without encouraging misapprehensions or distortions, however, we must first understand the structure, provenance, and limitations of their entries. Just as demographers rely on parish registers and paper historians rely on excise duties, quantitative book historians are captive to the limits of enumerative bibliography. In this regard, my goal is partly to fill a gap in bibliographical historiography, in some respects analogous to that filled by Peter W.M. Blayney in his review of Pollard, Redgrave, and

[3] Garside, "Historical Introduction. The Romantic Novel: Consolidation and Dispersal," in *TEN2*, 15–103 at 40.

Pantzer's *Short Title Catalogue*.[4] Like Blayney, I aim to celebrate the scope and coherence of enumerative bibliography as a mode of historical scholarship, while also stressing the human and institutional contexts of the resulting data that require caution and care from book trade historians.

In the second half of this chapter, I discuss the data that *BBF* make available for quantitative publishing history and the challenges that that those data present. In particular, I give a detailed account of my compilation of a retail price index for British novels, which, drawing primarily from *BBF*, includes almost 95% of the novels published between 1750 and 1836. As I will argue in Chapter 4, we cannot explain historical trends in book prices without addressing practically every phase in the book distribution chain. Thus, while prices are just one of many variables traced in the entries of *BBF*, they are a useful variable around which to orient a comprehensive statistical overview of many other variables—starting with length, the estimation of which from *BBF*'s pagination and format statements I discuss in detail here. However, the challenges attending novel prices receive the bulk of my attention here. Expanding on Raven and Garside's relatively contained accounts of prices,[5] I analyze the provenance of *BBF*'s sources of price and trade binding listings in newspaper and book advertisements, trade catalogues, and review periodicals and magazines. *BBF*'s patterns of coverage are of interest not only because they can help us to judge the reliability of price data and the reasons for variants and conflicts, but also because they clarify the role that contemporary price listings played in the book distribution chain. If, as some book historians have argued, the proliferation and standardization of prices over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries attests to structural change in the book trade,[6] then it behooves us to study the portrait of variant listings offered by *BBF*, which is likely the most thorough and reliable that exists for British publications of this period. My account is necessarily granular and may sometimes court tedium, but I implore patience from any readers who want to know

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[4] Peter W.M. Blayney, "The Numbers Game: Appraising the Revised *STC*," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 88.3 (September 1994): 353–407, https://doi.org/10.1086/pbsa.88.3.24304741.

[5] See especially Raven, *TEN1* "Historical Introduction," 97–100; Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," .

[6] John Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 51, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511552892; Barnes, *Free Trade in Books*, 5.

how to make the most of this singularly important category of publication evidence. By front-loading an account of method and data provenance in this chapter, I aim to free up the historical narrative that follows in the next chapter. The pricing of novels, I will argue, turns out to be the one of the most important ways that publishers responded to the destabilizing effects of economic modernization. This is not a story that I can tell without giving the bibliographers their due.

3.2. Bibliographies of British fiction: a historiographical survey

3.2A. Enumerative bibliography and the significance of the fiction record

As I have discussed in Part I of this dissertation, we have a more complete quantitative portrait of total market for print during the Romantic period than we do of the parts that make up that whole. Demographic research has yielded robust estimates of how many Britons were alive between 1770 and 1836 and how many of them were literate; the Social Tables can tell us, in broad strokes, how their incomes were dispersed; paper excise totals and directories of printers can tell us how the manufacturing base for print was evolving to meet rising demand. But we do not know how many books were published or sold, nor do we know what share of total print output any single category of publication constituted. Novels are a useful genre to discuss in the face of this ignorance, not because they are singularly important or representative, but because our disproportionate fascination with them has produced an unusually thorough record of long-form fiction as one segment of the market for print. In this regard, Figure 3.1 forecasts the debt that book trade historians and literary historians alike owe to bibliography. The fact that we are able to name every novel, or almost every novel, published through 1836 gives us a foothold for many other problems.

The idea that one of the major services that bibliographers have to offer is the fielding of quantitative historical data is still relatively new. During the second half of the twentieth century, bibliographers have sought to answer the challenge issued by D.F. McKenzie in "Printers of the Mind," a polemic decrying the presumptions of a generation of sophisticated but incautious printing

historians. At the end of this article, McKenzie prophesied an enrichment of the discipline that would stem from the simple act of counting:

> [I]f our basic premise that bibliography should serve literature or the criticism of literature, it may be thought to do this best, not by disappearing into its own minutiae, but by pursuing the study of printing history to the point where analysis can usefully begin, or by returning—and this is the paradox—to the more directly useful, if less sophisticated, activity of enumerative 'bibliography.' This it is which gave us the Pollard and Redgrave and Wing *S.T.C.*s [*Short Title Catalogues*], both of which have been of inestimable value to the study of history, life, thought—and bibliography—in the 16th and 17th centuries. It will be a pity if history, life, and thought—and bibliography—in the 18th century are long deprived of a comparable service.[7]

McKenzie, a deeply accomplished scholar of printing-house minutiae in his own right, nevertheless recognized that for bibliography to serve its best uses, breadth usually must precede depth. And indeed, in the coming decades, the series of union catalogues that McKenzie celebrated would go on to form a new covenant between Anglophone bibliographers and the communities they serve. These are the generations: Pollard and Redgrave's *Short Title Catalogue* 1475–1640 begat Pantzer's revised *STC*; Wing's *STC* 1641–1700 begat further revisions and enlargements by Timothy Christ, John Morrison, and Carolyn Nelson; and Robin Alston and his collaborators' *Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue* (the old *ESTC*) begat the concatenation of all predecessor *STC*s into the *English Short Title Catalogue* of all extant British and UK-dependent publications through 1800 (the new, current, and ever-expanding *ESTC*).[8]

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[7] D.F. McKenzie, "Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices," *Studies in Bibliography* 22 (1969): 1–75 at 61, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40371475.

[8] A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, 2nd ed., edited by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, and Katharine F. Pantzer, 3 vols. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–1991); Donald Wing, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641–1700*, 2nd ed. revised and edited by John J. Morrison and Carolyn W. Nelson, 3 vols. (New York: Modern Language Association of America: 1982–1994). For the evolution of the *ESTC*, see Stephen Tabor, "ESTC and the Bibliographical Community," *The Library* 7th Series, Vol. 8, no. 2 (December 2007): 367–86, https://doi.org/10.1093/library/8.4.367.

However, the emanations of McKenzie's enumerative ethos have yet to combine into one giant bibliographic Albion. The envelope of ignorance now opens to the nineteenth century, an era when the industrialization of print technologies and the dispersion of print audiences (topics discussed in their incipient forms in Part I) thwart even the heroic totalizing efforts of Pollard and Redgrave, Wing, Pantzer, Alston, and their many collaborators. In short, there came to be too much printing after 1800 for us to keep track of it all. Although the title of the *Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue* (*NSTC*) implies an ambition to follow in the footsteps of the earlier union catalogues, the *NSTC* draws from a far more limited collection of libraries, and it is necessarily far more limited in the kinds of coverage it can provide.[9]

It is in this context that book trade historians and literary scholars alike owe a profound debt of gratitude to the compilers of the standard bibliographies of eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century British fiction, which from here on out I will tend to cite collectively using the abbreviation *BBF*.[10] The near comprehensiveness with which James Raven, Antonia Forster, Peter D. Garside, Rainer Schöwerling, Anthony Mandal, and their many collaborators and assistants have documented the pre-Victorian novel is not merely invaluable for students of that one genre. Collectively, their bibliographical checklists offer an image of limited but decisive enumerative completion within the limitless uncertainty of a historical *topos* with bounds unknown. (Troy Bassett's *At the Circulating Library: A Database of Victorian Fiction, 1837–1901* cannot yet claim the same comprehensiveness but is steadily approaching it; Bassett's labors certainly represent the cutting edge of enumerative bibliography for the industrial book.) I will go further by positing that very few prolific Anglophone cultural or commercial products in *any* domain are as thoroughly charted as novels are, within the reasonable bounds that *BBF* traces novels.

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[9] *Nineteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue*, ProQuest, https://about.proquest.com/en/products-services/19thcen_stc/. For a quantitative analysis of *NSTC* as its coverage stood in Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing*, 7–25.

[10] Recall that a detailed guide to abbreviations is available in the frontmatter to the dissertation.

What underlies this claim to a limited kind of comprehensiveness is the synecdochical logic of enumerative bibliography. One surviving copy of a commercially published book is usually enough to establish its status as one of an edition, a group of copies (during this period, usually at least 500 and at most 10,000) all printed from substantially the same setting of type. The unit of entry in most of the bibliographies comprising *BBF* is the *first* edition—sometimes the only edition, sometimes the first of dozens. As is common knowledge to any student of descriptive bibliography, enumerative bibliography's younger and haughtier sibling discipline, many methodological problems attend both the definite identification of a work's first edition and the categorization of its various manufacturing and commercial subclasses (sub-edition or "casting," impression, issue, and state). *BBF* avowedly does not comprise a series of descriptive bibliographies, according to the exacting standards set out for that genre by its leading proselytizers, Fredson Bowers and G. Thomas Tanselle.[11] The compilers of *BBF* claim only to have prepared "checklists" and "surveys," and while the entries give detailed listings of known reprints from standard resources such as the *ESTC* and OCLC/WorldCat, they make no claims of comprehensiveness or total accuracy. What the entries of *BBF* do offer, however, is a level of detail and fastidiousness in the documentation of first editions that far outstrips the requirements of the bibliographical checklist as a scholarly genre. *BBF*'s entries contain not only full title transcriptions and imprints but author identifications, physical descriptions, scrupulous citations of contemporary primary materials and locations of surviving copies—and, of special interest to this dissertation, retail prices and their underlying sources.

What these bibliographies enable at present, then, is a mode of publishing history narrower, yet deeper than that offered by union catalogues—one that allows for greater granularity, but that also requires us to recognize the constraints of what each entry documents. In Chapter 1, I pushed back against William St. Clair's insistence on analyzing Romantic-period literary book publishing in isolation from larger patterns of print. One of the reasons I did so is that I do not believe the

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[11] See especially Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949), repr. 1986; and G. Thomas Tanselle, *Descriptive Bibliography* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 2020).

nineteenth-century bibliographical record is yet sufficiently developed for any totalizing view that might emerge from the data to be reliable. Ironically, we know more about the totality of the industries associated with print (printing and paper) than we do about books, and we cannot make generalizations about books until we know more than we do about how many books there were. If St. Clair is correct that "The history of reading is at the stage of astronomy before telescopes, economics before statistics," then it would be reckless of us to try to perform astrophysics in lieu of star charts.[12] What the bibliographies of British fiction give us are a case study of what a systematic quantitative treatment of literary publishing might look like—a reliable map of a relatively small but well-watched patch of night sky.

Indeed, one of the core insights that emerges from the historiography of British fiction bibliographies is that we cannot document the whole commercial output of a genre without recognizing the special challenges that genre poses. In order to compile their bibliographies, Raven, Garside, and their collaborators needed to negotiate carefully between the conception of the market they developed from ancillary sources—especially advertisements, trade catalogues, and reviews—and their first-hand consultation of physical copies at major collections. In this regard, their labors point to the ways that the kind of totalizing view of Romantic-period book publishing that interests St. Clair will need to negotiate between the more totalizing evidence of print manufacture that I consider in Part I, on the one hand, and the peculiar accidents that govern the documentary records of specific genres, on the other. For the foreseeable future, these are negotiations that publishing historians of nineteenth-century print must continue to make.

3.2B. Bibliographies of eighteenth-century fiction

In a sense, the enumerative bibliography of British fiction long predates the publication of any scholarly reference works on the topic. Its origins lie, on one hand, with contemporary periodicals and catalogues that aggregated new publications for consumer and trade reference, and, on the other hand,

[12] St. Clair, *The Reading Nation*, 9.

with the shelf records of private collectors and copyright deposit libraries. As an object of academic study, however, early British prose fiction had a strong lead in the twentieth century with the publication of Arundell Esdaile's *A List of English Tales and Prose Romances Printed before 1740* (1912), as well as Chester N. Greenough's preparation of an extensive card catalogue of English prose fiction published 1470–1820.[13] In 1960, W.H. McBurney expanded on Esdaile and Greenough's coverage for the early eighteenth century with *A Check List of English Prose Fiction 1700–1739*.[14] A decade later, Jerry C. Beasley pushed the horizon of ignorance out another decade with *A Check List of Prose Fiction Published in England 1740–1749*.[15] Although these bibliographies predate the *ESTC* and do not represent the full range of collections there catalogued, they remain the most comprehensive reference sources for long-form British fiction publishing through the first half of the eighteenth century.

For most of the twentieth century, British fiction published from 1750 onward was far less well served. Alongside Greenough's card catalogue, a series of checklists of private and institutional collections offered useful partial coverage,[16] and Simon Mayo's bibliography of magazine runs of English novels documented an important alternate mode of distribution.[17] However, all these resources were incomplete, both singly and together. The most extensive effort at a unified checklist, Andrew Block's *The English Novel, 1740–1850: A Catalogue* (1939), fell woefully short of comprehensiveness

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[13] Arundell Esdaile, *A List of English Tales and Prose Romances Printed before 1740* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1912), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015033681233; C.C. Mish, *English Prose Fiction, 1600–1700* (Charlottesville, VA: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1967), derives principally from Esdaile but is reorganized chronologically. Greenough's card catalogue is now housed in the Houghton Library at Harvard University.

[14] McBurney, *CEPF*.

[15] Beasley, *CPF*.

[16] W.H. McBurney, *English Prose Fiction, 1700-1800, in the University of Illinois Library* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Library, 1965); Godfrey Frank Singer, John Cooper Menenhall, and Sidney Gecker, *English Fiction to 1820 in the University of Pennsylvania Library* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954); Michael Sadleir, *XIX Century Fiction: A Bibliographical Record Based on His Own Collection*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1951), repr. (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1969); Robert Lee Wolff, *Nineteenth-Century Fiction: A Bibliographical Catalogue Based on the Collection Formed by Robert Lee Wolff*, 5 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1981–1986).

[17] Robert D. Mayo, *The English Novel in the Magazines, 1740-1815*. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1962).

and was notoriously riddled with duplicates, ghost entries, and the titles of works that fail to meet any criteria for long-form prose fiction.[18] In some respects, Block's catalogue has perhaps been unfairly maligned. It served collectors reasonably well for decades, and its citation of underlying sources often make its errors easy to explain. Furthermore, Block certainly previews the defamiliarizing vantages on literary history that make "distant reading" dear to many a DH practitioner. In his introduction to the second edition, John Crow logs reactions to his perusal of Block's short-title transcriptions that agree closely with mine to his successors' more complete checklists: "The entries which disturb me most and delight me most are those which seem to defy explanation. [. . .] We are given a Pisgah-sight of the strangest world."[19]

For scholars who craved more than the alienated majesty of a rejected corpus, however, Block's catalogue alone simply did not pass muster. Unfortunately, many obstacles prevented the compilation of a better resource. Most formidably, the scope of fiction publishing steadily grew from the mid eighteenth century onward, multiplying the prospective bibliographer's charge for each new decade covered. Beasley's checklist of the 1740s contains nearly as many entries as McBurney's for the four previous decades.[20] Attendant on the growing quantity of novels under study was an increasing number of titles absent from major research libraries, some of which survive in only one or two unique copies. The combined scale of these challenges was too great for any one bibliographer to overcome. Thankfully, several research projects were all converging on the topic of the late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century novel at around the same time.

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[18] Andrew Block, *The English Novel, 1740–1850: A Catalogue* (London: Grafton, 1939; revised edn. London: Dawsons, 1961). For an unsparing survey of negative reviews of Block, see James L. Harner, *Literary Research Guide*, 2nd edn. (New York: Modern Language Association, 1993), 263.

[19] Crow, "Introduction to the Second Edition" of Block, *The English Novel*, vi. Garside, reflecting on both Block's *The English Novel* and the similarly maligned Montague Summers, *A Gothic Bibliography* (London: Fortune Press, 1940), generously remarks that "each in its sprawling nature and vulnerability to error might be said to mirror aspects of the contemporary documents so far described"; see *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 21–3.

[20] Jerry C. Beasley, "English Fiction in the 1740s: Some Glances at the Major and Minor Novels," *Studies in the Novel* 5, no. 2 (Summer 1973): 155–75 at footnote 4, p. 174, https://www.jstor.org/stable/29531587. According to Beasley, his bibliography contains 338 novels to McBurney's 391.

The first major event was the 1987 publication of James Raven's checklist *British Fiction 1750–1770*.[21] (Raven's coverage in fact ends with 1769.) Of all the bibliographies yet published on eighteenth-century British fiction, Raven's was the most impressive in both scope and granularity. It was, and remains, the only fiction bibliography to log not only every new work of long-form fiction published in (as its title promised) England and the rest of the British Isles, but also to include discrete entries most further editions through the end of the eighteenth century, as well as miscellanies and other derivative works. Raven's entries also set the standard for later bibliographies in level of detail: they included the title (usually the complete title), the full imprint, the volume length and often the pagination, a designation of the edition's format, and an extensive reference apparatus for secondary listings and the location of surviving copies.

Raven's labors were not unadvised. Although Beasley had certainly capitalized on the literary-historical significance of having amassed a complete checklist of novels published in the 1740s, Raven was the first major fiction bibliographer to register the full significance of his discipline's labors as a trove of quantitative data about the British publishing industry. The insights of *British Fiction 1750–1770*, and Raven's ongoing efforts to document fiction publishing from 1770 onward, yielded a series of important studies, including the monograph *Judging New Wealth* (1992), an ambitious social history of popular responses to the eighteenth-century *nouveau-riche*.[22] Notwithstanding its unassumingly narrow topic, *Judging New Wealth* was one of the few books on British print from its era to answer the implicit challenge of Robert Darnton's book history and the *Annales* School of French social history. If print played a crucial role in the formation and dispersion of what Jürgen Habermas called "the public sphere," then historians have a responsibility to attend to the business networks, social relationships, and profit motives of its commercial intermediaries.[23] Raven answered

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[21] Raven, *BF*.

[22] James Raven, *Judging New Wealth: Popular Publishing and Responses to Commerce in England* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1992). See also James Raven, "The Publication of Fiction in Britain and Ireland, 1750–70," *Publishing History* 24 (January 1988): 31–47.

[23] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: Massachussets Institute of Technology Press, 1991).

that need not only by combing through an unprecedentedly large sample of prose fiction works for contemporary depictions of nabobs, tradespeople, and capitalists, but also by compiling "publishing profiles" that revealed the systemic drivers of the increase in texts addressing new wealth as a matter of civic and cultural interest. This widened sense of disciplinary scope fed back into Raven's specialist book-historical scholarship—nowhere more clearly than in a major 1990 essay in *The Library* dealing with the publishers, booksellers, and circulating librarians John and Francis Noble. A marvel of documentary evidence, Raven's study of a book-trade family exuberantly mocked by contemporary critics and forgotten by modern scholars offered a quiet kind of provocation to a discipline that still played handmaiden to high canons and elite collectors. Raven was interested not only to what books the Nobles published but what kind of business they ran. Raven noticed, for instance, that the Nobles' ever-moving shop shared blocks with watchmakers, chemists, tea dealers, and linen-drapers.[24] Raven recognized, more clearly than most scholars before him, that the eighteenth-century popular novel came into prominence in the eighteenth-century publishing scene not only as a newly solidified literary genre, but also as a class of elite urban luxury product.

3.2C. The significance of the Corvey Collection

Raven's study of the Nobles had a kind of sibling in an article published in the same journal three years earlier by Cardiff University professor Peter D. Garside, which had dealt with the even more prolific early-nineteenth-century publisher and circulating librarian John Francis Hughes. Like Raven, whose catalogue of the Nobles evinced research extending far past the 1769 end date of his first bibliography, Garside was clearly up to something bigger than the profile of a single publisher. Recognizing that scholars of popular literature needed better records of publishers and publishing, Garside mentioned offhand that he was in the process of "constructing a comprehensive file of novels published between 1780 and 1830" from a wide variety of contemporary and *post facto* sources—a file

[24] James Raven, "The Noble Brothers and Popular Publishing, 1737–89," *The Library* 6th Series, Vol. 12, Issue 4 (December 1990): 293–345, https://doi.org/10.1093/library/s6-12.4.293.

that by 1987 included 2,897 entries.[25] Later, Garside described this phase of his research in greater detail. He had intended to append a checklist of Hughes's publications to this article, but Mervyn Janetta, editor of *The Library*, had nixed the publication of any checklist that was not based on the direct consultation of copies, dismissing card catalogues as "quant." "So," Garside confessed, "I shuffled back to Cardiff, feeling terribly provincial, and stopped working on it . . . ."[26] In the long run, Garside's acquiescence to Janetta's discrimination paid surprising dividends. Although Garside's checklist as of 1987 was undoubtedly the most comprehensive for its period that anyone had yet compiled, it would not have solved the fundamental problem that plagued Block's *The English Novel*: the failure to ensure that every entry coincided with a directly consulted copy of every title.[27] As of 1987, no known collection of surviving copies was capacious enough to serve as a suitable base of operations for checking the card catalogue against surviving copies.

Meanwhile, 600 miles due east of Cardiff, just such a collection was coming into view. In the late 1970s, the Fürstliche Bibliotek (Princely Library) had been rediscovered on the second floor of Schloss Corvey, a castle overlooking the river Weser near the town of Hoxter in Westphalia, Germany. Practically untouched for a century, the Princely Library's 200 glass-fronted bookcases held at least 73,000 pristine, privately bound, uncatalogued volumes, comprising 25,000 titles of fiction, poetry, drama, travel literature, and belles-lettres in German, French, and English—nearly all of them published between 1796 and 1834. In 1985, the library's owner granted exclusive cataloguing rights to the University of Paderborn, where Harmut Steinecke and Rainer Schöwerling (the latter a specialist in Anglophone literature) came to head the Projekt Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey. Although word of the discovery traveled slowly, those who had the opportunity to survey discovered that the Princely Library held the finest corpus of British Romantic fiction anywhere in the world. In a preliminary 1983

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[25] Peter D. Garside, "J.F. Hughes and the Publication of Popular Fiction," *The Library*, 6th Series, Vol. 9, No. 3 (September 1987): 241–58, https://doi.org/10.1093/library/s6-IX.3.240.

[26] Peter D. Garside and Anthony Mandal, "Producing Fiction in Britain, 1800–1829," *Cardiff Corvey* 1 (1997), http://www.romtext.org.uk/articles/cc01_n01/.

[27] The one major effort to supplant Block during the intervening years was Leonard Orr, *A Catalogue of English Prose Fiction* (Troy, NY: Whitson, 1979), which broadened its coverage but suffered from many of the same errors as Block owing to its reliance on secondhand sources.

catalogue, John Graham established that the collection held more than 2,100 Anglophone novels, roughly 10% of them unrecorded in Block—a count predating Projekt Corvey's more thorough cataloguing and microform initiative for the collection over the ensuing decades.[28]

Once Raven and Garside made contact with the Paderborn team in 1990, Garside was able to check his card catalogue against the microfiche catalogue of the Princely Library in Cologne's then state-of-the-art library computing system. Ultimately, Garside and his colleagues found 2,450 novels at Corvey, including copies of at least 1,979 first or earliest known editions in the Corvey collection that had been published between 1790 and 1834—58% of all known novels from these years.[29] As of 2000, Garside believed as many as 100 of Corvey's copies to be the only ones extant; prior to his time with the collection, he had dismissed 80 of these—otherwise documented only in secondary sources—as duplicate entries or apocrypha.[30] The Princely Library contains the sole hard evidence of these novels not only as literary works and cultural artifacts, but also as business ventures. The significance of such a concentration of unique copies is hard to overstate. Even a single copy of a novel proves the existence of an edition, which, be it ever so rare in modern collections, could scarcely have been worth the undertaking during this era unless it was printed in at least 500 copies, employing a small team of printing-house employees for several weeks, constituting a nontrivial share of its publishers' annual capital outlays, and—if commercially successful—cumulatively filling hundreds of hours of leisure time for its purchasers and borrowers.

Contrary to all appearances, 2,450 British novels did not magically appear in northwestern Germany for the special convenience of bibliographers and literary historians. The library is the result

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[28] Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 28–30; James Raven, "The Treasures of Schloss Corvey," *Times Literary Supplement*, 13 September 1991, 14, GALE|EX1200463979; Stephen C. Behrendt, "Overview of the Corvey Collection," The Corvey Project at the University of Nebraska, last updated 26 June 2013, http://english.unl.edu/sbehrendt/projects/Corvey/Corvey%20Index.htm; Werne Huber, "In Memoriam: Rainer Schöwerling (1937–2014)," http://www.anglistenverband.de/wp-content/uploads/obituary-Rainer-Scho%CC%88werling-_-anglverband.pdf; John Graham, *Novels in English: The Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Holdings at Schloss Corvey, Hoxter, Germany* (New York: P. Lang, 1983).

[29] This tally includes "more than 1,600" first editions consulted from 1790–1829 (by my own count, 1,649) and 330 from 1830–1836; see Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 30; *TEN3* "Historical Introduction," 6.

[30] Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 30, footnote 29.

of a lifetime's worth of collecting by a family of bibliomaniacs: Victor Amadeus, Landgrave of Hess-Rutenberg (1779–1834), and his second wife, Princess Elise von Hohenlohe-Langenburg (1790–1830). The Amadeuses acquired most of their books while they lived in Rotenberg, well before their acquisition of Castle Corvey in 1821, and they moved the books 45 miles to the Princely Library between 1825 and 1833.[31] The Corvey collection warrants an extended digression—not only because without it much of this dissertation could not have been written, but also because the fact of its existence conveys valuable information about the fiction market.

That members of the German nobility displayed such enthusiasm for Anglophone *belles lettres* is not necessarily surprising in its own right. To be sure, European aristocratic culture was by nature pan-national, and an interest in British culture was by no means uncommon among the German high nobility. Yet the unusually large proportion of British fiction in what was clearly meant to be a permanent, growing collection bespeaks an unusual fervor for both fiction and Anglophone letters. One is naturally tempted to stress the Amadeuses' special cross-national interests: Victor and Elise both had ties to the British royal family. But perhaps even more importantly, E.J. Clery has observed Elise's close family connections with seminal German novelist Sophie von la Roche, who strenuously argued that German noblewomen were better served developing fluency in English than in any other language. The model of La Roche seems to have instilled in Elise a degree of respect for the international scene of professional female writers—and professional British female novelists in particular—that remained unusual even back in Britain.[32]

Indeed, although Schloss Corvey's monastic origins make it tempting to regard the Amadeus's corpus of secular literature as the more infernal component of the castle's long-term legacy as (in Clery's words) a "Sacred and Profane Library," if anything the library's fiction holdings signify the burgeoning cultural respectability of the European novel. And the Amadeus's collecting habits were, above all, respectable. As Garside has shown, the Amadeuses' annual accessions are so capacious that

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[31] Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 28–9.

[32] E.J. Clery, "The Sacred and Profane Library," The Corvey Project at Sheffield Hallam University, 1998, https://extra.shu.ac.uk/corvey/articles/SacredProfane.html.

we can infer prejudices and lacunae in their literary interests by identifying the novels they *didn't* buy. Their strong interest in respectable female novelists is evident not only in their purchases of first editions, but in the care they took collecting a robust reprint canon that includes Frances Burney, Sophia Lee, Clara Reeve, Agnes Maria Bennett, and Elizabeth Helme, "almost as if there had been a deliberate policy to 'compile' the novel stock retrospectively, especially in the case of authors who had become regular favourites." Pointedly absent, in comparison, are taboo-skirting novels with traditionally masculine appeal, such as Matthew Lewis's *The Monk* and its many derivatives, the bawdy "*Adventures of*" titles following in the tradition of Tobias Smollett, the aristocratic scandal novels published by J.F. Hughes. Absent, too, is much regional and evangelical fiction. Notwithstanding the discrimination implied by many of these absences, however, the Amadeuses' purchasing habits were remarkably catholic. In the 1810s and 1820s, they collected a growing portion of novels by men as well as women; as such, they came to own the vast majority of new Anglophone novels published during these decades in particular.[33]

Of course, the Corvey collection has greater implications for the European trade in British books than its manifest contents alone. The collection is invaluable not only for what it reveals about the most avid collectors of British fiction, but for the scope of bookselling activity that must have undergirded it. Along with evidence from the British periodical press (discussed later in this chapter), the Amadeuses' collecting habits are decisive evidence for the existence of a highly coordinated—if not quite completely unified—British fiction market, within which a well-connected tradesperson could plausibly facilitate the purchase of almost every work of long-form prose fiction published in a given year. We know relatively little about the specific tradespeople who enabled the purchase, transit, and remarkably uniform binding of so many books from London and other European commercial centers. Garside makes passing reference to one Dr. Moller, a German bookseller specializing in English books. Moller and his colleagues certainly seem to have had gaps in their knowledge or interest, considering

[33] Peter D. Garside, "Collections of English Fiction in the Romantic Period: The Significance of Corvey," in *Die Fürstliche Biobliotek Corvey: Ihre Bedeutung für eine neue Sicht der Literatur des frühen 19. jarhunderts*, ed. Rainer Schöwerling and Harmut Steinecke (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1992), 70–81.

the Corvey collection's systematic neglect of self-published and Irish titles. Nevertheless, as Garside has remarked, Corvey's shelves give the uncanny impression that "the fiction stocks of one of the leading contemporary circulating libraries, with yearly accessions intact, had been transported mysteriously to Germany."[34] This impression becomes less uncanny when we remember that Great Britain had many tradespeople in the business of compiling just such compendious collections during early nineteenth century. The diversification of retail and rental stock was the best way to anticipate the interests of a broad customer base. And there were certainly other large collectors of belles-lettres besides the Amadeuses, rare though it is for the fruits of their bibliomania to remain centralized in a single, well-preserved library. Indeed, in light of the commercial accession habits implied by a few dozen extant library catalogues, the fact that the Corvey collection still survives as a private collection—and in Germany, of all places—is perhaps the only truly unusual thing about it.

3.2D. From bibliographies to databases

Of course, British novels are only one subset of the Amadeuses' library. Between 1990 and 2000, Schöwerling edited two major microform photofacsimile editions of the Corvey collection: first its belles lettres in microfiche, then its broader nonfiction holdings in microfilm.[35] In their digitized form, the belles lettres holdings came to comprise two online scholarly database subscription products, Gale's *Nineteenth Century Collections Online: European Literature, 1790–1840* and Belser Verlag's *Corvey Digital Collection*.[36] The publication of these materials sparked satellite initiatives in the English-speaking scholarly world by their early purchasers, including the Corvey Project at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln and the Sheffield Hallam Corvey Project—the latter of which hosts,

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[34] Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 29–9.

[35] *Edition Corvey* (Stuttgart: Belser Verlag, 1987–1990), cited in *TEN1–2* as the Corvey Microfiche Edition (CME); *Furstliche Bibliothek Corvey: Microfiche-Volltext Edition der Sachliteratur* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2000).

[36] I have only consulted the former of these: see Nineteenth Century Collections Online: European Literature, 1790–1840, Gale, https://www.gale.com/c/ncco-european-literature-the-corvey-collection-1790-1840.

among other resources, a complete catalogue of the library's Anglophone titles.[37] The most important of these initiatives for the present account is the Centre for Editorial and Intertextual Research (CEIR), founded by Garside at Cardiff University in October 1997.[38] In the summer of that year, Cardiff commenced the open-source online journal *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text* (in 2005 rechristened *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780–1840*), which initially served as a venue to report on progress toward a complete bibliographical survey of late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century British fiction.[39]

By 1997, Garside and his colleagues had secured a contract with the Oxford University Press to publish a comprehensive print bibliography of British fiction, then bearing the prospective title *English Novels 1770–1830*.[40] The bibliography was ultimately titled *The English Novel 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles*; Garside, Raven, and Schöwerling received credit as its lead editors.[41] The final title suggests a self-conscious—and well-deserved—assessment that their project had mostly supplanted Block's 1939 checklist, at least as far as novels published before 1830 were concerned. Like many major print bibliographies, *The English Novel* can give novice users the impression that its compilers bore its two volumes down from some archival Mount Sinai, immaculate and infallible. It's thus to the compilers' credit that they expound on the project's institutional history, research methodology, and limitations in considerable detail, both in the scholarly apparatus of the print bibliography and in a series of progress reports, updates, and corrigenda published in successive issues of *Cardiff Corvey*/*Romantic Textualities*.

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[37] Corvey Project at the University of Nebraska, http://english.unl.edu/sbehrendt/projects/Corvey/Corvey%20Index.htm; Sheffield Hallam Corvey Project, updated c. 2009, https://extra.shu.ac.uk/corvey/site%20index/index.html.

[38] Centre for Editorial and Intertextual Research, https://www.cardiff.ac.uk/research/explore/research-units/centre-for-editorial-and-intertextual-research.

[39] "About *Romantic Textualities*," http://www.romtext.org.uk/about/.

[40] Garside and Mandal, *Producing Fiction in Britain, 1800–1829*.

[41] Garside *et al TEN1–2*; for the true publication date, see "History of *British Fiction, 1800–1829*," *DBF*, http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk/guide/history.html. Appropriately, given its coverage of a historical period when imprints often prevaricate, the title page reads "2000" even though the work was actually published in April 2001.

The lead compilers of Volume 1 of *The English Novel*, covering the years 1770–1799 (*TEN1*), were Raven and Antonia Forster. Forster's authorship of the *Index to Book Reviews in England, 1749–1774* and *1775–1800* made her uniquely qualified to use review periodicals and magazines as a guide for locating titles and assessing them for inclusion.[42] It's to Forster's expertise that readers of *TEN1* owe one of its most useful features: an extensive and robust selection of excerpts from short and long reviews of many titles.[43] On their own, these excerpts warrant the volume a place beside Cheryl Nixon's *Novel Definitions* among major anthologies of contemporary commentary on eighteenth-century fiction.[44] The debt that publishing historians owe *TEN1*'s full citation of review sources will, I hope, become apparent as this chapter progresses.

Volume 2 of *The English Novel*, which covers the years 1800–1829 (*TEN2*), was compiled by Garside and Schöwerling. James Harner, in his review of *TEN1–2* in the *Literary Research Guide*, observed that the bibliography's entry-level notes "are far more extensive in vol. 1 than in vol. 2."[45] Indeed, *TEN2* is slightly slimmer than the preceding volume, despite containing significantly more entries. An equally attentive subscriber to the early issues of *Cardiff Corvey*, however, would have appreciated that the relative sparseness of *TEN2* was a pragmatic research decision, auguring research that still awaited publication. In the years leading up to and immediately after the publication of *TEN1–2*, Garside and his colleagues at the CEIR completed a diverse series of studies reflecting on the broadened scope of literary scholarship that their ongoing work was making possible.[46] These

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[42] Garside and Forster, *TEN1*; Antonia Forster, *Index to Book Reviews in England, 1749–1774* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1990); Antonia Forster, *Index to Book Reviews in England 1775–1800* (London: The British Library, 1997).

[43] Garside *et al*, *TEN1–2* "General Introduction," 10–11.

[44] Cheryl L. Nixon, ed., *Novel Definitions: An Anthology of Commentary on the Novel, 1688–1815* (New York: Broadview Press, 2009).

[45] John Harner, review of *TEN1–2* in *Literary Research Guide*, 6th edn. (Modern Language Association, 2014), consulted through its hosting on Wikisource, m²336, https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Literary_Research_Guide/M.

[46] Peter D. Garside, "Mrs Ross and Elizabeth B. Lester: New Attributions" *Cardiff Corvey* 2 (August 1998), http://www.romtext.org.uk/articles/cc02_n02/; Peter D. Garside, "Walter Scott and the 'Common' Novel, 1808–1819," *Cardiff Corvey* 3 (September 1999), http://www.romtext.org.uk/articles/cc03_n02/; Peter D. Garside, "Subscribing Fiction in Britain, 1780–1829," *Cardiff Corvey* 11 (December 2003), http://www.romtext.org.uk/reports/cc11_n03/; Jacqueline Belanger, "Some Preliminary Remarks on the Production and Reception of Fiction Relating to Ireland, 1800–1829," *Cardiff Corvey* 4 (May 2000),

publications made clear that for the period 1800–1829 especially, the materials printed in *TEN2* were only one facet of a larger body of steadily accumulating research. As early as the journal's 1997 first issue, Garside and Cardiff doctoral student Anthony Mandal recounted the compilation of the Microsoft Access 97 database undergirding *TEN2*, in which the author, title, physical description, review citation, collection cataloguing details, and notes on entries were all coded as individual fields to each entry. Garside and Mandal were already discussing a planned "second phase" to the database, then imagined as focusing on literary categories such as genre, style, and narrative structure.[47]

As the Cardiff team's database transformed over the next two years, however, its focus shifted away from the literary contents of Romantic novels and toward their material contexts. In September 1999, Garside and Mandal announced the development of a database that ultimately bore the title *British Fiction, 1800–1829: A Database of Production, Circulation & Reception* (DBF). Phase I, by then complete, entailed the development of the core catalogue of novels published in *TEN2*. For Phase II, the CEIR drew on grants by Cardiff University and the Arts and Humanities Research Board to enable the hiring of full-time research associates Jacqueline Belanger and Sharon Ragaz. Between 1999 and 2002, a series of "Phase II Reports" in *Cardiff Corvey* unveiled an archive of mind-boggling ambition and scope. The November 2000 Report alone revealed that the Cardiff team had recorded accession data from four out of what would ultimately be 46 contemporary commercial and associational library catalogues; had transcribed more than 1,000 reviews and notices from a half dozen contemporary review periodicals and magazines; was in the process of compiling work-specific anecdotal records from an eventual 93 collections of contemporary letters and journals; and had acquired Chadwyck-Healy's extensive microfilm reproduction of the Longman Archive, with the intention of analyzing the firm's costs and revenues on fiction publications. Between 2000 and 2004, other labors of comparably

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http://www.romtext.org.uk/articles/cc04_n02/; Christopher J. Skelton-Foord, "Circulating Fiction 1780–1830: The Novel in British Circulating Libraries of the Romantic Era: With a Check-List of 200 Mainstream Novels of the Period," (PhD Dissertation, University of Wales College of Cardiff, 1997), *PQDT* 301666862; Christopher Skelton-Foord, "To Buy or To Borrow? Circulating Libraries and Novel Reading in Britain, 1778-1828," *Library Review* 47.7 (1998): 348–54, https://doi.org/10.1108/00242539810233477.

[47] Garside and Mandal, *Producing Fiction in Britain, 1800–1829*.

exhaustive scope were still to come: the compilation of all advertisements for novels to run in three prominent newspapers between 1800–1830; the consultation of the archives of five major publishers (Longman & Co., Blackwood, Archibald Constable/Robert Cadell, John Murray II, and Oliver & Boyd); and the transcription of subscriber lists for 70 novels published on a subscription plan.[48]

Made publicly available in its complete form in summer 2004, *DBF* is a marvel of book history, and it remains one of the most egregiously under-utilized accomplishments of nineteenth-century literary study.[49] The only real fault of the database, which may have contributed to its relative neglect, is its constraining design interface. The project's rich troves of information are only accessible one entry at a time, often rendering the underlying structure of the sources consulted inscrutable unless the user is willing to trawl through every entry in the database that falls within certain search parameters. *DBF*'s compilers seem only to have anticipated *title-level* consultation and citation, but the database they have constructed is a virtuously convoluted web of materials governed by their own ordering logics—materials replicating the interacting systems of knowledge that the novels themselves passed through from press to shelf. All bibliographies are communications circuits in disguise. How strange that this fact is often more readily apparent when flipping desultorily through the pages of a print resource such as *TEN1–2* than it is when perusing the discrete pages of a more complexly structured web resource such as *DBF*.

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[48] Peter D. Garside and Anthony Mandal, "Phase 1 Report," *Cardiff Corvey* 3 (September 1998), http://www.romtext.org.uk/reports/dbf1/; Jacqueline Belanger, Peter D. Garside, and Anthony Mandal, "*British Fiction, 1800–1829: A Database of Production and Reception*: Phase II Report (Feb–Nov 2000) and Circulating-Library Checklist," *Cardiff Corvey* 5 (November 2000), http://www.romtext.org.uk/reports/dbf2/; Jacqueline Belanger, Peter D. Garside, and Anthony Mandal, "Phase II Report: Anecdotal Comments," *Cardiff Corvey* 6 (June 2001), http://www.romtext.org.uk/reports/dbf3/; Peter D. Garside, Jacqueline Belanger, Sharon Ragaz, and Anthony Mandal, "Phase II Report: *The Flowers of Literature*," *Cardiff Corvey* 7 (December 2001), http://www.romtext.org.uk/reports/dbf4/; Peter D. Garside, Jacqueline Belanger, Sharon Ragaz, and Anthony Mandal, "Phase II Report: Advertisements for Novels in *The Star*," *Cardiff Corvey* 8 (June 2002), http://www.romtext.org.uk/reports/dbf5/; Peter D. Garside, Jacqueline Belanger, Sharon Ragaz, and Anthony Mandal, "*British Fiction, 1800–1829: A Database of Production and Reception*: Phase II Report: Walter Scott, *Tales of my Landlord* (1816): A Publishing Record" *Cardiff Corvey* 9 (December 2002), http://www.romtext.org.uk/reports/dbf6/. For the database's final coverage, see *DBF*, "Guide to the Database," http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk/guide/guide.html, as well as "Sources," http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk/guide/sources.html.

[49] As of August 2021, Google Scholar registers only 14 citations, compared with at least 270 for the print volumes of *TEN1–2*.

Amid the archival foment that went into the preparation of *DBF*, the pages of *Cardiff Corvey* give surprisingly little advance documentation to the fact that the CEIR was preparing the publication of a final major bibliographical resource. In June 2003, Garside and Mandal released *The English Novel, 1830–1836* (*TEN3*), which rounded out the peak years of Corvey's holdings.[50] More thoroughly apparatused even than *TEN1*, *TEN3* is particularly impressive for its detailed coverage of the serial publication of novels in parts and periodicals, which grew increasingly popular during these years. In the time during and after the preparation of *DBF* and *TEN3*, the CEIR team has prepared a series of updates to their entries on nineteenth-century fiction, which include new and corrected author attributions, further editions of previously cited works, and a handful of new titles for inclusion. The data from the first four updates, published through August 2004, have been entered into *DBF*, but the remaining three that have been published between 2005 and 2020 are stand-alone supplements to *TEN2* and *TEN3*. Thus far, these updates have tended to underscore the strengths of the existing databases: since 2005, only five new titles have been dredged up as possible additions.[51]

3.2E. The Victorian frontier

Collectively, the bibliographies I cite as *BBF* (*BF*, *TEN1–2*, *DBF*, *TEN3*, and their updates) have left the periodistic bases clear—at least as far as first editions are concerned—for subsequent bibliographers to concentrate their efforts on fiction published during the reign of Queen Victoria.

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[50] Garside and Mandal, *TEN3*.

[51] Peter D. Garside, Jacqueline Belanger, and Anthony Mandal, *TEN2* "Update 1 (Apr 2000–May 2001)," *Cardiff Corvey* 6 (June 2001): 1–19, http://www.romtext.org.uk/reports/engnov1/; Jacqueline Belanger, Peter D. Garside, Anthony Mandal, and Sharon Ragaz, *TEN2*"Update 2 (June 2001–May 2002)," *Cardiff Corvey* 8 (June 2002): 1–9, http://www.romtext.org.uk/reports/engnov2/; Jacqueline Belanger, Peter D. Garside, Anthony Mandal, and Sharon Ragaz, *TEN2* "Update 3 (June 2002–May 2003)," *Cardiff Corvey* 10 (June 2003): 63–75, http://www.romtext.org.uk/reports/engnov3/; Jacqueline Belanger, Peter D. Garside, Anthony Mandal, and Sharon Ragaz, *TEN2* "Update 4 (June 2003–August 2004)," *Cardiff Corvey* 12 (Summer 2004): 83–115, http://www.romtext.org.uk/reports/engnov4/; Jacqueline Belanger, Peter D. Garside, Anthony Mandal, and Sharon Ragaz, *TEN2* "Update 5 (August 2004–August 2005)," *Cardiff Corvey* 14 (Summer 2005): 51–8, http://www.romtext.org.uk/reports/engnov5/; Jacqueline Belanger, Peter D. Garside, Anthony Mandal, and Sharon Ragaz, *TEN2* and *TEN3* "Update 6 (August 2005–August 2009)," *Romantic Textualities* 19 (Winter 2009), 70–7, http://www.romtext.org.uk/reports/engnov6/; Jacqueline Belanger, Peter D. Garside, Anthony Mandal, and Sharon Ragaz, *TEN2* and *TEN3* "Update 7 (August 2009–July 2020)," *Romantic Textualities* 23 (Summer 2020), https://doi.org/10.18573/romtext.82.

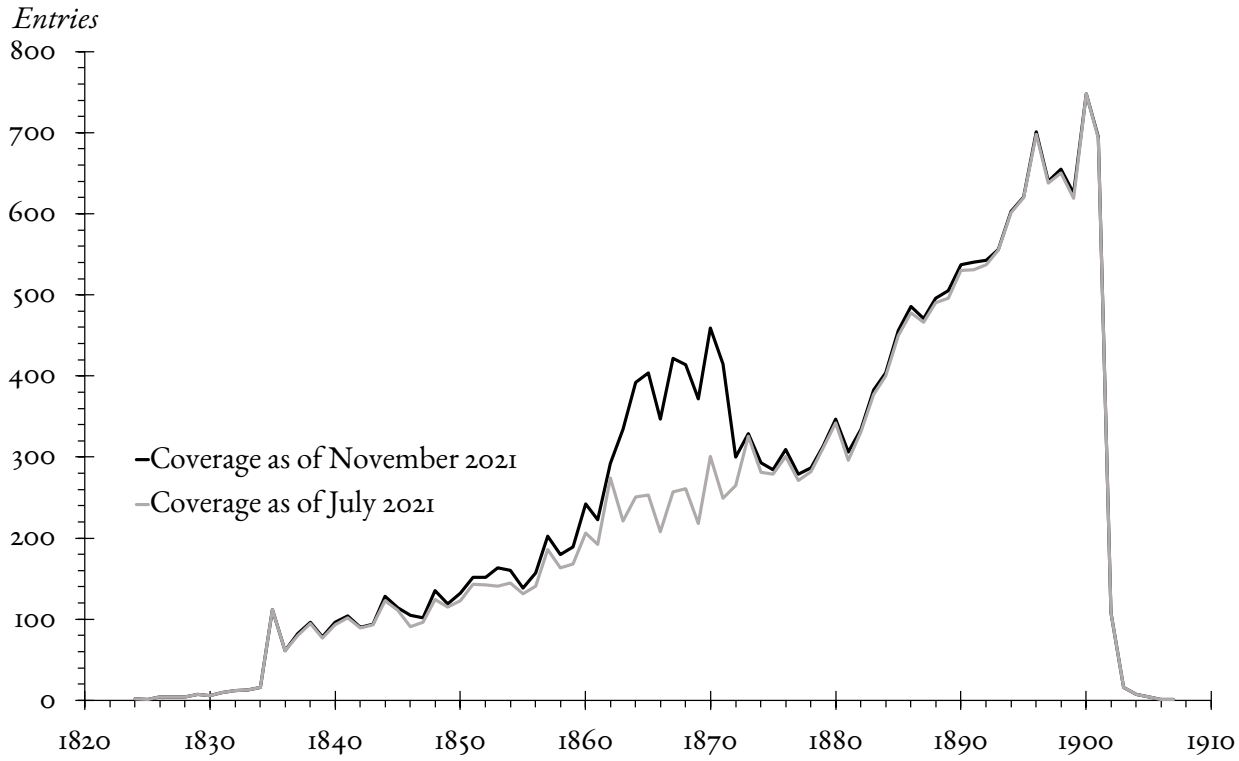

Figure 3.2. The expanding coverage of *At the Circulating Library*

Troy Bassett cites the comprehensive coverage of *DBF* and *TEN3* as the inspiration for his ongoing enumerative bibliography *At the Circulating Library: A Database of Victorian Fiction, 1837–1901* (*ATCL*), hosted since 2007 by Victoria Research Web, which "aims to continue where these two predecessors end." Yet the challenges Bassett faces as he steadily expands the coverage of *ATCL* are so fundamentally different that the comparison is inevitably somewhat misleading. Since Victorian fiction lacks a unified collection as comprehensive in its coverage as that at Corvey, Bassett must rely heavily on secondhand sources without the consultation of physical copies.

The clearest sign of *ATCL*'s necessarily provisional nature is the massive scale of its growth in coverage that has occurred over the course of my development of this dissertation. Between 2014 and 2021, the database's coverage has ballooned from 14,000 titles to more than 21,000—over four times as many entries as those cumulatively covered in *BBF*. Between November 2020 and July 2021 alone, *ATCL* added 1,805 entries, principally from the 1863–1872 volume of *English Catalogue of Books*. As Figure 3.2 shows, the bulge in coverage for these years belies what previously appeared to be a steady

growth trend in the publication of new novels across the early and mid Victorian period, leading one naturally to wonder how different a "final" graph of Victorian fiction publications will look from that offered in Figure 3.1.

Indeed, the task of documenting the Victorian novel is so vast that the borders between traditional book cataloguing and statistical corpus analysis are growing murky. In a 2021 article, computer scientists Allen Riddell and Michael Betancourt estimated the number of novels newly published between 1836 and 1919 using a Gaussian probability model. Drawing partly on estimates of total fiction publication elicited from Bassett, the authors find that annual output likely increased from about 100 novels in 1837 to a peak of anywhere between 1,000 and 2,500 novels in 1914, and they use a sampling method to estimate trends in the share of new novels written by women. Riddell and Betancourt propose that models of this kind will be of practical use to enumerative bibliographers:

> For example, if a model such as ours, one which draws together a range of sources, predicts that there are very likely between 78 and 160 first edition women-authored novels published in 1865, a bibliographer can consult their list of titles to see if their total aligns with the estimate. If the total in the bibliography falls conspicuously short of the estimated total, this indicates that novels by women are missing from the bibliography. In such a scenario, the bibliographer might then expand the range of sources they are drawing on to identify novels. Absent such estimates it is difficult for a bibliographer to conveniently assess their progress towards attaining an exhaustive list.[52]

Nothing is more indicative of the difference that exponential growth makes to the scope of literary history than the proposition that rather than looking to the holdings of large libraries, analytical bibliographers of the mid to late nineteenth century should look to Gaussian probability distributions.

In short, it is clear that for the time being that the Victorian period, with its increasingly industrialized book manufacture serving an increasingly globalized market, is still very much a frontier

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[52] Allen Riddell and Michael Betancourt, "Reassembling the English Novel, 1789–1919," *Journal of Cultural Analytics* 2 (2021): 1–39 at 25, http://doi.org/10.22148/001c.19102.

for enumerative bibliography. In some respects, Bassett's database has more in common with Garside's original card catalogue of the 1970s and 1980s than with the bibliographies that ultimately stemmed from it. It will be a long time before we are able to speak with comparable certainty about how many novels were published during the Victorian period. It is for this reason that I have shaped my present account around the constraints of *BBF*'s coverage. Within their scope, these bibliographies offer a combination of comprehensiveness and solid underpinnings in the consultation of actual copies that will not be possible for at least a generation.

3.3. From bibliography to econometrics: assembling a retail price index of British novels, 1750–1836

3.3A. Historical book prices: prospects and challenges

What has emerged from the previous section is that *BBF* offers a reliable and continuous record of the first edition of almost every work of long-form fiction published in the British Isles during an 87-year span. The bibliographies include a total of 4,823 entries dated by imprint to 1750 to 1836, not including a handful of contemporaneous first English translations and a few children's books and miscellaneous works that the compilers relegate to appendices. What kind of book-historical scholarship does a complete enumerative record of this kind enable?

One important lesson I have taken from the institutional histories underlying the compilation of *BBF* is that enumerative bibliography overlaps heavily with the contemporary records that were made to facilitate commercial interactions. This fact should not be surprising. Since nearly all novels were published with a profit motive, it makes sense that the secondary sources that bibliographers should most rely on are the products of publishers and their intermediaries advertising their wares to the public, reviewers helping customers form judgments about which books to read, and large collectors such as the Amadeus family. An enumerative bibliography is, almost by default, a database of trade distribution data. This fact will pay dividends in Chapter 4, in which I use *BBF* as the basis for a wide-ranging account of the evolution of the novel as a commercial product. Here, however, I am

concerned with the insights that arise from the data collection procedure I have needed to conduct in order to assemble that narrative. Specifically, I will focus on the variable that I consider the most important to the economics of the Romantic novel: price. Although retail prices comprise only a narrow portion of the evidence contained in *BBF*, their analysis serves as a useful way to coordinate many of the other categories of evidence contained in the bibliographical entries. To this end, I have constructed a retail price index that includes all the novels in *BBF* for which prices survive.

To my knowledge, there is no immediate precedent for the index I am compiling here, in terms of the depth with which I explore the origins and variability of price listings. Simon Eliot was perhaps being unjust with his charge that "Even in bibliography—that science of meticulous and exact fact—price has never been generally accepted as accepted as a datum: it seemed too variable and too trivial (perhaps even too vulgar) to concern the traditional bibliographer."[53] No less exacting a bibliographer than Fredson Bowers called for bibliographies to record prices whenever they are available.[54] There is a grain of truth in Eliot's lament, however, insofar as descriptive and analytical bibliographers have tended to relegate prices to the secondary category of importance that Bowers called "[c]ollateral evidence": evidence relevant to help establish a work's publication history, yet ultimately incidental to the physical evidence of the books themselves. This conception of external publication evidence such as prices as being, at best, supplementary has likely informed the relatively unsystematic treatment of book prices by bibliographers and book historians alike.

To be sure, scholars have compiled price indexes, at varying levels of sophistication. In one notable pair of studies published in 1950, H.S. Bennett and Francis Johnson prepared checklists that jointly included the retail prices of 660 books from the first two centuries of English printing, *circa* 1480–1640, drawing from sundry booksellers' bills and invoices, library inventories, and the hand annotations and account books of purchasers.[55] Scholars have similarly amassed seventeenth-century

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[53] Eliot, "Never Mind the Value," 160.

[54] Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description*, 318.

[55] Francis R. Johnson, "Notes on English Retail Book-prices, 1550—1640," *The Library* Series 5, Vol. 5, Issue 2 (September 1950): 83–112, https://doi.org/10.1093/library/s5-V.2.83; H.S. Bennett, "Notes on English Retail Book-prices, 1480–1560," *The Library* Series 5, Vol. 5, no. 3 (December 1950): 172–8,

retail book prices from sources similar to Bennett's and Johnson's.[56] Puzzlingly, however, analysis has been less systematic and less urgent for the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, even as retail prices have become more readily available without recourse to obscure manuscript sources. From about the 1730s onward, the growth of Britain's provincial book distribution network encouraged the printing of trade catalogues and the commissioning of newspaper and periodical advertisements to facilitate orders by retail booksellers to their London wholesale suppliers.[57] It is probably not an exaggeration to say that from the mid eighteenth century onward, *most* commercially distributed items of print matter have a retail price recorded *somewhere*. Indeed, the sheer mass of evidence has probably contributed to the neglect, since it poses problems of its own. Although James Raven has calculated volume-weighted averages of the prices (discussed in the next chapter), he argues strenuously that "[a]n eighteenth-century retail price index for books is extremely difficult to construct—and is, even if achievable, a project of limited value," given the uncertainty attending retail discount rates; and the susceptibility of averages to be manipulated by the frequency of large, expensive volumes such as folios

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https://doi.org/10.1093/library/s5-V.3.172. For critiques of Bennett and Johnson's methodology, see Blayney, Peter W. M. "The Publication of Playbooks," in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 383–422 at 410; and David McKitterick, "'Ovid with a Littleton': The Cost of English Books in the Seventeenth Century," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 11, no. 2 (1997): 184–234 at 184–8, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41154865. Judging from Blayney's treatment, some enterprising book historian can do the discipline a great service by recalculating period averages from Johnson and Bennett's indexes while making less problematic assumptions than Johnson's about binding surcharges. McKitterick, meanwhile, cautions against the overly programmatic use of Johnson's averages. Rejecting the conflation of presale list retail prices with the prices realized in actual sales, McKitterick urges that the latter be interpreted in the context of readers' budgets and broader consumer practices.

[56] Andrew G. Watson, *The Library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (London: British Museum, 1966); Gwen Hampshire, ed., *The Bodleian Library Account Book 1613–1646* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1983); Nati J. Krivatsy and Laetitia Yeandle, "Sir Edward Dering," in *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*, ed. R.J. Fehrenbach and E. Leedham-Green, Vol. 1 (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Rennaissance Texts and Studies, 1992), 137–269; R.C. Simmons, "ABCs, Almanacs, Ballads, Chapbooks, Popular Piety and Hymn Books," in *CHBB4*, 504–513 at 508–9, https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521661829.025; Anthony James West, "Sales and Prices of Shakespeare First Folios: A History, 1623 to the Present (Part One)," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 92, no. 4 (December 1998): 465–528 at 468–485, https://doi.org//10.1086/pbsa.92.4.24304140.

[57] Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade*, 51.

and quartos; and, most importantly, the impossibility of calculating a weighted average of number of copies printed.[58]

I agree with Raven's assessment that a single, undiscriminating index of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century retail book prices would not be particularly helpful. Indeed, the inability to control adequately for format and length from price listings alone has obstructed the analysis of nineteenth-century book prices by Eliot and John Sutherland.[59] However, what Raven fails to appreciate is the extent to which bibliographies, with their richness of corroborating evidence, are able to redress many problems in the analysis of price. Having consulted a few historical price indexes to develop a working knowledge of how the sausage is made, I can vouchsafe that the sources for both historical price series and their weighting factors are often haphazard to a degree that might startle bibliographers such as Raven, which is one of the reasons that different generations of economic historians have arrived at such markedly different interpretations of the working-class welfare effects of the Industrial Revolution.[60] This is not a reason not to be careful when compiling a book price index, but it is also not a reason not to compile one at all, since it is extremely rare in the history of any historical product that we have as much accompanying evidence to make sense of prices as we do for books.

Indeed, as with many other problems in bibliography and publishing history, Raven's own labors in *BBF* offer a degree of comprehensiveness and uniformity of coverage for fiction that is not generally not possible for other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century historical genres. In order to explain the particular point of view that I bring to these bibliographies, I need to offer a brief autobiographical digression. When I first set out to conduct quantitative historical, as a bright-eyed undergraduate double major in English and economics, I was dumfounded when I first stumbled across my college library's copy of Garside *et al.*'s' *The English Novel 1770–1829*. It was immediately

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[58] James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 301–3.

[59] Eliot, *Patterns and Trends*, 59–88; Sutherland, "The British Book Trade and the Crash of 1826," *The Library* 6th Series, Vol. 9, no. 2 (June 1987): 148–61, https://doi.org/10.1093/library/s6-IX.2.148.

[60] See, for instance, the necessarily thin sources used to elicit weighting factors in Feinstein, "Pessimism Perpetuated," 633–6.

obvious to me that this bibliography, with its listing of each novel's price alongside its author (their gender as well as whether they published anonymously), imprint year, publisher, place of publication, and volume and page length, could serve as the basis for inferential statistical analysis of the kind I was learning to perform in my statistics and econometrics courses, with price as the *response variable* (or dependent variable) influenced by the various other *independent variables* represented in the bibliographical listing.[61] As I read up on consumer theory during my first years of graduate study, I developed a plan to construct a hedonic price index, a type of econometric model that seeks to explain variation in prices by sequestering average differences in price across a wide variety of *characteristics*. These would have included both the book's physical features (format, length, binding) and such cultural characteristics as gender and genre.

While I continue to believe econometrics offers useful insights for book history, I ultimately chose not to estimate a hedonic price index for this dissertation. I eventually realized that the quantitative resources in publishers' ledgers were far richer than I had imagined they could be, which makes it possible to measure directly (albeit for a smaller sample) much data for which a hedonic price model would need to substitute adjacent and unreliable proxy variables—the median price of one grade of paper in a given year, for instance, in place of the outlay the publisher actually paid for the paper in a specific edition. Nevertheless, my fling with econometrics has taught me to think systematically about bibliographies as referential datasets. In particular, it taught me to trace not only trends in individual variables, but also the relationships among *multiple* variables. What I hope to show, in the remainder of this chapter and in Chapter 4, are the insights that bibliographies offer as sources of quantitative book trade evidence—provided we are always willing to keep in view both their limitations and the coherence of their innate structure.

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[61] Charles H. Feinstein and Mark Thomas, *Making History Count: A Primer on Quantitative Methods for Historians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 93–5.

3.3B. Book prices and descriptive bibliography

In order to interpret book prices, we must first answer the question: the prices of *which* books, exactly? The value of *BBF*'s reproductions of price listings is that they help to match prices to the bibliographical features of the specific copies (specifically, copies of the first edition) to which they would have corresponded in contemporary retail book shops. Many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century novels were printed more than once, in different forms and with revised contents. Even if we are far better off matching prices to specific books with the aid of *BBF* than we would be when left to our own devices in an archival wilderness, there are still serious perils that arise from the ambiguous relationship between *BBF*'s coverage of price listings and the underlying bibliographical record. In order to sidestep these perils—or, at the very least, to mitigate them, we must review some basic concepts from descriptive bibliography.

The bedrock of descriptive bibliography is the relationship among the concepts of *edition, impression, issue,* and *state*. An *impression* (sometimes called a *print run* or *printing*) consists of all copies of an edition printed concurrently as part of the same job. The definitions of *issue* and *state* require nicer distinctions. According to Tanselle, an *issue* is "a group of published copies of an impression which constitutes a consciously planned publishing unit"; distinctions among issues arise due to differences the publisher intends for prospective users of the book to notice, such as variant imprints, differences in publisher's bindings, and large or fine-paper copies. A *state* is a group of copies within an issue that differs from other copies "in any respect which the publisher does not wish to call to the attention of the public as representing a discrete publishing effort"—most often due to an error or its correction.[62]

Among these categories, *issue* is the only sensible one to connect to an externally recorded retail price. *Edition* is too capacious, since there is no *prima facie* limit to how long a setting of type may continue to be printed after it has been set. During the hand-press period, printers would ordinarily break up the type-pages of an edition relatively quickly. From the early nineteenth century onward,

[62] Tanselle, "The Bibliographical Concepts of 'Issue' and 'State,'"

however, the increasing use of stereotyped plates—and by midcentury, other techniques such as electrotype—prolonged the lifespan of many editions years or even decades past the original act of typesetting.[63] Distinctions among *impressions*, on the other hand, are usually irrelevant, since two roughly contemporaneous impressions of an edition are likely to be nigh-on indistinguishable, or else to contain the kinds of differences that more readily mark out issues and states. In comparison, the kinds of features that signal differences in *issue* are exactly those that typically motivate contemporaneous variant prices within an edition (e.g. the presence or absence of publisher's wrapping or binding, as well as the distinction between normal and large- or fine-paper copies), or that signal discontinuities in publication and distribution that would be likely to motivate an alteration in pricing (e.g. a different name on the imprint if copies of a book initially published by subscription were remaindered by another publisher).[64]

I do not mean to suggest that an issue from an edition had one price and only one price, nor even less so that we should expect each successive issue to have a different price. Indeed, an issue's price could rise or fall without any underlying change in its physical makeup, and a work's price could remain the same across several successive issues or even several successive editions. For instance, Joseph Bell continuously offered Matthew G. Lewis's *The Monk* (*TEN1* 1796:73) for a retail price of 10.5 shillings across the five editions and at least eight issues he published between 1796 and 1800.[65] Ultimately, a work's pricing, as part of its publishing and reception history, follows a parallel but separate track from its bibliographical history. Although Bowers and Tanselle tie *issue* to publication rather than printing, they define *issue* in terms of physical evidence left by the production process. Prices, however, are external to that production process: they are at once the increments to financial

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[63] The treatment of plates in descriptive bibliography is rare, as differences among duplicate platings are difficult to detect, and there is disagreement about their place in the schema of descriptive bibliographies. See James L. W. West III, "The Bibliographical Concept of 'Plating,'" *Studies in Bibliography* 36 (1983): 252–66, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40371788; G. Thomas Tanselle, "The Arrangement of Descriptive Bibliographies," *Studies in Bibliography* 37 (1984): 1–38 at 10–18, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40371788.

[64] See Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 80.

[65] William B. Todd, "The Early Editions and Issues of *The Monk* with a Bibliography," *Studies in Bibliography* 2 (1949/1950): 3–24, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40371066.

transactions and the textual records that anticipate, facilitate, and document those transactions. Even when prices survive as bibliographical evidence—for instance, when an issue has a price printed within its leaves or on its spine label—the textual content of that listing is continuous with the "collateral evidence," deserving no more and no less weight than periodical listings, trade catalogues, booksellers' financial accounts, and the private records of individual purchasers.

Ultimately, I have adopted a relatively liberal policy for the novel price index: I have tried to maximize the odds that the only retail prices included for consideration are those that corresponded to any issue of the first edition released during the September-to-May publishing season of the novel's original publication. My policy is thus to not only to exclude prices explicitly advertised as being for subsequent editions and reissues, but also to set limits on how long the date of the price listing can postdate the imprint date for consideration. To be sure, this policy does not eliminate all prices of later editions and reissues, but it does restrict the index to only those prices that could *feasibly* have referred. I doubt it would be constructive to push a historical retail book price index to any further degree of rigor than this, since contemporary readers and booksellers must often have operated under almost the same ignorance about the exact relationship between listings and the exact books to which they corresponded that we do.

3.3C. Length and Format

If the policy I have described above maximizes the odds that the prices I select for the index correspond to the physical books described in the entries of *BBF*, what remains is to understand how to interpret and quantify those physical descriptions. For several of the variables that I will have occasion to analyze in Chapter 4 (*e.g.* imprints and binding descriptions), the problem of measurement is straightforward enough to introduce in context. In comparison, however, the analysis of the constituent bibliographical form of these books is a methodologically complex topic, warranting an extended exploration before I proceed to the prices themselves.

Pagination. This study's source bibliographies make it possible to measure a novel's length in three ways: by volume, by sheet, and by page. A book's volume length is straightforward enough to

record, but sheet and page counts are difficult and time-consuming to measure accurately. Before discussing trends in the format and length of novels, I therefore find it necessary to touch on *BBF*'s pagination statements and their limitations.

In order to know exactly how many sheets comprised a book as issued by its publisher, we need to know both the edition's format and the total number of pages in a complete copy (that is, one with no pages removed after publication). The entries of *BBF* do give both format designations and pagination statements. However, unlike the pagination statements of descriptive bibliographies, which are undergirded by detailed collation formulæ describing the physical structure of a "standard or 'ideal' copy," the pagination statements of *BBF* are based only on "[t]he last roman and arabic page number of each volume" of whichever copy proved most practical to consult.[66] This practice is easy to condone, but it obviously doesn't anticipate a use case like the estimation of sheet counts. Take, for instance, the length of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*. The physical description of the first edition in Garside et al.'s *DBF* (1813A007) reads:

> 3 vols (I 307p; II 239p; III 323p). 12°

This description implies a total length of 869 pages.[67] Like almost all Romantic-period novels, however, *Pride and Prejudice* has an unpaginated title page and half-title for each volume, which (including versos) adds 12 pages to the total count. Furthermore, because every leaf has two sides, an odd number of pages in each volume necessitates the counting of three additional unnumbered versos. Here is how David Gilson's descriptive bibliography of Austen counts these unsigned leaves and unnumbered pages (indicated using italics) alongside the edition's collation formula, with letters

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[66] Garside *et al.*, *TEN1–2* "General Introduction," 10. For the relationship of pagination to a book's format and collation formula, see Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949; reissued by Saint Paul's Bibliographies, 1994), 193–254. For "ideal copy" as the subject of bibliographical description, see G. Thomas Tanselle, "The Concept of Ideal Copy," *Studies in Bibliography* Vol. 33 (1980): 18–53, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40372175.

[67] Garside *et al.*, *TEN1–2* "General Introduction," 10. For the relationship of pagination to a book's format and collation formula, see Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949; reissued by Saint Paul's Bibliographies, 1994), 193–254. For "ideal copy" as the subject of bibliographical description, see G. Thomas Tanselle, "The Concept of Ideal Copy," *Studies in Bibliography* Vol. 33 (1980): 18–53, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40372175.

representing the signatures of gatherings and superscript numerals representing the number of leaves in each gathering:

12º: Vol. 1. A^2 B–N^{12} O^8 P^2 [. . .], 156 leaves, pp. *i–iv 1* 2–307 *308*.

Vol. 2. A^2 B–L^{12} [. . .], 122 leaves, pp. *i–iv 1* 2–239 *240*.

Vol. 3. A^2 B–O^{12} [. . .], 164 leaves, pp. *i–iv 1* 2–323 *324*.[68]

In all, then, a complete copy of *Pride and Prejudice* comprises 442 leaves (884 pages) and—because the format is duodecimo, which takes 24 pages to a sheet—884 ÷ 24 = 36 5/6 sheets. The pagination statement of *DBF*, then, would lead us to underestimate the length of *Pride and Prejudice* by 15 pages, or a bibliographically impossible 5/8 of a sheet—1.7% of a complete copy's total length. The mismeasure is relatively small for this edition, but for other editions it would be proportionately larger depending on the length of the constituent volumes.

Often, *BBF*'s pagination statements do not include enough information to account for incomplete and discontinuous pagination statements of this kind. In order to reduce the odds of miscounting, I have estimated the sheet count of editions in *BBF* by adding 4 pages per volume whenever preliminary leaves are unpaginated and thus excluded from *BBF*'s count. I have also added one page to a volume whenever its last listed page number is odd.[69] These shortcuts are sure to add occasional mismeasurements of their own (c.f. when volumes lack a half-title), and they cannot account for discontinuities such as the "chasm of ten pages"—really nine pages—that Laurence Sterne mischievously leaves in Vol. 4 of *Tristram Shandy*.[70] Unfortunately, unnumbered pages are not the only source of trouble. Raven, Garside, and their collaborators take the pagination of most novels from copies in large private collections such as those in Castle Corvey and the British Library, many if

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[68] Gilson, *A Bibliography of Jane Austen*, A3: *Pride and Prejudice*, first edition, 22 (italics in original, my ellipses).

[69] Multivolume novels published 1750–69 lack pagination statements in Raven, *BF*; for these novels, I estimated pagination from digital surrogates on Eighteenth-Century Collections Online (*ECCO*).

[70] [Laurence Sterne], *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, Vol. 4 (London: R. and J. Dodlsey, 1761), 147–55, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/gri.ark:/13960/t1wfon465.

not most of which have had their advertisement leaves removed for bespoke binding.[71] Because only a complete collation of all surviving copies could remedy gaps of these kinds, I have not tried to account for their absence in any way.

Identifying format and estimating sheet length. In order to calculate or estimate an edition's sheet count from its page count, it is also necessary to know the edition's format. Format is also a useful variable to consider in its own right. Despite its ubiquity as a point of reference in book history, the concept of format still occasions confusion. G. Thomas Tanselle offers the following universal definition of format for all codex books:

> Format is a designation of the number of page-units (whether of printing surface, handwritten text, or blank space) that the producers of a manuscript or printed item decided upon to fill each side of a sheet of paper or vellum of the selected size(s); if paper came to a printing press in rolls rather than sheets, format can only refer to the number of page-units placed on the press at one time for the purpose of printing one side of the paper.[72]

Narrowing Tanselle's definition to printed books, format is a designation of the number of pages of moveable type (including blanks) imposed in each of the two *formes*, inner and outer, that are printed on either side of a complete sheet. The five formats that the entries of *BBF* identify for novels are quarto (4º, 4to), octavo (8º, 8vo), duodecimo (12º, 12mo, twelves), sextodecimo (16º, 16mo, sixteens), and octodecimo (18º, 18mo, eighteens). In the common imposition schemes of these formats, the total

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[71] It is likely that a majority of Romantic novels had integral advertisement leaves. Most of the first editions in the University of Virginia's Sadleir-Black Collection of Gothic Fiction that remain in their original trade binding have advertisements; the proportion of rebound copies with unexcised advertisements also appears to be far higher in books in the Sadleir-Black Collection than in the Corvey Collection. This discrepancy is owing to the fact that unlike the Corvey Collection, which displays fairly uniform rebinding practices, the Sadleir-Black Collection contains many books that remain in their original trade binding, or that were rebound with less discrimination toward advertisement leaves. On the other hand, rebound copies pose problems of their own, as sometimes they are bound together with material not integral to the original edition but added by a wholesale or retail bookseller. A good example is the Sadleir-Black Collection's copy of the fifth edition of Matthew Lewis's *The Monk*, retitled *Ambrosio, or The Monk*, 3 vols. (London: J[oseph] Bell, 1800), PZ2.L494 M 1800 v.1–3. Vol. 3 of this copy ends with an integral advertisement page on the verso of its final leaf containing the main text (p. 3.*312*), but it is also bound together with a 36-page 1805 catalogue of books sold by H.D. Symonds.

[72] G. Thomas Tanselle, "The Concept of Format," *Studies in Bibliography* 53 (2000): 67–115 at 112–3, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40372094, italics in original.

number of pages per sheet equals the number of type-pages imposed in both formes, where each type-page is printed onto one side of what becomes—after folding, sewing, and cutting—a leaf in the final bound book. Thus 4° has 4 leaves and 8 pages to a complete sheet, 8° has 8 leaves and 16 pages, 12° has 12 leaves and 24 pages, 16° has 16 leaves and 32 pages, and 18° has 18 leaves and 36 pages.[73]

When setting out to determine a book's format, the best starting place is usually to identify the number of leaves in its gatherings, which one can do by following the recurring pattern of signatures on the direction lines of recto pages. This is the procedure Garside *et al.* use to identify format in *TEN1–3* and *DBF*.[74] Apart from their preliminary and final leaves, most novels printed before 1830 reportedly comprise single-sheet gatherings of octavo and duodecimo (see Figure 3.3).[75] Books in common octavo are ordinarily signed on the recto pages of leaves 1–2 or 1–4 of each sheet (e.g. "B1" on page 1, "B2" on page 3, &c.). Although books in common duodecimo have more varied signings (e.g. leaves 1–5; 1–6; or 1, 3, and 5), one almost ubiquitous trend is that in single-sheet gatherings, the fifth leaf requires a signature, since the assembly of a sheet of duodecimo involved cutting off leaves 5 through 8 and inserting them between the first fold of the remaining eight leaves.[76]

Once one gets the hang of signatures, the determination of format in most pre-Victorian novels can seem like a routine matter of counting the increments of pages between signings. Importantly, however, format ultimately refers not to *gatherings*, the unit of sewing for a book's binder, but rather to *sheets*, the unit of imposition and presswork for its printer. Even when signatures

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[73] For format in the context of imposition, see Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, 78–107. Observe, however, that Gaskell defines format slightly differently from Tanselle: for Gaskell, a book's format includes "the arrangement of its formes" rather than merely the number of pages to a sheet (78).

[74] Garside *et al.* vaguely note that they identify format "by collation of leaves" in *TEN1–2* "General Introduction," 6. Thankfully, however, Garside later clarifies that "the method used to establish format in this bibliography" was "counting leaves between signatures"; see *TEN2* "General Introduction," 94.

[75] Figure 3.3 is styled after the format diagrams in Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, 88–107 and William Savage, *A Dictionary of the Art of Printing* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1841), 335–410, *HathiTrust*, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/gri.ark:/13960/t5bd16d6j.

[76] For an excellent illustration of the foliation and sewing of common duodecimo, see [Randall McLeod], *pseud.* Random Cloud, "Fiat *f*lux," in *Crisis in Editing: Texts of the English Renaissance*, ed. Randall McLeod (New York: AMS, 1994), 61–172 at 64–5. Books in common duodecimo are sometimes signed with two unevenly sized gatherings to a sheet (one with eight leaves and another with four), but this imposition does not appear to have been common during the Romantic period; see Tanselle, "The Concept of Format," 112.

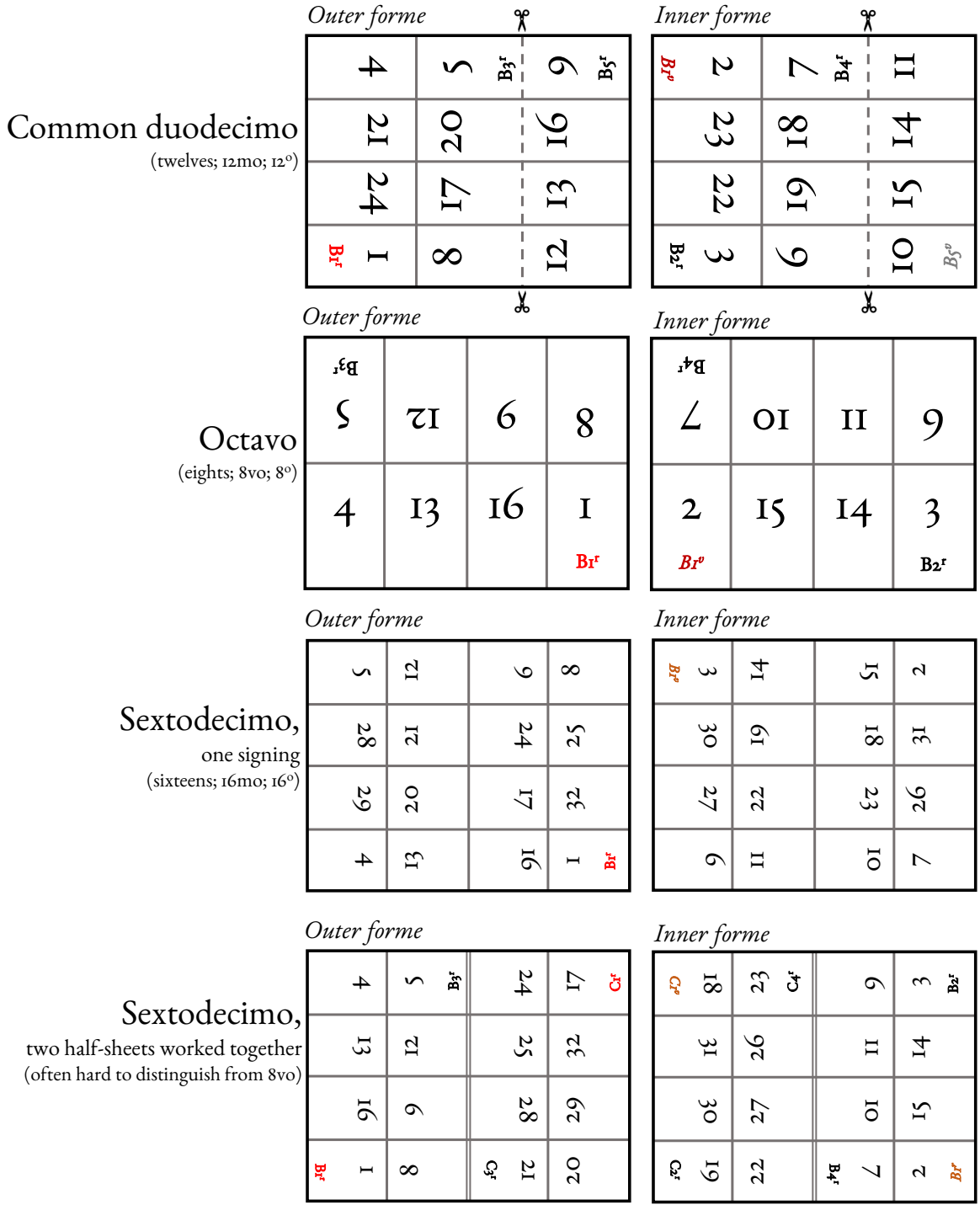

Figure 3.3. Common formats of novels

Imposition schemes and typical locations of signatures with versos of the first signed leaves indicated in italics for ease of interpretation)

seem unambiguously to identify a book's format as common octavo or duodecimo with one gathering to a sheet, it's best practice to confirm that designation by making use of other kinds of bibliographical evidence establishing the layout of printed pages on their full sheets of paper. In books printed on hand-made paper, which remained predominant until at least the mid 1820s and (I have argued in Chapter 2) probably through the mid 1830s, a book's format ordinarily coincides with the regular recurrence of patterns in the location of watermarks (if the paper-moulds atop which the paper was made had watermarks), chainlines and direction lines (if the moulds were lain rather than wove), and deckle edges (if an untrimmed copy survives).[77]

From the turn of the nineteenth century onward, the identification of format according to these rigorous standards becomes progressively more challenging. Starting in 1807, a steadily rising share of printing paper was manufactured on Fourdrinier and cylinder-mould papermaking machines, which turned out paper not in discretely lain rectangular sheets but in long rolls. These rolls were cut to sheets of the desired dimensions after their initial making, and the limiting factor on the area of a machine-made sheet as it ultimately went into the printing press was the width of the machine's wire, which in 1832 ranged from 30 to 54 in (76 to 137 cm).[78] Combined with the larger type area possible on early iron printing presses, machine-made paper made it economical to print formats with a large number of type-pages per forme without unduly sacrificing leaf dimensions.[79]

Because of these developments, the formats of novels became increasingly irregular as the nineteenth century wore on. Figure 3.4 shows the annual frequency of formats as designated in *BBF*. While duodecimo was plainly the most common format for novels throughout the Romantic period,

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[77] Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, 84–7; more advanced treatments are Allan H. Stevenson, "Watermarks are Twins," *Studies in Bibliography* 4 (1951/1952): 57–91, 235, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40371091; David L. Vander Meulen, "The Identification of Paper without Watermarks: The Example of Pope's *Dunciad*," *Studies in Bibliography* 37 (1984): 58–81, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40371793 and B.J. McMullin, "Watermarks and the Determination of Format in British Paper."

[78] "Report from the Select Committee on Fourdrinier's Patent; With the Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix," *Parliamentary Papers* (Commons), 1837 (351), Vol. 20, Appendix B, 47, https://google.com/books?id=KnFbAAAAQAAJ.

[79] Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, 199.

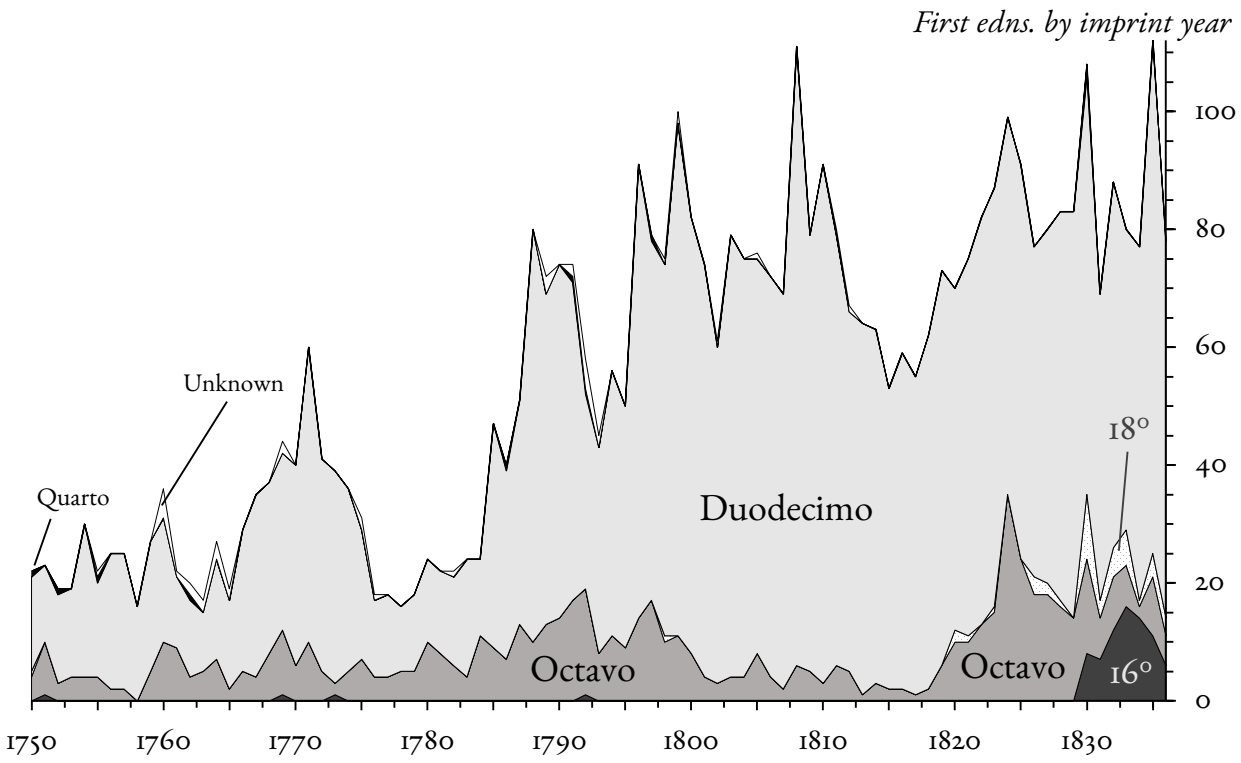

Figure 3.4. Formats of novels as identified in bibliographies, 1750–1836

octavo was continually popular as well. However, the compilers of *BBF* find that during the years 1829–1836, the frequency of octavo dropped in favor of 16º and 18º. Was the increase in many-page-per-sheet formats really so rapid? Garside describes the procedure for identifying these books by signatures, but also by size:

> Copies in 18mo examined often collate in sixes, but sometimes in twelves and sixes, whereas 16mo generally collates in eights. A main indication in these cases then is that page sizes are smaller than would be expected for 8vos or for 12mos in half-sheets. Due consideration has been taken of this factor in making decisions, though because of the variations found between copies of the same work, owing to cropping and other factors, no record of page diameters has been given in the entries.[80]

[80] Garside, *TEN3* "General Introduction," 9–10.

Garside here makes some problematic assumptions. Although format does often correlate with leaf size, a book's untrimmed leaf dimensions are determined by both its format *and* the dimensions of the constituent sheet. To be sure, it is unlikely—though certainly not impossible—for a type-sheet imposed in 18º to have been printed on a sheet of paper with bigger dimensions than that used for a type-sheet imposed in duodecimo, and a book in 18º with three gatherings of six leaves to a sheet was certainly more economical to print than a book entirely imposed in duodecimo half-sheets. Yet leaf size alone is unlikely to identify all 16º editions on extra-large sheets signed in two gatherings of eight leaves apiece, which are easily mistaken for octavos. This caveat holds true even before machine-made paper became widespread. An entry in Longman's Impression Books reveals that in the autumn of 1804, R. Taylor & Co. printed Amelia Opie's *Adeline Mowbray* (*DBF* 1805A058) in 16º on double foolscap paper.[81] Because this edition's unusually large sheets each comprise two gatherings of eight leaves, Garside *et al.* understandably mistake its format for octavo. Perhaps in 1804, *Adeline Mowbray* was merely the exception that proves the rule. But without further bibliographical analysis, we cannot rule out the possibility that across the early nineteenth century, a significant number of books in 16º have gone misidentified as octavo, in which case the shift of 1829–1836 is just the earliest visible manifestation of a more gradual development.

Unfortunately, uncertainty about format is difficult to clear up in late-Romantic and early-Victorian books. Starting in the 1820s, publishers increasingly issued books with pre-trimmed leaves, which, combined with the absence of watermarks on most machine-made paper, impart scant evidence of format.[82] In an ingenious essay, B.J. McMullin has demonstrated that much machine-made paper bears marks from the seams connecting the two ends of the rotating wire atop which rolls of paper lay as they were drying.[83] But seam marks are rarer and more challenging to interpret than the recurrent evidence of handmade paper. Tanselle, like Bowers before him, concludes that the best practice is to

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[81] Longman Impression Book 2: 122r. See Appendix B.

[82] A good survey of this problem and the efforts bibliographers have taken to redress it is G. Thomas Tanselle, "Recent Work in Descriptive Bibliography," *Studies in Bibliography* 60 (2018): 1–93 at 35–7, 42–8.

[83] B.J. McMullin, "Machine-Made Paper."

omit description of a book's format when it cannot be positively identified, and simply to delineate its gatherings and leaf counts.[84] This policy, strictly applied, would lead us to reject many of *BBF*'s format designations.

In short, as grateful as I am for Garside *et al.*'s format designations, much work remains to be done on physical makeup of nineteenth-century novels. For this reason, it would be unwise to put too much stock in the estimated sheet counts proffered in this chapter—at least for novels designated octavo, 16°, and 18° in *BBF* after 1800. Mercifully, novels in gatherings of twelve leaves are almost certain to be duodecimos, and this format retained its majority at the turn of the Victorian period. 24° was unlikely to be a viable format in the dimensions common to novels through 1836—that is, unless London and Edinburgh printers were secretly subcontracting their jobs to the presses of Brobdingnag. Indeed, it may not have been until well into the Victorian period that the predominance of duodecimos waned. Troy Bassett's Victorian fiction bibliography *At the Circulating Library* relies for its designation of format on advertisements and periodical listings, which—judging from crossover with *TEN3*—almost uniformly misidentify duodecimo as "post 8vo" during the 1830s.[85] Garside describes this misidentification as "puffing," since octavo was perceived as a slightly more elite format. On the other hand, it may have represented a more benign uncertainty about how to advertise books during a period when technological change in paper manufacture meant that size and format were becoming decoupled.

Clearly, much about the physical makeup of nineteenth-century books remains unknown, and not a little is unknowable. In any event, one key consequence of mechanization is that sheet counts are arguably a poor measure of the length of nineteenth-century books. Information about a book's printing history is useful whenever it survives. For the purposes of the present analysis, I accept *BBF*'s format designations, but I recommend that quantitative book historians weigh best practices in the treatment of length carefully according to the reliability of bibliographical listings. In some

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[84] Tanselle, "The Concept of Format," 94.

[85] In 1836, 47 novels are listed in 8vo in *ATCL*, compared to just 5 for that year in *TEN3*; see http://www.victorianresearch.org/atcl/show_year.php?year=1836.

circumstances, book historians may be best off using a mix of bibliographical measurement, photofacsimiles, and digital corpus analysis to measure length by focusing on pagination, leaf and text-block dimensions, and even word, character, and em or en counts (discussed in detail in Chapter 6).

3.3D. Compiling the retail price index

Having now surveyed the relationship between the physical characteristics of books and their publication histories, I will now proceed to discuss the methods I have employed to construct a retail price index of novels published between 1750 and 1836.

Step 1. Prices from bibliographies The first step of constructing the index was to collect all variant pairings of retail price and trade binding descriptor (or lack thereof) listed in *BBF* (These include the "pagination, format, and price" fields for each entry in Raven, *BF*; Garside *et al.*, *TEN1–2*; and Garside and Mandal, *The English Novel, 1830–1836*; as well as those reported in the "Contemporary Reviews" and "Newspaper Advertisement" sections of Garside *et al.*, *DBF*.) Alongside each price-binding variant, I tracked the source(s) and when available, the earliest date each variant was listed. Occasionally, sources give prices for only a fraction of the total work, *i.e.* for one or two volumes out of three, or in parts if the novel was only ever issued in installments. In these cases, I have added the cumulative prices of all volumes and assigned the price to the earliest date by which all volumes have a price on record.[86]

Step 2. Culling. Once the initial data collection was complete, I removed all variant prices explicitly listed for any "edition" later than the first. (Since at least some of these new "editions" were likely further issues or reissues of the first edition, this step inevitably removes prices that we should prefer to keep in the index; some of these removed observations will be added back from additional sources in the next step.) In order to reduce the profile of repriced later issues, I also removed prices dated at least one full September-to-May publishing season after the latest season during which each novel could plausibly have been first published, judging from its imprint year. For instance, when an

[86] See for example *TEN1* 1770:29, 30, 1771:60, 1790:41; *TEN2* 1801:27. I have excluded prices listed for part of a novel when the same source fails also to give a later price for the rest of the novel.

imprint gives 1806 as the publication date, I accepted any price recorded as late as August 1807, but I removed prices offered September 1807 or later.[87] This procedure culled 117 novels from the index, winnowing down the sample of novels with prices taken solely from *BBF* to 4,406 novels.

Step 3. Prices from other sources. Steps 1 and 2 left 417 novels (8.6% of the total) without a recorded price from *BBF* in the index. In Step 3, I collected the retail prices of 157 of the unrecorded novels published 1780–1836, using miscellaneous contemporary sources on the databases Gale Primary Documents, HathiTrust Digital Library, and NewspaperArchive.com.[88] During this step, I added back prices for 60 of the 117 novels culled during Round 2, and cumulatively, I reduced non-coverage in the index to 270 novels—just 5.4% of the total. In all, the final index contains 4,563 of the 4,823 known novels published 1750–1836.

Ghosts and quartos. This final figure, while impressive, requires some caveats. 319 novels, 247 of them from the eighteenth century, have a price in the index despite not surviving in any known copy. For 302 of these "ghost" novels, external sources do give binding information. Nevertheless, all the "ghosts" must be excluded from any analysis involving sheet length and format.[89] Furthermore, seven novels in the price index, all but one from the eighteenth century, were first published in quarto, a format usually larger and far more expensive than those used for novels. Two of the quartos, the first edition of Tobias Smollet's translation of *Don Quixote* (*BF* 1755:302, 2 volumes for 42 shillings) and Arthur Murphy's posthumous edition of *The Works of Henry Fielding* (*BF* 1762:714, 4 volumes for 105 shillings) are so much more expensive than any other novels published in their respective years that they dramatically inflate the index's annualized average price per volume. (On its own, *The Works of*

[87] For example, the earliest newspaper advertisements for *DBF* 1806A038, 1808A022, 1812A029, and 1815A024 all appear on November of the year after the imprint year.

[88] See Appendix A for detailed citations of these added novels.

[89] For lost novels, see Garside *et al*, *TEN1–2* "General Introduction," 1–2; Raven, *TEN1* "Historical Introduction," 20–1; Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 32–3; Garside, *TEN3* "Historical Introduction," 7.

Henry Fielding triples the average price for 1762!)[90] Although I do track these seven quarto editions in the index, I exclude them from most statistical analyses of prices.

While the choice to restrict the influence of quartos is straightforward for the purpose of the present index, it entails some important considerations about the construction of historical book price indices in general. I have justified my use of average annualized prices per volume on the premise that most novels resembled each other in size, shape, and quality of workmanship. Despite the diversity of authors and book tradespeople who participated in the Romantic fiction market, the books themselves were relatively homogenous, and the range of prices on offer in each year reflected that homogeneity. Although there are small differences in average price per sheet between duodecimo novels and those printed in octavo, 16º, and 18º, all of these formats sold at price points that were also common for duodecimo editions of comparable length. But quartos are more problematic for genres that made use of large formats more often, such as poetry. Longman & Co.'s quarto first edition of William Wordsworth's *The Excursion* (1814), infamously offered at a retail price of 42 shillings for a single volume, is as much a part of the publication history of Romantic poetry as the duodecimo first edition of Wordsworth's *Poems, in Two Volumes* (1807), which Longman & Co. offered for a less exorbitant 7 shillings.[91] Yet it would be ill-advised to lump both publications into the same series of annualized averages. A separate index for quarto editions might be preferable, or perhaps even an individual index for each common format.

Vexing indeed are the 270 novels that lack contemporary price listings in any of the sources cited in *BBF* or—as far as I can tell—in any of the research databases to which I have access. These novels are relatively evenly dispersed chronologically and show no obvious pattern in author gender, subgenre, or city of publication. I do notice one underlying pattern, however. Novels are likeliest to have a price recorded if their imprint indicates that they were published or wholesaled by any of the 25 most prolific firms in the fiction market. For the period 1780–1836, just 1.2% of novels with at least one

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[90] The other quarto novels with prices in *BBF* are *BF* 1750:15, 1752:137, *TEN1* 1792:46, 1797:79, and *TEN3* 1830:46.

[91] Jackson, *Annals of English Verse,* 312, 379.

of these firms on the imprint are missing from the index, compared to 10.1% of novels published and sold by less prolific firms. Most likely, the publishers responsible for these unlisted books headed comparatively small operations, posted advertisements less systematically than their larger rivals, and were less likely to garner the attention of the review periodicals.

3.3E. Sources of novel prices

In all, the bibliographies comprising *BBF* record retail price listings from 48 groups of sources. Most of these listings appeared contemporaneously with each novel's publication, but a few record contemporary listings secondhand decades later. In this section, I survey *BBF*'s sources and their profiles in the retail price index, before briefly discussing primary sources I have consulted directly to fill in the gaps in *BBF*'s coverage.

Newspaper advertisements. Newspaper advertisements are the most consistently reliable and information-rich source of evidence for retail book prices during the Romantic period. Their ordinary minimum expense of 6 shillings (including a steep tax burden of 3 shillings, raised to 3.5 shillings in 1815) ensures that they were commissioned by someone directly involved in the novel's commercial distribution—if not the publisher, then the author or one of the wholesale booksellers.[92] Furthermore, the integral role of advertisements to the business model of newspapers incentivized them to record copy accurately. In fact, newspapers sometimes even printed errata on the advertisements for publications in previous issues. I only managed to track down the price of *Kerwald Castle* (*DBF* 1803A038) thanks to a fastidious notice in *The Morning Chronicle*: "In Monday's Paper, the 11th Advertisement in the 2d Column of the 2d paper, the Title of the Novel should have been printed KERWALD CASTLE, not Therwald."[93]

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[92] Peter D. Garside *et al.*, *DBF* "Guide to Newspaper Advertisements," http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk/guide/newspapers.html; Ivon Asquith, "Advertising and the Press in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: James Perry and the *Morning Chronicle* 1790–1821," *The Historical Journal* 18, no. 4 (December 1975): 703–24, http://www.jstor.com/stable/2638512; Lynne Oats and Pauline Sadler, "Political Suppression or Revenue Raising?: Taxing Newspapers during the French Revolutionary War," *The Accounting Historians Journal* 31.1 (June 2004): 93–128, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40698294.

[93] *The Morning Chronicle*, 22 July 1803, https://newspaperarchive.com/morning-chronicle-jul-18-1803-p-2/.

For this reason, it is fortuitous that Garside *et al.*'s *DBF* contains detailed records of newspaper advertisements for the crucial years 1800–1829. *DBF* cites and partially transcribes nearly every advertisement that ran for a novel in three major British newspapers during this 30-year period: for London, *The Morning Chronicle* and *The Star* ; and for Edinburgh, *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* . In all, *DBF* transcribes advertisements for 1,734 out of the 2,272 novels it covers (76.3%).[94] From these, the present index incorporates advertisements for 1,635 novels with a price I take to refer to the first edition. The coverage of newspaper advertisements in *BF*, *TEN1–2*, and *TEN3* is robust but comparatively sparse, drawing from twelve further titles.[95] Cumulatively, the present index incorporates *BBF*'s reported prices from the newspaper advertisements of 2,226 novels. Of these, 822 have prices recorded only from a newspaper advertisement—the largest number of unique observations for any category of source.

Review periodicals and magazines. The seven literary review periodicals with price listings in *BBF* usually ran prices alongside both full-length reviews and notices of new publications. These are the most common pricing sources in *BBF*. From them the index takes the prices of 3,562 novels, of which 774 lack prices from any other kind of source. The three most complete review periodicals for pricing are *The Monthly Review* and *The Critical Review*, which the compilers mostly use for eighteenth-century novels; and the *Edinburgh Review*, first issued in 1802.

During the eighteenth century, review notices were usually collected secondhand, which makes them less reliable on the whole than newspaper advertisements. According to a 1780 description of *The Monthly Review*'s procedure by one of its reviewers, prices and bindings were gathered by the review's

> *Collector*, who (it is understood) generally takes them from the news-paper advertisements, and in the very terms there used; and where those vehicles of information are silent with regard to the price of any publication, the deficiency is always supplied by inquiry of the publisher.[96]

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[94] Garside *et al.*, *DBF* "Guide to Newspaper Advertisements." To see all entries with advertisements, perform a general search of *DBF*'s search engine (http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk/search.asp) and check the box "Advertisements" under the field "Only titles with:".

[95] Raven, *TEN1* "Historical Introduction," 18; Garside, *TEN3* "General Introduction," 6, 10.

[96] *Monthly Review* 63 (1780):480, quoted in Raven, *TEN1* "Historical Introduction," 98.

Citing this account, Raven urges "cautio[n] about using the reviews as a source" for prices. Indeed, while it is heartening to see corroborating evidence that reviewers sought out prices systematically from the publisher when they were unavailable elsewhere, an additional stage of transmission entails a further opportunity for corruption. It's surely no coincidence that 91% of the pricing conflicts in *BBF* that binding cannot explain involve listings from review periodicals. In the nineteenth century, however, the review periodicals seem to have become a more reliable source. By the 1810s, publishers were paying upfront for notices and advertisements. Oliver & Boyd's Advertising Accounts include itemized charges for such periodicals as *The Monthly Review* and *The Montrose Review*, as well as substantial blanket charges for "Lists in Reviews &c."[97]

Less integral to the index than the review periodicals, but still useful for corralling cumulatively 20 otherwise unrepresented novels, are the ten literary magazines from which *BBF* draws prices. All but two of these are eighteenth-century publications,[98] but the most important magazine in the index is *The Literary Gazette* (1817–1863), for which Garside and Mandal collect the prices of 242 novels published 1830–1836.[99]

Trade catalogues. *BBF*'s largest single source of prices is Robert Alexander Peddie and Quintin Waddington's *The English Catalogue of Books, 1801–1836* (1914, hereafter *ECB*), a catalogue of nineteenth-century publications from the years preceding the 1837 founding of *The Publisher's Circular and Bookseller's Record*.[100] In all, the present index draws the prices of 1,608 novels from the *ECB*, 197 of which are available from no other source. In turn, Peddie and Waddington's sources, as they specify in the Preface to the *ECB*, are the standard London periodical trade catalogue edited by bookseller William Bent (1747–1823) and his son Robert, which went by several short-lived titles in the

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[97] Advertising Account, Oliver & Boyd with G. & W.B. Whittaker (NLS Acc 5000/51), cited in "Publishing Papers" for *DBF* 1819A022 (£0.9.11 to the *Montrose Review*); 1824A038 (£0.12.0 to the *Monthly Review*); and 1820A034 and 1820A054 (£3.3.0 each "To insertion in Lists in Reviews &c.").

[98] For most of these magazines, see Raven, *TEN1* "Historical Introduction, 18.

[99] Garside, *TEN3* "General Introduction, 6–10.

[100] Robert Alexander Peddie and Quintin Waddington, eds., *The English Catalogue of Books, 1801–1836* (London: The Publisher's Circular, [1914] repr., New York: Krauss, 1963), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/msu.31293024403903 (hereafter *ECB*).

years 1801–1803 before it was retitled *The Monthly Literary Advertiser* (1805–1828) and finally *Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser* (1829–1860).[101] Peddie supplemented these periodicals by consulting the various issues of Bent's *London Catalogue of Books*.

The *ECB* is a remarkable compendium of nineteenth-century publishing history, and as a statistical source of book prices it has been put to intriguing uses in its own right.[102] Nevertheless, it has drawbacks. First, as with review periodical notices, an extra stage in transmission entails a higher risk of corruption: no fewer than 22.9% of novels with pricing conflicts in the index have listings in the *ECB*. Second, the entries are relatively data-poor. Peddie and Waddington only sporadically give the months of Bent's listings as well as the years, and they rarely record information about binding. These limitations only partly reflect those of the underlying source. Bent's *Monthly Literary Advertiser* relays prices in two places: advertisements, which are identical in form and level of detail to newspaper advertisements and which often include binding alongside prices; and monthly or bimonthly notices of new publications. Apart from their dates, the latter are as sparse as the entries in *ECB*, usually just giving the author (if public), title, and price. Dozens, perhaps hundreds, of otherwise unrecorded bindings are surely spread across Bent's *Monthly Literary Advertiser*, along with the same kinds of useful information recorded in newspaper advertisements. But unfortunately, Bent's advertisements give far less coverage for novels than do his notices.

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[101] Peddie and Waddington, *ECB*, [i]; James J. Barnes and Patience P. Barnes, "Sampson Low: Organizer of the Victorian Book Trade," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 105, no. 1 (March 2011), 69–89 at 70, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/680753; Simon Eliot, "Some Trends in British Book Production, 1800–1919," in *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century British Publishing and Reading Practices*, ed. John O. Jordan and Robert L. Patten (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 19–43 at 25. The commercial database NewspaperArchive.com has digitized complete runs of *The Monthly Literary Advertiser*, 1805–1828, https://newspaperarchive.com/browse/uk/middx/london/monthly-literary-advertiser/; and *Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser*, 1829–1860, https://newspaperarchive.com/browse/uk/middx/london/bents-monthly-literary-advertiser/. Coverage in noncommercial databases is unfortunately sporadic; see *The Monthly Literary Advertiser*, Nos. 124–220 (10 August 1815–9 August 1823), Google Books, http://google.com/books?id=455bAAAAcAAJ; *Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser* Nos. 359–370 (10 January–10 December 1835), HathiTrust, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433082015789, Nos. 371–82 (11 Jan–10 Dec 1836), HathiTrust, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433082015797.

[102] John Sutherland, "The British Book Trade and the Crash of 1826."

For the year 1800, which precedes the coverage of both the *ECB* and Bent's periodicals, Garside and Schöwerling also gather the prices of 47 books published in 1800 (7 of them unique) from Bent's *The Modern Catalogue of Books* [. . .] *Since the Year 1792* (1803).[103] Despite its small profile in the index, this source will prove useful below for the information it contains about the provenance of binding descriptions. A final *post facto* trade catalogue source, Richard Bentley II & Son's *List of the Principal Publications Issued from New Burlington Street during the Year 1830* (1893), gives the prices of 141 novels published by Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley I during the years 1830–1836, only one of them unique.[104]

Prices in books. Notably scarce in the entries of *BBF* are prices drawn from copies of the novels themselves. By my count, the compilers of *BBF* collected prices from the title pages, half-titles, spine labels, and paste-in labels of just 94 novels, 43 of which lack a price in another source. The scarcity of prices on title pages is unsurprising, as publishers and booksellers not infrequently had occasion to alter prices after publication. The printing of prices onto more transient spine labels was far more common.[105] 139 novels, 15 of them unique, have prices recorded in miscellaneous advertisements, especially from the advertisements that appeared in the final leaves of many volumes of fiction. Unfortunately, these advertisements have usually been excised from the privately bound copies in major collections such as the British Library and Castle Corvey.

Miscellaneous secondary sources. It's a testament to the sedulous checking of primary sources undertaken by the compilers of *BBF* that just 37 novels in the index take a price from a secondary source (other than the *ECB*) but not a primary source. 406 novels, 26 of them unique, have prices recorded in the card catalogues and other internal documents of library collections. These include the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge; the closed stacks (as of 2000) at Aberdeen University; and the

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[103] William Bent, ed., *The Modern Catalogue of Books, with Their Sizes and Prices, and the Names of Their Publishers: Containing the Books which have been published in London since the year 1792, and such as have been altered in size or price, since* The London Catalogue *of 1800* (London: Printed for W. Bent, 1803), Google Books, https://google.com/books?id=L4taAAAAcAAJ.

[104] Garside and Mandal, *TEN3* "General Introduction," 6.

[105] Stuart Bennett, *Trade Bookbinding in the British Isles* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press and London: British Library, 2004), 85. I discuss spine labels in greater depth in Prices and Descriptive bibliography, below.

Houghton Library at Harvard University.[106] Another 147 novels, 11 of them unique, have prices recorded from scholarly bibliographies and monographs—most of them concentrated in the 1750s and 1760s.[107]

Sources collected for the present study. For the period 1780–1836, I have collected the prices of 157 additional novels that lacked an acceptable price in *BBF*. I take these price listings from 45 sources. Broadly, these fall into the same categories as those I have described above. 72 of the added prices came from newspaper advertisements (22 from the *Morning Post*, 10 from the *Morning Chronicle*, and 9 from *The World*), 53 from literary magazine notices (16 from *The Universal Magazine* and 7 from *The Scots Magazine*), 9 from review notices, 9 from trade catalogues, and 9 from advertisements in other novels. I record these listings in detail in Table 3.1, including stable URLs or Gale document numbers for each source.

3.3F. Overlapping coverage, variants, and conflicts

The final retail price index I have constructed from *BBF* and other sources contains the prices of 4,565 novels published 1750–1836. At face value, the index is nearly exhaustive for the period it covers, containing 94.6% of all known novels published in the British Isles during an 87-year window. Yet if we regard the base unit of the index—the dat*um* comprising the dat*a*—to be not the price of each edition but instead *each discrete listing* of the price of each edition, the sample is in fact humblingly small. Surprising as it may seem after the long and perhaps somewhat tedious foregoing survey of sources, at least 90% and perhaps upward of 99% of the contemporary price listings printed for these novels remain uncited. They are scattered about in scores, if not hundreds, of newspapers, magazines, and catalogues, as well as thousands of advertisement leaves and spine labels.

In this context, the scale of joint coverage the compilers of *BBF* managed to record from three or four dozen periodicals speaks to their judiciousness as well as their indefatigability in analyzing external sources. In all, the index comprises 9,795 price listings—or to be precise, 9,795 *instances* of a

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[106] Garside *et al.*, *TEN1–2* "General Introduction," 7, 12.
[107] Raven, *BF*, 47–52.

Table 3.1. Novel prices from additional sources, 1781–1836

Source	Date	Price (s, decimal)	Binding	URL/Gale document number
Morning Herald	24 May 81	5	sewed	GALE|Z2000906490
St. James's Chronicle	5 Jul 81	2.5	.	GALE|Z2001297619
Critical Review	1781	2.5	sewed	
Hampshire Chronicle	29 Oct 87	3	sewed	GALE|IS3241378000
The World	24 Dec 87	7.5	sewed	GALE|Z2001501293
Analytical Review v.2	Sep–Dec 88	5	.	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101065085718
General Magazine v.2	[1788]	5	.	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044093658993
Lloyd's Evening Post	17 Oct 88	2.5	.	GALE|Z2000530808
London Chronicle	13 Dec 88	5	sewed	GALE|Z2000589591
St. James's Chronicle	9 Dec 88	2.5	sewed	GALE|Z2001310705
St. James's Chronicle	11 Dec 88	2.5	sewed	GALE|Z2001310719
St. James's Chronicle	9 Dec 88	4	sewed	GALE|Z2001310709
The World	29 Nov 88	3	sewed	GALE|Z2001510345
The World	27 Nov 88	5	sewed	GALE|Z2001510315
The World	26 Nov 88	6	.	GALE|Z2001510298
Bath Chronicle	10 Dec 89	15	sewed	GALE|Z2000113097
The World	17 Dec 89	5	sewed	GALE|Z2001518757
The World	30 Oct 89	3.25	boards	GALE|Z2001518041
J. Todd's catalogue of ancient and modern books	[1790]	2.5	sewed	GALE|CW0124536431
A list of books, published by the Rev. Dr. Trusler	24 Nov 04	7	bound	GALE|CW0117149061
World	24 Mar 90	5	sewed	GALE|Z2001520163
Analytical Review	[1791]	3	sewed	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.a000040978 61
Universal Magazine v.88	[1791]	6	.	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/chi.79276403
London Chronicle	10 Mar 92	5	sewed	GALE|Z2000595384
Public Advertiser	6 Mar 92	5	.	GALE|Z2001221576
Scots Magazine	[1792]	9	sewed	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044092547314
Town and Country Magazine v.24	[1792]	6	sewed	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433084270309
Universal Magazine v.91	[1792]	7	.	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015065481783
Chester Chronicle	16 Nov 92	10.5	.	GALE|JE3231706749
Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser	25 Apr 92	12	sewed	GALE|Z2000409049
The Times	2 May 92	7.5	sewed	GALE|CS33686250
The Times	23 Oct 92	10.5	.	GALE|Z2001538301
The World	23 Oct 92	6	.	GALE|Z2001538301
The World	23 Oct 92	7	.	GALE|Z2001538301
Critical Review S.2, v. 6/adv. Fountainville Forest	[1794]	12	sewed	
The Scots Magazine	1 Dec 93	14	boards	GALE|JE3236596019
Universal Magazine v.92	[1793]	14	.	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015065481775
Universal Magazine v.93	[1793]	3.5	.	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.a000048029 8
Oracle	13 Mar 94	6	sewed	GALE|Z2001011265
Oracle	20 Apr 95	9	sewed	GALE|Z2001022832
Morning Chronicle	22 Jun 95	12	sewed	GALE|Z2000806045
Morning Post	21 May 95	6	sewed	GALE|Z2000967889
Analytical Review	12 Jun 97	7	boards	GALE|Z2001567360
Oracle	18 Dec 96	14	sewed	GALE|Z2001035108
Public Ledger	9 Apr 96	10.5	sewed	GALE|Z2001234235
True Briton	9 Feb 97	6	sewed	GALE|Z2001564603
True Briton	20 Aug 96	9	sewed	GALE|Z2001560260
True Briton	20 Aug 96	9	sewed	GALE|Z2001560260
True Briton	20 Aug 96	12	sewed	GALE|Z2001560260
Universal Magazine v.98	[1796]	6	.	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/chi.79276890
Universal Magazine v.99	[1796]	4	.	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015065481700
Universal Magazine v.99	[1796]	7	.	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015065481700
Morning Chronicle	10 Jun 96	2.5	bound	GALE|Z2000810239
True Briton	12 May 97	6	sewed	GALE|Z2001566735
London Evening Post	13 Apr 97	9	sewed	GALE|Z2000703131
Morning Chronicle	22 Mar 98	10.5	sewed	GALE|Z2000815898
Morning Post	17 Oct 97	10.5	sewed	GALE|Z2000975046
Star and Evening Advertiser	28 Dec 97	2	.	GALE|Z2001450096
Monthly Epitome v.2	[1798]	6	.	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433069135907
Oracle	15 Aug 98	10.5	.	GALE|Z2001047095
Lloyd's Evening Post	8 Feb 99	7	.	GALE|Z2000541633
Lloyd's Evening Post	8 Feb 99	8	.	GALE|Z2000541633
Lloyd's Evening Post	8 Feb 99	16	.	GALE|Z2000541633
Morning Chronicle	29 Nov 98	14	sewed	GALE|Z2000817847
Morning Herald	14 Dec 98	6	sewed	GALE|Z2000899552
Bent, The London catalogue of books	[[1799]]	6	.	GALE|CB0130870396
Catalogue of Earle's Circulating Library	[1799]	12	.	GALE|CW0117075561
London Catalogue of Books, 1799	1799	12	.	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433069263808
London Catalogue of Books, 1799–1800	[1800]	4	.	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hwt7uh
Monthly Epitome v.3	[1799]	1	.	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433069135915
Oracle	12 Sep 00	7	boards	GALE|Z2001013075
The Scots Magazine	1 Oct 99	8	boards	GALE|JE3236597997
Universal Magazine v.105	[1799]	3		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/chi.79276903
Universal Magazine v.105	[1799]	3.5		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/chi.79276903
Morning Herald	31 Dec 99	1.5		GALE|Z2000902285
Sun	21 Nov 99	1.5	bound	GALE|Z2001474675
Hereford Journal	24 Dec 00	8	boards	GALE|EN3219503771
Universal Magazine v.108	[1801]	8		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/chi.79276725
Morning Chronicle	1 May 01	7	boards	GALE|BA3207636356
Morning Post	16 Oct 01	10.5	sewed	GALE|R3211970399
Chester Chronicle	28 Jan 03	13		GALE|JE3231713819
Morning Chronicle	23 Dec 02	4.5	boards	GALE|BB3207088803
adv. Reginal di Torby	[1803]	6	sewed	GALE|DFTSNC621073028
Morning Post	21 Dec 03	12	sewed	GALE|R3209461132
Morning Post	21 Dec 03	16	sewed	GALE|R3209461132
Morning Chronicle	5 Sep 04	5	boards	GALE|BB3207093430
Morning Chronicle	6 Oct 04	16	boards	GALE|BB3207093678
Morning Chronicle	18 Dec 04	3.5		GALE|BB3207094273
Imperial Review v.1	[1804]	1.5		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/chi.100808133
Eclectic Review, v.2.2	Jul–Dec 06	12	boards	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101076404217
adv. Friar Hidargo--note 2nd edn only!!!!	1807	18		
adv. Belisarius	1808	10		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.319510023776461
adv. Belisarius	1808	10		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.319510023776461
adv. Royal Intrigues	1808	6		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc2.ark:/13960/t4jm24t26
adv. Royal Intrigues	1808	15		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc2.ark:/13960/t4jm24t26
adv. Royal Intrigues	1808	15		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc2.ark:/13960/t4jm24t26
adv. Royal Intrigues	1808	20		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc2.ark:/13960/t4jm24t26
Athenaeum v.3	Jan–Jun 08	8	boards	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/wu.89094395076
Athenaeum v.4	[1808]	10	boards	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/osu.32435056543815
Athenaeum v.4	[1808]	15	boards	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/osu.32435056543815
Morning Post	7 Mar 08	14		GALE|R3209478268
Morning Post	7 Mar 08	15		GALE|R3209478268
Morning Post	7 Mar 08	24		GALE|R3209478268
The Times	14 Oct 08	10	boards	GALE|CS33697614
Athenaeum v.5	[1809]	11.5	boards	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/iau.31858019258708
British Critic v.33	[1809]	20		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/chi.79229439
Universal Magazine	[1809]	15		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044089243158
Universal Magazine n.s. v.12	[1809]	24		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044089243158
Morning Post	16 Aug 09	9		GALE|R3209485716
Universal Magazine s.2 v.13	[1810]	9		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b3055607
Morning Post	17 Feb 10	8		GALE|R3209488658
Morning Post	19 Oct 10	9		GALE|R3209699487
Morning Post	2 Aug 10	10		GALE|R3209491104
Morning Post	31 Jul 10	10		GALE|R3209491055
Morning Post	31 Jul 10	13.5		GALE|R3209491055
Morning Post	2 Aug 10	16.5		GALE|R3209491104
Universal Magazine s.2 v.15	[1811]	9		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b3055609
Universal Magazine s.2 v.15	[1811]	9		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b3055609
Morning Post	24 Dec 10	15		GALE|R3209492019
Liverpool Mercury	4 Dec 12	20	boards	GALE|BC3203923319
Universal Magazine s.2 v.20	[1813]	3		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b3055614
Morning Post	1 Dec 14	15	boards	GALE|R3213228966
Critical Review, S.2 v.6	[1814]	21		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101076401110
British Critic n.s. v.3	[1815]	18		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hxihxz
Morning Chronicle	3 Jul 15	4	boards	GALE|BA3207126213
Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser	xx Jan 16	24		
Monthly Repertory of English Literature v. 23	[1817]	8		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.a000122001 66
British Review v.10	[1817]	12		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101074628569
Morning Post	3 Aug 18	7.5		GALE|R3209711392
Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser	[Dec 19]	16.5	boards	
Morning Post	5 Apr 19	5		GALE|R3209717078
British Review v.13	[1819]	20		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101074628536
The British Review, Vol. 14	23 Dec 04	5		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/ien.35556028475432
European Magazine and London Review v.78	[1820]	24		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101065086827
British Review v.16	[1820]	21		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433081648051
Morning Post	14 Jun 21	20		GALE|R3209733781
British Critic S.2 v.18	[1822]	7		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.aa000150870 4
The Scots Magazine	1 Jun 22	5	boards	GALE|JE3236606713
The Scots Magazine	1 Jul 22	21		GALE|JE3236606746
Morning Post	15 Dec 23	7		GALE|R3209745296
Scots Magazine	1 Nov 24	7.5	boards	GALE|JE3236607816
Scots Magazine v.94	[1824]	7.5	boards	https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiug.30112111992553
Berrows Worcester Journal	30 Sep 24	4		GALE|R3214876498
Morning Post	1 Apr 25	16		GALE|R3209771889
Monthly Magazine n.s. 1	[1826]	30		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044092621263
Asiatic Journal n.s. v.4	Jan–Apr 31	12		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/inu.30000123001707
The Age	6 Jun 30	4	boards	GALE|DX1900034028
The Age	6 Jun 30	4	boards	GALE|DX1900034028
York Herald	12 Jun 30	12		GALE|R3211045733
Southampton Herald	16 Jul 31	2	boards	GALE|R3214346234
London Catalogue of Books 1814–1834	[1834]	6		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433082031679
adv. Hob's Excursion	[1835]	12.5		https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc2.ark:/13960/t36112z2d
A Monthly List of New Publications	1 Oct 03	7	boards	https://newspaperarchive.com/a-monthly-list-of-new-publications-oct-01-1803-p-3/
A Monthly List of New Publications	1 Oct 03	14	boards	https://newspaperarchive.com/a-monthly-list-of-new-publications-oct-01-1803-p-3/
Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser	10 Aug 31	3.5		https://newspaperarchive.com/bents-monthly-literary-advertiser-aug-10-1831-p-8/
Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser	1 Jan 32	31.5		https://newspaperarchive.com/bents-monthly-literary-advertiser-jan-01-1832-p-3/
London Evening Post	12 Nov 82	2.5	sewed	https://newspaperarchive.com/london-evening-post-nov-12-1782-p-1/
London Morning Post	29 Jul 13	15	boards	https://newspaperarchive.com/london-morning-post-jul-29-1813-p-2/
London Morning Post	12 May 17	18	sewed	https://newspaperarchive.com/london-morning-post-may-12-1817-p-2/
Morning Chronicle	18 Jul 03	8		https://newspaperarchive.com/morning-chronicle-jul-18-1803-p-2/
Morning Journal	13 Apr 30	31.5		https://newspaperarchive.com/morning-journal-apr-13-1830-p-1/

source *at least once* recording a specific pairing of price and binding state—for 4,560 novels, or an average of 2.14 listings per title. Most novels in the index (67.2%) have prices from multiple sources; even more impressively, a majority of novels (56.2%) have price listings from multiple *kinds* of source. Joint coverage is at its strongest during the years 1801–1836, when 21.0% of novels have prices in at least one newspaper advertisement, at least one review periodical, and (secondhand from *ECB*) at least one issue of Bent's trade catalogues, while another 52.5% have prices from two of the three.

An important indirect consequence of *BBF*'s use of these centralized sources, however, is that *BBF* offers a highly unrepresentative sample of the broader textual phenomena on which our knowledge of book prices depend. Any given novel might only be listed once or twice in Bent's trade catalogues and in the major review periodicals, but its publisher was likely to have placed scores of advertisements for it in newspapers all around the United Kingdom. For the eighteenth century especially, coverage in *BBF* is thus heavily biased toward reviews.

This inconsistent pattern of coverage makes it difficult to assess chronological trends in issue-level price uniformity. For 855 out of the 3,066 novels with more than one listing (27.9% of the sample), sources give at least two numerically distinct prices. Not all of these variants are outright conflicts, however. Many variants are attributable to differences in trade binding, which sources advertise only sporadically. Books ordinarily had a higher markup when bound in animal skins than they did when bound in paper wrappers or pasteboard covers. When a novel's price in a listing that gives no binding state is higher than its price "sewed," it is at least possible that the higher price could have accompanied copies bound in sheep or calf. When differences in pricing cannot be attributed to coherent differences in binding, we must accept that the variants indeed conflict. Most conspicuously, 132 novels have sources that give two different prices beside the same binding state. Furthermore, because books were almost never offered for retail sale in unsewed quires by the mid eighteenth century, the price "sewed" should be the lowest price on record.[108] I thus take the 367 instances in

[108] A handful of novels from the 1830s are advertised for retail sale "in quires": see *TEN3* 1830:34, 1831:42, 1834:37,57, 1835:71.

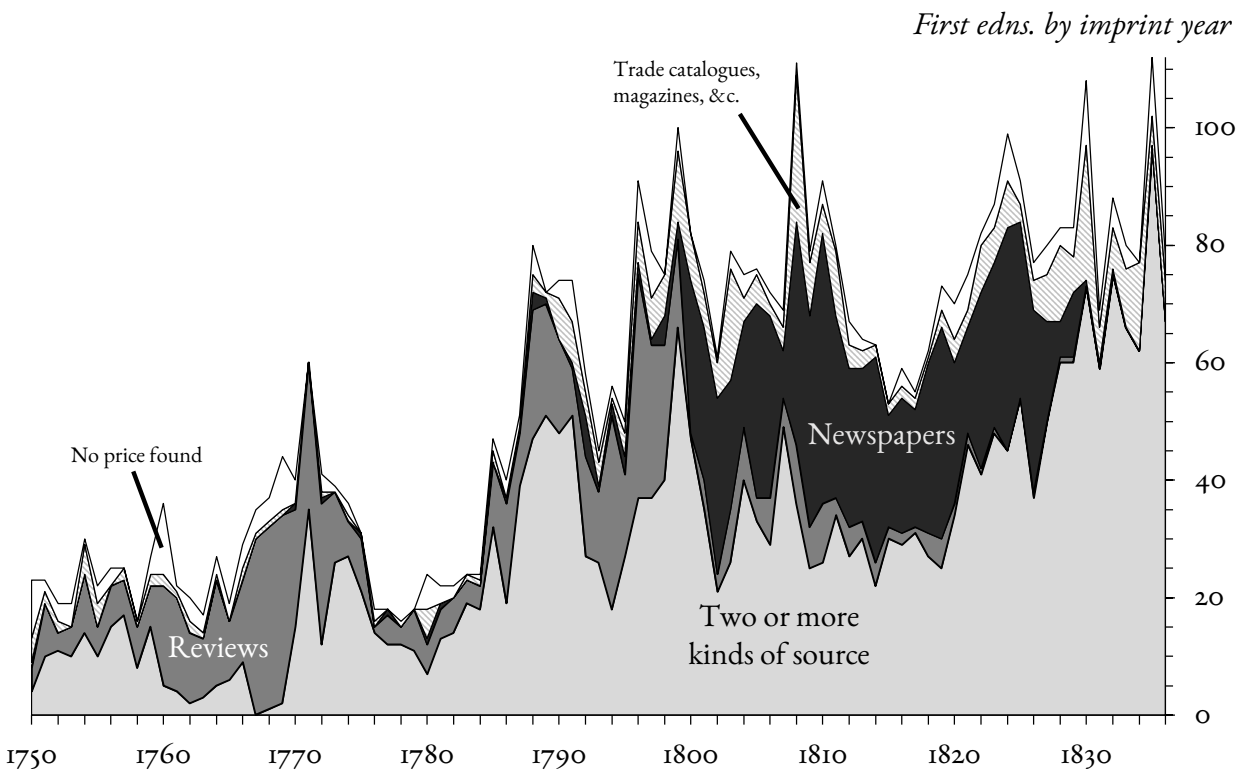

Figure 3.5. Sources of retail novel prices, 1750–1836

which an unlabeled price is lower than the price "sewed" to be conflicts as well. In all, then, at least 499 novels with multiple listings (16.2% of those with listings) have conflicts on record.

Judging from the sources in *BBF*, the frequency of variant edition prices did tend to fall across the Romantic period. But it is important to keep in mind that *BBF*'s coverage of prices from multiple sources, on which the detection of variants relies, itself varies across the periods covered as well (see Figure 3.5). During the years 1774–1784—one of British fiction publishing's lowest nadirs, but also a time during which *BBF*'s citation of novels across multiple review periodicals is particularly strong—55.2% of novels have prices that vary by source and 41.7% have prices that appear to conflict. The share of variants and conflicts fell sharply during the early to mid 1790s, which may seem at first blush to corroborate James Barnes's argument that edition-level prices stabilized with the mass adoption of binding in boards during this same period (a topic I will return to in the next chapter).[109] However,

[109] Barnes, *Free Trade in Books*, 5.

multi-source coverage of prices in *BBF* also declines sharply around the same time, making it difficult to tell whether the apparent stabilization of edition prices is truly a new development or merely an artifact of uneven coverage. It was during this period, after all, that the number of new novels published per year began to overstrain the capacity of the *Monthly* and *Critical Review* to keep track of them, which in *BBF* leads to a large number of novels only having prices documented in magazines. Editions with pricing conflicts spiked again in 1798, after which they steadily declined through the next decade. Not until the 1810s did editions with pricing conflicts reliably drop to less than 10% of annual output. While it may be true that prices were growing more uniform, it is important to keep in mind that even the present index represents only a fragmentary view of the relevant evidence.

To be sure, the increasing proportion of advertisements in the index's nineteenth-century listings, especially from *DBF*'s coverage of 1800–1829, eschews many of the problems that had stemmed from *BF*' and *TEN1*'s heavy reliance on review periodicals for eighteenth-century novels. Because these advertisements were likely to be commissioned directly by the novel's publisher—or, at the farthest remove, one if its wholesalers—they are far less prone to transmission errors. Indeed, for many novels in *DBF*, it is possible to trace advertisements chronologically, allowing us to posit explanations for some of the discrepancies. In many cases, there are consistent and enduring price discrepancies between at least two of the three newspapers that *DBF* cites, which begin on the work's publication date and persist for several months.[110] These may reflect either a discrepancy in the advertising copy that the publisher sent to each newspaper, or an error on the newspaper's part that persisted across listings unnoticed. For at least one novel, Horatio Smith's *The New Forest* (1829), *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* appears to have caught its error three months out from the novel's initial publication and corrected it from 31 shillings to 31.5 shillings.[111] In a handful of other cases, the publisher seems to have advertised the novel at one price in advance of publication, only to alter the price before

[110] See "Newspaper Advertisements" for *DBF* 1800A063, 1801A072, 1802A034, 1803A066, 1804A075, 1805A073, 1806A052, 1810A009, 1810A075, 1811A023, 1812A030, 1812A042, 1813A047, 1816A017, 1816A042, 1817A037, 1819A007, 1821A042, 1822A047, 1824A065, 1825A062, 1825A064, 1825A082, 1826A029, 1826A045, 1826A063, 1827A034, 1827A041, 1828A047, 1829A070.

[111] See "Newspaper Advertisements" for *DBF* 1829A079.

the novel was released.[112] These discrepancies, which rarely comprise more than 10% of the novel's final price, show that some degree of friction and inconsistency was inevitable, even during a period when issue-level prices were becoming increasingly standardized.

The relatively coherent explanations that arise for these variants do not mean that newspaper listings are entirely unproblematic. There are many novels for which prices differ across the same newspaper with no obvious explanation, either internal to the advertisement or external in the chronology of advertisements documented in *DBF*. For several novels, new pricing variants do not emerge in the advertisements until a lag of one, two, or even four years after publication; it is reasonable to suppose that these variants are for new issues or editions, even when they are not explicitly labelled as such.[113] When a new price was listed within a few months of initial publication, however, it is less obvious that the price change stemmed from a new edition or issue: these may represent a deliberate decision by the publisher to alter the price of an existing issue, and it would require further analysis of the work's publication history to understand why the change occurred.[114]

3.3G. The coherence of book prices as historical evidence

Considering the complexity of the price index I have compiled from *BBF* and the thoroughness of my collation of variant prices, the actual numerical profile of the variants turns out to be slightly anticlimactic. Figure 3.6 shows the difference in average annual price per volume that the index yields. For the moment, I will delay discussing the upward trend in prices, which I treat at length in the next chapter. The point I want to stress here is that apart from the variation between 1785 and 1795 (driven primarily differences between listings "sewed" or in "boards" and those in animal skins), the proportionate differences between the highest and lowest variant prices in the index turn out to

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[112] See "Newspaper Advertisements" for *DBF* 1803A023, 1803A073, 1808A031, 1809A041.

[113] See "Newspaper Advertisements" for *DBF* 1801A027, 1801A034, 1801A051, 1805A022, 1805A032, 1808A080, 1809A035, 1812A026, 1816A020, 1816A027, 1819A046, 1820A047, 1822A033, 1824A067, 1827A023, 1828A083.

[114] See "Newspaper Advertisements" for *DBF* 1803A073, 1808A031, 1809A041, 1802A005, 1803A012, 1804A066, 1805A028, 1806A041, 1808A086, 1808A101, 1809A021, 1809A032, 1810A027, 1810A062, 1818A042, 1819A054, 1822A045, 1824A020.

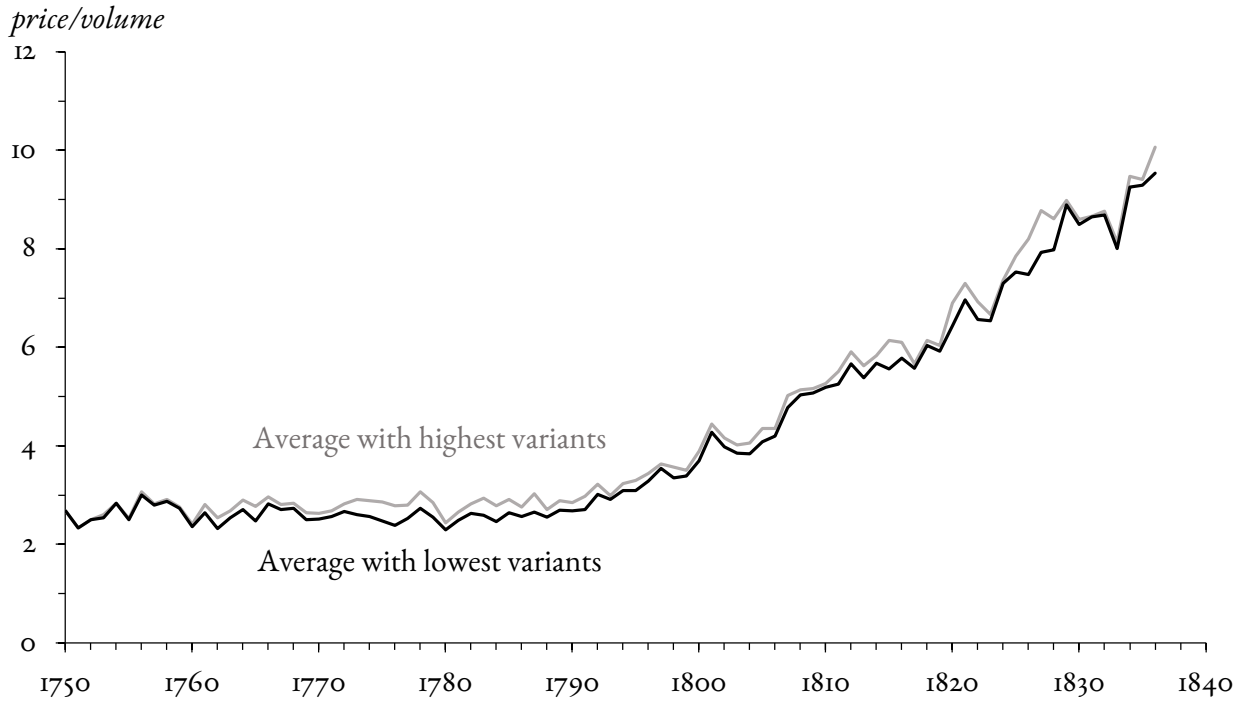

Figure 3.6. Profile of price variants in the final index
Lowest versus highest edition-level variants, 1750–1836

have relatively little effect on the index. For the purposes of the analysis of pricing variants that I perform in Chapter 4, I adopt the lowest variant price to have survived the index's selection procedure, for the simple reason that these allow for the most capacious interpretation of who could potentially participate in the market.

Although this result may seem somewhat bathetic after all the labor that went into arriving at it, the relative consistency of unit-level pricing despite the frequency of conflicts is an important and reassuring finding in its own right. Just as the redundancy of listings across multiple sources helps to establish the nationalized nature of the fiction market, the fact that that market's tolerance for variant pricings did not result in massive differences underscores that these listings generally served the purpose they were meant to, even if variants caused occasional friction.

The consistency of price listings, combined with the sheer scope of the surviving record, testifies to the extraordinary centralization of information about the British fiction market in the periodical press. Indeed, periodical price listings constitute a strong source of evidence that Britain had

a centralized fiction market. The regularity and relative uniformity of these listings surely worked to the benefit of retail customers. They made it possible for elite collectors such as the Amadeuses of Castle Corvey to buy almost every new title, and they facilitated the purchases and rental requests of less voracious customers equally well. Just as importantly, price listings testify to the coordination of information about new publications within the book trade. The consistency of price listings helped facilitate orders from retail booksellers to their wholesale suppliers. The clear signaling of retail prices by publishers also served as the basis for resale price maintenance, making it impossible for underselling retail booksellers to claim plausible deniability when they offered their customers unauthorized discounts.[115] Although book prices pose many challenges for bibliographical and econometric analysis, their variability and occasional unreliability should not lead us to lose sight of the ultimate coherence and efficacy in the place in the market they were intended to serve.

[115] Barnes, *Free Trade in Books*, 1–5.

Chapter 4. The Scope, Structure, and Evolution of the British Romantic Fiction Market

Now that we have surveyed the bedrock of bibliographical data that Garside *et al.*'s bibliographies of British fiction (*BBF*) lay for publishing history, the formidable task that lies before this chapter is to erect a narrative of the evolution of the fiction market during the British Romantic period that synthesizes the insights on publishing of quantitative book history with the uneven nature of modern economic growth. In Part I of this dissertation, I showed that unprecedented population growth of the Demographic Revolution was accompanied by the limited growth and massive increases in socio-economic inequality that attended the early phases of the Industrial Revolution. Although the population grew at an unprecedented rate, nearly all the gains to *per capita* national income were siphoned away from an increasingly proletarianized working class and towards the middle-class beneficiaries of an increasingly capital-intensive economy.

The goal of this chapter is to reveal the effects that these developments had on the market for fiction during the period covered by *BBF*, 1750–1836. The staid nature of fiction output (as measured by new editions) has created the surface appearance of continuity across the Romantic period, which has led Peter D. Garside to judge that the Romantic period "is best viewed as one of consolidation rather than outright expansion."[1] I will demonstrate the massive structural changes that were occurring under the surface. For complex reasons to do partly with the fitful expansion of manufacturing capital and partly with the anti-competitive structure of the publishing and wholesale trades, literary

[1] Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 40.

publishers were incentivized to react to these developments not by increasing quantity of novels they published, but rather by finding ways to make novels more profitable at a fairly staid level of national output. Above all, they steadily raised the retail prices of novels throughout the Romantic period—a strategy that relied on the willingness of the growing, increasingly wealthy middle-class beneficiaries of economic modernization to put up with those prices, both through direct retail purchase in the case of elite readers, and alternative models such as commercial and associational libraries for a more broad-based readership that included the lower middle class alongside the bourgeoisie and gentry.

4.1. The numeric progress of the novel: market structure and indicators of output

4.1A. Title counts and their limitations

At the beginning of the previous chapter, I argued that the Romantic period problematizes the relationship between economic growth and the growth of the market for print. Despite bearing the brunt of population growth and the early phases of the Industrial Revolution, this period saw relatively little growth in the number of new fiction titles published per year. Having surveyed the relevant bibliographical data at length, we can now return to this problem at greater length. Figure 4.1 shows the number of first editions of long-form fiction works known to have been published in the British Isles between 1750 and 1836, dated by imprint year. I have also graphed a three-year moving average to accommodate the fact that the imprint year refers only loosely to the September-to-May season in which each novel was published.[2]

Although a span of 87 years lends itself more readily to granular analysis than two centuries, a narrower time frame poses unique challenges in its own right. Across the entire period 1700–1901, the annual number of novels published grew by at least two orders of magnitude, from fewer than ten novels per year to several hundred. It is much harder to assess the meaning of differences in magnitude

[2] Sources for Figure 4.1: *BBF*. For publishing seasons, see Garside *et al.*, *TEN1–2* "General Introduction," 8.

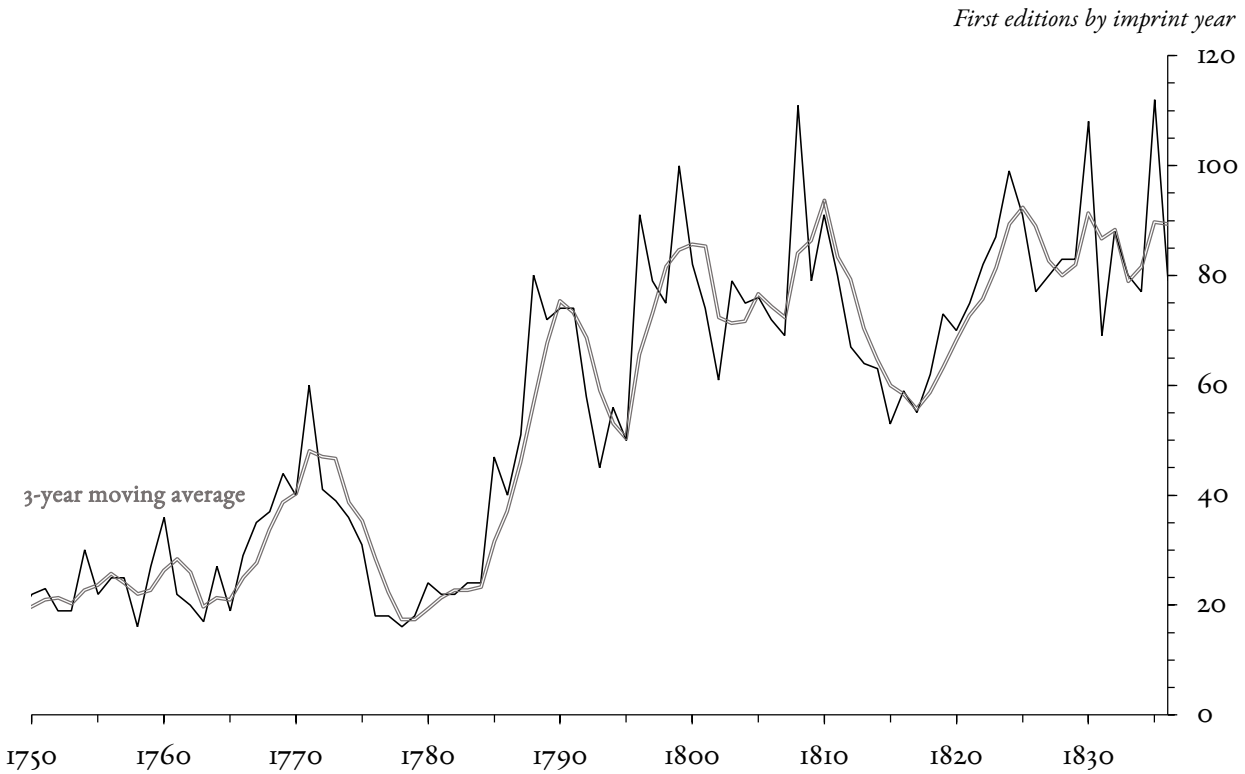

Figure 4.1. Output of long-form British fiction, 1750–1836

of output between 1750 and 1836, since all annual totals are within the same order of magnitude, with a minimum of 42 new novels in 1793 and a maximum of 101 novels in 1835. Although we can be confident that *BBF* covers nearly all the first editions of long-form fiction works published in the British Isles between 1750 and 1836, the total number of *copies* printed in those editions is an unrecoverable statistic. Nevertheless, the temptation to use annualized edition counts as a proxy measure for copies printed is almost insuppressible. Ignorance of the latter statistic is simply too aggravating in the face of reliable data about the former. When Hugh Amory warns of the "interdisciplinary contributors" to enumerative bibliography who "arrogate soberly crafted numbers to the intoxicating ends of their specialties," he has just such a project as this dissertation in mind.[3] If

[3] Hugh Amory, "Pseudodoxia Bibliographia; or, When Is a Book Not a Book? When It's a Record," in *The Scholar & the Database*, ed. Lotte Hellinga (London: Consortium of European Research Libraries, 2001), 1–14 at 10.

the numbers underlying Figure 4.1 are to offer us sound insights, we must imbibe them with temperance.

Caution of the kind Amory urges is particularly necessary when studying the kinds of short-term fluctuations in frequency that are of greatest interest to the historical analysis of a specific, relatively narrow time frame such as the Romantic period. We can be reasonably confident that the long-term increase in the number of novels newly published per year from 1700 to 1901 corresponds with real growth in output. However, the case for such an interpretation over narrower time frames that saw smaller increments of growth is less clear-cut. In the introductions to *TEN1–2*, Raven and Garside cautiously use the ebb and flow of annual title counts to impose narrative structure on the wide array of primary evidence that their bibliographies debut. Although much of their underlying analysis is compelling, their narratives run into trouble when they invoke wider economic conditions to explain short-term fluctuations in annual title counts. Raven describes the reduction in titles from 1775–1783 as a "malaise" in the market, "coterminous, perhaps, with the American war," and he goes on to describe the rise from the late 1780s onward as driven in large part by rising demand—specifically "by new emphasis on the female novelist and reader, by the increased number and activities of circulating libraries, and by marketing panache of a new generation of booksellers."[4] Garside, meanwhile, attributes the reduction of new titles during the 1810s to "difficult economic conditions in the late years of the Napoleonic war," and he considers the uptick of new novels published 1828–1829 to demonstrate "the novel's power of recovery" after the recession of 1826–1827.[5] Troy Bassett succumbs to the same habit when analyzing the early Victorian novel, hypothesizing that "the general economic turmoil of the 1840s" is to blame for the limited increase in the output of new multi-volume novels before the mid 1850s.[6]

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[4] Raven, *TEN1* "Historical Introduction," 27.

[5] Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 38, 44.

[6] Troy J. Bassett, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Three-Volume Novel* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 25–6, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-31926-7.

In all these accounts, the bibliographers implicitly assume that annualized title counts of first editions convey information of some kind about the short-term prosperity of the market for novels—whether shaped by public enthusiasm for fiction, the place of novels in the book trade, or the wider business cycles of the British economy. Unfortunately, the evidence to support any of these assumptions is still scant. Some of the peaks and troughs in the publication of new novels do indeed follow broader macroeconomic trends, particularly the peaks of 1792, 1800, and 1810. However, the premise of a causal relationship between business cycles and title counts cannot be sufficient when the pattern is not consistent across the entire period. In particular, the long slump in fiction publishing during the 1810s straddles three distinct business cycles.[7] Correlations between title counts and business cycles also fails to emerge in Simon Eliot and John Sutherland's bibliometric analyses of what limited data we have for total UK publication during the early nineteenth century.[8] To be sure, book trade was as likely to respond to macroeconomic trends as any other industry. Perhaps the total volume of British print matter (measured, hypothetically, in copies or even sheets) was responsive to business cycles, which excise data show to be the case for the aggregate output of British papermills.[9] So far, however, neither cumulative nor genre-based title counts have yet provided a reliable way to measure such a relationship.

Garside may be on a more promising track when he ascribes significance to the changing annual ratios of novels to other kinds of publications. Following Lee Erickson, Garside hypothesizes that economic conditions during the Napoleonic Wars led publishers to concentrate on publishing

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[7] Gayer et al., *The Growth and Fluctuation of the British Economy, 1790–1850*, (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1953), *passim*. Gayer *et al.* trace business cycles during this period as follows:

Troughs:	c. 1788	Jun 1794	Sep 1797	Oct 1801	Mar 1804	May 1808	Sep 1811	Sep 1816	Sep 1820	Sep 1826	Dec 1829	Jul 1832	Aug 1837
Peaks:	Sep 1792	May 1796	Sep 1800	Dec 1802	Aug 1806	Mar 1810	Mar 1815	Sep 1818	May 1821	Jan 1829	Mar 1831	May 1836	Mar 1839

[8] For the first third of the nineteenth century, see Simon Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing, 1800-1919*, 7–25, 109–117; for the more limited period 1824–7, see John Sutherland, "The British Book Trade and the Crash of 1826," 148–161.

[9] I discuss this relationship at length in Chapter 2. John Bidwell makes a related argument in "American Papermakers and the Panic of 1819," in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society*, ed. Nicolas Barker (London: British Library, 1993), 89–112 at 89–90.

verse in favor of long-form prose.[10] This hypothesis at least has some empirical heft to back it up. If this premise is true, however, it requires a more nuanced explanation than Erickson's reductive and unsubstantiable claims about the higher "marginal utility" of poetry relative to prose.[11] More broadly, bibliometricians such as Bassett, Michael Suarez, and Simon Eliot have had success using union catalogues and contemporary trade catalogues to compare the proportional output of literary genres over time.[12] Yet the bibliographical bedrock of nineteenth-century literary study is still too shaky for it to be clear whether the output of novels systematically fluctuated in relation to that of other genres, let alone to explain why any such fluctuations occurred. The problem is that that no genres are as thoroughly and carefully delineated in enumerative bibliographies as fiction—not even poetry. Although J.R. de J. Jackson's *Annals of English Verse* has served scholars well, successive bibliographies—including Jackson's own follow-up bibliography of poetry written by women—have pointed up its limitations.[13] We cannot gauge how many volumes of verse were published during the Romantic period until some enterprising bibliographers perform the kind of sedulous trawling through periodical notices, trade catalogues, and major library collections that went into the assembly of *BBF*. Considering the far scanter attention that non-belletristic genres have received in enumerative bibliographies, the relative fortunes of literary genres is plainly a thorny topic for book-historical research in its own right, and not a ready-to-hand explanation for the numerical progress of the novel.

An even more fundamental problem is that we cannot take raw counts of first editions as a reasonable proxy measure for the genre's total printed output. This challenge replicates, on a smaller scale, the problems that Amory has shown to plague many statistical analyses of union catalogues. As printed books, the first editions of novels published between 1750 and 1836 were relatively

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[10] Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 19; Garside and Mandal, "Producing Fiction in Britain, 1800–1829," *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text* 1 (August 1997), http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/articles/cc01_n01.html.

[11] Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form*, 20, 26–7.

[12] Bassett, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Three-Volume Novel*, 27–31; Simon Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing*; Suarez, "Towards a Bibliometric Analysis of the Surviving Record," 45–50.

[13] J.R. de J. Jackson, *Annals of English Verse, 1770-1835: A Preliminary Survey of the Volumes Published* (New York: Garland, 1985); J.R. de J. Jackson, *Romantic Poetry by Women: A Bibliography, 1770–1835* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1993).

homogenous. 98% of them comprised between one and four volumes in duodecimo, octavo, or 160, and 90% of those volumes fell between 150 and 380 pages in length. Even within these relatively narrow parameters, however, there lies the potential for enormous annual variation in the average number of volumes or sheets making up a novel. This problem in the measurement of length compounds on the even more fundamental problem of the varying quantity of copies printed in editions. As Amory observes, the mere assumption of some typical edition size for a class of books across a wide historical period "afford[s] no greater accuracy than the statistics of titles."[14]

In the face of these challenges, what useful information do annualized edition counts such as *BBF* offer publishing historians? Below, I offer two strategies that I hope will help to circumvent the impasses of the existing narratives. First, I use the frequency of publishers' names in *BBF*'s transcriptions of imprints to analyze the structure of the fiction market from 1750 to 1834. By doing so, I do not aim to address the underlying, exogenous reasons that aggregate totals varied from year to year or from decade to decade, which require other evidence besides edition counts alone to address, Instead, I aim simply to establish the role of the market's dominant firms in influencing that variation, which can help point our attention to the right questions about external contexts. Second, for the more limited period 1795–1829, I estimate the growth rate of the output of newly published novels, measured not in titles but in copies printed for first editions. Even Amory was willing to estimate print output when surviving records offered insight into "typical press-runs for various classes of books," a method Amory himself employs in his study of the eighteenth-century American book trade.[15] Following Amory, I offer a cautious approach to the samples of quantities of copies printed for first editions from publishers' archives, as well as a handful of other sources that may allow us to understand how typical edition sizes for novels changed over time. For the most part, this analysis does not support the premise that the annualized output of fiction was responding to the exogenous shocks

[14] Amory, "Pseudodoxia Bibliographia," 3–7, 12.

[15] Amory, "Pseudodoxia Bibliographica," 12; Hugh Amory, "The New England Book Trade, 1713–1790," in *A History of the Book in America, Volume 1: the Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, ed. Hugh Amory and David D. Hall (University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 314–46.

of boom and bust cycles. Rather, the portrait that emerges is one of an evolving but enduring oligopoly of fiction publishers, among whom the major players exercised considerable power over the long-term growth rate of the market. I show that the early-nineteenth-century fiction market presented obstacles to growth in the publication of novels, which may help to clarify the role of factors such as book trade monopoly and limits on capitalization.

4.1B. The fiction oligopoly

Figure 4.2 relays the story of Romantic fiction publishing that title pages tell. To produce these charts, I have counted up the 25 most common firms to appear on the imprints of first editions. Whenever an imprint names more than one eligible firm, I group titles with the most prolific firm on net.[16] In the interest of visual clarity, I have charted market shares in five-year blocks.

A graph of this kind requires caveats about its necessary constraints and distortions. Although Figure 4.2 deliberately preserves something of the messiness of the Romantic-period book trade, it is also guilty of elisions and over-simplifications. The business of publishing was in rapid transition during the years 1750–1836—a fact nowhere more apparent than when one shifting meanings of the word "publisher." Before the late eighteenth century, it is an anachronism—although I would argue a necessary one—to use the word "publisher" to describe the tradespeople who organized and financed the making of a book.[17] For much of the eighteenth century, "publisher" was a term for the often scorned merchants who participated in the wholesale distribution of an edition without risking capital

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[16] The one exception is that when Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley I's co-published novels toward Bentley's total rather than Colburn's. This choice seemed appropriate given that Bentley was the more prolific of the two in the long term; see *ATCL* entries for Colburn, http://www.victorianresearch.org/atcl/show_publisher.php?pid=83; and Bentley, http://www.victorianresearch.org/atcl/show_publisher.php?pid=1.

[17] Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London*, 1.30–32. Following Blayney's rationale, I use the words "publish" and "publisher" for all firms performing these functions during the entire period covered in this dissertation, eschewing alternatives in contemporary use such as "undertaker." The word is unproblematic as long as users of it keep in mind (1) that a work's publisher was likely also to be a wholesale and/or retail bookseller; and (2) that late seventeenth and early-to-mid eighteenth century meanings of the word "publisher" (described presently) are usually best contextualized using the term "trade publisher."

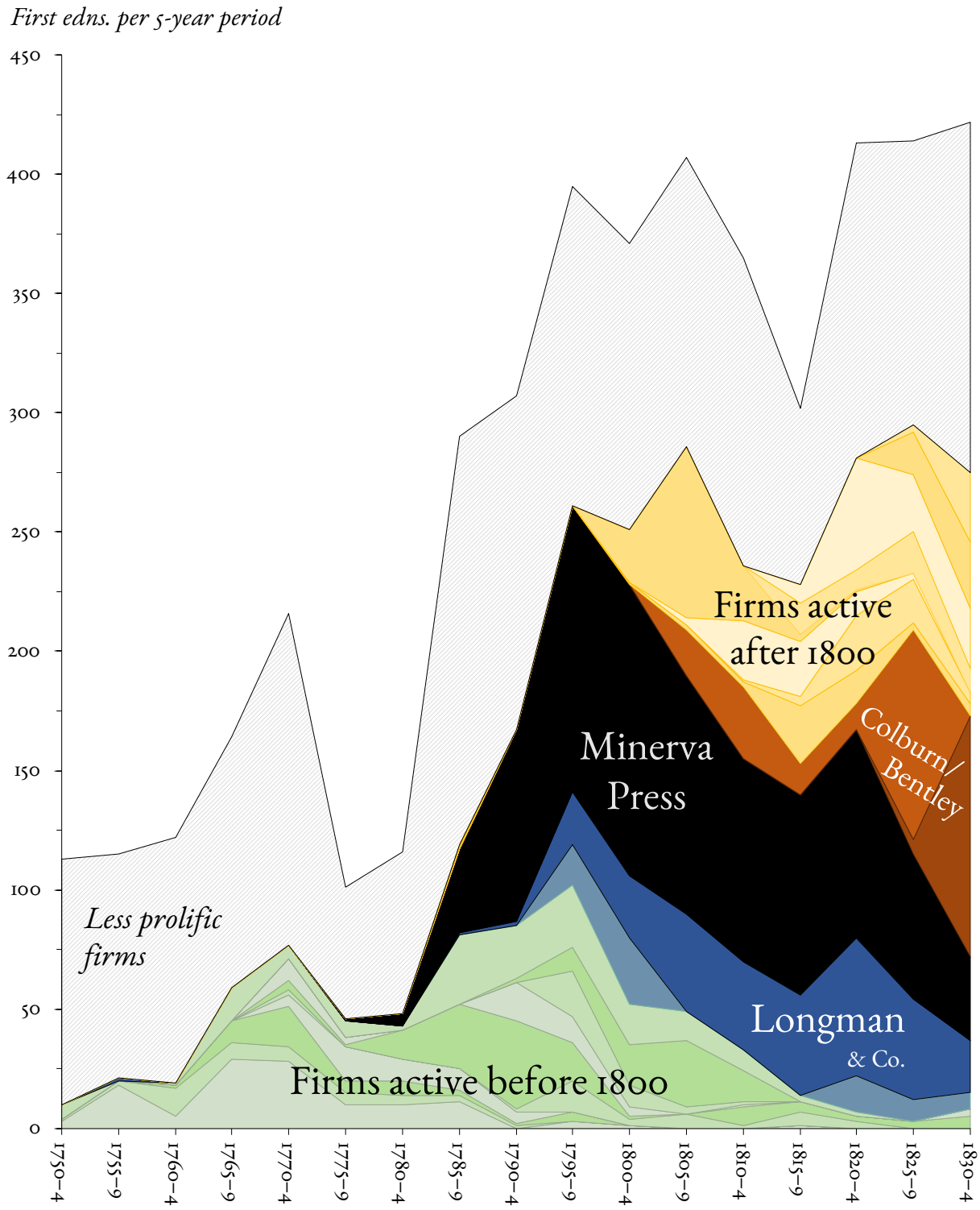

Figure 4.2A. Market shares of the 25 most prolific fiction publishers and booksellers by imprint, 1750–1834

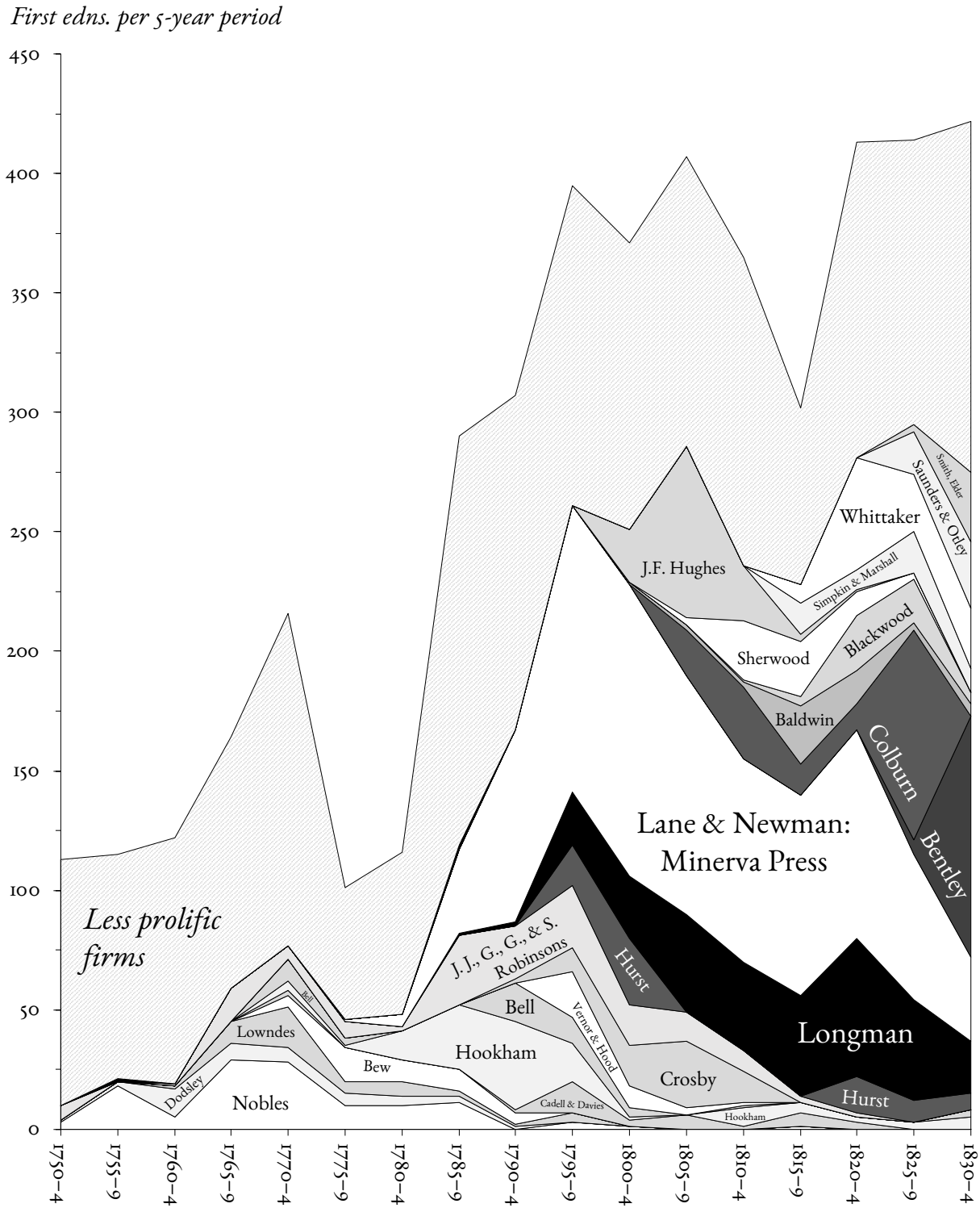

Figure 4.2B. Market shares of the 25 most prolific fiction publishers and booksellers by imprint, 1750–1834

in any editions themselves.[18] The modern meaning of the word "publisher" was still in gestation during the early nineteenth century, as new works increasingly came to be published by firms holding sole copyright over the editions they commissioned, and as a handful of major firms came to distribute only the editions they themselves published.[19] Many novels in the sample, especially during the eighteenth-century, identify tradespeople in the imprint who might be the edition's publisher or might only be its wholesale distributor. Thus, it is worth keeping in mind that by foregrounding individual firms, Figure 4.2 tends to force eighteenth-century trade arrangements into a nineteenth century mold, overstating market concentration and understating the importance of rapidly shifting wholesale distribution partnerships that imprints often failed to report in full.[20]

On the other hand, this presentation of the data also underscores the fact that the eighteenth-century pioneers of modern publishing were central to the development of an oligopoly in Britain's fiction market. John and Francis Noble, Thomas Hookham, and William Lane all braved the contempt of their contemporaries by publishing new novels in unprecedented numbers.[21] Acting in relative autonomy from the sharebook networks of wholesale booksellers, these publishers opened circulating libraries in parallel with their publishing ventures, solidifying a link between genre and distribution system that would help shape the novel's reader base (and its perception in the public imagination) for more than a century.[22] No single firm contributed more to the numerical increase in pre-Victorian novels than Lane and his partner and successor Anthony K. Newman, whose business at

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[18] Michael Treadwell, "London Trade Publishers 1675–1750," *The Library* 6th Series, Vol. 4, No. 2 (June 1982): 99–134, https://doi.org/10.1093/library/s6-IV.2.99. Treadwell's more elaborate argument is that the function of trade publishers was often to mask an edition's true proprietor on the imprint—an especially useful tactic if the text risked legal reprisal. Other scholars have used the term "trade publisher" more broadly to refer to trade binders, warehousemen, and others involved in wholesale distribution in a more menial capacity than booksellers; see for instance Bennett, *Trade Bookbinding*, 14–5.

[19] Graham Pollard, "The English Market for Printed Books," *Publishing History* 4 (January 1978): 7–48 at 36.

[20] Eighteenth-century imprints require great care to parse accurately: see David Foxon and James McLaverty, *Pope and the Early Eighteenth-Century Book Trade*, revised edn. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991), 1–12 and Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England*, 59–62.

[21] For the Nobles and Lane as early examples of nineteenth-century publishers, see Feather,

[22] Edward H. Jacobs, "Eighteenth-Century British Circulating Libraries and Cultural Book History," *Book History* 6 (2003): 1–22, https://doi.org/10.1353/bh.2004.0010.

33 Leadenhall St.—first called the Minerva Press in 1790 imprints—published 776 novels, or 13% of the new titles released between 1777 and 1836.[23] Figure 4.2 usefully recontextualizes the growth in the fiction market during the last two decades of the eighteenth century, which coincided with the "take-off" in population growth, the manufacturing base of paper and print, and ESTC totals that occurred around the same time. Since the novel was still a relatively new publishing staple in the 1780s, it should not surprise us that its proportional increase was larger than that of the market for print as a whole. To be sure, the Minerva Press played a large role in this growth, and their comparatively lax publication standards—according to contemporary judgments—bespeaks an increasingly diversified market in which the obstacles to realizing edition-level economies of scale encouraged an increasing volume of new titles. Yet it is equally striking how broad-based the growth was: much of it was driven by less prolific firms, some of whom only ever published a handful of novels, if not just one or two.

In order to understand the changes in market structure that were at work when this upward trend was halted during the early nineteenth century, I have found it visually clarifying to structure Figure 4.2 so that firms that published contemporaneously with the Minerva Press at the height of its activity are grouped below it, while firms that only published heavily after the Minerva Press was past its peak years are grouped above it. This configuration of the data reveals an interesting trend. The decline in new fiction titles during the 1810s may or may not have constituted, as Garside claims, a recessionary slump. But as Figure 4.2 reveals, the most immediate explanation for reduced title counts during these years was an incremental passing of the torch between two generations of publishers. The long-term trend is somewhat obscured by the unusual and short-lived fecundity of a single renegade publisher, James Fletcher Hughes (*fl.* 1800–1810), who specialized in torrid *romans-à-clef* capitalizing on aristocratic scandal.[24] By single-handedly propping up annual title counts during the mid 1800s, Hughes obscures what was otherwise a steady 20-year decline in the publication of new titles. In no

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[23] Dorothy Blakey, *The Minerva Press, 1790–1820* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1939); Deborah McLeod, "The Minerva Press" (PhD diss., University of Alberta, 1997).

[24] Garside, "J.F. Hughes and the Publication of Popular Fiction." Until his 1803 move to 5 Wigmore St., Hughes belonged to the partnership of West & Hughes at 15 Paternoster Row. His bankruptcy in 1808 reduced the scope of his publishing, but he continued publishing novels until his death in 1810.

small part, this decline occurred because the publishers who had dominated the novel market in the late eighteenth century were now exiting it. By the first decade of the nineteenth century, several firms that had been active since at least the 1770s (the Noble and Dodlsey brothers, John Bew, Thomas Lowndes, and Joseph Bell) all stopped publishing novels,[25] while most of the publishers who had contributed heavily to the spike of the late 1780s and 1790s apart from the Minerva Press (Hookham, Vernor & Hood, Crosby, and J., J., G., G., and S. Robinson) had either steeply reduced their fiction output or stopped publishing novels entirely by 1810.[26]

By 1815, these departures—together with J.F. Hughes's death and a 35% decline in the Minerva Press's annual offerings[27]—opened up a gap in the market that publishers newly active in the early nineteenth century were slow to fill. Aside from the Minerva Press, the only established eighteenth-century publisher who still made up a significant share of decadal totals by the 1810s was Thomas Norton Longman III. (One of Longman III's partners, Thomas Hurst, was also a partner to Hurst Robinson, a prolific publishing and wholesale bookselling operation in its own right.)[28] In contrast to Longman & Co., the several firms who had become intensive fiction publishers by the 1810s and 1820s—including Sherwood & Co.; Blackwood; Simpkin & Marshall; G.B. Whittaker; Saunders & Otley; and Smith, Elder & Co.—were slow to release a critical mass of new titles comparable to that of

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[25] Firms active in novel publishing around midcentury but inactive by the early 1800s include John and Francis Noble, *fl.* 1737–89; Robert and James Dodsley, *fl.* 1750–90; John Bew, *fl.* 1770–92; Thomas Lowndes, *fl.* 1761–98; and John Bell, *fl.* 1750–1804. (Note that date ranges I label *floruit* refer to the earliest and latest years during which their names appear on imprints, not to their years of overall activity in all types of publications.)

[26] Thomas Hookham (*fl.* 1772–1836 but far less prolific after 1790), Thomas Vernor (*fl.* 1790–1810), Benjamin Crosby (*fl.* 1794–1814).

[27] Under the sole management of Lane's successor Anthony K. Newman, the Minerva Press fell from an average of 23 novels per year during 1795–1807 to 16 novels per year during 1808–25. McLeod finds that Newman's total number of publications fell even more sharply during the 1800s and 1810s than those of novels alone; see McLeod, "The Minerva Press," 48–90.

[28] John Hurst (Thomas's brother) and Joseph Ogle Robinson (no relation to J., J., G., G., and S. Robinson of Paternoster Row) were the principal English distributors to Archibald Constable & Co. from late 1817 until their joint failure during the banking crisis of 1826–7. Thomas Hurst, who had joined Longman & Co. as a partner in 1804, was ejected from the firm when it was discovered during Hurst Robinson's bankruptcy proceedings that he had made an unauthorized investment of Longman & Co.'s funds in his brother's business; see Jane Millgate, "Archibald Constable and the Problem of London: 'Quite the connection we have been looking for,'" *The Library* 6th Series, Vol. 18, no. 2 (June 1996): 110–23 at 117–20, https://doi.org/10.1093/library/s6-XVIII.2.110.

their eighteenth-century predecessors. Several of these, most importantly Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, would remain staples of fiction publishing well into the Victorian period.[29] However, annual output only rebounded to prior levels during the mid 1820s, when Colburn and Whittaker began publishing new novels in large quantities.

Across the entire period, then, what Figure 4.2 suggests is that during the first third of the nineteenth century, there does not appear to have been any major entrepreneurial push to expand the scale of fiction publishing, on the scale that the Minerva Press and other minor firms had undergone during the 1780s and 1790s. In effect, Colburn and Bentley's expanding annual output was merely filling the gap that the Minerva Press, and to a lesser extent Longman, Whittaker, and other major publishers, were gradually creating with their reduction in publishing from the 1810s onward. Most of the fluctuations in the number of new novels published between 1790 and 1836 were driven by half a dozen highly prolific firms. Most of London and Edinburgh's established wholesaler-publishers were content to publish a small number of novels per year, and in terms of annualized totals, growth in the fiction market would appear far more gradual if not for market disruptors such as the Minerva Press, J.F. Hughes, and Colburn & Bentley. This market structure suggests that if we are to understand the wider economic framework of the fiction market, we should not conceptualize the market as responding coolly and impersonally to macroeconomic trends. Rather, we should focus on the rise and fall of firms for whom a high volume of titles represented a bold—or reckless—entrepreneurial strategy. By so doing, a more systematic approach to publishing history may allow us to escape vague attributions of rising and falling title counts to "general economic conditions," in favor of tracing the concrete history of capital and credit in the book trade.

[29] Other firms that continued to publish novels during the Victorian period included Blackwood, Simpkin & Marshall, G.B. Whittaker, Saunders & Otley, and Smith & Elder. For the continuation of their publishing activities into the Victorian period, see the publisher index to Bassett, ATCL, http://www.victorianresearch.org/atcl/view_publishers.php.

4.1C. From titles to total output: first edition sizes and estimating copies printed

Although the analysis of market structure from imprints is capable of telling us a great deal about the structure of the fiction market, it offers only a flawed indicator of the total output that these editions entailed, which under ideal circumstances we would measure not by the number of editions published per year, but the number of copies printed from those editions. To this end, I have collected records of the number of copies printed (also known as "print runs")[30] for the first editions of 338 novels published between 1790–1836, or 9.4% of all the first editions with entries in *BBF*. Although I am sure to have missed a few records, this figure probably approaches the upper limit of editions with surviving first-hand accounts. My chief sources are the entries of *BBF*, for which Raven, Garside, and their coauthors have scoured the manuscript records of T.N. Longman III, Strahan & Spottiswoode, Cadell & Davies, Oliver & Boyd, Archibald Constable, Thomas Cadell II, John Murray II, and Richard Bentley I. In addition to corroborating print runs from the Longman, Strahan, and Bentley papers, I have located records of the edition sizes of 45 additional novels newly published during Bentley's short-lived partnership with Richard Colburn, 1829–1832.[31] I have also gathered up miscellaneous citations of edition sizes from a handful of other firsthand sources. Full statistics and citations of sources are available in Table 4.1.

Although this sample of print runs is small and likely unrepresentative, I believe it is capable of refining our understanding of the scope of the fiction market, provided we approach the data with care. The first limitation to take stock of is the sample's reliance on large publishers. Of the editions, 284 (84%) were published by Longman, Colburn, and Bentley—who, despite being the second-, third-, and fourth-most prolific Romantic fiction publishers by title count, cumulatively published only 15%

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[30] "Print run" is here synonymous with the bibliographical concept of "impression," for which see Chapter 3.3B. The evidence of publishers' ledgers tends to suggest that most editions of book-length publications were printed in a single impression. This generalization is complicated, however, by the increasing adoption of stereotype plates as the century wore on.

[31] Colburn & Bentley Publication Lists (University of Illinois, unindexed), consulted via microfilm facsimile in *The Archives of Richard Bentley & Son, 1829–1898* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healy, 1975–6), Part 2, reel 10.

Table 4.1. Surviving sizes of the first editions of novels, 1795–1836

Edition sizes recorded from *DBF*

1791:67	750	1814A014	1500	1822A065	7000	1833:17	2000
1794:4	500	1814A017	3000	1822A067	10000	1833:23	1000
1794:51	1500	1814A020	8000	1822A070	500	1833:26	1250
1795:47	1000	1814A025	500	1823A015	750	1833:27	1000
1796:13	750	1814A028	750	1823A018	750	1833:29	750
1796:26	4000	1814A043	750	1823A020	500	1833:34	1500
1796:40	750	1814A045	2000	1823A024	1000	1833:38	1250
1796:76	750	1814A048	1500	1823A031	3000	1833:57	750
1797:49	750	1814A049	750	1823A032	3000	1833:59	500
1797:50	750	1814A054	1000	1823A034	750	1833:65	750
1797:62	750	1814A062	1750	1823A035	1000	1833:68	1000
1797:68	1000	1815A021	500	1823A039	1000	1833:69	500
1797:70	2000	1815A044	2000	1823A040	1000	1833:73	1000
1797:71	1000	1815A046	1500	1823A044	1000	1833:74	750
1798:15	750	1815A053	1000	1823A049	750	1834:8	750
1798:30	500	1816A016	2000	1823A053	500	1834:9	750
1798:73	500	1816A047	2000	1823A069	750	1834:11	500
1799:16	750	1816A052	5000	1823A077	500	1834:13	2750
1799:20	500	1816A053	2000	1824A016	500	1834:15	750
1799:40	750	1817A034	500	1824A022	500	1834:19	500
1799:77	750	1817A037	750	1824A031	750	1834:24	3000
1799:78	1000	1817A048	1750	1824A037	2000	1834:29	1500
1799:79	1000	1817A049	2000	1824A038	2000	1834:37	500
1799:92	500	1818A016	500	1824A039	1000	1834:40	500
1799:95	1000	1818A019	1750	1824A040	1000	1834:42	1250
1800A035	750	1818A031	500	1824A048	1000	1834:44	1000
1800A043	750	1818A033	500	1824A049	1000	1834:51	500
1800A068	750	1818A037	1500	1824A050	1000	1834:55	500
1800A075	750	1818A039	750	1824A055	4500	1834:56	2000
1801A022	750	1818A045	2000	1824A069	750	1834:57	750
1801A048	500	1818A050	500	1824A071	1250	1834:62	750
1801A060	500	1818A052	2000	1824A078	3000	1834:76	500
1802A035	500	1818A055	10000	1824A083	10000	1835:3	500
1802A049	500	1818A057	500	1824A084	9800	1835:5	350
1802A060	2000	1819A004	500	1824A097	1500	1835:11	250
1803A035	1000	1819A022	1500	1825A029	1000	1835:27	250
1803A044	500	1819A032	1000	1825A041	1000	1835:32	750
1803A059	500	1819A036	1250	1825A051	500	1835:34	1000
1803A062	750	1819A037	500	1825A062	750	1835:35	500
1804A016	1000	1819A038	500	1825A074	1250	1835:37	1500
1804A054	750	1819A042	750	1825A075	1000	1835:47	1250
1804A059	750	1819A043	500	1826A018	750	1835:52	1000
1805A058	2000	1819A044	500	1826A026	1000	1835:103	1500
1805A062	500	1819A045	750	1826A030	1000	1835:107	1000
1805A067	500	1819A049	500	1826A046	1000	1835:110	500
1806A006	750	1819A052	500	1826A064	1750	1835:111	750
1806A023	1000	1819A054	750	1827A013	750	1835:62	1250
1806A051	2000	1819A062	500	1827A014	500	1835:64	500
1807A041	750	1820A014	500	1827A016	750	1835:69	1250
1807A051	1000	1820A019	750	1827A027	750	1835:70	1000
1807A060	500	1820A027	500	1827A028	1,500	1835:71	1250
1808A039	750	1820A033	750	1827A054	2000	1835:77	500
1808A058	1250	1820A034	1500	1827A062	9500	1835:83	750
1808A071	2000	1820A044	750	1827A079	750	1835:89	750
1808A074	750	1820A054	1500	1828A020	500	1835:99	750
1808A077	750	1820A056	2500	1828A059	2500	1836:12	1000
1808A085	750	1820A061	10000	1828A063	1500	1836:16	500
1809A054	2000	1820A062	10000	1828A076	1000	1836:17	1000
1809A060	500	1820A063	10000	1829A001	1000	1836:20	1000
1809A076	750	1821A019	750	1829A049	500	1836:23	750
1810A070	2000	1821A020	500	1829A075	8000	1836:28	750
1810A089	2000	1821A037	750	1829A078	1750	1836:32	1000
1811A022	1000	1821A053	500	1830:24	750	1836:35	750
1811A026	750	1821A061	1750	1830:26	500	1836:37	500
1811A041	750	1821A063	10000	1830:42	750	1836:38	750
1812A023	1000	1821A066	500	1831:57	1000	1836:39	750
1812A052	2000	1821A069	500	1832:13	500	1836:50	750
1812A065	2000	1822A019	750	1832:18	500	1836:55	500
1813A002	500	1822A034	750	1832:40	1000	1836:56	750
1813A011	500	1822A037	500	1832:50	750	1836:65	500
1813A035	500	1822A043	500	1832:65	500	1836:67	1000
1813A036	500	1822A046	4000	1832:67	1500	1836:69	500
1813A044	2000	1822A062	1750	1832:73	750	1836:75	1500
1813A057	500	1822A064	750	1833:13	1000		

Edition sizes recorded from the Colburn/Bentley publication list (British Library, unindexed; Chadwyck-Healey Microfilm Pt. 2 reel 10):

1829A053	1000	1830:48	1250	1830:105	750	1831:13	1000
1829A074	750	1830:49	1250	1830:61	2500	1831:29	1250
1829A006	1000	1830:50	1000	1830:63	1500	1831:30	1000
1830:22	1250	1830:52	1250	1830:64	1500	1831:31	1000
1830:30	2500	1830:54	2000	1830:76	1250	1831:52	1000
1830:33	2000	1830:55	1750	1830:78	1250	1832:35	1000
1830:34	1250	1830:56	1500	1830:82	750	1832:36	1000
1830:40	2500	1830:57	1000	1830:84	150	1832:58	1500
1830:41	1500	1830:100	1500	1830:97	750	1832:70	1500
1830:47	1250	1830:102	2500	1830:99	750	1832:74	1000

of the novels from the period covered in the sample. Even if the records of more occasional fiction publishers like Cadell & Davies, Murray, and Oliver & Boyd do tend to corroborate the trends that emerge in the Longman and Bentley papers, all the surviving records suffer from obvious survivorship bias. To wit, the kinds of publishers for whom we have detailed, well-preserved records are the kinds of publishers who kept detailed records that someone has succeeded at preserving. It is harrowing to contemplate how many publishers' archives have been destroyed by fires and other catastrophes, most egregiously when London's historic publishing centers were targeted by the Luftwaffe firebombs during the Blitz.[32]

The sample's coverage has an even more fundamental asymmetry. Crudely put, there were two kinds of first editions: Walter Scott's and all the rest. Thanks mostly to the high survival rate of correspondence among Scott and his publishers, records of print runs survive for the first editions of 17 out of Scott's 23 novels. Although the editions of Scott's early novels were relatively conservative, between 1818 and 1827 his various publishers regularly sent Edinburgh printer James Ballantyne orders of between 7,000 and 10,000 copies; the order for *The Pirate* (*DBF* 1822A067) was 12,000 copies, which necessitated the hurried printing of a parallel London edition of the first two volumes.[33]

Clearly, Scott's disproportionate coverage makes it inadvisable to estimate raw 5- or 10-year averages using his novels alongside the rest of the sample. For the moment, then, I will set the Waverley novels aside. The remaining 322 editions in the sample follow a fairly consistent bimodal distribution. 226 editions (70% of the sample) comprised conservative print runs of 500, 750, or 1,000 copies, with 750 copies as both the median and the mode across the entire sample.[34] Another 76 non-Scott editions comprised moderately large editions of 1,250 to 2,000 copies, while only 15 non-Scott editions comprised more than 2,000 copies. The statistical distribution of both small and large editions changed over time, however. During the 1800s, Longman & Co. steadily reduced their share of 750-copy and 1,000-copy editions while favoring both 500-copy and 1,500- to 2,000-copy editions. Colburn &

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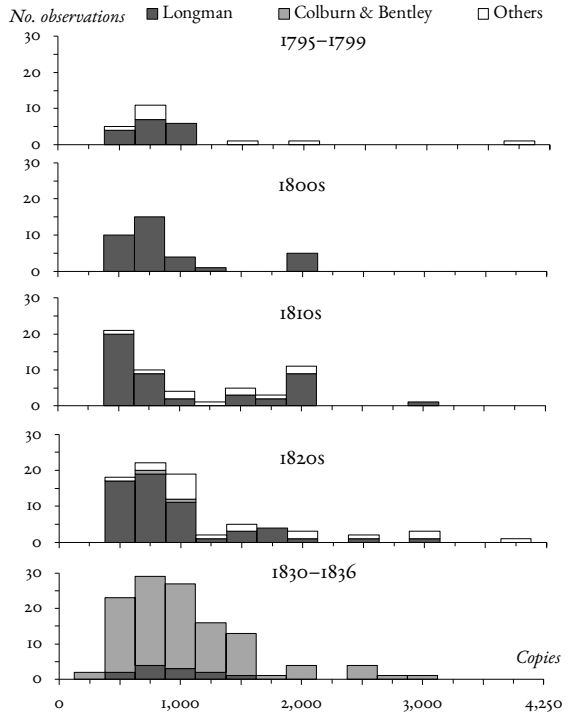
[32] For the consequences of the Blitz to the Longman Archive, see Chapter 5.
[33] See Publishing Papers to *DBF* 1822A067; Todd and Bowden, *Walter Scott*, entries 156Aa–156Ad.
[34] This count includes *Hennebon* (*TEN3* 1835:5), printed in 350 copies.

4.3A. Distribution of edition sizes by decade



4.3B. Average edition size by 5-year period, 1795–1834

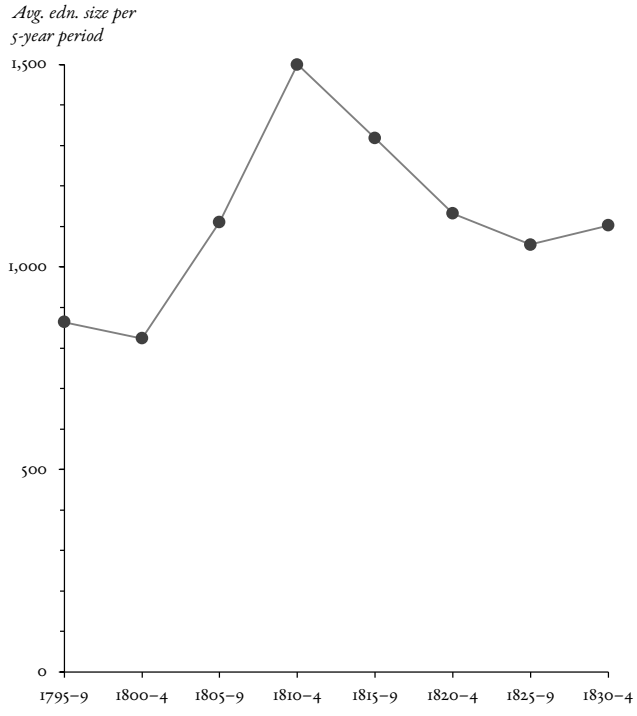


Figure 4.3. Edition sizes of novels: a sample of 322 first editions, 1795–1836

Bentley, meanwhile, made much heavier use of 1,250- and 1,500-copy editions than other firms and rarely commissioned anything larger.

As a result of the changing frequency of large editions, the average number of copies printed for the first editions of novels fluctuated considerably during the Romantic period, as charted in Figure 4.3. Excluding Walter Scott's novels, the average rose from roughly 850 copies during the late 1790s and early 1800s, to a high of 1,500 copies during the early 1810s. The average then fell to between 1,000 and 1,100 copies during the 1820s, with signs of a further decline during the last two years of the sample. Importantly, this trend was driven primarily by the frequency of large editions. The average edition size grew during the late 1800s and early 1810s as Longman and other publishers increasingly published novels in editions of 1,500 copies or more, only to fall after 1815 when publishers appear to have retreated from larger editions.

This evolution of average edition sizes offers us a basis to estimate the total scope of the British market for newly published novels. The method I have employed, the results of which I have charted

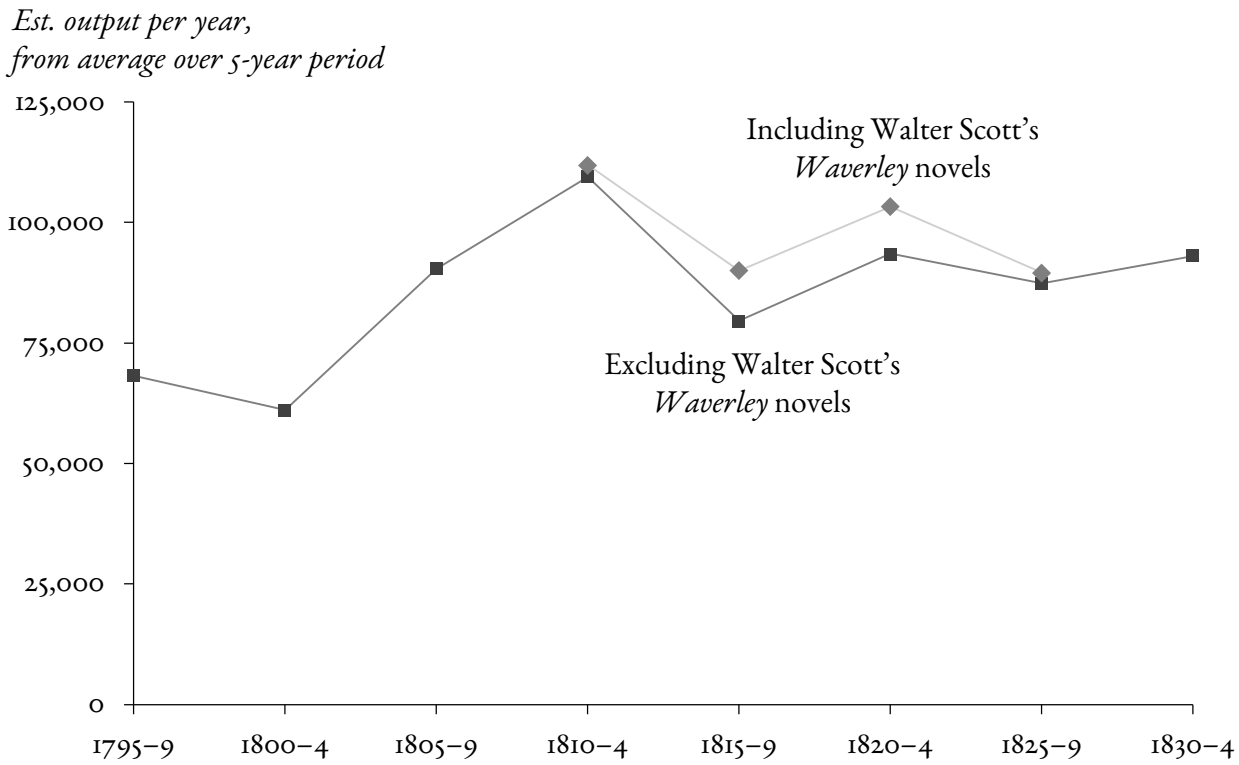


Fig. 4.4. Estimated total printing of novels in first editions, 1795–1834

in Figure 4.4, is to multiply the average edition sizes for each five-year period by the average number of novels published per year during the same period (excluding Scott's novels from both tallies for the moment). If the sample of edition sizes is representative of the whole, then it suggests that the growth of the fiction market may have followed a markedly different pace than what title counts alone would suggest. It had seemed, in Figures 4.1 and 4.2, that after the rapid growth of the early 1780s and 1790s, a certain degree of stagnation set in between 1795 and 1814, with a general decline in output beginning as early as 1800–1808. If average edition sizes were indeed rising as markedly during these years as the sample (excluding Scott) suggests, however, it is possible that larger editions were forming the basis for a fairly sustained period of growth that title counts almost entirely conceal. Indeed, this estimate suggests that the output of copies printed in the first editions of novels almost doubled between 1800 and 1814, rising from as few as 61,000 copies per year around 1800 to as many as 110,000 copies per year around 1814. This estimate suggests that the entire 30-year period from about 1785 to 1815 may have been a time of sustained growth in the fiction market, with only a brief interruption around 1800–1804

followed by a boom through 1814 driven primarily by large editions. If this surmise is correct, then the growth evidently proceeded in two phases. The first phase was an increase in the number of new editions printed during the 1780s and 1790s, and the second phase involved a growing preponderance of large editions during the 1800s and 1810s after the number of new titles per year had roughly levelled off.

The premise of sustained growth during this long period makes the slump in new editions during the late 1810s and early 1820s all the more arresting. Although publishers' sustained use of relatively large editions through the late 1810s kept the total number of copies from cratering as severely as the tally of editions catalogued in *BBF* alone would imply, the sample also suggests that the market was slower to recover during the 1820s than Garside has recognized. It is in this context that we can appreciate the significance of the popularity of Walter Scott. In Figure 4.4, I show the relationship of the known edition sizes of the Waverley novels to my estimates of the rest of the market. During the years 1820–1824, the peak years of popularity for the *Waverley* novels, Archibald Constable and his London co-publishers ordered the printing of 76,800 copies across eight first editions. Judging from the larger sample, I estimate that during this five-year period, Scott may have commanded a market share as high as 12% of the copies printed for new editions. Although Scott continued to command a significant market share even after his and Constable's financial ruin in 1825–1826, his later novels appear never to have occasioned an edition of 10,000 copies, and one is inclined to suspect that sheer market oversaturation may have contributed to the lagging sales that precipitated the liquidity crisis leading up to Constable's bankruptcy.[35] All the same, Scott's novels were extraordinarily successful in the short term, and it appears likely that their popularity bore the fiction market through a recession almost single-handedly.

Again, I must stress the relatively small and potentially unrepresentative nature of the sample on which this analysis rests. In particular, the constitution of the sample makes it difficult to judge whether the stagnation that seems to have begun in the late 1810s truly continued through the late

[35] See Alloway, "The Sequestration of Archibald Constable."

1820s and early 1830s, given our increasing reliance on the Bentley Papers for edition sizes after 1829. Despite their potential shortcomings, however, this estimation procedure does offer a useful foothold for an assessment of the scope and growth rate of the fiction market. In particular, the estimates yield realistic upper and lower bounds for the annual output of first editions during the Romantic period. If the average edition size of a novel fell between 750 and 2000 copies, then the annual printing of novels in first editions must consistently have fallen somewhere between 50,000 and 200,000 copies per year, with an average annual total likely to fall somewhat below 100,000 copies per year for many years. Even setting aside the vagaries of income distribution explored in Chapter 1, these upper and lower bounds underscore how small a proportion of the population of Great Britain and Ireland (collectively about 16 million in 1801 and about 25.5 million in 1836) could have been reading novels when they were newly published. Even allowing for William St. Clair's generous "reading multiplier" of four acts of reading per copy, it is unlikely that much more than 3% of British and Irish readers were reading newly published novels regularly within the first year or so of their publication. In other words, novels were hardly mass media quite yet.

Second, the fact that the sample's spike in edition sizes before 1810 was driven primarily by large editions gives us some basis to judge the quantitative profile of popular authors who increasingly commanded a larger and more reliable audience than their late-eighteenth-century forbears. Although no author before Scott had occasioned the printing of so many authorized editions of 10,000 copies or more in so short a time, Jan Fergus is correct to point out that other authors—for instance, Maria Edgeworth—at least occasionally had editions published in the high thousands.[36] The estimates I have drawn from the present sample, which suggest the peak printing of about 110,000 copies per year during the period 1810–1804, may significantly understate the total for certain years depending on the proportion of large editions.

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[36] Jan Fergus, *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 4–5.

Third, and perhaps most importantly, the sample underscores the importance of the 1810s as a time of transition in the fiction market. In this regard, the edition size data help to corroborate and clarify the view of the market offered in Figure 4.2, which shows that there had been significant exits and entrances to the fiction-publishing oligopoly in the years leading up to 1814, with the new entrants only gradually returning to the pace of output set by their predecessors. The fact that the publishers in the sample of print runs retreated from large editions around the same time lends credence to the view that the fiction market was affected profoundly by the recession of 1815–1817, which interrupted what had been a fairly steady growth trend between the 1780s and the early 1810s.[37] What is perhaps more surprising, however, is that there is no evidence of a resumed expansionary trend in output after the recession had abated. Instead, both title counts and edition quantities suggest that there was a long plateau of output for the remainder of the Romantic period, which apparently lasted at least until the 1840s. The post-Napoleonic market apparently was not accommodating of growth, either from new firms or existing ones.

⁂

Although I would not wish to overstrain the estimates I have performed above, I hope I have convincingly shown, at the very least, that evidence of market structure and trends in edition sizes add necessary detail and nuance to the bibliometric analysis of title counts of first editions in *BBF*. Unfortunately, for the time being at least, it is not practicable to extend this estimation procedure beyond *BBF*'s necessary but arbitrary constraint of scope to first editions. Although each of the bibliographies includes a list of "further editions," only Raven's *BF*, covering the years 1750–1769, offers something approaching complete coverage of *all* reprints and derivative editions from these years.[38] The bibliographies of later periods all offer more limited coverage of up to five further UK

[37] Gayer *et al.*, *The Growth and Fluctuation of the British Economy*, Vol. 1, 113–70; Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 44.

[38] Raven, *BF*, 5–7.

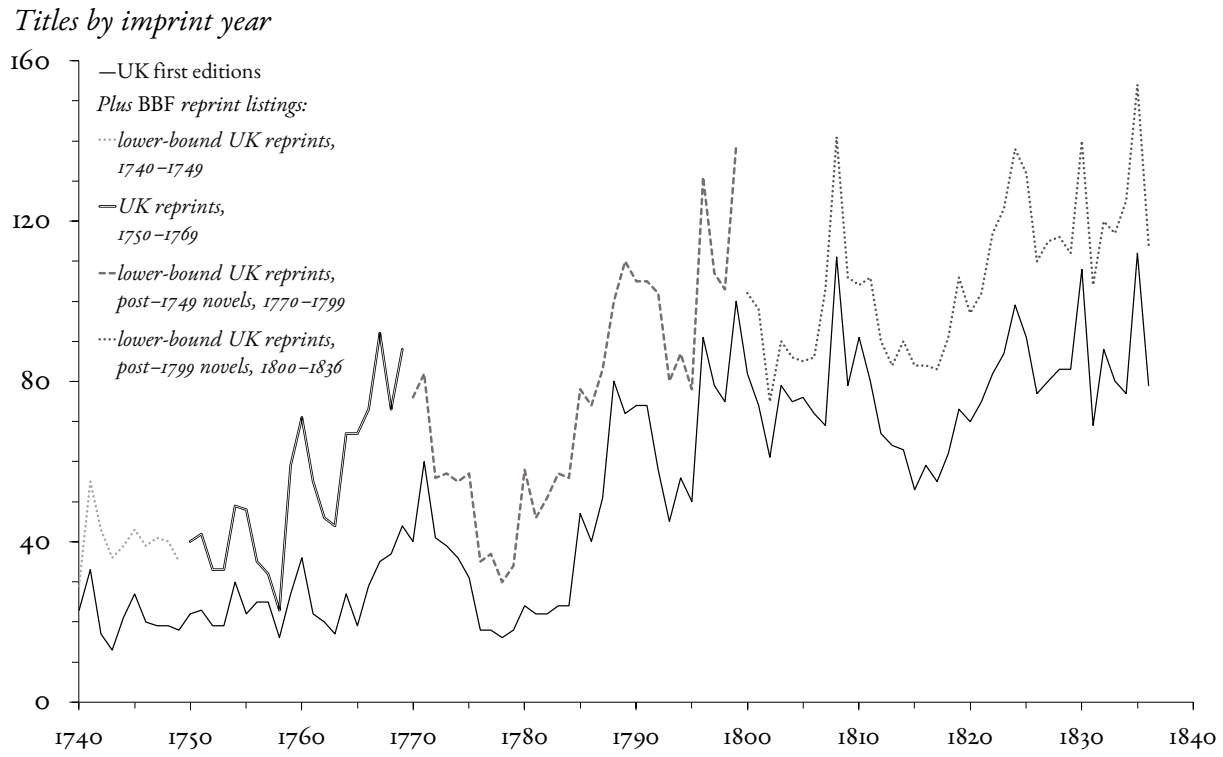

Figure 4.5. Output of long-form fiction, 1740-1836: first editions plus known reprints

editions listed in OCLC/WordCat, the NSTC, and a handful of other sources.[39] Coverage of reprints is further limited by the fact that *BF* and *TEN1* only list eighteenth-century reprints of eighteenth-century editions, with no listings for editions published after 1800. Figure 4.5 shows the discontinuous coverage of these later editions, more in the interest of demonstrating the problems that attend the analysis of reprints than to make any definite claims. One of the few things that is clear is that from 1765 through 1799, there were at least as many reprints per year as there were new editions, partly because the exemption of Ireland from British copyright until the 1801 Act of Union resulted in a large quantity of parallel Irish editions.[40] Whether that ratio continued during the early nineteenth century is impossible to tell from the entries in *TEN2* and *TEN3* alone. Any attempt to extend the estimation procedure outlined above to reprints would need to take into account the variation in edition sizes of

[39] See Garside *et al.*, *TEN1–2* "General Introduction," 14; Garside *et al.*, *DBF* "Reading the Main Records," http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk/guide/records.html.

[40] Raven, *TEN1* "Historical Introduction," 107.

reprints, which may well have had an even greater tendency toward bimodality than first editions. Furthermore, there is the challenge of magazine and, increasingly from the early 1830s, serial publication, which seriously complicates the premise that estimating novel manufacture by number of codex copies offers a complete view of the material basis of fiction readership.[41]

If the foregoing analysis has not entirely explained the limits on the growth of the fiction market during the Romantic period, it has helped furnish necessary information about the market structure underlying it. There is room to argue, from our sample of edition sizes, that the number of copies printed for first editions continued rising through the end of the Napoleonic wars; if so, this trend only underscores the importance of the years 1815–1836 as a time of sustained resistance to growth. Because of the limits to the bibliometric record beyond long-form fiction, it is impossible to say whether this trend coincided with a similar downturn in the publication of all books, or for that matter all print. However, the sources I have cited in Part I of the dissertation offer instructive contexts. We know, from contemporary tallies of master printers, that the London printing industry experienced a similarly timed interruption to its long-term growth pattern, with the number of active printers rising only modestly from 216 to 233 between 1808 and 1818. And we know, from excise data, that growth in the paper industry was similarly modest, with an increase of only 12% between 1810 and 1820.[42] Both these trends suggest that the disruption to the fiction trade in the late 1810s was part of a larger slump in the market for print, attributable partly to the post-Napoleonic recession and partly to the disruptions to capital markets discussed in . However, these contexts both underscore the strangeness of enduring low output in the fiction market from the mid 1820s onward, by which time both British papermills and London printers were back on an upswing.

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[41] Garside, *TEN3* "General Introduction," 6–7; Bassett, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Three-Volume Novel,* 69–93.

[42] See Figure 2.1.

4.2. The London book distribution system in 1830: evidence from the Bentley Papers

In the previous section, I have surveyed all the evidence I am aware of to establish—or in the case of copies printed, to estimate—the overall scale of British fiction manufacturing during the Romantic period. The data are in many respects stronger than I would have expected from the outset of this project. Nevertheless, I hope even my most indulgent readers have appreciated that these data offer only a high-level view of the fiction market. They tell us nothing about the relationship between the quantity of copies printed and the quantity actually sold, nor about commercial intermediaries through which publishers actually interfaced with readers. The goal of the present section is to offer a case study of what the fiction market actually looked like on the ground, to attach concrete contexts and examples to many of the problems that have swirled around in the analysis of the nineteenth-century book trade—among them the commercial agency of the publisher, the relationship between publishing and wholesale distribution, the manner in which publishers disposed of unsold stock, and the influence of monopoly power on the scope of the market.

To these ends, I have analyzed the papers of London's leading nineteenth-century fiction publisher Richard Bentley (1794–1871), who, as I have mentioned in the previous section, was the partner of Henry Colburn (1784/5–1855) from 1829 until their acrimonious split in 1832.[43] Book historians such as Royal Gettmann, Michael and Elizabeth Turner, and Troy Bassett have used the Bentley Papers to study the firm's business management, authorial negotiations, and scale of

[43] The Bentley Papers are comprised of manuscript holdings at three libraries: the British Library, the University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign, and the University of California at Los Angeles. This study relies entirely on their microfilm reproduction, *The Archives of Richard Bentley & Son, 1829–1898* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healy, 1975–6), 3 Parts, 215 reels; I have consulted the copy held by the Davis Library at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and I am grateful to their microforms staff for their aid in the course of this research. The best comprehensive guide to the three archives is Alison Ingram, *Index to the Archives of Richard Bentley & Son, 1829–1898* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1977). For Colburn and his partnership with Bentley, see John Sutherland, "Henry Colburn: Publisher," *Publishing History* 19 (1986): 59–84; Peter D. Garside, "Colburn, Henry (1784/5–1855)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5836.

manufacturing.[44] However, one collection of manuscripts that has gone almost entirely neglected is Bentley's Subscription Lists, which record the firm's pre-publication trade sale and distribution arrangements with wholesale and retail booksellers.[45] These records are impressively granular, recording both the buyers' names and the number of copies that each agreed to buy.

Drawing from the Subscription Lists and related records, I have compiled a sample of distribution data for the first editions of 33 novels that Colburn & Bentley published between November 1829 and December 1830, accounting for roughly one third of all the novels newly published in the British Isles during this fourteen-month period. By cross-listing the Subscription Lists with the British Book Trade Index (BBTI) and the 1827 and 1830 issues of *Leigh's New Picture of London*,[46] I have identified each of the 77 booksellers who subscribed for these editions, sorting them by the type of bookshop they operated: wholesale, retail, or retail with a subscription library. Although these records come with important caveats, they offer one of the best centralized records we have of the London distribution network that conveyed novels into readers' hands during the Romantic period.

My account of the Bentley Papers focuses less on the publishers themselves than it does on the intermediary booksellers who bought from them. I trace categories of tradespeople that Colburn & Bentley sold novels to, the relative quantities of their urban and provincial dealings, the market share of circulating libraries in the London retail fiction trade, and the limiting effects of monopoly power on the scope of literary publishing. However, the uses of Bentley's Subscription Lists far outstrip the relatively narrow account I offer here. For this reason, I have reproduced as much of the relevant data

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[44] Royal A. Gettmann, *A Victorian Publisher: A Study of the Bentley Papers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960); Michael L. Turner with the assistance of Elizabeth Turner, *Index and Guide to the List of the Publications of Richard Bentley & Son, 1829–1898* (Teaneck: Chadwyck-Healey, 1975); Troy Bassett, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Three-Volume Novel*, 101–146.

[45] An important exception is Stephen Colclough, "Distribution," in *CHBB6*, 238–80 at 243–52, https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521866248.008. Colclough discusses Bentley's Trade Subscription Lists from the 1860s.

[46] *BBTI*; Samuel Leigh, ed., *Leigh's New Picture of London; or, A View of the Political, Religious, Medical, Literary, Municipal, Commercial, and Moral State of the British Metropolis* (London: printed for Samuel Leigh): I have consulted the editions of 1827, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hn67pc; and 1830, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hn67py.

as is practicable in Appendix A, which records the novels in the sample, the booksellers who subscribed to them, the number of copies they subscribed for, and the final reckoning of stock.

4.2A. Publishing and trade subscription

Tradespeople and transactions: a trans-historical overview. It will, perhaps, be helpful to offer a basic overview of the roles that participants in the book trade have played through history. Although the market structure of the book trade changed significantly between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, the basic roles that needed to be filled in the making of a printed text remained largely the same.[47] In short: The *publisher* of a text paid to have it produced in large quantities for a public audience, more often than not as a speculative commercial venture. To this end, the publisher employed various input suppliers: they paid an *author* for a manuscript and its reproduction rights (if applicable); they bought paper in bulk from a *paper supplier*, by the late seventeenth century usually called a *stationer*;[48] and they had both the manuscript and the paper delivered to a *printer*, who oversaw the setting of the text into type and its printing onto the paper. Once the publisher had received the printed sheets, they ordinarily tried to get as many copies sold as possible in order to recoup their investment and earn a profit. Ordinarily, however, the publisher lacked a sufficient customer base to dispose of all the copies they had ordered printed by themself. So they usually relied for most of their revenue on sales to multiple *distributors* (or, as I will tend to refer to them, *wholesalers*). Because even the distributors were ordinarily unable to reach sufficiently large audiences themselves, they, in turn, resold their share of copies to *retailers*. At last, the retailers offered copies for final sale—or for rent, in the case of commercial libraries—to *customers* of retail shops. At some stage between the publisher's inventory and the customer's shelf, the print item also ordinarily required the service of a *binder*, who

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[47] My schematic overview here draws heavily from Blayney, *The Stationer's Company and the Printers of London, 1501–1557*, 1.30–3.

[48] Confusingly, the usage of the word "stationer" to refer specifically to vendors of paper is etymologically distinct from the earlier usage of "stationer" to refer to all tradespeople involved in industries adjacent to print, from which stems the name of the Worshipful Company of Stationers; see Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London*, 19.

at minimum folded the printed sheets into quires, sewed them into codex form, and protected the contents with some form of outer covering.

Of course, this schematic account sidesteps not only much trade history but much lexicography. Yet as long as these terms are employed with the awareness that (1) some of them are anachronistic for many periods and (2) any given tradesperson could fill more than one role, they serviceably describe the basic functions that tradespeople in the print market have needed to perform throughout its history. Indeed, the first difficulty that arises when studying the book trade at any phase of its development is the determination of how these basic roles were allocated. No role has been more complex and protean than that of the publisher, which was dominated by printers during the early history of print but came to be largely usurped by wholesale booksellers through most of the modern era, only gradually emerging as a role distinct and specialized enough to warrant its own word.[49] And of course, many print items were, and continue to be, *self*-published by their authors.[50]

Just as the various actors in the print market needed to perform all these roles in order for a printed book to be made and (eventually) read, the transit of books and their inputs along the distribution chain ordinarily needed to be facilitated by financial transactions. Sometimes these transactions were conducted in cash, but more often they involved credit arrangements that came due months after the exchange of physical goods. The publisher paid *production costs* to the book's input suppliers, including at minimum a *paper price* to the paper supplier and a *printing charge* to the printer. If necessary, the publisher also paid an *authorial payment* to the text's author. The publisher sold copies of the printed book to wholesale distributors at a *publisher's trade price*, which needed to be high enough to make it likely that sales on the edition would recoup its costs and, the publisher hoped, earn a profit even if not all copies sold. The wholesale distributors, in turn, resold the copies to

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[49] See Terry Belanger, "From Bookseller to Publisher: Changes in the London Book Trade, 1750-1850," in *Book Selling and Book Buying: Aspects of the Nineteenth British and North American Book Trade*, ed. Richard G. Landon. (Chicago: American Library Association, 1978), 5–15.

[50] For eighteenth-century self-publishing, see K.I.D. Maslen, "Printing for the Author: From the Bowyer Printing Ledgers, 1710–1775," *The Library* 5th Series, Vol. 27, no. 4 (December 1972): 302–9, https://doi.org/10.1093/library/s5-XXVII.4.302.

retail booksellers at a *wholesale price*, which needed to be higher than the publisher's trade price in order to cover the wholesalers' overhead.[51] Finally, private customers bought from retailers at the *retail price*. And somewhere along the way, someone in the distribution chain—usually either the publisher or the wholesaler—needed to pay the binder a *trade binding charge*, which would be factored into the price at the next link in the supply chain. Of course, many publications entailed further transactions or alternate arrangements—advertising and shipping costs, commissions to a publisher's reader and/or an editor, remaindering, &c. But the exchanges here listed are the minimum that needed to occur in order for a manuscript and a heap of paper to become a printed, commercially sold codex book.

Book distribution can be challenging to conceptualize because it is innately complex: as a business model, it ordinarily relies on the systole pump of starting capital and the capillary flow of copies from a small to a large number of shops. Although it is important to keep in mind that the transactions outlined above have needed to occur for more or less every commercially published book, the analysis of book distribution cannot proceed very far without the imposition of geographical and historical constraints on analysis. So let us advance to the specific structure of the London book trade in 1830.

The state of the London trade in 1830. By the turn of the nineteenth century, nearly all books were published by *publishers*, in the modern sense of the word. These firms negotiated payment plans with authors for literary works, bought paper and commissioned printing for editions of these works, and put up capital for the various productive outlays that these editions required. Although eighteenth- and nineteenth-century publishers usually set the retail prices of their own publications, they relied for their profits not on direct retail sales to final customers, but rather on the sale of copies at discounted trade prices (usually two thirds of the retail price) to wholesale and retail booksellers.

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[51] In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the term "trade price" is often used to refer to the publisher's price to wholesale distributors, but it's sometimes also used to refer to the wholesaler's price to retailers. To eliminate this ambiguity, I will tend to refer to the former as the *publisher's trade price* and the latter as the *wholesale price*, occasionally defaulting to "trade price" with the former when it's clear, in context, that the seller is the publisher.

Throughout this section, I will refer to these sales by the publisher to intermediaries as *trade sales*, and I will refer to the associated prices that the intermediaries paid the publisher as *trade prices*.

One major source of continuity between the trade of the early nineteenth century and earlier periods was the fact that very few of the major publishers specialized solely in publishing. In 1830, Colburn & Bentley were still unusual in this regard. Because wholesale publishers historically held the lion's share of capital in the book trade, publishing and wholesaling remained heavily vertically integrated during the early nineteenth century, as they had been since the early modern period. In 1830, *Leigh's* listed Colburn & Bentley among only six firms who "chiefly confine themselves to their own publications.[52]

It is important to understand that a publisher like Colburn & Bentley was relying heavily for wholesale distribution of their work on wholesalers who were also publishers; this dual specialization gave wholesalers and publishers a shared commercial interest, since wholesaler-publishers relied on a dual revenue stream of trade sale revenues from their own publications and wholesale revenues from their resale of publications by other firms. As James J. Barnes has shown, nineteenth-century wholesaler-publishers were prone to collude with each other through associational trade arrangements, which in the modern parlance of regulatory agencies would be called cartels.[53] Anti-competitive trade arrangements had a long history in the book trade. Eighteenth-century scholars have written extensively about the business models of sharebook publishing arrangements (or "congers"), in which London's leading wholesale booksellers distributed the risk of publication by pooling their ownership of the shares of major copyright, policing wholesale prices and unauthorized editions. Far less has been written, unfortunately, about the transition from eighteenth- to nineteenth-century cartelization. Although sharebook publishing remained common among London's largest wholesaler-publishers

[52] *Leigh's New Picture of London*, 1830 edn., 319. This represented a substantial increase relative to Leigh's 1818 list, which gives only two firms (John Murray II and Cadell & Davies); see Pollard, "The English Market for Printed Books," 36.

[53] Barnes, *Free Trade in Books*, 1.

through the early nineteenth century,[54] it is clear that by the 1820s at the latest, the center of gravity for cartelization had shifted from publication to wholesaling.

In order to understand why, it is necessary first to explain a further complication to this already convoluted market structure, which is the fact that London publishers (who were usually also wholesalers) sold not only to other London wholesalers (who were often also publishers), but also sold directly to London retail shops. In their trade sales of their publications, then, publishers such as Colburn & Bentley were catering at the same price (barring bulk discounts) to two market segments at once. First, they sold to retail booksellers who operated London shops and circulating libraries, catering directly to metropolitan customers with no further mediation. Second, they sold to wholesalers, who, while mostly headquartered in London, primarily resold their bulk purchases to trade connections in provincial cities and towns all across the United Kingdom and beyond. Selling to both wholesalers and London retailers at once was a logical geographical expedient, given the size of the metropolitan market, but it was also the source of tension. Because the London retailers (selling directly to customers) had a larger markup to work with than the wholesaler (selling to retailers outside London), the London retailers had strong incentives to compete with each other on prices by offering their customers large discounts. But from the wholesaler-publishers' perspective, retail-level competition threatened to exert upstream pressure on trade prices, threatening profit margins. To combat this trend, the wholesaler-publisher cartel enforced strict limitations on the discounts retailers were allowed to offer, punishing "undersellers" by blackballing them from subsequent trade sales.[55]

A final complication arose from the management of stock not sold to wholesalers or retails. If a publisher had leftover stock from an edition after trade sales were complete—which, for Colburn & Bentley, was true more often than not—they ordinarily sold it "as a remainder," which entailed the bulk sale of all remaining copies to a specialist bookseller at a small fraction of the original trade price.[56]

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[54] Lutes, "Andrew Strahan and the London Sharebook System," 96–167.

[55] Barnes, *Free Trade in Books*, 1–18.

[56] James J. Barnes and Patience P. Barnes, "Reassessing the Reputation of Thomas Tegg, London Publisher, 1776-1846," *Book History* 3 (2000): 45–60 at 51–5, https://www.jstor.org/stable/30227311.

Remaindering served an important function in the book trade, but from the publisher's point of view it was principally a way of clearing out depreciated inventory. Ultimately, publishers relied on robust trade sales of their editions to turn a profit.

Trade subscription and the structure of Colburn & Bentley's records. Colburn & Bentley's financial records document the distribution chain at multiple phases. But in order to make the most effective use of these records, it is first necessary to understand the relationship of the structure of the surviving manuscripts to the specific financial arrangements underlying their publications. The conventional arrangement for new editions was for publishers' trade sales to commence on or shortly before publication day. By the early nineteenth century, however, an additional phase in the distribution chain had emerged, which I will call *trade subscription*. In order to ensure that as many copies of their books were stocked on release day as possible, Colburn & Bentley would tour the city's bookshops with preview copies of their upcoming publications, securing advance agreements from booksellers, or "subscriptions," to stock a predetermined number of copies once the book was released.[57] The practice of trade subscription did not originate with Colburn & Bentley. The papers of John Murray II establish that he was engaging in trade subscription by the 1810s at the latest.[58] However, Murray seems to have engaged in the practice at a more modest scale than Colburn & Bentley, who—judging from the scale of trade subscription sales documented at the beginning of the period considered here—had already adopted trade subscription as the predominant distribution scheme for many of their publications.

Evidence of Colburn & Bentley's book distribution in both types of trade sales survives in two groups of manuscripts, both housed in the British Library: the Subscription Lists and the Publication Lists.[59] The Subscription Lists appear to have been compiled in advance of publication, while trade

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[57] Colclough, "Distribution," 240.

[58] For Murray's trade subscriptions of Jane Austen's novels, see the "Publishing History" paragraphs of the entries in Gilson, *A Bibliography of Jane Austen*, 54–91.

[59] "Complete List of all Works published by Colburn & Bentley from 1 Sept. 1829 to 31 August 1832 (excepting the series entitled 'The Standard Novels')", British Library MSS., unindexed, Chadwyck-Healey Microfilm Pt. 2, Reel 10; "Subscription Lists," 1829–1832, British Library MS. 46637, Vols. 108–109; Chadwyck-Healey Microfilm Pt. 1, reel 51.

subscription was still underway. For most of the firm's editions, these volumes record trade subscription arrangements with booksellers in advance of actual trade sales, including the names of the subscribing booksellers and the number of copies they agreed to stock. The Subscription Lists record the names of subscribers in a variety of hands—in many cases, evidently those of the booksellers themselves. The Publication Lists, meanwhile, offer a more synoptic account of the commercial arrangements for each edition. Along with information about authorial payments and illustrations, they record the total number of copies printed, the total disposal of stock by the time trade sales had concluded, and the number of copies left over as a remainder. By subtracting the total edition size from the remainder, it is possible to calculate the number of copies that the firm managed to distribute by the time conventional trade sales had ended, with a small allowance (perhaps five percent) for copies distributed noncommercially to authors, periodical reviewers, and copyright deposit libraries.[60]

By comparing the entries in the Subscription Lists with those in the Publication Lists, we can assemble a cross-sectional account of Colburn & Bentley's trade distribution practices. The Subscription Lists, by far the more detailed of the two sets of manuscripts, record exactly how many copies each subscribing bookseller agreed to stock at publication day. These trade subscription arrangements are the most fruitful portion of the firm's surviving accounts, and they will occupy the bulk of the foregoing analysis. However, the Subscription Lists require caution, given their status as a record of preliminary sale arrangements. Between trade subscription and the publisher's final disposal of stock, other booksellers were sure to buy copies. The subscribing booksellers themselves may also have gone on to order additional copies at conventional trade sale, and for some editions they likely would have returned unsold stock to the publisher for remaindering. Although there is no itemized record of these later adjustments of stock in the Bentley Papers, the Publication List do enable us to know how the finalized trade sales differed from the Subscription Lists.

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[60] For copyright deposit requirements, see Xing Li, Megan MacGarvie, and Petra Moser, "Dead Poets' Property—How Does Copyright Influence Price?", *RAND Journal of Economics* 49.1 (Spring 2018): 181–205 at 184–5, https://doi.org/10.1111/1756-2171.12223.

Although trade subscriptions catered to the same booksellers as ordinary trade sales, they entailed a somewhat different division of revenues and risks. For all the three-volume novels that the firm offered at a retail price of 31.5 shillings (£1.11.6), the trade subscription price was 22.5 shillings (£1.2.6), representing a 28.6% discount to 71.4% of the retail price. In comparison, the standard trade price for these novels starting on publication day was 21.25 shillings (£1.1.3), entailing a more generous 32.5% discount to 67.5% of the retail price. The exact reasons for this discrepancy are unclear. Perhaps the higher subscription price was an adjustment for the longer credit terms of a purchase made weeks in advance. Or perhaps trade subscription purchases were considered advantageous relative to ordinary trade purchases, since they allowed booksellers to realize immediate sales on books that caught the public's attention. Bulk discounts further complicate matters. At standard trade sales, Colburn & Bentley offered one free copy out of every twenty-five purchased (or "25 as 24"), effectively a 4% discount. They probably offered the same discount on trade subscription sales, since the wholesale booksellers' profit margins would otherwise have been quite narrow.[61]

4.2B. Data collection: trade subscriptions, trade sales, and booksellers

Having surveyed Colburn & Bentley's trade sale practices and their surviving manuscript records, I can now proceed to describe the methods I have used to transcribe and analyze the data that these manuscripts contain. This analysis represents only a sliver of the total data available in the Bentley Papers. The Publication lists establish that between 1829 and 1832, Colburn & Bentley published at least 180 editions;[62] Bentley and his son continued at a comparable pace through the mid-Victorian period. The present sample, constrained to 33 novels published during a 14-month period, should not be taken as representative of the entirety of their published output. What the sample *does*

[61] During the mid to late eighteenth century, the wholesale prices of London publications to provincial retailers were usually discounted to 82.5% of the retail price. By 1852, however, the standard wholesale price had apparently fallen to 75% of the retail price.

[62] Tallied from the Colburn & Bentley Publication List, which the Subscription Lists establish is missing some editions.

represent is a nearly comprehensive overview of Colburn & Bentley's publishing in a single genre, long-form fiction, during a narrow window of time.

Colburn & Bentley's novels, October 1829 – December 1830. Drawing from *BBF*, I have cross-checked the Subscription Lists and Publication Lists against a comprehensive list of Colburn & Bentley's novels. In all, I located entries in both lists for the first editions of 33 novels: 5 published between 10 October and 27 November 1829, and 28 published between 6 Jan and 24 Dec 1830. Data from the Publication List entries for these novels are reproduced in Appendix A1. All but a handful of the firm's novels from this 14-month period are represented in the sample. For comparison, the bibliographies establish that Colburn and/or Bentley collectively published a total of 34 novels with 1829 imprints and 33 novels with 1830 imprints.[63]

Despite its constrained scope, the sample represents a considerable share of the UK fiction market *circa* 1830. Across the British Isles, an average of 86 new novels per year were published between the imprint years of 1828 and 1832. Thus, it is reasonable to infer that the sample represents roughly one third of all first editions of UK novels from the period it covers.[64] The sample also represents roughly one third of the *copies* printed for all first editions of novels during this period. According to the Publication Lists, the 33 editions in the sample comprised 44,500 copies, for a median edition size of 1,250 copies and an average of 1,348 copies. The marketwide median first edition size of a novel may have been closer to 1,000 copies, given that other publishers ordered editions of 500 copies more frequently than did Colburn & Bentley. However, Colburn & Bentley's average is probably close to the marketwide average, which would have been dragged upward by a small number of very large editions.

Of course, the encouraging size of the sample does not guarantee that Colburn & Bentley's distribution patterns were typical of other publishers. Colburn, like Minerva Press founder William Lane before him, was notorious in his lifetime as a market disruptor for the large number of

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[63] See the publisher and bookseller appendices and search fields of *BBF*.

[64] *BBF* records 83 first editions by imprint year for 1828 and 1829, 108 for 1830, 69 for 1831, and 88 for 1832.

publications he put out from the mid 1820s onward. He differs from Lane, however, in that his prices were atypically high during the 1820s, suggesting a commercial strategy that deliberately ran counter to more established patterns of distribution.[65] On the other hand, most of the publisher's major buyers—in both the wholesale and retail sectors—were certain to be large buyers of editions from other firms. For this reason, the patterns of acquisition represented in the Subscription Lists is likely to be typical of quantities of stock that booksellers and circulating librarians acquired during this period.

Subscribing booksellers and their specializations. After identifying the novels covered in the financial records, the next phase was to identify the booksellers who bought them. In the process of collecting data on the sample's 33 novels from the Subscription Lists, I transcribed every bookseller's name associated with every individual trade purchase. In all, I transcribed a total of 1,410 pairings of bookseller name and quantity of stock subscribed. While laborious, this process of redundant transcription was necessary in order to develop a sufficient familiarity with the booksellers' handwriting to prepare an accurate list of booksellers and their acquisitions. After extensively cross-checking my transcriptions and comparing the Subscription List names to other sources, I arrived at a list of 77 firms responsible for at least one purchase. Out of the trade subscription of 17,308 copies across 1,410 lines, I have failed to identify the sale of only 28 copies across 6 editions.[66]

Once I had transcribed the names of booksellers, I concatenated these 1,410 lines to form the large table comprising Appendix A2. From here, the remaining challenge was to identify the type of business that each purchaser operated. Most booksellers—71 out of 77—had at least one entry in the *British Book Trade Index* (*BBTI*); for most of the others it was possible to find business categories and addresses through contemporary newspapers and directories. However, the BBTI's entries do not consistently or reliably identify the market specializations of these firms, and they also give conflicting information about street addresses. To shore up these gaps in coverage, I have turned to the best single contemporary source on the geography and market structure of the London book trade during this

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[65] In addition to Sutherland, "Henry Colburn," see Sutherland, "The British Book Trade and the Crash of 1826."

[66] See Appendix A3.

period, Samuel Leigh's *Leigh's New Picture of London*. From 1818 onward, each issue of *Leigh's* includes a "List of Booksellers and Publishers, according to the various branches of business in which they are engaged."[67] The 1827 issue lists a total of 234 metropolitan booksellers, while the 1830 issue adds a handful of new shops that opened during the interim.

Leigh's New Picture of London is useful not only because of its near comprehensive coverage of the London booksellers, but also because of the 17 "branches" into which it sorts bookshops. These categories are too granular to cover fully here. For our present purposes, suffice it to say that after shoring up the gaps in Leigh's directory using the records of the *BBTI*, the 75 London booksellers who purchased novels from Colburn & Bentley fall into three categories:

- 16 were "Wholesale Booksellers and Publishers," some supplying only the English provincial trade while others "execute[d] foreign orders."
- 59 were "Retail Booksellers and Publishers" of some variety.
- Of the 59 retail booksellers, 18 fell into Leigh's subcategory of "Booksellers who keep Circulating Libraries."

Two further wholesale booksellers who frequently purchased from Colburn & Bentley were headquartered abroad: John Cumming in Dublin, and Bell & Bradfute in Edinburgh.[68] These data on booksellers and their roles in trade distribution are reproduced in Appendix A3.

4.2C. General patterns of trade subscription and sale

Figure 4.6 shows the initial distribution of Colburn & Bentley's novels *circa* 1830 during trade subscription (left) and the final disposal of stock (right). The comparison reveals that although trade subscriptions comprised a minority of the total copies printed for these editions (17,308 out of 44,500 copies, or 39%), they account for a solid two-thirds majority of copies that the publisher distributed

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[67] *Leigh's New Picture of London*: 1827 edn., 362–366; 1830 edn., 318–323.

[68] Cumming sold books from 16 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin; see numerous advertisements in the *Dublin Literary Gazette*, Vol. 1, Issues 1–28, 1830, https://books.google.com/books?id=HrZNAQAAMAAJ. Bell & Bradfute address at 6 Bank St., Edinburgh, appears repeatedly in advertisements from *The Edinburgh Literary Journal*, Vol. 2, 1829, https://books.google.com/books?id=404FAAAAQAAJ.

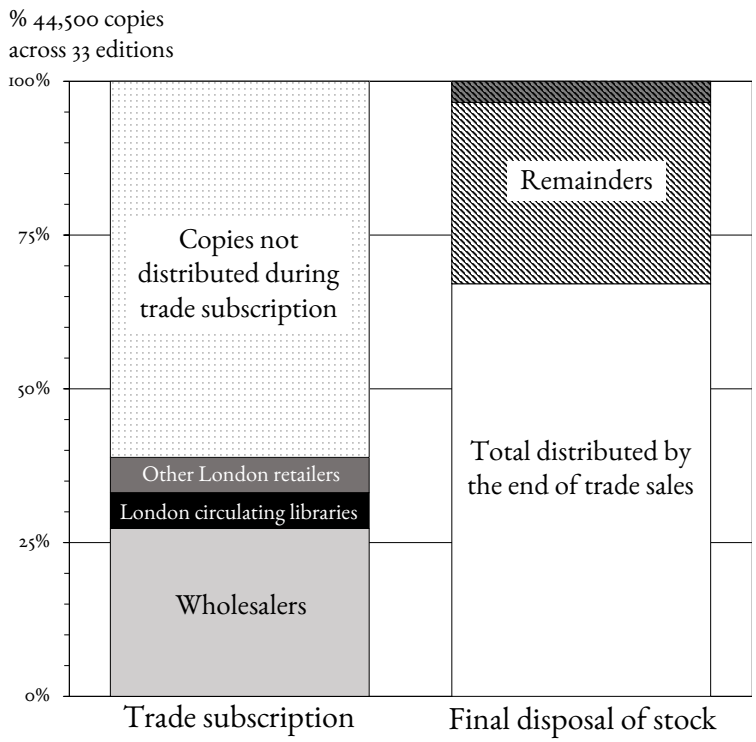

Figure 4.6. Colburn & Bentley's distribution of novels, November 1829–December 1830

before remaindering (17,308 out of 29,875 copies, or 67%). These data suggest that the commercial life cycle of a typical first edition loosely followed three phases:

Phase 1: Trade subscription (up to publication day). Roughly 40% of copies went to trade subscription purchases, with roughly 25% going to wholesale booksellers and 15% going to London retailers.

Phase 2: Ordinary trade sales and down-market resale (not directly observed). By the time trade sales concluded, the publisher had cleared out about 67% of their stock from the edition. A small number of these copies were distributed noncommercially, but most of them sold at or near standard trade prices.

Phase 3: Remaindering (usually at least three years out from publication). Colburn & Bentley took inventory of their remaining stock, usually about 33% of the total edition. They auctioned off most unsold copies to a remainder bookseller, who offered them for resale at a drastically reduced

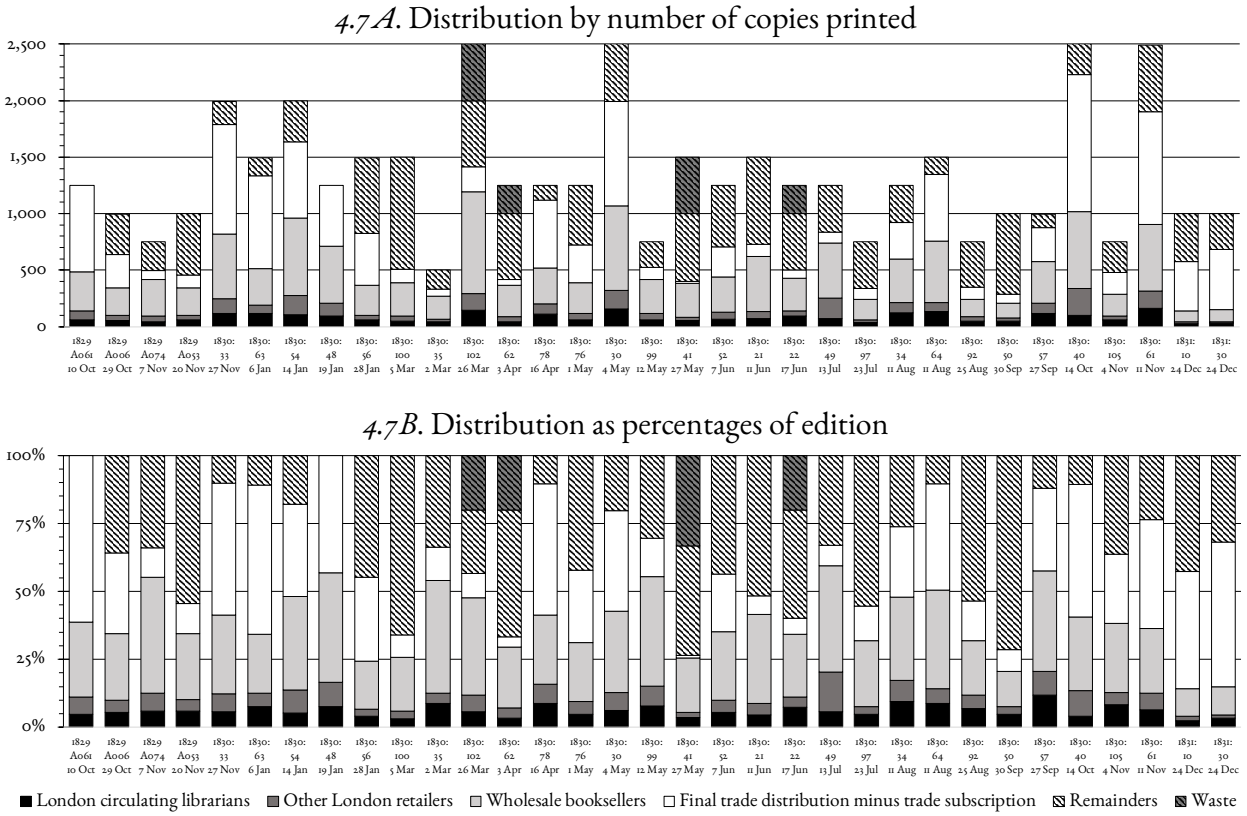

Figure 4.7. Colburn & Bentley's distribution of novels by edition

price. Outright "waste" of stock, i.e. the destruction of unsold copies for alternate uses of the paper, was rare.[69]

To be sure, not every novel in the sample followed this pattern. Figure 4.7 shows a complete breakdown of the distribution of each edition, both by the number of copies printed (Figure 4.7A) and as a percentage (Figure 4.7B). Two novels, W.H. Maxwell's *Tales of Waterloo* (1829A061) and John Galt's *Laurie Todd* (1830:48) sold out during trade sales, while a handful of others sold as few as 25% or 30% of copies before remaindering. Most editions, however, fell somewhere in the middle, with between one half and three quarters of copies distributed by the time of remaindering.

[69] See Richard Ovendon, "Waste," in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, ed. Michael F. Suarez, S.J., and H.R. Woudhuysen (Oxford University Press, 2010), https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780198606536.001.0001. A handful of copies are marked as either "Sold to Mr. Colburn" or "Sold to Mr. Bentley," evidently representing exchanges of stock that occurred while Colburn and Bentley were severing their partnership in 1832.

The amount of copies sold at trade subscription varied still more widely than the final account of trade sales. Subscriptions ranged from 60% of the edition in the case of John Galt's *Southennan* (1830:49) to a mere 10% in the case of Catherine Gore's *Pin Money* (1831:30). Furthermore, there appears to have been only a loose correlation between trade subscription sales and final trade distribution. William Pitt Scargill's *Tales of a Briefless Barrister* (1829A074) made a strong showing with 55% of its 750 copies sold at trade subscription only to sell just 11% more before remaindering, whereas George James's *Darnley* (1830:63) sold a relatively modest 34% of its 1,500 copies before ultimately selling another 55% before remaindering. In other words, trade subscriptions were a poor predictor of an edition's ultimate profits.

Despite the heavy variation of Colburn & Bentley's trade subscriptions from edition to edition, the proportions of subscription sales made by each category of bookseller were remarkably consistent. Indeed, as Figure 4.8 shows, the uniformity of trade subscriptions stands in stark contrast with the unpredictability of all other patterns of sale. For all editions in the sample, wholesalers took between 65% and 80% of subscribed copies, with London retailers taking the remaining 20% to 35%. Although the reason for this consistency is unclear, the simplest explanation is that there was some degree of coordination among Colburn & Bentley's trade subscribers. The retailers, for instance, may have been aware of the acquisition patterns of the leading wholesalers when they made their subscriptions.

These general patterns underscore that trade subscription was a crucial yet intermediary phase in Colburn & Bentley's book distribution. Bookseller-specific acquisition patterns survive only in the Subscription Lists, and my account of patterns in the wholesale and retail trades is necessarily restricted to this phase. Given that Colburn & Bentley never sold more copies at trade subscription than they had on stock by the time of remaindering, it is unlikely that many of the subscribed copies were returned to the publisher unsold. Nevertheless, at least two fifths of the sales that occurred before remaindering must have been sold at conventional trade sales, after trade subscription had concluded. This is a relatively large margin of uncertainty, and we should not assume that the patterns of distributions in the Subscription Lists remained constant for these unobserved sales.

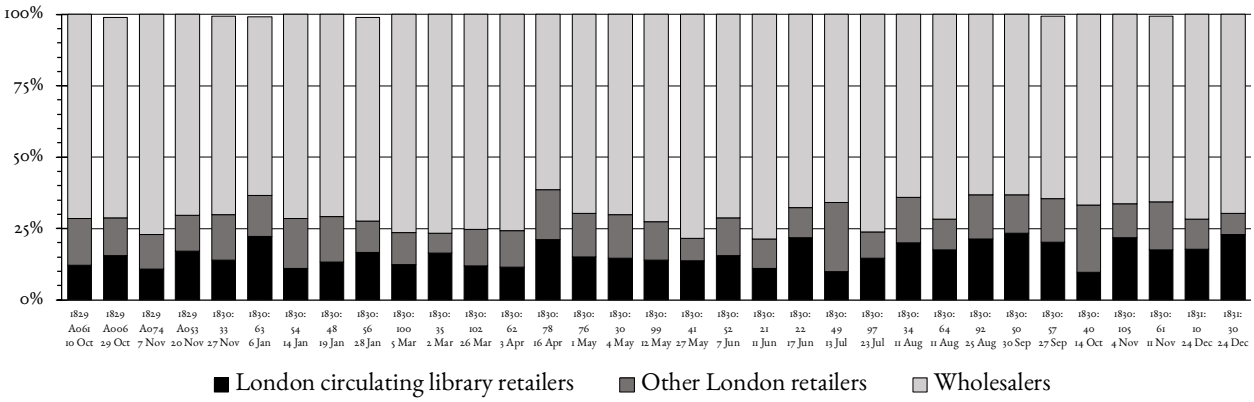

Figure 4.8. Trade subscription by percentage of subscribed copies

Nonetheless, the bookseller acquisitions in Colburn & Bentley's Subscription Lists do plainly represent the majority of final trade sales, and we can learn much about the economics and geography of the fiction market by tracing distribution among categories of booksellers identified in *Leigh's New Picture of London* and the BBTI. Figure 4.8 shows the percent of trade subscription copies acquired by each category of buyer. On average, 70% of subscribed copies went to wholesale booksellers and 30% went to London retail booksellers, with an even split between those London retailers who operated circulating libraries and those who did not. Figure 4.8 establishes that this division of copies was relatively uniform across all editions.

Colburn & Bentley's most important buyers were wholesale booksellers, since a majority of copies passed through them on the way to retailers outside London. Figure 4.9 records the market share of wholesalers in the sample's trade subscriptions. Of the 19 wholesalers in the sample, the three largest buyers were T.N. Longman III & Co., Simpson & Marshall, and G.B. Whittaker. Each commanded a market share of between 10% and 15% of trade subscription purchases, which usually entailed the purchase of between 50 and 200 copies for each edition. All three wholesalers were prominent fiction publishers in their own right. In particular, Longman had been the second-most prolific publisher of new novels in the three decades preceding Colburn and Bentley's partnership.[70] The two next-largest wholesalers were the only trade subscribers headquartered outside London. John

[70] See the publishers' indexes to *BBF*.

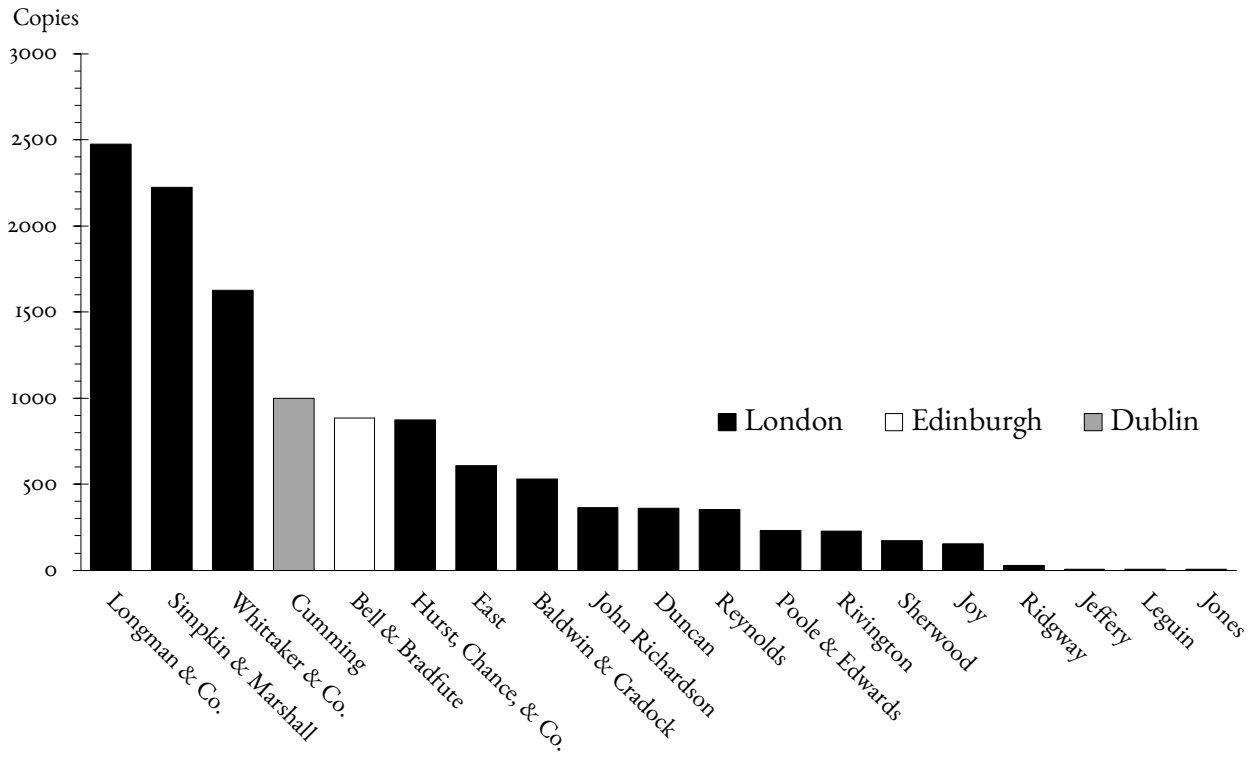

Figure 4.9. Trade subscription by wholesale booksellers

Cumming of Dublin and Bell and Bradfute in Edinburgh were each responsible for a little more than five percent of trade subscription sales. Doubtless, each was catering specifically to the Irish and Scottish retail sectors. Their share of trade subscriptions thus establishes a lower bound of roughly 10% for Colburn & Bentley's UK market outside England, which was sure to be supplemented by the several London wholesalers who "execute[d] foreign orders."

On their own, these top five wholesalers commanded 48% of Colburn & Bentley's trade subscription sales for novels in the sample. Another 23% of trade subscriptions were concentrated among 10 large but less consistent buyers, most of whom published at least a handful of novels in their own right during the late 1820s and early 1830s. Their subscriptions were both smaller and less consistent than those of the largest wholesalers, and they only sporadically realized the "25 as 24" bulk discount that the five largest wholesalers regularly exploited.

The London retail trade in Colburn & Bentley's novels was significantly less concentrated than the wholesale trade, as shown in Figure 4.10. No fewer than 58 London retail booksellers are

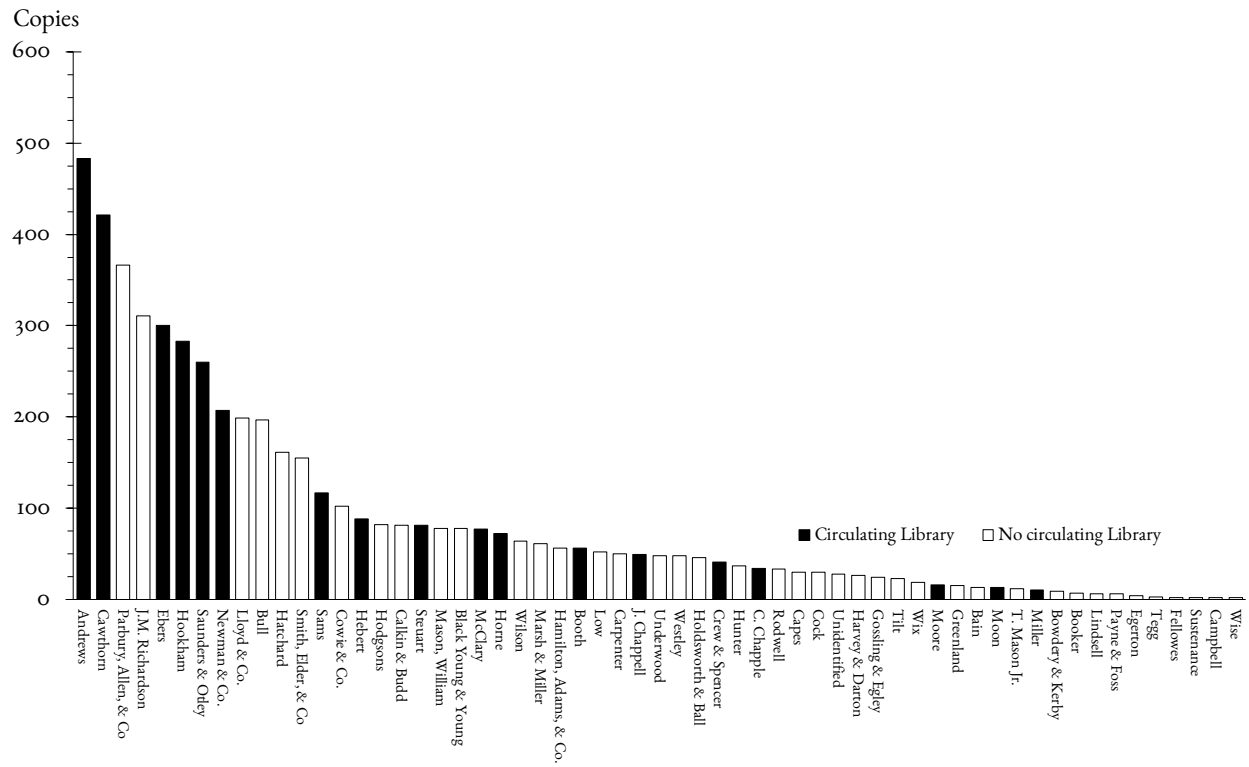

Figure 4.10. Trade subscription by London retail booksellers

represented in the sample, and each retailer usually stocked between 2 and 15 copies per edition. According to *Leigh's New Picture of London*, only 18 of the subscribing booksellers operated circulating libraries. Nevertheless, circulating libraries leave a disproportionately large profile in the Subscription Lists because of their large acquisitions. Six out of the eight largest retail subscribers were circulating librarians. The two largest retailer-librarians—John Andrews of 167 New Bond St. and James Cawthorn of 24 Cockspur St., Charing Cross—acquired an average of 15 and 13 copies from each edition, respectively, rivalling some of their counterparts in the wholesale trade. Because circulating libraries often advertised the size and variety of their catalogues, it was a sound strategy for these businesses to acquire as many titles as possible. These businesses also benefitted from redundant stock.[71] Purchasing at least six copies allowed a retailer-librarian to lend out multiple copies of popular titles at once, while also having one or two additional copies available for retail purchase.

[71] For a sample of the title counts of circulating library catalogues, see Allan, *A Nation of Readers*, 128–34.

4.2D. The book distribution system: market power and geography

Monopoly power and remaindering. Taken as a whole, Colburn & Bentley's distribution records *circa* 1830 attest that the crucial shaping force of British fiction publishing was the market power of publishers and wholesalers. It is no coincidence that most of the wholesalers who stocked large shares of Colburn & Bentley's novels—the largest being Longman & Co., Whittaker & Co., and Simpkin & Marshall—were fiction publishers in their own right. While these firms may have competed with Colburn & Bentley, and with each other, to secure publishing rights from authors, they had tightly intertwined interests as wholesalers of each other's publications.[72] This artificial monopoly helps to account for the small edition sizes that had been paradigmatic of the British fiction market since the eighteenth century, as well as the prices that had risen exorbitantly since the 1790s. Furthermore, the use of trade sales as an enforcement mechanism by wholesalers to protect high prices explains why most retail booksellers were conservative in their acquisitions of stock at trade subscription. In the 1852 article "The Makers, Sellers, and Buyers of Books," an anonymous bookseller argued that since the turn of the nineteenth century, the enforcement of high prices constrained the scope of booksellers' dealings. Without the option of *ad hoc* retail discounts, a large purchase usually constituted too great a risk to justify tying up capital:

> The consequences of the system were inevitable. Unable to sell the book at the price put upon it by the publisher, and prohibited from making a market of it on any other terms, he [the retail bookseller] was forced to restrain his enterprise within the most cautious limits. Instead of subscribing for twenty-five or fifty copies of a work, which he might have done had he been unfettered in the sale of it, he narrowed his risk, probably, to half a dozen, or to two or three, and, in doubtful cases, to a single copy, sometimes not even venturing upon that until he had an actual order to supply it. That such was the character of the traffic to which the trade

[72] For a detailed case study of this dynamic in the Scottish book trade, see Richard B. Sher, "Corporatism and Consensus in the Late Eighteenth-Century Book Trade: The Edinburgh Booksellers' Society in Comparative Perspective," *Book History* 1 (1998): 32–93, https://doi.org/10.1353/bh.1998.0010.

between bookseller and the publisher was reduced, we have the authority of publishers who bear testimony to the fact.[73]

And now we also have the authority of Colburn & Bentley's Subscription Lists reproduced in Appendix A2, which show that most retailers rarely stocked more than two to six copies per edition.

One of the most important consequences of this constrictive business model was the enormous profile of remaindering in Colburn & Bentley's final disposal of stock. It is telling that although edition sizes were already artificially small, the publishers insisted on selling at such exorbitant prices that they routinely had one third or even half of their copies left on inventory. To be sure, Colburn & Bentley would have preferred for these copies to sell at full trade price. Yet the regularity with which the firm accepted relatively low sale rates without reducing their prices attests that they were willing to tolerate significant excess stock. This practice challenges Barnes and Barnes's assessment that the need to remainder unsold copies was ordinarily a setback: "Buying remainders usually came at the expense of the original publisher. Either hard times forced a publisher to sell some of his slow-moving stock, or poor business practices and plain bad luck caused a necessary reduction of his inventory."[74] To the contrary, the Publication Lists show that Colburn & Bentley routinely accepted remainders as an ordinary facet of their business model for novels and other expensive *belles lettres*. They did so because monopoly-enforced high prices guaranteed at least a modest profit as long as an edition sold roughly half its copies at full trade price.[75] The Publication Lists show that these high remaindering rates continued throughout Colburn & Bentley's partnership, and Troy Bassett's research into Bentley's

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[73] *The Makers, Sellers, and Buyers of Books* (London: John W. Parker 7 Son, 1852; repr. from *Frasier's Magazine*, June 1852), 3, https://books.google.com/books?id=_-vqbxMR1BMC.

[74] Barnes and Barnes, "Reassessing the Reputation of Thomas Tegg," 52.

[75] Without surviving cost and revenue data, this is necessarily a guess. However, the Longman Impression Books and Divide Ledgers establish that novels comparable to Colburn & Bentley's in format, length, and edition size during the 1820s could reliably turn a profit if they earned at least half of the total revenue possible from trade sales (the prospective profit being equal to the trade price times the number of copies printed for the edition, minus manufacturing and advertising outlays). See the "Publishing Papers" to the entries for Longman's novels in Garside *et al.*, *DBF*.

later sale records underscores that similar rates of return were commercially stable through much of the Victorian Period.[76]

Geography and market specialization. In broad strokes, then, Colburn & Bentley's sale records underscore the importance of book trade monopoly to the business model of fiction publishing, and they clarify the relationship between the incentive structure of publishers operating within this regime and their downmarket distributors. Interpreted with due caution, the detailed sale records of Colburn & Bentley's Subscription Lists can take us further, establishing a quantitative basis by which to gauge the geography and trade specializations of the fiction market.

As we have seen, roughly 30% of Colburn & Bentley's trade subscriptions went to London retail booksellers, while 70% went to wholesale booksellers. Although we should not put too much stock in this exact ratio, the broad pattern was likely to be fairly stable. Even if wholesalers may have occasionally retailed a handful of their copies locally from their London addresses, they could not have justified purchases of 25 to 150 copies unless the vast majority were intended to be resold to provincial retailers. London retailers, meanwhile, had no reason not to buy directly from the publisher, so there is no question of the wholesale subscriptions making their way back into London shops. Thus, Colburn & Bentley's pattern of subscriptions tends to suggest a market in which roughly one third of the copies printed for newly published novels were aimed at London audiences, while roughly two thirds of copies were aimed at readers elsewhere in the United Kingdom and beyond. These included at least five percent apiece to Ireland and Scotland, judging from the trade subscriptions of Cumming and Bell & Bradfute.

London's disproportionate market share is intriguing, if not necessarily surprising. Although the city maintained a 10% or 15% population share of England from the eighteenth century through the mid nineteenth, the historical concentration of publishers and wholesale booksellers naturally

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[76] Troy J. Bassett, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Three-Volume Novel* (Cham, SW: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 101–46, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-31926-7.

encouraged the trade to gear many of their publications to the large market immediately at hand.[77] It was convenient, then, that London had by far the largest historical concentration of high incomes of any region in the UK, even if historical trends suggest that we should expect its share to have been on the decline by 1830. The economic historian W.D. Rubinstein has shown that Middlesex County accounted for 39% of the "middle-class income"—which he defines as non-landed and non-agricultural income— assessed for tax in 1812–1813. Its share had fallen to 28% by 1848–1849, a development that Rubinstein convincingly attributes to the growth of manufacturing and commerce in northern cities.[78] This decline may have encouraged publishers to expand their distribution in these other growing urban market hubs, but it would not have seriously diminished the status of London as the largest single local market.

Of course, a sample constrained to the sales of a single publisher cannot reveal precise information about London's share of the broader fiction market. It may be a mere coincidence that London accounted for roughly one third of one firm's trade subscription purchases while also accounting for roughly one third of bourgeois wealth-holding. Nevertheless, the sample does make clear that in order to maintain profits while demanding artificially high prices, fiction publishers such as Colburn & Bentley had become dependent on a geographically dispersed market by 1830. Even for editions as small as 500 or 750 copies, London publishers were never able to dispose of all their stock locally in a city of 1.65 million.

If standard accounts of eighteenth-century fiction market are accurate, it is possible that this national dispersion of fiction readership was still a relatively new development in 1830. Perhaps as recently as the 1770s and 1780s, fiction publishers such as the Noble brothers could still rely principally on local retail networks to turn a profit, and "country audiences," James Raven has argued, "f[ed] on the myth of the fashionable metropolitan circulating library, never visited but ever-present in the

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[77] E.A. Wrigley, *People, Cities, and Wealth*, 133–90; Mitchell and Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics*, 20; Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England*, 1–11.

[78] W.D. Rubinstein, *Elites and the Wealthy in Modern British History* (Sussex, UK: Harvester Press, 1987), 83–108.

newspapers and periodicals."[79] If ever there had been such a time, by 1830 it was long past. The country audiences were now routine novel readers, and London publishers such as Colburn & Bentley relied on their retail purchases and library subscriptions even more than those of the fashionable metropolitans.

The status of London as a necessary but insufficient customer base for novels underscores the importance of Colburn & Bentley's records of the metropolitan retail booksellers who subscribed for their editions. In particular, the profile of circulating librarians in the Subscription Lists has significant ramifications for the evolution of the fiction market. Literary historians have rightly recognized that circulating libraries exerted a strong influence on the development of the audience for fiction, and the findings on England's evolving income distribution discussed in Chapter 1 tend to underscore the fact that circulating library subscriptions were far more affordable to than were retail novel prices, which only perhaps the wealthiest 1% to 6% of English and Welsh households could have regarded as a casual purchase. However, scholars have made a habit of asserting—usually without evidence—that because novels were so expensive, the retail purchase sector of the novel was negligible. Gary Kelly straddles this assumption when he claims that "the main way of obtaining books, and especially novels [. . .] was the circulating or rental library, for if books could be bought by only a few, they could be rented by many more." Terry Lovell makes the assumption outright when he breezily asserts, "Novel-readers in the last quarter of the eighteenth century did not wish to be novel owners."[80] Although Colburn & Bentley's Subscription Lists do underscore the key role of circulating libraries to the distribution of novels, they also reveal the more complex reality that evades these generalizations. While it may well be true that a majority of novel readers were subscribers to circulating libraries and other rental- and lending-based institutions, it does not necessarily follow that the majority of copies sold at trade sale had rental arrangements as their ultimate destination. It should give us pause to observe that *half* of the copies

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[79] James Raven, "The Noble Brothers and Popular Publishing," 315, https://doi.org/10.1093/library/s6-12.4.293.

[80] Terry Lovell, *Consuming Fiction* (London: Verso, 1987), 50–51; Gary Kelly, *English Fiction of the Romantic Period, 1798–1830* (London and New York: Longman, 1989), 4.

sold at trade subscription were stocked by booksellers who *did not* operate circulating libraries. Just as importantly, *all* of the circulating librarians in the sample were retail booksellers in their own right, who offered their stock for sale as well as lending it out. The Subscription Lists strongly suggest, then, that circulating libraries did not quite command the hegemony over fiction readership that is often claimed of them.

Admittedly, the profile of rental reading models is probably larger than Colburn & Bentley's distribution data suggest. Readers also procured books through noncommercial, associational rental organizations such as subscription libraries and book clubs, and the publishing-wholesaling cartel authorized retailers to offer books to these entities at a generous 15% discount on the retail price.[81] On the other hand, all the circulating librarians who bought Colburn & Bentley's novels at subscription were also retail booksellers; they would have aimed to sell much of their stock as well as lending it out. What the sample demonstrates, then, is that a considerable share of the London trade sales of Colburn & Bentley's novels at or near full price—perhaps even a narrow majority—resulted in purchases by retail bookshop customers at or near full retail price. Unfortunately, the Bentley Papers offer little basis to judge whether London was representative of the larger UK fiction market. Although the total profile of commercial and associational lending libraries in fiction readership certainly grew during the early nineteenth century, what the London data make clear is that a reliable audience of urban readers were indeed willing to pay Colburn & Bentley's exorbitant retail prices, or something close to them. That audience was small compared to the total population of the metropolis, but it was obviously crucial to Colburn & Bentley's bottom line.

[81] Barnes, *Free Trade in Books*, 175–6.

4.3. The rise of the price of the novel

4.3A. Demand, supply, quantity, and price

In order to capitalize on the insights that this chapter has generated so far, I would like to turn to a problem that has only been implicit thus far in an account intensively concerned with the challenges of publication, manufacturing, and distribution: the problem of demand. The Bentley Papers are unique in their documentation of evidence relevant to the geographical dispersion of fiction readers and the kinds of institutions from which they procured novels. But in many respects, the nature of the demand for fiction remains mysterious. Given the rapid growth of the population of the British Isles and the coincident increase in national income, it seems reasonable enough to expect there to have been a considerable increase in the effective demand not only for print matter in general (as discussed in Chapter 1), but for belletristic literature and for novels specifically. Although income inequality was intensifying, the increasing sizes and incomes of the bourgeoisie and lower middle class also meant that the share of the population with significant discretionary incomes was rising too. To be sure, this trend on its own would not guarantee an increase in the demand for novels. Bibliographers have, however, found considerable evidence—both empirical and anecdotal—of the growing popularity of novels that should lead us to believe that demand for the genre was indeed rising. Here I will briefly survey the empirical evidence. Garside reports that during the compilation of *BBF*, he and his team found a significantly higher survival rate of copies bound for personal collections from the late 1810s onward, which he interprets as evidence that the rate of private purchases was rising.[82] Furthermore, Garside notes from his compilation of library catalogues that private subscription libraries, comparatively elite institutions that previously had been averse to purchasing fiction, greatly increased both the magnitude and proportion of their acquisitions of novels from the late 1810s onward.[83] Most remarkable of all, perhaps, was the increase in the number of circulating

[82] Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 46, 91.

[83] See the patterns of acquisition noted in the library catalogues documented in Garside *et al.*, "Sources for Contemporary Libraries," *DBF*, http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk/guide/librarysources.html.

libraries during the first four decades of the nineteenth century—a development that could occupy a second dissertation just as long as this one.[84]

It is surprising, in this context, that the number of novels newly published should have stagnated for such a long stretch of time. Should we not expect an increase in new novels commensurate to the increase in demand? To the contrary, all signs point to resistance, on the part of publishers, to expand the scope of output, both singly and as a block. As Walter Scott remarked of fiction publishers in 1818, "The public they imagine has a certain limited degree of appetite for novels and will not devour more than its usual allowance for a time."[85] Although the analysis of edition sizes that I performed above suggests that output measured in copies may still have been rising through the mid 1810s, this trend only underscores the persistence of the constraint to output that occurred between the 1820s and 1830s. In its wide sweep, this dissertation has presented contexts that may help to explain the disconnect. Apart from the constraints that capital markets presented on the growth of the manufacturing base of print, the Bentley papers have underscored the role that book trade monopoly played in limiting the scope of the retail market. These two factors compounded on each other to limit supply, and as I will discuss in a moment, they are interrelated.

First, however, there is an interpretation of these trends that I wish to dispel here, which is that the failure of fiction publishers to increase output commensurate to the evident increase in demand means they were nonresponsive to rising demand altogether. This is the assumption that John Sutherland evokes with his assessment that "Most early nineteenth-century publishers were utterly incurious about the growth of markets and slow to keep up with a rapidly changing world."[86] The constrains on quantity would seem to corroborate an interpretation along these lines, but only if we follow previous book historians in starting from the simplifying assumption that the quantity of print matter manufactured offers a good indicator of demand. This assumption informs Peter W.M.

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[84] For a survey of quantitative evidence of the increasing number of circulating libraries, see Allan, *A Nation of Readers*, 121–4.

[85] Quoted in Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 39.

[86] Sutherland, *Victorian Novelists and Publishers*, 10.

Blayney's famous analysis of the market for English Renaissance playbooks, and it also informs Alexis Weedon's efforts to estimate the demand for literary titles during the Victorian period.[87] As any economist will tell you, however, quantity supplied is not a naked indicator of demand. In the economic model of a market offered by any introductory economics textbook, quantity supplied is simply a point on the graph of price and quantity that exists at the market-clearing equilibrium (or *near* it, in the case of shortages and overstocks) between the supply and demand curves. The reason that supply and demand are drawn as curves in the first place is that economists conceive of them as continuous functions relating quantity of price, or continuous *ranges* of possible values of quantity that vary depending on price. As such, demand, as economists regard it, is not something that it is actually possible to observe directly in the empirical record. In any introductory or intermediate microeconomics textbook, the *demand curve* (the relationship between price level and quantity supplied) is derived as a sum of the quantities that all customers are willing to pay.

A consequence of this conceptualization of the market (and I will try to keep my analysis here accessible enough to avoid needing to draw any graphs) is that publishers would not necessarily respond to rising demand by increasing output. When overall demand increases—a *shift* in the demand curve—the shift need not be conceptualized solely as a *rightward* shift, an increase in the quantity that customers are willing to buy at any given price level. The shift can also be conceptualized as an *upward* shift, an increase in the price level at which customers are willing to buy a given quantity. In practical terms, this means that one consequence of income gains and growing popular approval for novels would be a growing willingness of a subset of the market to pay for novels at high prices.

The hypothesis I wish to advance here is that the Romantic fiction market was so constituted that publishers were primarily incentivized to respond to rising demand not by increasing the quantity of novels they put out, but by raising their prices. For the time being, this must remain a hypothesis, given the diversity of evidence that must be brought to bear on it. However, there is one major source

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[87] Blayney, "The Publication of Playbooks," 383–389; Alexis Weedon, *Victorian Publishing: The Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market, 1836–1916* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 103–4.

of evidence to support it, which is the extraordinary increase in the prices of novels . On average, the retail prices of novels in their first editions more than tripled during the Romantic period, rising from an annual average of 2.6 shillings per volume in 1790, to 9.3 shillings per volume in 1836. By arguing that publishers raised prices in response to demand, I do not wish to downplay the importance of the factors at play on the supply side. Book trade monopoly and resistance to growth in the capital markets for print were both important contributors to the conditions that led to these developments, and our analysis thus far suggests that the two were interrelated. The persistence of high production costs due to the sluggish pace of industrial growth was one of the trends that made it attractive for publishers to exploit rising demand by raising profits, which offered a means to expand revenue without needing to tie up capital expanding quantity

Despite these surmises, I should emphasize, from the outset, that my goal in the analysis in this section is not to explain rising prices. The topic requires a more thorough explication than I can give using only the data from the retail price index. Rather, my goal, first of all, is to document the trend thoroughly enough that we have an operating knowledge of what there is to explain. This analysis will make way for the fuller exploration of the topic of pricing in Part III, in which I draw on the Longman Archives and numerous other sources of evidence to add greater depth to our understanding of the relationship among prices, production costs, and authorial payments.

4.3B. Novel prices and publishing history

Documenting the trend. To be sure, rising novel prices hardly escaped the notice of contemporary publishers, booksellers, trade laborers, authors, and readers. However, the trend did not leave a contemporary record in a single, unified source. In order to recognize that a trend of this kind even occurred, historians need *a priori* motives to seek it out. Exactly such a motive arose at the deathbed of the business model that the rise of the price of the novel had birthed. On 27 June 1894, England's two dominant commercial circulating libraries, Mudie's Select Library and W.H. Smith & Son, jointly sent letters of ultimatum to Britain's leading publishers. Both firms announced that as of December 31, they would refuse to purchase novels issued with retail prices higher than 4 shillings per

volume. After a few weeks of limpid opposition, the publishers complied, all but ending, in a matter of months, the publication of new multi-volume fiction sets at the long-standard price of 10.5 shillings (half a guinea) per volume.[88]

The cessation of the longstanding business model of the triple-decker naturally stoked curiosity about its origins. On 1 September 1894, the literary magazine *The Author* ran a short note on the topic by R. English, a cataloguer at the British Library, who had gathered the retail prices of 165 novels published since 1750.[89] Although small and unrepresentative, English's sample sufficed to establish a loose chronology of prices. From 1750 to 1792, English found, the standard price of a novel had held steady at around 3 shillings per volume. Between 1793 and 1814, however, the standard price gradually crept up to between 6 and 8 shillings per volume. It was not until after the publication of Walter Scott's *Kenilworth* in 1822, however, that the "ominous price of half a guinea" per volume slowly preponderated, becoming the default price by the late 1830s. Despite the limitations of his sample, English managed to show that the Victorian half-guinea hegemony—which, while no longer predominant by 1894, certainly remained a profitable mainstay of the genre until the libraries' ultimatum put it out to pasture[90]—had not sprung into prominence during any single moment. Rather, it represented the culmination of long-term structural changes in the book trade during the early nineteenth century.

It remained unclear, however, exactly *which* structural changes the book trade had undergone. Without citing any direct evidence, English claimed that wartime taxation had forced readers to borrow books from libraries rather than buy them, an austerity measure that English judged would

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[88] Mudie's and Smith's letters were both published in full in "The Circulating Libraries and Three-Volume Novels," *The Publishers' Circular*, No. 1462 (7 July 1894): 7–8, *HathiTrust*, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nnc1.cu09717544. For the letters' contexts and consequences, see Bassett, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Three-Volume Novel*, 171–9.

[89] [R. English], "The Price of the Novel 1750–1894," *The Author* 5 (1895): 94–9, Google Books, https://google.com/books?id=HXBbEVixthMC. The attribution to R. English is somewhat uncertain, since he is only identified in the third person in the body of the article as the compiler of the dataset.

[90] Bassett, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Triple-Decker*, 23–31. For a more granular record of volumization and prices, see entries for 1894 in ATCL, http://www.victorianresearch.org/atcl/show_year.php?year=1894.

have pushed prices up: "The natural result of the narrowed circulation was a rise in price." This habit is supposed to have compounded on itself as the nineteenth century wore on. Readers who lived through the Napoleonic era now discovered they had grown accustomed to borrowing books rather than buying them. And so the Victorian "triple-deckers" sailed up on the horizon.[91]

Three decades later, Alfred W. Pollard, an eminent cataloguer at the British Museum and a cofounder of the Bibliographical Society, surveyed the same trend more skeptically. Although Pollard allowed that the circulating libraries were to blame for the "evil disintegration" of novels into multi-volume sets, he doubted whether the rental business model of fiction readership was unilaterally to blame for rising novel prices as well. First off, there were extrinsic economic conditions to take into account: "were not other prices rising as well" during the Napoleonic Wars, for instance? And insofar as novel prices *were* rising independently from the prices of other goods, "was it due to the wicked circulating libraries or to the needs (were it any one else I would say 'to the rapacity') of the ever beloved Sir Walter Scott"? Hypothesizing that novels, like poems, "must have had many private purchasers," Pollard posited that rising prices would have done little to deter "the rich and enthusiastic as well as the circulating libraries." He suggested that high prices benefitted both publishers and commercial librarians, "the former because they enhanced profits on large sales and lessened risk on small ones, the latter because it gave them a kind of monopoly."[92]

Thanks to the labors of English and Pollard, rising Romantic novel prices became a commonplace of publishing history during the mid twentieth century. Both of them, principally English, were regularly cited to highlight the exclusivity of books during the early nineteenth century.[93] Yet the underlying trend and its causes received scant further attention. Not until 1987 did Houghton Library cataloguer Hugh Amory offer further empirical insights. Capitalizing on Dorothy Blakey's

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[91] English, "The Price of the Novel 1750–1894," 98–9.

[92] A.W. Pollard, "Commercial Circulating Libraries and the Price of Books," *The Library* 4th Series, Vol. 9, no. 4 (March 1928): 411–6, https://doi.org/10.1093/library/s4-IX.4.411.

[93] See for instance Altick, *The English Common Reader*, 263; Guinevere L. Griest, *Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970), 41–3; John A. Sutherland, *Victorian Novels and Publishers*, 11.

excellent bibliography of the era's most prolific fiction publisher, the Minerva Press, Amory was the first to represent the historical sequence of prices graphically, charting the annual range and average price of the firm's novels per volume. At once an ingenious and a circumspect bibliometrician, Amory brought more precise historical contexts to bear on the trend than had English or Pollard. But Amory also wisely eschewed ready-to-hand explanations, stressing details that the available evidence failed to explain. Sensibly, he began by considering production costs, which English and Pollard had both neglected to consider. Parliamentary testimony suggested, Amory found, that around the turn of the nineteenth century, the cost of paper may have doubled and the cost of printing may have risen 50%. Yet mustn't other factors have been at play for novel prices to *triple* between the 1790s and the 1830s? Furthermore, Amory noticed that the trend had a synchronic as well as a diachronic component: the Minerva Press's prices were significantly lower than those of more prestigious firms such as Archibald Constable (Scott's principal publisher) and John Murray II (the publisher of Austen's later novels). While Amory cast no doubt on the view that rising prices corralled many readers into borrowing newly published novels rather than buying them, he showed that much about the market dynamics behind this seemingly compulsory shift in Britons' reading habits awaited a systematic explanation.[94]

Together, the brief essays of English, Pollard, and Amory set the terms for the nascent study of pre-Victorian fiction publishing. All three recognized rising novel prices as an empirical yardstick against which to measure the genre's market dynamics. On the supply side, Amory stressed physical manufacturing costs, while Pollard evoked rising authorial payments, the symbiotic (if not always friendly) relationship between publishers and circulating libraries, and book tradespeople's responsiveness to inflation. On the demand side, English and Pollard disagreed about the fundamental nature of readers' aggregate consumption habits. How many novels were really rented, and how many bought? Did that relationship change systematically over time as prices rose? Did different price regimes among different publishers bespeak a hierarchy in public perceptions of prestige and aesthetic

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[94] Hugh Amory, *New Books by Fielding: An Exhibition of the Hyde Collection* (Cambridge, MA: Houghton Library, 1987), 44–5; Dorothy Blakey, *The Minerva Press, 1790–1820* (London: Oxford University Press for the Bibliographical Society, 1939).

quality? As of 1987, all these topics seemed to be at an impasse for want of further evidence. Even the manufacturing cost data that Amory surveyed offered little insight on novels specifically. The biggest single obstacle to a unified account of rising novel prices, to be sure, was the lack of a comprehensive resource to establish the scope and historical development of fiction publishing during the period. While impressive, English's and Amory's samples were plainly fragmentary glimpses into a wider vantage, the whole of which remained out of view.

As I have discussed at length in Chapter 3, what has enabled a glimpse into this comprehensive whole is the compilation of exhaustive bibliographies of British fiction (*BBF*) by James Raven, Peter D. Garside, and their collaborators. Given the sheer scope of the literary and publishing data that debuted in these bibliographies, it is unsurprising, and certainly does not warrant censure, that Raven and Garside themselves made fairly limited use of the data on prices that they collected in their entries. Although Raven gives a fairly detailed breakdown of the chronology of eighteenth-century prices, he ultimately defers to Amory's analysis of production costs to explain it—thereby sidestepping the unresolved nature of the price increase that occurred after the turn of the nineteenth century.[95] Similarly, Garside and Raven jointly describe general patterns in early-nineteenth-century novel prices, but they largely defer from making claims about the causality of the trend.[96] The goal of my analysis below is to help fill the gap that has emerged between the richness of the available data and the comparative thinness of the analytical heft that has been brough to bear on the problem thus far.

The place of retail prices in book distribution. Before analyzing historical trends in the retail prices of novels, we should be able to answer the question: What are the retail prices of novels? In short, a novel's retail price was the price offered to the final customer at a retail shop, usually on the basis of credit (cash customers ordinarily being entitled to a 10% discount). However, as the analysis of the book distribution network in this chapter has shown, in practice the role that retail prices played in

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[95] Raven, *TEN1* "Historical Introduction," 99–100.

[96] James Raven, "Production," in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English: Volume 2: English and British Fiction 1750-1820*, eds. Peter D. Garside and Karen O'Brien (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2015), https://doi.org./10.1093/oso/9780199574803.003.0001.

the transit of books was complex; the considerations that went into price entailed practically every phase in the distribution chain.

In order to analyze the trade contexts of retail prices, it will be instructive to return to a single example from the Colburn & Bentley sample. *Tales of an Indian Camp* (*DBF* 1829A053) is a collection of 29 indigenous North American legends, compiled, translated, and annotated by Massachusetts novelist and amateur folklorist James Athearn Jones. The Subscription List entry for *Tales of an Indian Camp* establishes that Colburn & Bentley indeed set the retail price of the edition at 31.5 shillings (£1.11.6) in advance of publication. Furthermore, the entry establishes that the firm sold the edition to booksellers in quires while instructing retail booksellers to sell the work for final sale in boards. Colburn & Bentley may have offered trade binding as a service for their customers in advance of sale, but I can find no record of it in any of the Bentley papers from this period. Either way, the trade purchaser evidently needed to foot the bill for trade binding, which ordinarily would have cost 0.5 shillings per volume for boards. In order to cover purchasers' overhead, Colburn & Bentley initially offered booksellers a "subscription price" of 22.5 shillings. After publication had commenced, Colburn & Bentley offered the edition at a reduced trade price of 21.5 shillings. This second price was accompanied by a bulk discount of "25 as 24"—that is, one free copy for every 24 purchased, effectively an additional 4% discount.

What I have been able to establish, however, is that the discount rates on these trade sales were highly stable. Every novel offered at a retail price of 10.5 shillings per volume in boards was "subscribed" at 7.5 shillings per volume in quires, then opened up to wider trade sales at 7.09 shillings per volume with a bulk discount of 25 as 24. Even for publications at other retail prices than 10.5 shillings per volume, the trade prices were invariably 71–74% retail price at subscription and 65–68% retail price thereafter.

The statistic that trade prices were ordinarily about two thirds of the retail price is a familiar one, even if the role of bulk discounts has been a source of confusion.[97] Yet this discount rate has rarely been analyzed in the full context of the distribution chain. Marjorie Plant is more or less correct when she describes 33 1/3% as "The normal rate of discount to booksellers throughout the nineteenth century"—that is, what I've been calling the *publisher's trade price*. But importantly, only a minority of purchasers—only London retail booksellers, in the case of London publications—actually had the opportunity to resell copies for the full profit margin of the trade price minus the resale price. Most London publishers needed to get most copies of most editions sold outside London, which meant entrusting them to wholesalers for resale to retail shops at a *wholesale price*.

In comparison with publishers' trade prices, which survive plentifully in publishers' archives, direct accounts of nineteenth-century wholesale prices are surprisingly scant.[98] As Graham Pollard has shown, there is evidence to suggest that from the late sixteenth century through the late eighteenth, wholesale prices to retail booksellers were usually set at about 85% retail price or a little less. In 1592, a Cambridge "stationer" (the word then still meant a book tradesperson rather than a seller of paper) named Manasses Vautrollier testified in court "that the Marchaunts of London doe Usualie allowe unto the Staconers there, and all those that buie books of them to sell them ageine three schillings in everie pownd accordinge to the said custome." Taking "merchants" to mean wholesale distributors, Pollard observes that the rate of seventeen pence on the pound (85%) is remarkably similar to that described in a famous 1776 account of London book distribution of provincial publications by Samuel

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[97] Colclough, "Distribution," *CHBB6*, 238–279 at 240. Citing the commentary of mid-nineteenth-century booksellers John Parker and John Chapman, Stephen Colcough writes: "To encourage subscriptions the book would be offered [by publishers] at special 'trade' rates: 'some houses' gave '13 books as 12, with an addition of 25 as 24', others 'tempting their purchasers with 7 as 6 1/2 or 6.' Chapman argued that sales of 25 as 24 were common and that this was in effect a '33 percent discount from the advertised price' of a book." Unfortunately, Colclough is conflating two separate discount rates. Neither Parker nor Chapman claim that a bulk discount of 25 as 24 constitutes a 33% discount: obviously, one out of 24 is only 4%. Rather, the point Parker and Chapman were making was that the bulk discounts offered by publishers *compounded on* the primary discount of about 33% off the retail price that already comprised the publisher's trade price. In total, a book purchased at trade price with a 4% book discount was being sold for a 37% discount.

[98] Colclough discusses wholesale prices only in the context of periodicals; see "Distribution," 243. As far as I can tell, Plant neglects to mention wholesale prices altogether.

Johnson. Johnson writes that a country bookseller's margin on a book bought from a London wholesaler as "sixteen shillings and sixpence" on the pound (82.5%).[99] Surveying publications from the mid to late eighteenth century, John Feather finds that the setting of wholesale prices to 82.5% of the retail price was so commonly understood as the "usual allowance" that even relatively small deviations from it tended to occasion complaints from buyers and special pleading from sellers.[100]

Feather and Graham Pollard both stress the continuity of this general price structure through the nineteenth century. Yet it seems to me that the discontinuities have received insufficient attention. Nowhere in the mid can I find reference to a wholesale price as high as 82.5% in Britain during the nineteenth century. James Barnes observes that during the public debates preceding the 1852 passage of the Net Book Agreement, the highest wholesale price elicited for retail booksellers was 75% retail price. Feather acknowledges this as "an increased lower limit."[101] Yet neither Barnes nor Feather recognizes how substantially a 7.5% reduction in the standard wholesale rate would have altered the distribution of revenue from an edition's sales. For instance, if Longman & Co. bought a copy of *Tales of an Indian Camp* from Colburn & Bentley for 67.4% retail price (71.4% minus the bulk discount of 4.0%) and wholesaled it to a provincial retailer for 82.5%, Longman & Co. would have earned 15.1% of revenue from the trade sale while the retailer earned 17.5%. If Longman & Co wholesaled to the provincial retailer at 75% retail price, however, they would have earned a profit of only 7.6% to the retailer's 25%. If this change is accurate, it represents a significant development in book distribution, which may help to establish a shift in the primary burden of trade binding from the wholesaler to the publisher.

Amid the morass of discount rates that governed the distribution chain, there has not been much room to look at final retail sales. Although such records do survive in a handful of booksellers'

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[99] Pollard, "The English Market for Printed Books," 15–6. Johnson goes on to note that after credit allowances, the country bookseller's markup was likelier to be "not much more than two and sixpence"

[100] Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England*, 55–9.

[101] Barnes, *Free Trade in Books*, 29; Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade*, 57.

daybooks,[102] they necessarily go unrecorded in publishers' archives. An inconvenient fact of book distribution is that when books are distributed, the evidence of their distribution gets distributed along with them. Indeed, total retail sales and revenues to downmarket distributors are probably not a recoverable statistic for any eighteenth- or nineteenth-century edition. Since sales to retailers were increasingly conducted on a sell-or-return basis from the eighteenth century onward,[103] it's likely that the 455 sales of *Tales of an Indian Camp* recorded in the Bentley papers before remaindering were all "final" sales, at least from the publisher and wholesalers' perspectives. But these trade sale records tell us little about how many copies from the edition actually went to retail customers, nor how quickly, nor at what prices. For nineteenth-century fiction in particular, trade sales are a poor indicator of final retail revenues. Half the copies of *Tales of an Indian Camp* distributed in London went to a dozen booksellers whose retail shops doubled as commercial circulating libraries. The fact that these institutions each took between two and seven copies of the work establishes that they were at liberty to lend copies out to subscribers while also making them available for retail sale on their shop floors. Indeed, the dichotomy between *copies for sale* and *copies for rent* is probably a false one, since circulating libraries were in the habit of keeping rental copies uncut so their edges would be pristine for eventual retail sale.[104]

⁂

The challenge that the historical record poses, then, is that we need to interpret trends in the pricing of novels while admitting our ignorance about actual patterns of retail sale. This is not a reason, as Raven has despondently argued, to put little stock in retail book price indexes or not to compile them at all. Rather, it should serve as a motivation to make the most use of prices for what they are:

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[102] The most sustained case study for Romantic novels is Rita J. Kurtz and Jennifer L. Womer, "The Novel as a Political Marker: Women Writers and their Female Audiences in the Hookham and Carpenter Archives, 1791–1798," *Romantic Textualities* 13 (Winter 2004), http://www.romtext.org.uk/articles/cc13_n02/.

[103] Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England*, 55.

[104] *The Use of Circulating Libraries Considered* (London: J. Hamilton, and Kent: T. Wilson, 1797), 28, *ECCO* T174726.

evidence, first, and foremost, not of readership, but of publication and distribution. This is most obviously true of the actual price listings themselves. As I showed when compiling the novel price index from *BBF* in Chapter 3, price listings emerge in large part as promotional signals commissioned by, or indirectly reported from, publishers as part of the advertising campaigns for their publications. These listings served not only final customers, but also booksellers and other commercial intermediaries, facilitating purchases and (in the case of potential undersellers in the retail market) asserting control.

However, it does not necessarily follow that retail prices were an informational signal and nothing else. Customers—for some editions, perhaps a majority of customers—*did* pay at or near full retail price, and a certain number of copies needed to sell at these prices in order for the publisher to earn a profit. In this regard, retail prices do present meaningful, if fraught, evidence of the publisher's risk-reward calculation. As a markup on cost, the retail price needed to take into account production costs and authorial payments as well as distributors' markups, but it also needed to anticipate the uncertainty of sale patterns, ensuring high profits if the edition sold well but also minimizing losses if the edition sold poorly. For my hypothesis about rising prices to bear fruit, it would need to negotiate the challenges that all these factors pose. That is a task that will need to wait for Part III of this dissertation, which draws on the fuller portrait of publishing costs that emerges from the Longman Archive.

4.3C. Prices and trade binding

Before proceeding to a chronological analysis of trends in pricing, it is necessary to examine one final major context: the relationship of book prices to descriptions of trade binding states. When compiling the novel price index in Chapter 3, it became apparent that the provenance of book prices is closely intertwined with the history of trade bookbinding.[105] At least two thirds of the novels first

[105] I refer to bindings commissioned by a publisher or bookseller in advance of retail sale as "trade bindings," despite David Pearson's objections to the term in "Bookbinding History and Sacred Cows," *The Library* n.s. Vol. 21, Issue 4 (December 2020): 498–517 at 502–6, https://doi.org/10.1093/library/21.4.498. Pearson argues against the term because binding scholars have made unfounded associations between the phase of distribution

published 1780–1836 were offered for retail sale ready-bound, according to at least one source. This fact occasioned methodological challenges to the index, but binding has not yet received an account commensurate to its importance. The public notice of prices alongside bindings testifies to a high degree of coordination and shared expectations among publishers, booksellers, and binders. In order to understand how trade binding influenced novel prices, I here consider the place of binders in the book trade, the relationship between contemporary trade binding terminology and practice, and the ways statistical analysis of binding descriptions can shed light on the meaning of book prices.

The specific topic that I want to address here is the standardization of trade binding and its relationship to the standardization of edition-level prices. James Barnes has argued that the cartel's use of resale price maintenance relied on publishers setting an advance price that wholesalers and retailers were bound to respect, the prospect of the same book being offered for different prices at different shops created an obstacle to artificial monopoly. The main obstacle to standardized edition-level pricing, Barnes argues, was inconsistency in the surcharge for presale binding:

> A standardized retail price depended [. . .] upon the book's type of binding and the customer's awareness of what the selling price was likely to be in most shops.
>
> It was difficult to establish a uniform price for each book during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, because publishers normally did not issue bound volumes. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century several uniform binding practices evolved which led to greater price stability.[106]

Barnes is correct to observe that consistent expectations about retail prices were a prerequisite for the effective operation of the cartel. But Barnes's claim that edition binding in pasteboard and millboard led directly to such consistency, and that this development imposed stability on retail prices, has not

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in which bindings were commissioned and the perceived quality of their materials, craftsmanship, and aesthetics. Yet Pearson seems to acknowledge that there is value in drawing a conceptual distinction "between books stocked ready bound before sale, and those bound after their sale had been agreed" (503). If so, surely the standard terminological distinctions between trade and bespoke binding still have value as well, provided they are used without the presuppositions Pearson rightly dismantles.

[106] Barnes, *Free Trade in Books*, 5.

received empirical scrutiny. Barnes relies on assumptions from early- and mid-twentieth-century binding historians about the unpredictability of trade binding surcharges that have recently come under attack from binding historian Stuart Bennett, who stresses the consistent use of binder's price scales from the early eighteenth century onward and the heavy involvement of bookbinders in the workaday responsibilities of wholesale distribution. Furthermore—and still more to the purpose here—Barnes was writing a large, comprehensive source of evidence on the relationship between binding charges and pricing variants.

Binders in the book trade. Although bookbinders are often ill-served in book history, they were essential to the book trade, and their responsibilities extended far beyond their obvious surface contributions to include many of the tasks necessary to make a pile of freshly printed sheets into a legible, durable, sellable object. Historically shut out of copyright trade sales by wholesale booksellers, binders usually earned a meager living in small shops, supplementing trade commissions with more lucrative bespoke bindings for private patrons. Their payment to employees—journeymen, apprentices, and the women and girls who performed sewing and other unskilled labor—was dismal. The low position of binders in the book trade hierarchy meant that they were often tasked with performing such necessary but unglamorous functions as carrying books out of the printer's shop and warehousing them between trade sales.[107] During the eighteenth century, these responsibilities sometimes dovetailed into opportunities for London binders to venture into more active roles in wholesale distribution—sometimes to the contempt of established wholesale booksellers, as when binder Richard Baldwin's trade publishing activities led one contemporary to sneer that he "grew too *Big* to handle his *small Tools*."[108]

Trade directories and associational listings establish that hundreds of binders operated both inside and outside London between 1780–1840. Over the long eighteenth century, the geographical concentration of metropolitan binderies gradually widened in the metropolis from Printer's Street

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[107] Bennett, *Trade Bookbinding*, 10–3.
[108] Treadwell, "London Trade Publishers 1675–1750," 101.

toward the West End, while throughout the rest of England, new binderies opened in growing provincial urban centers.[109] In particular, the expansion of binderies outside London attests to rising demand for bespoke binding by provincial retail purchasers of books. But this growth also reflected the complexity and diversity of trade binding. London publishers and wholesale booksellers regularly commissioned trade bindings in advance of sale to retail shops, often employing binders who were also serving as warehousemen. But it was also common to sell books unbound to retail booksellers, who would commission binding locally according to their preferences or their customers'.[110]

Because binders could enter a book's communications circuit at so many nodes, the binding descriptions that accompany prices are frustrating to interpret.[111] Stuart Bennett stresses the prevalence, especially by the late eighteenth century, of "publishers' bindings," the subcategory of trade bindings he defines as those commissioned by publishers—and, more problematically, wholesale distributors too—before resale to retailers. When establishing the provenance of publishers' bindings thus defined, Bennett cites such bibliographical evidence as the relative consistency of materials and styles across multiple surviving copies of an edition, as well as spine labels and other evidence integral to the book. Yet he also entertains the collateral evidence of advertisements and other presale descriptions, repeatedly using Raven and Forster's entries in *TEN1* to follow broader trends in microcosm.[112] Advertisements certainly do prove publishers' strong interest in predetermining the bindings offered to retail customers. Yet Bennett risks begging the question when he assumes the party who commissioned an advertisement necessarily also ordered the binding described therein. Longman & Co. advertised almost all their novels with retail prices in boards, yet none of their profit calculations for commercially distributed copies include surcharges for binding. Perhaps Longman & Co. simply

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[109] Charles Ramsden, *Bookbinders of the United Kingdom (outside London), 1780–1840* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1954); Ramsden, *London Bookbinders, 1780–1840* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1956); Nicholas Pickwoad, "Bookbinding in the eighteenth century," in *CHBB5*, 268–290, https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521810173.014.

[110] Bennett, *Trade Bookbinding*, 14–5

[111] Indeed, the placement of binders has proved a point of contention in seminal systems analyses of the book trade; see Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker, "A New Model for the Study of the Book," in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society*, ed. Nicolas Barker (London: British Library, 1993), 5–45 at 10–12.

[112] Bennett, *Trade Bookbinding*, 61–3.

excluded binding from their profit share calculations, but it's far likelier that wholesalers ordinarily bought novels from Longman & Co. in quires and commissioned their own trade binding. If so, the advertised binding descriptions need to be understood at least partly as *pre*scriptions—as directions to booksellers farther down the distribution chain.[113]

However it was that books came to be bound, it's clear that by the mid eighteenth century, most of them were displayed for sale at English retail shops with their constituent quires already sewed together and protected by some kind of spine and outer covers. These covers could be leather, calf, or sheep-skin over pasteboard, usually advertised as "bound"; they could be colored paper wrappers; or they could be pasteboard or millboard coated in colored paper, usually simply referred to as "boards." The spines for paper and board coverings, meanwhile, were ordinarily paper, but during the mid-to-late eighteenth century especially, it was also common to use leather over just the spine and the inner edges of pasteboard covers. This hybrid style, often termed "half-bound," was understood as better withstanding the heavy use entailed in circulating libraries.[114]

A small but robust number of novels survive with their original trade bindings intact. The University of Aberdeen has a particularly strong collection of Minerva Press novels in their original boards. Ordinarily, however, all we have to work with when assessing the influence of binding on prices are the paratextual *descriptions* of these bindings in presale listings—in most cases a single word immediately following the price. Below, I survey the major trends in these descriptions and the complications they pose to the provenance and statistical analysis of novel prices. Although these presale listings are no substitute for surviving specimens of trade binding, they are arguably no less crucial a category of evidence for assessing the role of trade binding in the distribution of novels.[115]

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[113] For related critiques of Bennett's use of advertisements, see Nicholas Pickwoad, Review of *Trade Bookbinding in the British Isles, 1660–1800* by Stuart Bennett, *The Library* 7th Series, Vol. 6, Issue 4 (December 2005): 464–5, https://doi.org/10.1093/library/6.4.464; followed up in Stuart Bennett and Nicholas Pickwoad, "Correspondence," *The Library* n.s. 7, no. 2 (June 2006): 199–200, https://doi.org/10.1093/library/7.2.199.

[114] Bennett, *Trade Bookbinding*, 80–90.

[115] Jonathan Hill, "Minerva at Aberdeen," *Romantic Textualities* 16 (Summer 2006), http://www.romtext.org.uk/articles/rt16_no2/.

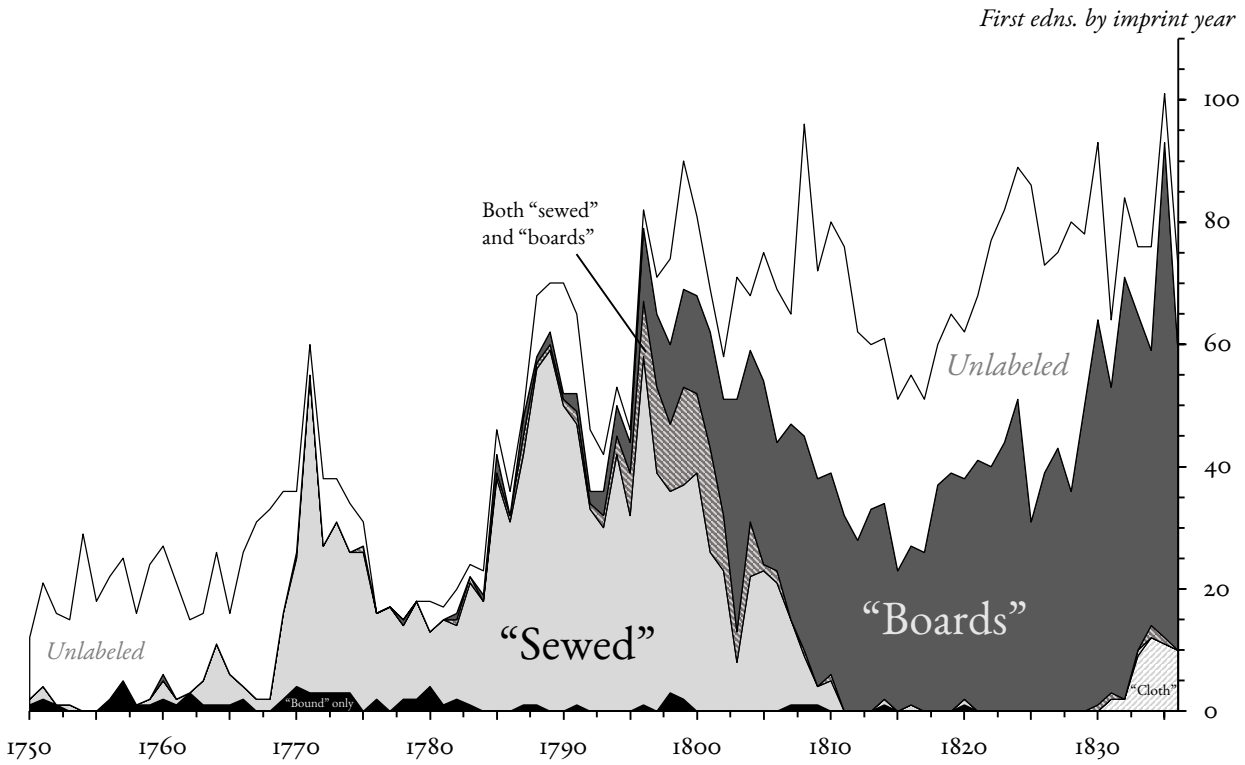

Figure 4.11. Trade bindings advertised for British novels, 1750–1836

From "sewed" to "boards". The two most common descriptions of presale bindings advertised for novels were "sewed" and "boards." In no small measure, the progress of trade binding for novels during this period follows from the relationship between these two terms. Figure 4.11 shows the annual frequency of paratextual descriptions of trade bindings compiled in *BBF*. Here I chart leather and cloth binding only for editions not also offered "sewed" or in "boards."

Most novels published before the late 1760s lack a known binding description. Bennett concludes that by 1741, "the settled price for a duodecimo novel 2s. 6d. per volume sewed or in boards, and 3s. per volume bound."[116] This surcharge generally agrees with advertisements for which descriptions survive, and it probably explains much of the dispersion of unlabeled prices during the mid eighteenth century. Out of the 42 novels published 1750–1769 for which numerically distinct prices survive without binding descriptions, 29 have a lower-end price of 2.5 shillings per volume and

[116] Bennett, *Trade Bookbinding*, 83.

an upper-end price of 3 shillings per volume. Not until 1770 were most novels explicitly offered "sewed," which remained the most common description until the late 1790s. The term "boards," although recorded for a novel in *BBF* as early as 1760,[117] only became a staple of the genre's price listings during the mid 1790s. For the next decade, "boards" rivalled "sewed" until it became the most common description by 1807. From 1808 onwards, the word "sewed" practically disappeared from price listings. The lone holdout among major publishers was the Minerva Press, which regularly advertised novels in newspapers both "sewed" and in "boards" through 1810.[118] However, no more than one or two novels a year were advertised "sewed" from 1811 onward.

Between 1808 and 1836, meanwhile, 52.8% of all novels with surviving prices were offered in "boards," according to at least one contemporary source. And it is likely that the share of novels sold in boards during the early nineteenth century is far larger than surviving descriptions reveal. Although a significantly larger share of novels were explicitly offered "sewed" between 1770 and 1795 (809 out of 980, or 80.5% of the total), binding in "boards" seems to have gone under-reported simply because it came to be presumed. William Bent made his elision of both "sewed" and "boards" explicit in the prefatory Advertisement to his 1803 *Modern Catalogue of Books*,[119] and the cross-listing of sources for the present price index offers statistical evidence that Bent's practice became widespread within a matter of years. No fewer that 82% of novels advertised in boards after 1808 by one source (1,221 out of 1,672) are advertised with the same price in another source lacking a binding description. The most common underreporters are *The Edinburgh Review*, *The Quarterly Review*, the 1893 list of Richard Bentley's publications (published long after the original binding states were relevant), and of course the *ECB*, which inherits its paucity of binding descriptions from the monthly notices in Bent's catalogues.

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[117] Raven, *BF*.

[118] For Minerva Press novels advertised as "sewed" during these three years, see "Newspaper Advertisements" to *DBF* 1808A007, 1808A030, 1808A069, 1808A076, 1809A068, 1809A069, 1809A074, 1810A031, 1810A044, 1810A053, 1810A069, and 1810A078.

[119] Bent, *Modern Catalogue of Books*, [ii].

Was there as total an overhaul in trade binding practice as these listings suggest? Most likely there was, but the terms themselves are somewhat problematic. Garside, Raven, and Schöwerling take "sewed" uniformly to mean sewed in paper wrappers, as distinct from pasteboard.[120] Although it is likely true that a majority of novels advertised as "sewed" were covered in paper wrappers, Bennett demonstrates that "sewed" was also sometimes used for pasteboard as well: for instance, *circa* 1786 James Fordyce instructed his publisher Thomas Cadell I that "the *Sewed* [presentation] copies" of an edition he had commissioned "should be in *Pasteboard* covered with a *light Grey*."[121] *BBF*'s entries suggest that there may have been a similar interchangeability: out of the 140 novels advertised both "sewed" and in "boards" during the years 1794–1808, 85 have the same price with both terms, while only 25 novels have a lower price "sewed" than in "boards." Plainly, either both terms were in use to describe roughly the same binding, or pasteboard and paper covers were both employed contemporaneously for the same edition with no consistently applied difference in markup.

In part, this interchangeability may be a consequence of booksellers catering to the varying preferences of readers. Bennett has argued that while paper wrappers generally served the short-term needs of buyers who planned to order bespoke binding, the extra protection of pasteboard often would have sufficed for customers who accepted boards as the permanent binding state.[122] Yet given the preliminary nature of the listings, mere terminological preference may have influenced the descriptions as much as any material differences in the bindings offered. Of the 140 novels listed both "sewed" and in "boards" between 1794–1804, only four have both variants offered by a single source; in all other cases, each source lists the price either "sewed" or in "boards," but not both. Sometimes, the difference may have even boiled down to the house styles of particular periodicals. For 77 novels, the *Critical Review* uses "boards" while another source (most often the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Star*, or the *Monthly Review*) uses "sewed" for the same price.

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[120] Garside *et al.*, *TEN1–2* "General Introduction," 6.
[121] Quoted in Bennett, *Trade Bookbinding*, 80, emphasis in original.
[122] Bennett, *Trade Bookbinding*, 83–4.

Trade binding and trends in retail prices. In short, what the price index drawn from *BBF* suggests is that Barnes is not looking far back enough into the past when he argues that the adoption of boards was the main cause of price standardization. If there was any period during which presale bindings helped to ensure the standardization of prices, it was the last quarter of the eighteenth century rather than the first quarter of the nineteenth. In other words, changes in trade bookbinding were not an immediate impetus for rising prices during the Romantic period, even if the standardization of binding practices during the eighteenth century was a necessary precondition for that trend.

But what of the relationship of prices to the bindings themselves? Drawing from the listings of *BBF*, Bennett claims that a 1786 strike of London journeyman bookbinders prompted the publishers and wholesale booksellers of novels first to dispense with trade binding in leather and calf during the 1780s, and then to ease their prices sewed and in boards up to the previous bound price of 3 shillings starting in late 1788 and 1789.[123] As intriguing as this narrative might be, it overstrains the available data to argue that the 1786 binders' strike was a principal cause of the more long-term price increase. Advertisements for trade bindings in animal skins were already rare by 1785, and if the strike had inspired publishers to raise the prices of books without animal skins, it is peculiar that they waited until two or three years after the strike was over to follow up on the insight. The more straightforward explanation is that working-class living expenses rose by more than 6% between 1789 and 1790, and that the price increase of this period was simply following broader inflationary trends.

There may be more teeth to the argument that in some cases, improvements to the quality of trade bindings during this period may have occasioned a small increase to the binding surcharge that retail prices needed to cover. During the 1790s and 1800s, as Jonathan Hill has shown, novels and other belletristic books were sewed in boards with improving materials and workmanship, obviating the need for the final retail customer to have them rebound at all.[124] However, there is little in *BBF*'s

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[123] Bennett, *Trade Bookbinding,* 85–6.

[124] Jonathan E. Hill, "From Provisional to Permanent: Books in Boards 1790–1840," *The Library* 6th Series, Vol. 21, Issue 3 (September 1999): 247–273, https://doi.org/10.1093/library/s6-21.3.247.

descriptions to establish when, if at all, these improvements were instituted by default or to order. The binders' price scales in common use during this period would lead us to expect the binding charge for duodecimo and octavo publications to be stable at half a shilling per volume, both in paper wrappers and pasteboard covers.

4.3D. A chronology of novel prices

Having now satisfied our responsibility to trade bindings, we can now proceed to consider the insights that the retail price index offers on its own terms. The interpretation of novel prices entails many challenges, both because of variation in the statistical distribution of prices over time, and because of the historical contexts necessary to understand the trend. Figure 4.12 charts average novel prices per volume relative to the annual frequency of price points per volume. This graph is a kind of hybrid scatterplot-histogram: it shows not only the prices on offer, but their frequency by volume length. For each year, the wider the bar at each price point, the more novels were published at that price point during that year. As Figure 4.12 shows, there was considerable dispersion around the average, and the magnitude and extent of that dispersion changed over time. Although I would not have elected to place the emphasis I have on the average price per volume if I did not believe it guided us through a coherent interpretation of the data, it will be important to address the nature of this dispersion at each phase of the upward trend.

The second, equally important context to recognize is the relationship between novel prices and overall price levels in the British economy. Raven and Garside have recognized that in order to be interpreted diachronically, the "real" prices of novels, their value relative to other goods and services, need to be disentangled from their "nominal prices," which follow the whims of inflation.[125] A standard method of approximating real prices is to construct a retail price index (RPI), which apportions the shares of various types of goods in a representative household's budget and traces the variation of those goods' prices from year to year. What sort of household counts as *representative* in

[125] Raven, *TEN1* "Historical Introduction," 98; Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 93.

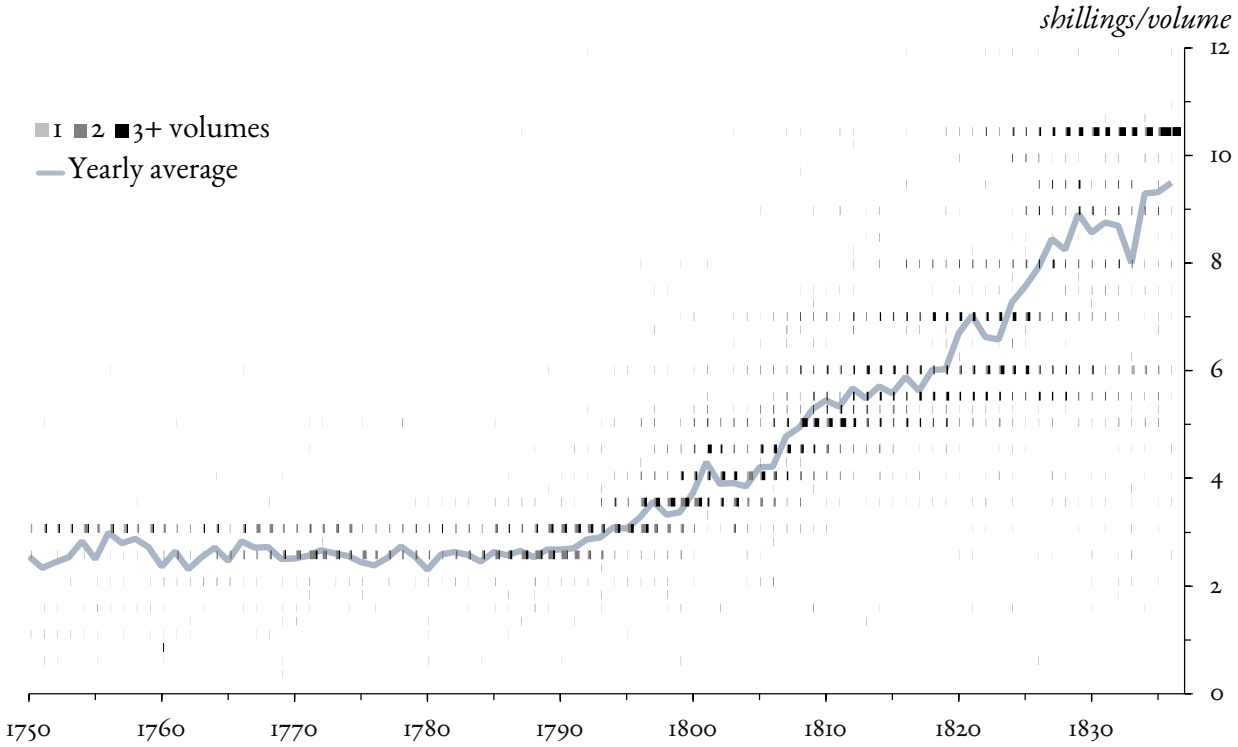

Figure 4.12. Retail prices of long-form British fiction, 1750-1836

the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century market for books? Figure 4.13 compares average novel prices to two RPIs, each indexed from the same underlying price data yet weighted according to the spending habits of two very different households. The first RPI, compiled by Charles Feinstein, estimates the living expenses of manual day-laborers, whose average nominal earnings hovered between £20 and £40 a year until the 1840s.[126] The second, compiled by H.M. Boot, estimates living expenses for households earning roughly £250 a year—about the 95th percentile of household income as of 1801.[127] These income levels represent reasonable baselines for the cohorts who were learning, during these years, to call themselves working-class and middle-class, respectively.[128] Figure 4.13 suggests that households would have judged the chronology of novels' rising "real" prices in markedly divergent ways. Between 1790

[126] Feinstein, "Pessimism Perpetuated."

[127] Boot, "Real Incomes of the British Middle Class."

[128] Asa Briggs, "The Language of 'Class' in Early Nineteenth-Century England," in *The Collected Essays of Asa Briggs* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), 1.3–33.

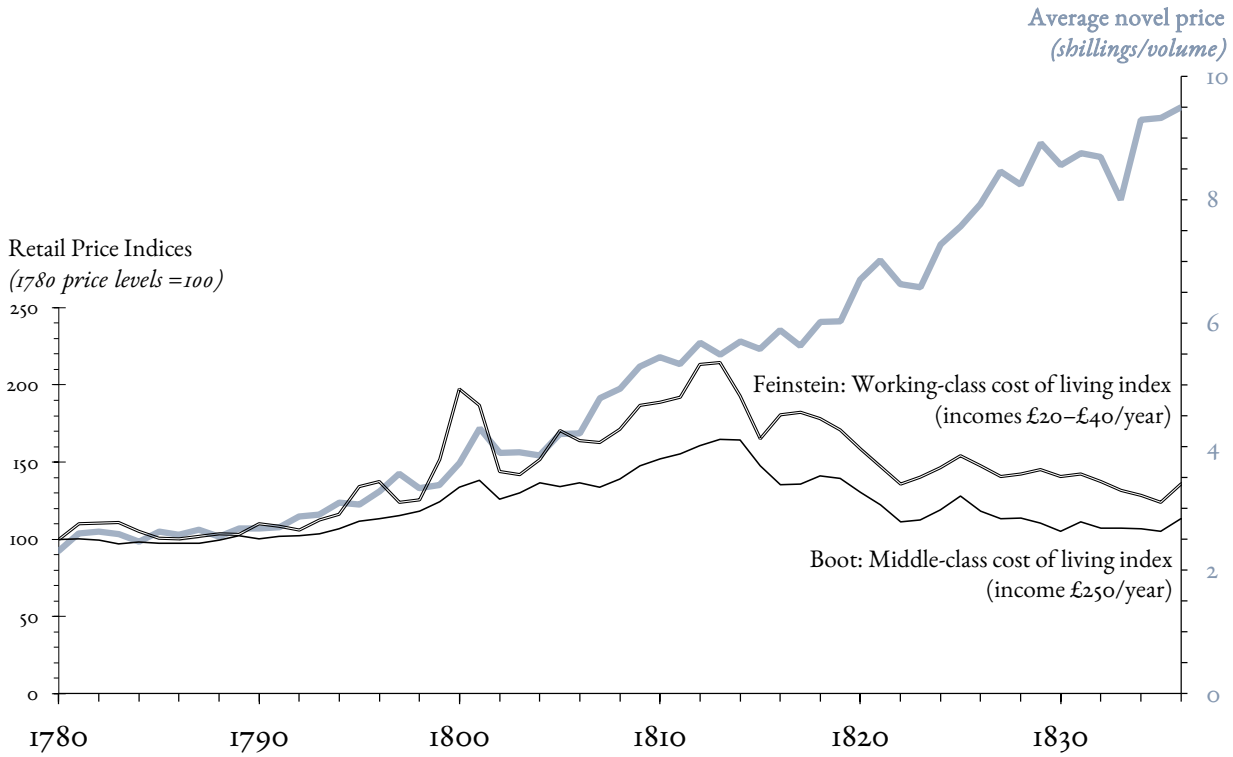

Figure 4.13. Novel prices compared to retail price indices, 1780–1836

and 1814, novel prices rose at roughly the same rate as nominal working-class living expenses—a rate that significantly outpaced the living expenses of middle-class and landed households.

The wedge that opens between Feinstein's and Boot's indices reflects stark socio-economic disparities in the allotment of household budgets. During this period, working-class households were obliged to spend 60–70% of their earnings on food, compared to 40% or less for middle-class households. Moreover, working-class households relied for nearly all their protein on staple crops such as wheat, oats, and potatoes, whereas their wealthier counterparts could afford more generous helpings of beef, mutton, and pork.[129] The working-class budget was thus highly vulnerable to shocks in grain prices. In the autumn and winter of 1800–1, when bad harvests drove wheat prices up 40% in a matter of months, even many skilled laborers struggled to earn subsistence incomes.[130] If not for modest wage

[129] For these weights and the primary sources underlying them, see Feinstein, "Pessimism Perpetuated," 634–7 and Boot, "Real Incomes," 648–55.

[130] Gayer et al., *The Growth and Fluctuation of the British Economy, 1790–1850*, (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1953), Vol. I, 27–31, 54–7; Thomas Tooke, *A History of Prices and of the State of the Circulation from 1793*

increases and poor relief, contemporary economist Thomas Tooke surmised, "great numbers of the people must have actually perished"; the aid staved off famine but was "still so inadequate, compared with the price of provisions [. . .] to leave a vast mass of privation and misery."[131] Less acute, but no less disruptive in the long run, was secular inflation throughout the Napoleonic Wars, which threatened to whittle away at workers' subsistence if their wages failed to keep pace. Laborers in many industries repudiated the 1799 Combination Act by organizing unions to demand higher pay, among them Kentish papermakers, London compositors and pressmen, and London bookbinders.[132]

Although I will primarily gauge novel prices relative to Feinstein's index as a barometer for overall price levels, it is important to keep in mind what the index actually represent. The "average working-class Briton" that emerges as an abstraction from Feinstein's index could not have been the primary audience that was buying novels from retail stores on publication day. Feinstein estimates that this average working-class Briton was earning 10 shillings per week in 1795 and 14 shillings per week in 1815. On average, roughly 85% of these earnings went to food and rent, leaving behind scant spending money on as decadent an expenditure as a newly published novel after fuel, clothing, and candles were accounted for. Rather, the reason that novel prices tracked living expenses so closely is that working-class wages tracked the production costs of novels fairly closely. Inflation drove increases not only to printers' and papermakers' wages, but also to their capital inputs, particularly the rags used to make pulp for paper. Furthermore, publishers and booksellers had their own staff wages to cover. As such Feinstein's index is a good indicator of the way we would expect prices to change if they responded solely to the influence of prices on the subsistence needs of the working-class. Deviations from Feinstein's index are likely to point to trends that

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to 1837 (London: Longman & Co., 1838), Vol. 1, 225–7. Crops in the northern half of Great Britain failed due to ill-timed rain in the autumn of 1800, and the shortage was exacerbated by wartime embargoes on British shipping in the Balkans.

[131] Tooke, *A History of Prices*, Vol. 1, 227.

[132] D.C. Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 258–287; Ellic Howe, *The London Compositor: Documents Relating to Wages, Working Conditions, and Customs of the London Printing Trade, 1785–1900* (London: Oxford University Press for the Bibliographical Society, 1947), 77–187; Ellic Howe, *The London Bookbinders* (London: Merrion Press, 1988).

1750–1793: Price stability. Novel prices were remarkably stable through most of the second half of the eighteenth century. Between 1750 and 1793, 86% of novels represented in the index (1,156 out of 1,352) had a price of either 2.5 or 3 shillings per volume. As one might expect, there was also a strong relationship between price and sheet length, although that relationship was by no means deterministic. Throughout this period, publishers tended to price novels at roughly 0.25 shillings (3 pence) per sheet, or about 1 shilling for every 100 pages in a duodecimo volume. However, this norm had very wide tolerances, especially for multi-volume works. Editions of one volume (25% of fiction publications from this period) tended to be comprised of no more than 20 sheets, and they usually sold for between 1 and 4 shillings depending primarily on their length. In comparison, editions of two volumes, by far the most common form during these years (54% of publications), routinely had lengths between 7 and 30 sheets; there was a similarly wide tolerance of about 20 to 40 sheets for three-volume novels (15% of publications) and of about 38 to 60 sheets for four-volume novels (1% of publications). For these longer publications, the standard price range of 2.5 to 3 shillings per volume mostly overrode considerations of relative sheet length, and both price points were common for editions of various sheet lengths. As such, 2-volume novels usually cost either 5 or 6 shillings, 3-volume novels usually cost either 7.5 or 9 shillings, and 4-volume novels usually cost either 10 or 12 shillings.

Although this pricing pattern is unremarkable in comparison to later developments, it is significant that publishers routinely offered the same price point of either 2.5 or 3 shillings per volume for works of markedly different lengths. Clearly, volume length exerted at least as strong an influence on price during the late eighteenth century as sheet length. Indeed, to the extent that there was variation in the average novel price from year to year, it was driven almost entirely by the relative prevalence of 2.5 versus 3 shillings per volume in each year.

1794–1814: Conformity with inflation. As I have mentioned, the period 1793–1814 saw protracted inflation to the pound sterling. Britain spent most of these years at war with France, and the war effort brought significant shocks to fiscal and monetary policy. In order to aid the finance of military spending, the Bank of England suspended the gold standard from 1797 to 1821, and Britain accumulated a growing public debt. There is some disagreement about whether inflation was due

primarily to these policies or to other wartime economic disruptions, in particular the volatility of grain markets. For our purposes, the controversy is not particularly important: what matters is that general price levels rose almost uninterruptedly until 1814.

Although the fact that novel prices rose during this period is unsurprising, it is important to note just how closely Figure 4.15 shows that novel prices followed the general inflation rate. Notwithstanding some small deviations, average novel prices tended not only to rise and fall at about the same times as working-class living expenses, but also to rise and fall at proportionately similar levels. While the average working-class Briton's cost of living rose 91% between 1793 and 1813, the average novel price rose 89%. It is important to analyze this trend cautiously, since the unweighted average I have calculated does not attempt to account for variation in impression sizes or other factors that might skew the annualized average per copy away from the edition-level average. However, the fact that the magnitude of the increase in average novel prices corresponds as closely as it does to changing price levels lends credence to the view that during this period, the market equilibrium price of a novel was guided closely by the inflation rate.

This account is complicated by the fact that prices did not rise at a uniform rate. There were, in fact, two distinct trends in pricing that pulled up the average price (See Table 4.2). The first trend was a steady but gradual increase in the most common range of novel prices, which from 1750 to 1793 had been 2.5 to 3 shillings per volume. During the earliest years of inflation, publishers were able to accommodate rising price levels without abandoning this long-standing precedent. However, as general price levels began to creep upward between 1791 and 1794, so too did the proportion of novels selling at 3 shillings per volume rather than 2.5. The price point of 2.5 shillings per volume, which had been the most common for novels between 1750 and 1790, had already grown rare by 1794. Even so, the development was subtle enough at first that it may not even have struck frequenters of the genre as unusual. The first sign of a more enduring shift in pricing strategy came in 1795, which was the first year that more novels were released at 3.5 shillings per volume than at 3 shillings per volume. From 1795 onward, the "default" price range gradually rose, until by 1808 it had reached 5 to 6 shillings per volume, where it remained until the late 1820s.

Table 4.2. Typical ranges of novel prices, 1750–1836

Years	Default price range per volume (shillings)	% within default range	% below default range	% above default range
1750–1793	2.5 to 3	85.8	10.8	3.4
1794–1801	3 to 3.5	66.2	9.4	24.4
1802–1808	3.5 to 4.5	66.1	9.1	24.8
1809–1826	5 to 6	57.6	11.6	30.8
1827–1836	9 to 10.5	57.4	40.3	2.3

The second contributing factor was the increasing profile of novels priced significantly above the standard price range. From the 1750s through the mid 1820s, it was consistently the case that only about 10% of the novels published per year were offered for less than the standard price range. Such works tended to be relatively short, or otherwise skirted the ordinary conventions of fiction publication in some way or another. In comparison, the upper segment of the market was considerably more dynamic. During the years of price stability, 1750–1793, only 3% of novels were offered for more than the standard price range of 2.5 to 3 shillings. From 1794 to 1808, the market share of novels more expensive than the standard price range was 25%, and it rose to 31% during the period 1809–1826. At the same time, there was a steady widening of the range of prices consistently on offer. Between 1780 and 1793, the only price point above the standard price range with a consistent market profile was 3.5 shillings per volume. As standard prices rose around the turn of the century, however, it became increasingly common to see novels advertised for an additional 1 or 1.5 shillings per volume above the standard price range, or even for an additional 2 shillings per volume by the 1810s. The growth of this upper segment of the market is the principal reason that the novel price index slightly outpaces the general inflation rate between 1806 and 1814.

Naturally, the combination of steadily rising standard prices and a steadily widening upper range of prices led to a far wider dispersion of prices per sheet during the period 1794–1814 than during the prior four decades. There was no longer a stable relationship between price and length from year to year. Of course, the dispersion was less extreme during individual years. Indeed, as price levels rose and there was room for more variegation in pricing at increments of sixpence, there came to be a stronger relationship between price and sheet length. Publishers seem to have reacted to the growing instability of general price levels by relying more heavily than they previously had on sheet length as a barometer for how to adjust prices. In 1794, most of the novels that did not fall within the paradigm of 3 shillings

per volume were priced at roughly 0.28 shillings (3.3 pence) per sheet. In 1804, the typical rate was 0.40 shillings (4.8 pence) per sheet, and by 1814 it had crept up to 0.53 shillings (6.3 pence) per sheet.

1815–1824: Resistance to deflation. Post-Napoleonic novel prices offer a good case in point for the ways a historical trend can be driven not by the change of a variable, but by its stasis in relation to the change occurring around it. As peace returned to Europe, the interruption of wartime fiscal stimulation and the persistent instability of international markets caused a serious recession in the British economy, followed by a period of gradual reconstruction. The result was a time of protracted deflation to the pound sterling through early 1820s, with prices stabler but still generally falling through 1836. Notwithstanding deflation, however, novel prices remained stable at between 5 and 6 shillings per volume, and the relationship between price and volume length persisted. In fact, the average price even rose somewhat—a trend not driven by any change in the standard price range, which remained 5–6 shillings, but by an increasing preponderance of 7 and 8 shillings per volume in the upper range.

The discordance between deflation and stable novel prices suggests that some structural change in the fiction market had occurred between the beginning and end of the Napoleonic Era. After all, there had been precedent to expect novel prices to fall with deflation. When novel prices responded to inflationary spikes in 1797 and 1801, they quickly stabilized to a lower level along with overall price levels, even amid the general upward trend. Clearly, by 1815 there was not the same incentive for novels to correct back to overall price levels the way they previously had.

1824–1836: Ascendance of the triple-decker. As Table 4.2 shows, it is during the last 13 years of the sample's coverage that the pricing paradigm changed most radically. It is clear that at this time, more than any other, that publishers clearly undertook a deliberate, coordinated break from precedent. As Figure 4.14 shows, this period began with a steadily growing frequency of novels sold at the new high price point of 10.5 shillings per volume. At first, the average annual price was driven upward primarily by the growing frequency of novels published at this price point. By the early 1830s, however, all other price points were gradually depopulated, until by the last three years covered by the index, 1834–1836, a full 62.5% of all novels were sold at 10.5 shillings per volume.

Figure 4.14. Lengths of novels per volume, 1770–1836
Scatterplots with annual median and first and third quartiles.

No less momentous, and evidently no less coordinated, were contemporaneous changes to the distribution of lengths of novels (see Figure 4.15). During any given year between 1770–1815, the median volume of a work of long-form fiction had typically been between 220 and 240 pages, and about 75% of novels had lengths between 196 and 264 pages (that is to say, roughly 24 pages higher or lower than the median). Considering that most novels from these years were printed in duodecimo, it is unsurprising that the median sheet length during the same period was thus about 10 or 11 sheets per volume, with the interquartile range typically spanning 2 sheets above and below the median. Between 1815–1828, the median page length of a volume rose by about 40%, rising from 220 to 320 pages, and from 10 to 14 sheets. Because of the rising proportion of novels in 16º and 18º during the years 1829–36, however, the two variables soon diverged: the median page length remained stable around 310 to 320 pages per volume, while the median sheet length crept downward from 14 to 12.5 sheets. Perhaps one of the enticements of formats with more pages to a sheet such as 16º and 18º was that after industrialization enabled their widespread use, they reduced the cost of presswork per page of type set,

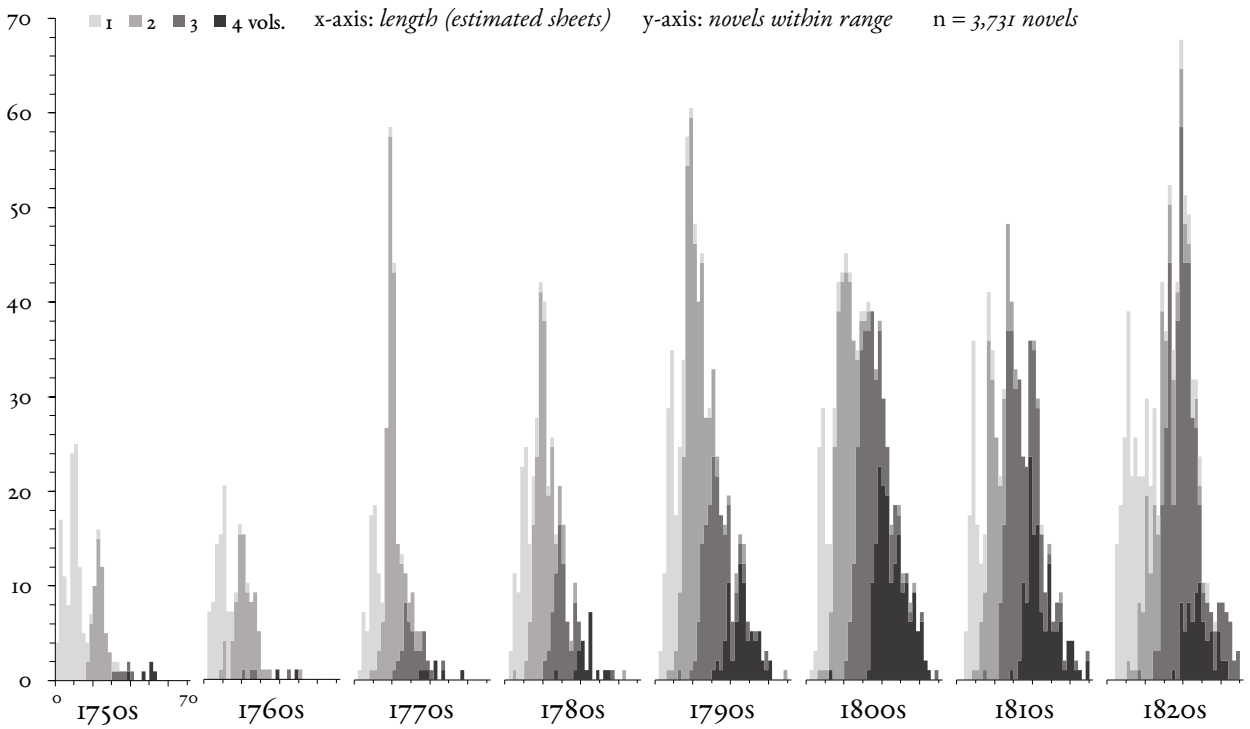

Figure 4.15. The *Romantic* rise of the three-volume novel
Histograms tracing volume counts against sheet lengths, 1750–1829

making longer volumes more cost-effective. Fewer sheets per page certainly involved less presswork per volume printed.

In short, by 1830 the typical volume of a British novel was longer almost by half than it had been till 1815. This trend was remarkably uniform, even if it was not quite hegemonic. Yet it played out against a more complex development in the *total* length of novels. Notwithstanding the title of Troy Bassett's important recent study *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Three-Volume Novel*, the three-volume novel in fact rose—numerically, at least—during the Romantic period (see Figure 4.16).[133] Throughout the mid eighteenth century, most novels had either one or two volumes. When long novels became increasingly common during the 1790s and 1800s, divisions into two, three, or four volumes were relatively evenly distributed according to sheet length. Indeed, the histograms for this

[133] To be fair, Bassett does foreground the emergence of the Victorian three-volume novel in the Romantic period, although he does not analyze the trend at length; see *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Three-Volume Novel*, 2–3.

period suggest something close to a normal distribution. By the 1810s, however, a plurality of novels had three volumes, and by the 1820s far fewer novels had two volumes than one or three—as if the makers of novels were deliberately avoiding two-volume publications whenever they could manage it.[134] Meanwhile, four-volume novels all but vanished: only 77 were issued during the 1820s, and only 18 from 1830 to 1836. Evidently, the increase in sheet length per volume is what enabled this new bimodality in total volume length. As the standard length of a duodecimo volume grew from roughly 9–12 sheets to roughly 13–15 sheets, publishers had greater leeway to order novels printed in one or three volumes rather than two or four.

Who drove this trend: authors or publishers? For now, we lack the data to tell. Corpus analysis can probably establish whether novels were changing in density of words per page, but we will need the complementary evidence of firsthand typographical measurement to understand *how* such a shift was implemented if it indeed occurred. To be sure, printers had ample powers to stretch or scrunch a literary manuscript to the page length their customers desired. As Caleb Stower's *The Printer's Price-Book* (1814) demonstrates, 24 pages printed in duodecimo on a sheet of demy paper (roughly 57.2 × 44.5 cm) could hold anywhere from 1,280 to 4,440 linear mm of pica type (roughly 304–1,405 ems), depending on the width of the text block, the number of lines to a page, and the height of the leads inserted for spacing between each line.[135] Printers could further pad out a text by inserting full-line spacing between paragraphs—sometimes rendering a page comically sparse during terse exchanges of dialogue—as well as by leaving liberal spaces between chapters. Of course, periodical reviewers were already complaining about short novels being overstretched "by the aid of the printer's art" as early as the 1780s.[136] The question posed by Figure 4.25 is whether publishers were calling on printers to employ that art with growing liberality during the years 1815–1830.

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[134] See Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 91 for a discussion of this trend.

[135] C[aleb] Stower, *The Printer's Price-Book* (London: C. Craddock and W. Joy, 1814), 32, 166, 339. Stower's specimen pages use type cast by Robert Thorne, whose pica has a body size of 4.21 mm, very close to modern 12-point font. See James Mosley, "Type bodies compared," *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* n.s. 23 (Autumn 2015): 49–58; G. Thomas Tanselle, "The Bibliographical Description of Paper," *Studies in Bibliography* 24 (1971): 22–67 at 38, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40371526.

[136] Raven, *TEN1* "Historical Introduction," 106.

Printing was just one of many stages during which texts were open to formal meddling. There is clear, if sporadic, evidence to show that during the early nineteenth century, publishers were already looking for ways to stretch, hack, or coax manuscripts into three-volume form. As early as 1806, Archibald Constable proposed to his co-publisher John Murray II that rather than printing Joseph Strutt's *Queenhoo-Hall* (1808) in two volumes as originally planned, "perhaps three volumes of the ordinary novel size, on good paper, would bring us more money, as well as be better fitted for the Circulating Library."[137] In 1812, Longman III wrote to Amelia Opie of the manuscript collection of tales that ultimately became *Tales of Real Life* (1813), "If the *dismal* Tale, & what is to follow it, will make three volumes, we believe that it would be best to print 'Anonymous Letters' as a separate work."[138] And in 1820, T.N. Longman III advised Robert Charles Dallas, after the disappointing sales of *Sir Francis Darrell* (*DBF* 1820A019), "We are of opinion that a Novel of three is of more ready sale than one of four Volumes"—a conviction he repeated to James Hogg in 1823.[139]

Whatever the causes of the trend, the consequences were clear enough. Publishers' insistence on shoehorning texts into three volumes led to an increase in the length, and this increase does partly—but not fully explain the unique increase in price that occurred during the late Romantic period. As Figure 4.17 shows, until about 1820, average price per volume and average price per sheet were effectively in lockstep, with only short yearly deviations. When volumes began to lengthen during the 1820s, however, the consequence was that average price per volume rose far more quickly than price per sheet. Whether readers were getting more bang for their buck, or whether they were being asked to wade through pages added merely to pad length, is a question that I will demure from answering here. What the trend means is that technically, the average "real" price per sheet—that is, the average

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[137] Archibald Constable, letter to John Murray II, 6 December 1806, in *Archibald Constable and His Literary Correspondents*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas, 1873), 1.357, cited in "Publishing Papers," *DBF* 1808A101. Ultimately, Constable and Murray found a way to stretch the novel out to *four* volumes!

[138] Longman & Co., letter to Amelia Opie, 3 December 1812, Longman Group Archive (Reading 1393) I, Letter Book 97, no. 383, cited in "Publishing Papers," *DBF* 1813A044.

[139] Longman & Co., letter to Robert Charles Dallas, 21 March 1821, Longman Group Archive (Reading 1393) I, 101, no. 101A, cited in "Publishing Papers," *DBF* 1820A019; the letter to Hogg is cited in Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 91.

inflation-adjusted price, using Feinstein's working-class wage as a deflator—was relatively stable from 1810 through the early 1820s. It was only starting around 1824 that "real" novel prices began rising both per volume and per sheet, which they did uninterruptedly during the last phase of the sample.

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To the extent that this account has helped to sharpen our picture of rising novel prices during the Romantic period, my analysis demonstrates the inroads on publishing history that the near-total bibliographical record of novels collected in *BBF* have made possible since 1987, when Hugh Amory reckoned the trend relying on a far more limited sample. No less than Amory, however, I am struck by the sheer complexity of the trend and the constraints that bibliographies alone impose on our ability to understand it. Insofar as the financial records of publishers offer insights to problems such as production costs, authorial payments, and the relationship between prices and the risk-reward calculation of unpredicable sales (topics I discuss in depth in the next two chapters), we must make some concessions to breadth in favor of depth, treating individual publishers as case studies that are not necessarily representative of the whole market. Even so, my analysis here has merely scratched the surface of what it is possible to study using *BBF*, and part of the challenge will be to negotiate between case studies and the totalizing "wide-angle" view enabled by enumerative bibliographies.

PART III.
Longman and the Microeconomics of Fiction Publishing

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Chapter 5. Novels in the Longman Archive, 1794–1836

5.1. Overview

THOMAS NORTON LONGMAN III (1771–1842) was the first of his name to publish novels in any great number, but he made up for his ancestors' tardiness in short order.[1] When he took charge of the family firm at 39 Paternoster Row, London, *circa* 1793, just two novels had carried his father's name on the title pages of their first editions.[2] Over the next 49 years, imprints would proclaim the involvement of Longman III and his various partners in 335 new novels—6.3% of all known British offerings in the genre.[3] Up to 1836, these included 277 novels that Longman & Co. published or co-published. Another 31 title pages from these years identify the firm as wholesale distributors, but trade subscription records attest that the true scale of their fiction wholesaling far outstrips the evidence of imprints.[4]

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[1] For a family tree, see Asa Briggs, *A History of Longmans and Their Books, 1724–1990: Longevity in Publishing* (London: British Library and New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2008), 548–9. Hereafter I refer to Longman III the individual simply as "Longman" unless one of his similarly christened relatives appears in the same paragraph; I refer to his firm as Longman & Co.

[2] *BF* 1755:302; *TEN1* 1787:4. Both imprints list Thomas Longman II as one of several wholesale booksellers rather than the primary or sole publisher.

[3] 1750–1836: tabulated from transcriptions of imprints in Raven, *BF*; Garside *et al.*, *TEN1–2*; Garside *et. al.*, *DBF*; and Garside and Mandal, *TEN3* (the four are hereafter cited as *BBF* when used as a combined data source); 1837–42: tabulated from Bassett, *ATCL*, "Publisher Information: Longman," http://www.victorianresearch.org/atcl/show_publisher.php?pid=8. Throughout Part III, I use the word "novel" indiscriminately to refer to all publications with entries in any of these bibliographies. Readers should consult each bibliography for its specific inclusion criteria, which differ slightly from bibliography to bibliography but are broadly comparable.

[4] Subscription Lists of Colburn & Bentley (1829–1832) and Richard Bentley (1832–), British Library Add. MSS. 46667–46669, consulted in microfilm reproductions *The Archives of Richard Bentley & Son, 1829–1898*, (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healy, 1975–6), Pt. 1, reel 51. From 1829 through at least 1840, Longman & Co. wholesaled 50, 75, or 100 copies of nearly every new novel published by Bentley. The firm also typically wholesaled 250 or 500 copies of each entry in the reprint series Bentley's Standard Novels.

There are many good reasons to put Longman at the center of the economic history of fiction publishing during the Romantic period, only a few of them nakedly pragmatic. To begin, he was unusual for both his prolificacy and his longevity. Second in pre-Victorian imprints—admittedly, a distant second—only to William Lane and Anthony K. Newman's Minerva Press (776 novels, 1777–1836), Longman & Co. consistently published or wholesaled at least two new novels a year from 1794 onward, averaging roughly seven a year. It was unusual for any firm to publish novels at such an even keel. During the same period, most other major fiction publishers active at the turn of the nineteenth century (J., J., G., G., & S. Robinson, J.F. Hughes, Robert Baldwin, Benjamin Crosby, &c.) had comparatively transient periods of high output before slowing down, petering out, or dying off.[5]

The second reason for Longman's special significance is that although he was by no means a typical fiction publisher (if such a thing has ever existed), his publications are uniquely representative of key developments in the business model of commercial fiction publishing during the Romantic period. On average, the retail prices of new British novels tripled during the years 1790–1836. I have analyzed marketwide evidence of this crucial trend in Part II of this dissertation; here, suffice it to say that much about this trend can only be explained by analyzing the economic decision-making of individual publishers. Counterintuitively, Longman is the *only* reliably prolific publisher of the era whose firmwide novel prices loosely follow marketwide trends (see Figure 5.1).[6] The Minerva Press, which specialized in comparatively cheap publications, sold most of their novels well below the UK average price from 1810 onward.[7] Meanwhile, the third- and fourth-most prolific Romantic publishers, Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, did not begin to publish novels prolifically until the late 1820s; by that time, they were already publishing at high prices.[8] Admittedly, Longman's low output during certain years leads the annualized average of his prices to appear far more sporadic than the marketwide

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[5] Data from *BBF*. Refer to Figure 4.2 for a schematic comparison of Longman's market share to that of other major Romantic publishers.

[6] Sources for Figure 5.1: *BBF*. For the compilation of the price index underlying this figure, see Chapter 3.3.

[7] Blakey, *The Minerva Press, 1790–1820*; McLeod, "The Minerva Press"; Hugh Amory, *New Books by Fielding: An Exhibition of the Hyde Collection* (Cambridge, MA: Houghton Library, 1987), 44–5.

[8] Sutherland, "Henry Colburn: Publisher"; Gettmann, *A Victorian Publisher*.

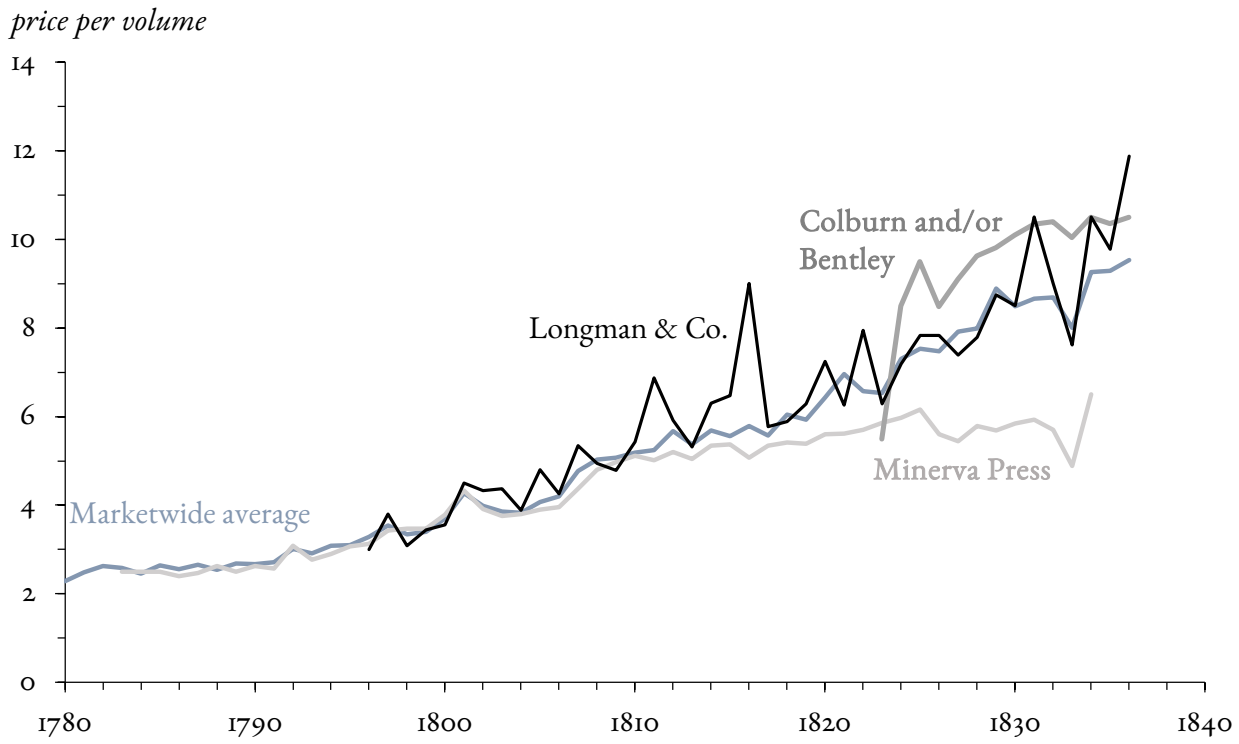

Figure 5.1. Annualized average novel prices by publisher, 1783–1836

average. But unlike the Minerva Press, Colburn, or Bentley, Longman did at least follow marketwide trends through the early nineteenth century, insofar as he sold most new novels at around 3 shillings a volume in 1800 yet had raised his prices to upward of 10 shillings a volume by 1836. Thus Longman's novels are the likeliest of any large firm's to reflect the incentive structures that caused publishers to triple novel prices *en bloc* during the Romantic period.

The third reason to prioritize Longman—the most nakedly pragmatic, but also by far the best—is that continuous financial accounts of his firm's publications survive in unusual abundance and depth. Detailed publishing records of individual editions are available not only in the Longman Archive at Reading University, but also those of Strahan & Spottiswoode, who printed most of Longman & Co.'s novels. Other records, especially those of Richard Bentley, have more detailed records of sale and distribution, but the materials available for Longman & Co. are unique in their detailed coverage of production costs, authorial payments, and profits, and along with them a rich trove of ancillary data about the firm's ordinary business practices and trade alliances. Only for

Longman's novels is it possible to understand not only why a prolific Romantic-period priced novels the way he did, but also where the returns on a majority of his editions actually went.

Part II of this dissertation, rooted in an extensive reinvestigation of these materials, ventures an archival and cliometric analysis of Longman's and Strahan's publishing data for the first editions of more than 200 novels published between 1795 and 1836. Aided in no small part by the indexing and partial transcription of entries in the standard bibliographies of British fiction,[9] I analyze the itemized paper, printing, and advertising costs of 175 novels, the revenues and profits (or losses) realized for 90, and the authorial payments (or lack thereof) associated with 146. I report these data in full in Appendix B when other sources do not do so already, and I use them to provide an empirical rationale to understand how the spoils of book sales were divided among publisher, manufacturers, distributors, and authors.

Although Part III of this dissertation is principally a work of publishing history and microeconomics, I hope an attentive reader will come to appreciate the stakes of my analysis for both reception history and the history of professional authorship. As my account winds steadily through supply-side data, the responsiveness of Longman to the evolving demand for fiction becomes increasingly visible in relief. Indeed, my analysis will show that the production costs of novels changed surprisingly little over a 40-year span, notwithstanding clear signals in the data of increasingly industrial, mechanized manufacturing processes. The relative steadiness of manufacturing costs heightens the significance of rising prices as a way for Longman & Co. to negotiate the paradox of rising structural demand for fiction, on the one hand, and unpredictable demand for any specific title, on the other. In this context, a previously under-appreciated complexity and dynamism emerges in Longman & Co.'s dealings with authors. Historically in a poor bargaining position, novelist had increasing leverage to demand large payments under a diverse range of payment schemes.

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[9] *BBF*.

5.2. A short history of a long firm

It is instructive to compare Thomas Norton Longman III to Minerva Press founder William Lane, if for no other reason than to stress their signal differences. Like Lane, Longman III published novels and other books as just one venture among many. Both men oversaw businesses with ambitious, if uneven, vertical integration. Each had direct financial stakes in the physical manufacturing of his publications—Longman III in papermaking, Lane in printing—and each wholesaled and retailed other publishers' books alongside his own, in the process cultivating new retail networks that served as the catalyst for growth in the provincial trade.[10] Yet unlike Lane, a poulterer's son who entered the book trade in adulthood, Longman III was born to Paternoster Row old money: he enjoyed exactly the sorts of privileges that newcomers such as Lane had braved the contempt of their more established peers in order to circumvent. Indeed, although the continuity of the surname "Longman" in the London book trade was not strictly the product of uninterrupted patrilineal succession, the firm's history underscores the ways that the intergenerational consolidation of capital have shaped the book trade across the long eighteenth century.

The story of the Longman dynasty in the book trade begins with T.N. Longman III's great uncle, Thomas Longman I (1699–1755). Orphaned at the age of 9, Longman I was consigned by his guardians in 1716 to serve an apprenticeship with leading London wholesale bookseller John Osborn. The descendant of a prosperous Bristol soapmaking family, Longman I inherited substantial estates near Bristol, Frome, and Stroud upon turning 21. This legacy granted him entry into the London wholesale bookselling business, the most profitable sector of the English trade—a segment of the market that required more starting capital than most new entrants could afford to draw. Upon earning his freedom in 1724, Longman I spent a small fortune of £2,282.9.6 to purchase the stock-in-trade of recently deceased bookseller William Taylor, along with his two-block-wide Paternoster Row premises under the signs of the Black Swan and—over the main entrance at No. 39—the Ship. Partnering,

[10] McLeod, *The Minerva Press*, 3–7, 22–4.

probably, with Osborn's son John Osborn II and marrying his daughter Mary Osborn, Longman I ultimately consolidated both Taylor's and the Osborns' properties, including their lucrative shares of copyrights for often-reprinted works.[11]

Thanks to these holdings, Longman I became, almost by default, a leading member of the "Castle" Conger, one in a series of major copyright-shareholding syndicates that dominated London's wholesale trade from the late seventeenth century through the mid eighteenth. As members of the Conger, Longman I, and after him his nephew Thomas Longman II (1730–1797), had access to the increasingly exclusive trade sale auctions of copyright shares, the ownership of which guaranteed wholesale distribution rights—and the reliable revenue stream that came with them.[12] Longman II became a partner to his uncle by 1753, and after Longman I's death he published and sold books along with his widowed aunt from 1755 until 1759, when he became sole proprietor. In the subsequent decades, Longman II reached new heights of prosperity, retiring in 1793 to a country house on Prince Arthur Road, Hampstead. In many respects, however, Longman II left behind a business that differed little from his uncle's. To be sure, Longman II opened substantial dealings not just in the English provinces but in the American colonies—a venture surprisingly little disrupted, in the long run, by the American Revolutionary War, as suggested by his dealings with William Knox before and after his tenure as general in the Continental Army and first US Secretary of War.[13] Yet in the words of William West, Longman II "continued in a select wholesale country business without the ambition of an increase" and "was not anxious for his extending [his business] in new works and the miscellaneous literature of the day."[14] Longman II's personal wealth gave him reason to be content. When he died on

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[11] Philip Wallis, *At the Sign of the Ship: Notes on the House of Longman, 1724–1974* (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1974), 8–12.

[12] Norma Hodgson and Cyprian Blagden, *Thomas Bennet and Henry Clements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Bibliographical Society, 1956), Appendix 13; Terry Belanger, "Booksellers' Sales of Copyright: Aspects of the London Book Trade, 1718–1768" (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1970), 4–16.

[13] Wallis, *At the Sign of the Ship*, 12–3.

[14] [William West] (as "AN OLD BOOKSELLER"), "Account of the Firm of Messrs. Longman and Co," *The Aldine Magazine* 1, no. 5 (29 December 1838): 66–71 at 68, *HathiTrust*, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044082536582. I infer West's authorship from his self-identification as the author of *Fifty Years' Recollections of an Old Bookseller* (London: printed for the author, 1837), *HathiTrust*, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044080296411.

5 February 1797, he left £20,000 to his wife and £5,000 to each of his eight surviving children—including his eldest son Thomas Norton Longman III, who also inherited his father's firm, where he had been the managing partner since Longman II's retirement in 1792 or 1793.

Notwithstanding the relatively stable scale of business at 39 Paternoster Row under its first two patriarchs, the firm grew rapidly almost as soon as Longman III succeeded his father. In West's words, Longman III "not only branched out into [literature's] most extensive range, and entered the field of honourable competition with the first houses of Europe, but also extended his country trade at the same time."[15] Imprints offer a partial view of this growth on both the publishing and wholesaling fronts. For 1789–1791, the last three definitely continuous years of Longman II's management of the firm before retirement, the *ESTC* lists 166 print items with Longman's name on the imprint, only 55 of which have imprints describing the publication as printed for or published by "T. Longman." By 1798–1800, the first three definitely continuous years of Longman III's ownership after his father's death, the *ESTC* lists 405 Longman items, including no fewer than 163 items listed as "printed for" or "published by" "T.N. Longman" or "Longman and Rees."[16] Later statistics are less readily available, but it seems likely that the firm's growth continued, if at a slower rate, throughout the early nineteenth century. Accounting data assembled by Cyprian Blagden suggest that the firm's yearly manufacturing and advertising outlays for publications might have risen anywhere between 50% and 100% between the 1800s and the 1850s.[17]

It is a still greater challenge to reckon the scale and growth rate of Longman & Co.'s wholesaling, which increasingly went unrecorded in imprints, and for which no accounts survive except those of other firms. In 1820, Walter Scott resentfully quipped to James Ballantyne that Longman & Co. "have the first of the market, & only one third of the books; so that, as they say with us, 'They let them care that come ahint [Scots: behind].'"[18] The statement that Longman & Co. dealt

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[15] [West], "Account of the Firm of Messrs. Longman and Co," 68.
[16] *ESTC*.
[17] Blagden's data are reprinted in Briggs, *A History of Longmans and their Books*, 145.
[18] Walter Scott, letter to James Ballantyne, 28 March 1820; quoted in

in one third of *all* the books sold in London was certainly meant as a comic exaggeration. Yet it was probably an exaggeration on the correct order of magnitude. The Trade Subscription Lists of John Murray II and Colburn & Bentley both show Longman routinely buying 10% or 20% of nearly all of these publishers' editions.[19] I will not discuss Longman & Co.'s wholesaling activities in great depth during this chapter, but they are important to keep in mind. For a well-financed firm with ample inventory space, publishing and wholesaling were highly complementary business practices. A dip in Longman & Co.'s publishing during a given year may, in the full context of their operations, have represented not a *retraction* in their total business dealings, but instead a *redeployment* of capital away from their own editions and towards the wholesale distribution of publications by other firms. Ultimately, Longman III's wholesaling and publishing reinforced each other: they both relied on the extensive establishment of contacts in the city and beyond, and they both reflected the ways a large firm was able to capitalize on the growing trade in urban provincial centers.

The most important transformation to accompany Longman & Co.'s growth during the early nineteenth century was its expansion from sole proprietorship to a partnership, which entailed both a diversification of capital and a sophisticated division of managerial responsibilities. It was under Longman III's five-decade management that imprints issued from 38–41 Paternoster Row cycled through the daunting, protean list of names that led Scott to nickname Longman & Co. "the Long Firm":

1797: Longman and Rees.

1804: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme.

1811: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown.

1823: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green.

1825: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green.

1832: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman.

1838: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

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[19] See Chapter 4.2.

1840: Longman, Orme, & Co.

1841: Longman, Brown, & Co.

1842: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.[20]

Of all these partners, Owen Rees (1770–1837), a bookseller of Unitarian Welsh extraction who had previously been involved in the Bristol trade, was the first, the longest-lasting, and the most closely involved in Longman III's publishing. The sociable face to the firm, Rees cohosted Longman's weekly literary soirees and dinners, and he was adept at mitigating conflicts with authors and provincial trade contacts. The firm's letterbooks show Rees was also heavily involved in authorial payment negotiations.[21] The son of one of Longman II's assistants, Thomas Brown (1778–1869) became a partner in 1811, and he helped with these increasingly complex duties as the firm's publishing enterprises expanded. Brown came to oversee the firm's Cash Department and their accounts with authors, taking on a role comparable to that of a modern chief financial officer.[22]

Apart from Longman III's sons and ultimate successors Thomas IV and Henry, the remaining partners seem to have been most heavily involved in Longman & Co.'s wholesale and retail operations. Thomas Hurst (1775–1847) and Cosmo Orme (1780–1859) became partners in 1804, shortly after opening a London wholesale business, and they brought the firm significant provincial connections. Hurst was in charge of the country department, while Wallis describes both Hurst and Orme as being involved in Longman & Co.'s sale of secondhand books. Hurst had a large financial stake in the business of his brother John Hurst and Joseph Ogle Robinson, the principal London distributors, from 1817 to 1825, for Archibald Constable, the Scottish publisher of the *Edinburgh Review* and Walter Scott's "Waverley" novels.[23] Thomas Hurst was inauspiciously removed from the partnership with Longman & Co. during the banking crisis of 1825–1826, when it came to light that he had secretly used

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[20] Briggs, *A History of Longmans*, 547–8. This represents the succession of imprints from the year (although not necessarily the month) of first appearance.

[21] Thomas Rees with John Britton, *Reminiscences of Literary London* (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1896), 43, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b674931; Wallis, *At the Sign of the Ship*, 4, 14–20.

[22] Wallis, *At the Sign of the Ship*, 41–2; Briggs, *A History of Longmans*, 162–3.

[23] Jane Millgate, "Archibald Constable and the Problem of London," 117–20, https://doi.org/10.1093/library/s6-XVIII.2.110.

Longman & Co.'s assets alongside his own to back the risky accommodations bills that ruined Constable and Hurst Robinson, making Longman & Co. liable for £19,000 in debt.[24] The final addition from outside the family, Bevis Ellerby Greene (1793–1869), had been Thomas Hurst's apprentice, and he came to operate the firm's country and foreign departments.[25]

Contemporary biographies and twentieth- and twenty-first-century histories of the firm have focused their attention on the circuitous succession of Longman patriarchs and their partners. As such, they unfortunately have failed to yield a clear image of the firm's total operations, organization, assets, and labor force. It is plain that the business must have grown massively from Longman II's years of management, when the firm employed just four assistants. In wholesaling alone, Longman III and his partners came to operate discrete "provincial, Scotch, Irish, foreign, and American" departments, and they also ran a London retail shop with a well-stocked old books department.[26]

However, Longman III's biggest and boldest divergence from the business models of his ancestors was his publication of works for which his firm was either the sole publisher or the London co-publisher of large Scottish publications. Although the sole publisher business model had important precedents during the mid to late eighteenth century, the scale of Longman & Co.'s implementation of it has made the firm a central case study for the emergence of modern publishing.[27] This is not to say that the growth of Longman's single-firm publishing ventures represented the total dissolution of their sharebook publishing system, the durable returns on which had allowed Longman II to content himself with relatively limited growth. Indeed, book historians have tended to neglect the continued scale of sharebook publishing well into the nineteenth century, which continued to serve many of the same collusive purposes that it had in the eighteenth. After all, Longman II continued to manage the firm's copyright shares even after retiring to Hampstead, which underscores the fact that his five

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[24] Briggs, *A History of Longmans and their Books*, 163–5; the resulting legal proceedings with Longman & Co. and Hurst's banker are described in the *Morning Chronicle*, 27 October 1828, GALE|BC3207307998.

[25] Wallis, *At the Sign of the Ship*, 42.

[26] Wallis, *At the Sign of the Ship*, 15, 41.

[27] See for instance Terry Belanger, "From Bookseller to Publisher: Changes in the London Book Trade, 1750–1850," in *Book Selling and Book Buying: Aspects of the Nineteenth-Century British and North American Book Trade*, ed. Richard G. Landon (Chicago, IL: American Library Association, 1978): 7–16.

decades worth of experience attending trade sales and hand-annotating auction lists remained valuable to his son's operations.

Nevertheless, the sheer scale and diversity of Longman & Co.'s publishing of new books and periodicals was a crucial development in the history of publishing. It is impossible to read very deeply into any nineteenth-century literary genre without regularly encountering the Longman imprint. Among the firm's most prestigious publications were Abraham Rees's *Cyclopædia* (1802–19), the London arm of the *Edinburgh Review* (co-published with Archibald Constable 1802–6 and 1814–1826, thereafter by Longman alone), and poetry by Robert Bloomfield, Walter Scott, Robert Southey, Mary Tighe, Amelia Opie, William Wordsworth, and—briefly—Lord Byron.[28] Given Longman & Co.'s impressive roster of popular and respected authors, contemporaries would not have judged the firm to be specialists in fiction *per se*. Their prolific publishing of novels was a byproduct of their prolificity across many genres.

5.3. Novels in the Longman Archive

Since 1974, the surviving manuscripts of Longman & Co.'s financial accounts have been on permanent loan to the University of Reading Special Collections.[29] There they make up the bulk of the Longman Group Archive, Part 1 (Reading MS. 1393 1).[30] The earliest of the firm's accounts for new publications date to June 1794, roughly a year after Longman III became the firm's manager, and they run continuously through 1914. These manuscripts have weathered two fires: the first on 4 September 1861, when flames spread to Thomas Longman IV's premises from a neighboring tallow-melter's shop;

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[28] For Longman's impression sizes of many of these authors, see Benjamin Colbert, "Popular Romanticism? Publishing, Readership and the Making of Literary History," in E.J. Clery *et al.*, *Authorship, Commerce and the Public: Scenes of Writing, 1750–1850* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 153–70.

[29] Briggs, *A History of Longmans*, 475.

[30] For detailed manuscript listings, see http://www.reading.ac.uk/adlib/Details/archive/110014342. There are three ways to refer to manuscripts: their contemporary names, the University of Reading's shelf-marks, and the reel numbers of the Chadwyck-Healy microfilm reproduction. In Appendix B1, I print a guide showing the relationship among all three ordering systems. In the footnotes to this chapter, I will generally use their contemporary names.

and the second on 29–30 December 1940, one of the worst nights of the Blitz, when the Luftwaffe's incendiary bombs levelled all the firm's premises on Paternoster Row apart from the strong-room.[31] The surviving accounts, while capacious, are incomplete. Some nineteenth-century manuscripts are demonstrably lost, which may contribute to the accounts' relatively poor coverage of fiction from certain years.[32]

For this chapter, I have consulted Chadwyck-Healey's microfilm facsimile of the Longman Archive,[33] as well as Peter D. Garside *et al.*'s selective transcription and analysis in the "Publishing Papers" appended to the website *British Fiction, 1800–1829: A Database of Production, Circulation & Reception* (*DBF*).[34] Although scholars have put the Longman Archives to eclectic uses,[35] only the trailblazing work of Garside and his colleagues conveys some sense of the nature of Longman's accounts and the depths of their insights. I could not have undertaken the present chapter without *DBF*, and although I have independently consulted all the entries from which I collect costs, revenues, and authorial payment, I have made extensive use of *DBF* for reference and to check my work, and I draw heavily on Garside *et al.*'s transcriptions to compute sales revenue and profit data. By citing

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[31] Briggs, *A History of Longmans*, 5, 400–3.

[32] Apart from the possibility of lost accounts discussed below, some Commission Ledger entries contain references to a "Gents L," *i.e.* a Gentlemen's Ledger, which presumably recorded Longman's dealing with authors and other non-book-trade associates. See "Publishing Papers" to *DBF* 1808A058.

[33] *Archives of the House of Longman, 1794–1914,* 73 microfilm reels (Cambridge, UK: Chadwick-Healey, 1978), part of the series The Archives of British and American Publishers on Microfilm. For an index to most items, see Alison Ingram, *Index to the Archives of the House of Longman, 1794–1914* (Cambridge, UK: Chadwyck-Healey, 1981). I have consulted the copy of the microfilm series owned by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. My thanks go to the microforms staff of the Davis Library for their aid in consulting these materials.

[34] Garside *et al.*, *DBF* "Sources for Publishing Papers," http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk/guide/publishingsources.html. For a brief note on the consultation of the Longman Archive for *DBF*, see Jacqueline Belanger, Peter Garside, and Anthony Mandal, *British Fiction, 1800–1829: A Database of Production and Reception*: Phase II Report (Feb–Nov 2000) and Circulating-Library Checklist," *Cardiff Corvey* 5 (November 2000), http://www.romtext.org.uk/reports/dbf2/. For all entries in *DBF* with accounting data from the Longman Archives, visit *DBF*'s search engine http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk/search.asp, select "Longman & Co." under the drop-down menu "Primary publisher:", and check the box beside the word "Publishing" under the search field "Only titles with:".

[35] See for instance W.J.B. Owen, "Costs, Sales, and Profits of Longman's Editions of Wordsworth." *The Library* 5th Series, Vol. 12, no. 2, https://doi.org/10.1093/library/s5-XII.2.93; Cyprian Blagden, "Longman's Magazine," *Review of English Literature* 4 (1963): 9–22; Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 202–3, 348.

editions with the record numbers of *DBF* and the other standard bibliographies of British fiction in Appendix B and in by footnotes, I have tried to make it as convenient as possible for readers to consult Garside *et al.*'s analysis of the Longman Archive in parallel with my own.

Despite its considerable strengths, *DBF* leaves much for the enterprising biblio-cliometrician still to do. Notwithstanding the inclusive subtitle to their database, Garside *et al.*'s treatment of the Longman Archive evinces more than a little bias toward Circulation and Reception at the expense of Production. Compared to the exhaustiveness with which the database treats sales, revenues, and profits where they survive, *DBF* offers only fragments of the accounts' data on the physical manufacture of novels, which Garside *et al.* seem rather cavalierly to exclude from their definition of what counts as "important" information to cite.[36] Furthermore, a paradoxical downside of *DBF*'s exhaustive coverage of nearly all surviving Romantic publishers' archives of fiction is that any single source receives scant analysis outside the minutiae of its transcription. The database replicates much of the raw *information* in Longman's accounts. Yet it does not describe their *structure*, nor does it retrace the process of analysis that a user must go through in order to turn any given entry into a coherent story of a work's publication.[37] One purpose I hope the following pages will serve is to lay bare the fundamentally textual work—I would argue, the fundamentally *humanistic* work—underlying the recovery of economic data.

Most of Longman & Co.'s records of the costs and revenues for novels published 1797–1836 survive in two groups of manuscripts: nine Impression Books (1–9) and four Divide Ledgers (1D–3D and CD). A few other manuscripts contain useful information—specifically, four Commission Ledgers (1C–4C) and two Miscellaneous Publication Expenses Ledger (1A–2A)—but my use of these is relatively sparing. To begin, I will consider the coverage of these manuscripts along three cross-

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[36] Garside *et al.*, *DBF* "Guide to Publishing Papers," http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk/guide/publishing.html.

[37] One striking exception is the publishing account in Peter D. Garside's introduction to his edition of James Hogg's *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (Edinburgh University Press, 2002), lv–lxvi.

Table 5.1. Longman's accounts cross-listed with imprints

Longman & Co.'s role as described on the imprint	Entry	No entry
Printed for Longman & Co.	178	26
Printed for Longman & Co. and others firms	8	28
Longman & Co. only (no verb)	14	7
Longman & Co. only and other firms (no verb)	0	4
Published by Longman & Co.	6	2
Published by Longman & Co. and other firms	1	3
Sold by Longman & Co.	2	12
Sold by Longman & Co. and other firms	0	17
Total	209	99

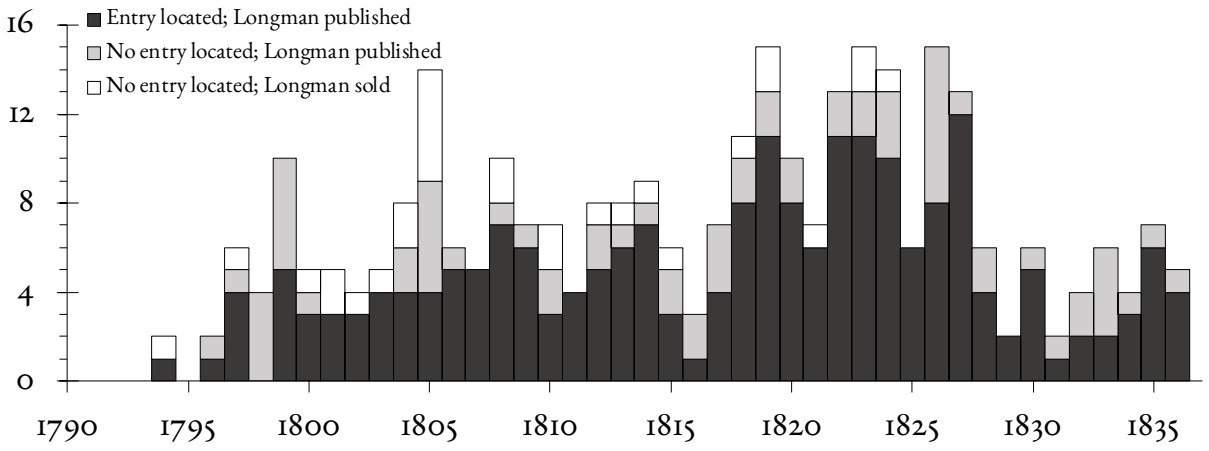
sectional axes: imprints, types of financial account, and authorial payment schemes—all of which I represent in Figure 5.2.

Imprints. Of the 308 first editions of novels published between 1794–1836 with Longman & Co. on the imprint, I count 210 with at least one entry in the Longman Archive.[38] As Table 5.1 suggests, accounts evidently survive only for novels that Longman & Co. published or co-published, rather than selling wholesale. All the editions for which I have located entries are among the 277 that imprints describe as having been "published by" or—by far the most common phrase—"printed for" Longman & Co., or else that name Longman and his partners without offering a verb to describe their roles. Meanwhile, I can find no entries whatsoever for editions that the imprint describes as "sold by" Longman & Co., which would be the expected verb when Longman acted as a wholesale bookseller. Furthermore, most of the editions for which entries survive are those published solely by Longman; few entries survive for editions co-published by Longman alongside with other firms. The limited coverage of co-published editions is particularly unfortunate when it comes to Scottish publications. Almost all novels with entries were printed in London; only nine have imprints mentioning Edinburgh alongside London as a city of co-publication.[39] Meanwhile, the roughly 50 novels printed in

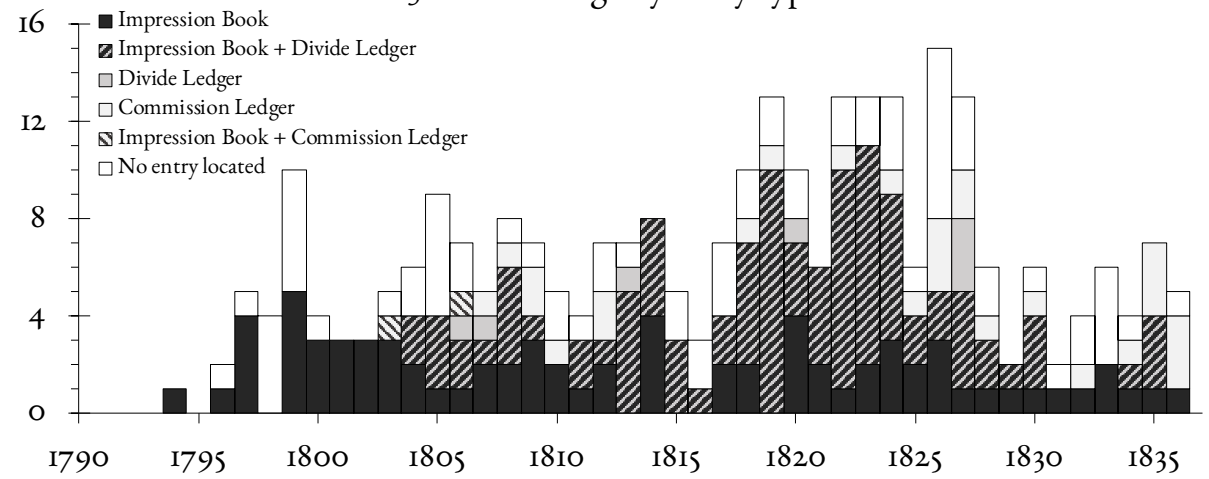
[38] For this tally, I use the transcriptions of imprints in *TEN1*, *DBF*, and *TEN3*. Note that my tally counts the first editions of the two separately printed and issued volumes of *Body and Soul* (*DBF* 1822A081) as two distinct publications.

[39] *DBF* 1805A058, 1811A026, 1812A023, 1814A014, 1814A025, 1815A044, 1827A027

Figure 5.2A. Coverage by Longman's role as described on the imprint



5.2B. Coverage by entry type



5.2C. Coverage by authorial payment scheme

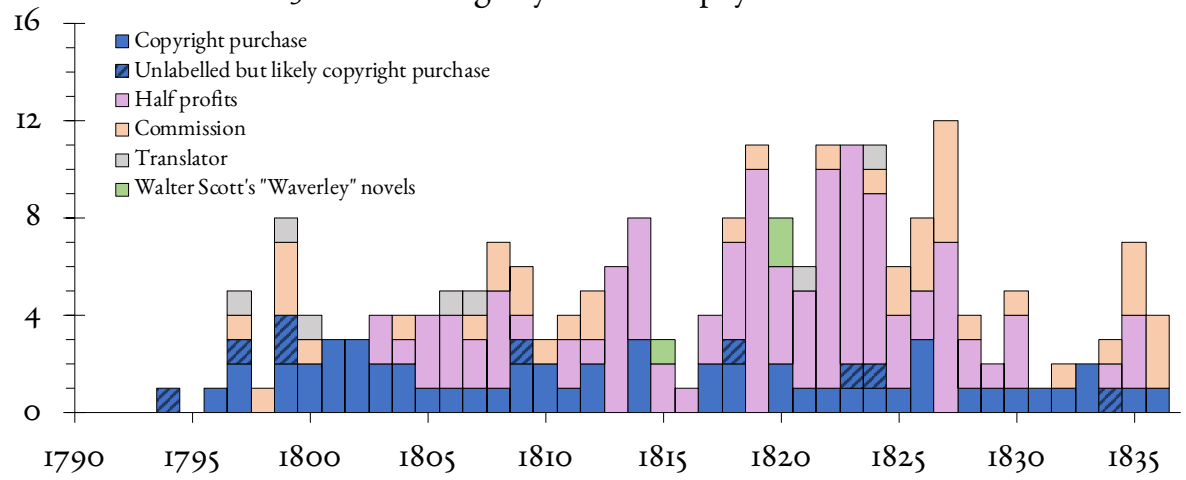


Figure 5.2. Novels in Longman & Co.'s financial accounts, 1794–1836

Edinburgh, Dublin, and English provincial towns for which Longman acted as principal London distributor are almost entirely absent.[40]

Apart from these factors, I can detect no obvious trends—chronological or qualitative—governing which of the novels published primarily by Longman & Co. have entries in the Longman Archive and which do not (see Figure 5.2a). The absence of 33 novels published solely by Longman & Co. is particularly troubling, as it may point to gaps in the surviving manuscripts. On the other hand, trial and error has taught me never to underestimate my own obtuseness when navigating the index to Chadwyck-Healy's microfilm. I have located a small number of entries that the compilers of *DBF* and its sibling bibliographies have missed. In turn, I expect (and hope) that future scholars will be able to locate entries that I have neglected. Apart from ten editions that lack an entry in the Longman Archive but do have one in the Strahan papers,[41] our view into Longman's publishing outside the entries here identified is unfortunately rather limited.

Accounts. Thus far we have established that 210 first editions of novels published between 1797–1836 have entries in the Longman Archive. But not all entries are created equal: they vary widely in the kinds of data they record, as well as the level of detail. These variations partly reflect differences in authorial publishing arrangement (discussed below), but they also stem from the complex nature of Longman & Co.'s double-entry bookkeeping system. Because that system does not survive in full, its reconstitution necessarily involves some informed guesswork. But we should be reticent to use Longman & Co.'s publication data without first making an effort to understand the specific purposes their entry into these accounts served.

A useful contemporary overview of nineteenth-century accounting practices—coincidentally, one published by Longman & Co.—is the guide to "Bookkeeping" in Abraham Rees's *Cyclopædia*

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[40] The sole exception is James Namphlett's *Ned Bentley* (*DBF* 1808A001), printed in Stafford by J. Drewry but published on commission by Longman & Co., which has an entry in Commission Ledger C1:316. For Longman & Co. as London distributor of provincial publications, see Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 87.

[41] See the entries for *TEN1* 1797:68, 1797:49, 1798:73, 1799:20, 1799:77, 1799:92; *DBF* 1800A075, 1824A022, 1825A062, 1827A054.

(1819).[42] According to the *Cyclopædia*, a double-entry bookkeeping system requires three overlapping records: (1) a waste-book, which sets down all transactions in chronological order; (2) a journal, which reorganizes the waste-book's transactions by assigning them to their relevant accounts; and (3) a ledger, which reports the exchanges that occurred in each transaction on both a debit side (debtor, Dr., left) and a credit side (creditor, Cr., right), ensuring that all inflows and outflows of monetary sums balance and all exchanges of physical stock go recorded. Although Longman's bookkeeping system was plainly more complex than that outlined in the *Cyclopædia*, the surviving accounts do broadly follow this structure. Notwithstanding their name, the Miscellaneous Publication Expenses Ledgers (1A–2A) are clearly "waste-books": organized in chronological order, these record various transactions on an *ad hoc* basis.[43] The Impression Books, meanwhile, can be understood as "journals": they contain detailed, individually itemized records of transactions that would be recorded on the debit side of a ledger, including paper, printing, and advertising outlays, copyright payments and translators' fees, and binding in boards for presentation and review copies. Finally, the Commission and Divide Ledgers are all "ledgers" in the *Cyclopædia*'s strict sense of the word. Each maintains a debit and credit side, recording costs and profits on the debit side while recording sales revenues and remaining physical stock on the credit side. When production costs are present in these ledgers, they are usually recorded in a streamlined fashion that would have required prior tabulation in a more detailed record such as a journal. And indeed, more often than not it is possible to follow the transit of costs from the Impression Books to the Divide Ledgers.

This relatively tidy analysis is complicated, however, by the lack of uniform coverage across all types of record. Remarkably, 172 of Longman & Co's first editions of novels have entries in the Impression Books, which record the production outlays for editions that Longman & Co. ordered printed. In comparison, however, only 105 novels, 97 of them cross-listed in the Impression Books,

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[42] Abraham Rees, ed., *The Cyclopædia; or, Universal Directory of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*, Vol. 5 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1819), B2^{r}–B3^{r} (unpaginated), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015057234802.

[43] Miscellaneous Publication Expenses Ledger 1A commences from 1806.

have entries in Divide Ledgers CD and 1D–4D, which usually record sales revenues and profits.[44] Meanwhile, 33 editions, only two of them cross-listed with the Impression Books, have entries in Commission Ledgers 1C–6C. As such, 172 novels have "journal" or "waste-book" entries, but only 130 editions have "ledger" entries, and only 99 have coverage in a combination of the two (see Fig 2.2b).

As we'll soon see, this variegation of coverage results from the diversity of Longman & Co.'s financial arrangements with their authors. But it also stems from the relationship between Longman & Co.'s record-keeping and the complex chronology of book publishing. When an edition has multiple entries, those entries tend to pick up and leave off chronicling the edition at discrete phases of publication. For the most part, the Impression Books—as debit-side-only "journals"—contain detailed records of costs incurred only up to the publication date. Evidently their purpose was to keep track of debts owed to the major factors of production: printers, paper suppliers, and advertisers. That purpose having been fulfilled, the entries in "ledgers" such as the Divide Ledgers had no reason to maintain such detailed records of input costs. Because the ledgers' principal traffic was sales revenues and profits, they only needed to record costs insofar as *total* cost needed to be subtracted from total revenue (except insofar as the advertising outlay could still rise or fall after publication). Thus, an edition with multiple entries in Longman's accounts is like a geological sample that has agglomerated multiple layers of sediment. From entry to entry, certain kinds of information come and go, while others get compressed and reshaped.

Authorial payments. Naturally, the structure of the accounts in the Longman Archive is closely intertwined with the financial arrangements between Longman & Co. and their authors. We have established that most novels have three levels of coverage: (1) an entry only in the Commission Ledgers, (2) an entry in both the Impression Books and the Divide Ledgers, and (3) an entry in only the Impression Books. Consultation of the entries reveals that these three levels of coverage map closely onto the three major types of authorial payment schemes intensively represented in the accounts: (1)

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[44] For simplicity's sake, I here categorize the Joint Commission and Divide Ledger along with the Divide Ledgers, and I have grouped the two novels with known entries in the Miscellaneous Publication Expenses Ledgers (*DBF* 1814A017 in 1A:235, *DBF* 1809A060 in A2:150) along with coverage in the Impression Books.

Table 5.2. Relationship between authorial payments and coverage in Longman's accounts

Manuscript coverage	Commission	Profit share	Copyright purchase	Translator	Walter Scott	No payment or unclear	Total
Commission Ledger only	**31**	0	0	0	0	0	31
Impression Book + Commission Ledger	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
Impression Book + Divide Ledger	1	**92**	3	0	1	0	97
Divide Ledger only	1	5	0	0	0	0	6
Impression Book only	0	6	**51**	**4**	2	**10**	73
Total	34	103	54	5	3	10	209

publishing on commission, (2) profit-share publishing, and (3) publishing by copyright purchase and other fixed payments, respectively. (The fourth major payment scheme in use during the Romantic period, publishing by subscription, has only one surviving instance in the ledgers, so I will not discuss it in detail here.)[45] Table 5.2 shows that while this relationship is by no means exact, each type of payment has only a handful of exceptions.

1. Commission. Editions published "on commission" were in effect self-published by the author, with the publisher facilitating production and wholesale distribution and shielding the author from risk. The author bore the costs of paper, printing, and advertising. The publisher covered these costs by taking a commission on each trade sale (in Longman's case, usually 10% of the trade price), and while the publisher bore a loss if the edition sold poorly, the author earned a profit only if the total revenues exceeded the production cost and the publisher's commission.[46]

By my count, the first editions of at least 33 novels that Longman & Co. published on commission have data in Commission Ledgers 1C–6C and the Joint Commission and Divide Ledger (CD). Because Longman & Co. rarely oversaw the printing and paper orders of these editions directly, they tend not to contain detailed records of input costs, instead itemizing debits merely by the accounts to which sums were due. For this reason, editions published on commission do not feature

[45] For publishing by subscription, see Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 80; Fergus, *Jane Austen: A Literary Life*, 17–8. The only novel published by Longman & Co. with both a printed subscription list and an entry in Longman's surviving accounts is Margaret Hurry's *Artless Tales* (*DBF* 1808A058), which has entries in Impression Book 8:111r, Joint Commission and Divide Ledger CD:241, and Commission Ledger 1C:284.

[46] Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 80–1; Fergus, *Jane Austen: A Literary Life*, 16–7.

prominently in the dataset underlying Part III, except where the Commission Ledgers report trade prices.[47]

2. Profit share. Like publishing on commission, profit-share publishing made the author's payment conditional on sales revenue. In this arrangement, the publisher bore the edition's paper, printing, and advertising costs. If the edition sold well enough for the revenue on trade sales to recoup costs, the author and publisher split the profit in a predetermined ratio.[48] All Longman & Co.'s profit-share editions of novels were published on the basis of a half-profit split between author and publisher, but some firms were less generous. George Lackington & Co., for instance, granted Mary Shelley only one third of the profit to the 1818 first edition of *Frankenstein*.[49] In profit-share publishing, as in publishing by commission, the author retained ownership of the work's copyright and had the option of selling it to a different publisher later.

In all, 104 editions have coverage in the Divide Ledgers, 99 of which were demonstrably published in a profit-share arrangement. Since 92 of these editions also have an Impression Book entry, profit-share publishing is by far the most well-represented publication scheme in Longman & Co.'s accounts, both for costs and revenues.

3. Copyright purchase and other fixed payments. The oldest and, Garside supposes, still the most common publishing arrangement was the outright sale of a work's copyright from the author to the publisher. For these publications, the author transferred ownership of the work to the publisher in exchange for a pre-determined payment. Although the simplest arrangement to explain in brief, the purchase of copyright involved contractual negotiations that were often highly complex, entailing payment in multiple installments and provisos for subsequent editions.[50]

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[47] See "Publishing Papers" for *DBF* 1807A004 (Commission Ledger 1C:42), 1809A017 (1C:338), 1809A064 (1C:382), 1811A068 (1C:52; 2C:216,291), 1812A023 (1C:601), 1812A040 (1C:486), 1824A002 (3C:140), 1825A050 (3C:348–9, 4C:308), 1826A010 (3C:143).

[48] Garside, *TEN2* "General Introduction," 81–2.

[49] Robinson, *The Frankenstein Notebooks*, xcii.

[50] Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 82; Fergus, *Jane Austen: A Literary Life*, 14–6.

Longman's entries for 14 first editions record authorial payments explicitly labelled as copyright payments, but another 40 fixed payments, usually simply labelled "Author," are almost certainly payments for copyright purchases as well. If most of the 14 remaining novels in the Impression Books that lack entries in the Commission and Divide Ledgers were published on a copyright-purchase basis too, the total coverage of copyright-purchase editions could be as high as 68 novels. Another five novels involved fixed outright payments to translators.[51]

This tally sets aside the three novels in the accounts that were written by Walter Scott.[52] While most of Scott's novels were premised on the purchase of copyright, I have grouped these separately from the others due to the complex circumstances of their co-publication with Archibald Constable & Co., which are best understood through the voluminous publishing papers, correspondences, and biographies of Scott, Constable, and their associates.[53] While Longman & Co. helped finance these three editions, their primary role was as Constable's principal English distributor, and the entries reflect his important but managerially constrained role.

The enigma of uneven coverage. All this convoluted cross-listing of entries has an important upshot. Simply put, we have detailed production cost and sales revenue data for most of Longman & Co.'s profit-share editions, but for nearly all their copyright-purchase editions we only have detailed data on production costs. The lack of sales revenue data for copyright-purchase editions is the most frustrating gap in all Longman & Co.'s accounts. Perhaps Longman & Co. had no reason to keep detailed double-entry accounts of the sales for these editions, since his sole ownership of the copyright meant he wasn't answerable to anyone outside the firm for their profits or losses. It's notable, in this light, that the only novel with sales revenues written directly into the Impression Books is Scott's *Guy*

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[51] *TEN1* 1797:50, 1799:40; *DBF* 1800A035, 1806A031, 1821A066.

[52] These three are *Guy Mannering* (DBF 1815A044) *The Abbot* (*DBF* 1820A061), and *The Monastery* (*DBF* 1820A063). Longman co-published a fourth novel by Scott, *Tales of my Landlord, Third Series* (*DBF* 1819A060).

[53] See "Publishing Papers" for each of Scott's novels in *DBF*, http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk/searchAdvResults.asp?srchAuthTrans=walter+scott. Garside *et al.* rely principally on manuscripts held at the National Library of Scotland.

Mannering, for which Longman needed to split profits with Archibald Constable & Co.[54] On the other hand, we cannot rule out the possibility that sales records for at least a few copyright-purchase editions once existed but are now lost. Whatever the reason for this gap in coverage, it sets unfortunate constraints on the kinds of analysis possible in the present chapter. Longman III published copyright-purchase and profit-share novels roughly in equal measure, so the lack of sales data for copyright-purchase editions seriously hampers our understanding of the trade-off between these two key business models.

Annualized totals. Keeping in mind that 73 of Longman & Co.'s first editions remain unaccounted for, Figure 5.2c offers what is probably a fair representation of the share of new novels Longman & Co. published under each authorial payment scheme. Starting in 1804 (the year that Divide Ledger entries commence), profit-share publishing seems to have been Longman's most common mode of publication for the genre, although he evidently scaled back on half-profit editions in the 1830s. Longman & Co. published novels on commission heavily in the 1800s and the 1820s–30s, but rarely as often as in the other arrangements. The only arrangement Longman & Co. used throughout the entire Romantic period was copyright purchase, but the firm was relatively choosey in its purchases. Even during periods of high activity, Longman & Co. never seem to have published more than four editions from newly acquired copyrights per year, and in many years they appear to have published just one or two.

5.4. Case study: Matthew G. Lewis's *Romantic Tales* (1808)

In order to clarify the nature of the data available in Longman's accounts and demonstrate my procedure in interpreting them, it will be helpful to begin by considering a single edition in detail rather than attempting to generalize from more than 200. As a case study, I have chosen Matthew Gregory Lewis's *Romantic Tales* (1808), published while the firm's partners were Longman, Hurst,

[54] Impression Book 5:178r; see also "Publishing Papers to *DBF* 1815A044.

Rees, and Orme.[55] Figure 5.3A and Figure 5.3B show the Impression Book and the Divide Ledger entries for *Romantic Tales*, both in photofacsimile from the microfilm and in diplomatic transcription.

An eclectic four-volume miscellany of tales and poems translated from German, *Romantic Tales* comprised one of Longman's biggest longform fiction publications of the 1800s, both in length and in copies printed—and also one of his most expensive, at a retail price of 24 shillings bound in boards. No doubt Longman hoped to leverage Lewis's notoriety as author of the gothic horror novel *The Monk* (1796).[56] Thus, *Romantic Tales* and its edition are in no way typical or representative of Longman's fiction publications, be it in literary form, size, cost structure, or chronology of sales and revenue. Indeed, I have chosen *Romantic Tales* as a case study partly because of its instructive *a*typicality. As Longman & Co.'s biggest profit-share edition for a work of fiction, *Romantic Tales* serves as an elucidating counterpoint to works of comparable size published on the basis of a copyright purchase. Various difficulties arose as Longman tried to rebound from the novel's slow sales, clarifying the way an edition's size affected its risk-reward trade-off. The trajectory of the novel's publication challenges some of the assumptions we might bring to bear about the fixity of the edition's prices and costs or the predictability of its profits if we encountered the data solely in the deracinated form of a spreadsheet or scatterplot.

The Impression Book Entry. The production costs of *Romantic Tales* are recorded in Impression Book 3:122v. At nine lines, the entry has more individually itemized expenses than most others in the Impression Books, but otherwise the level of detail is typical.

Line 1. Summary of the edition. The edition entailed the printing of 2,000 copies in four duodecimo volumes. The entry's date, 12 July 1808, is likely the date of publication: newspaper

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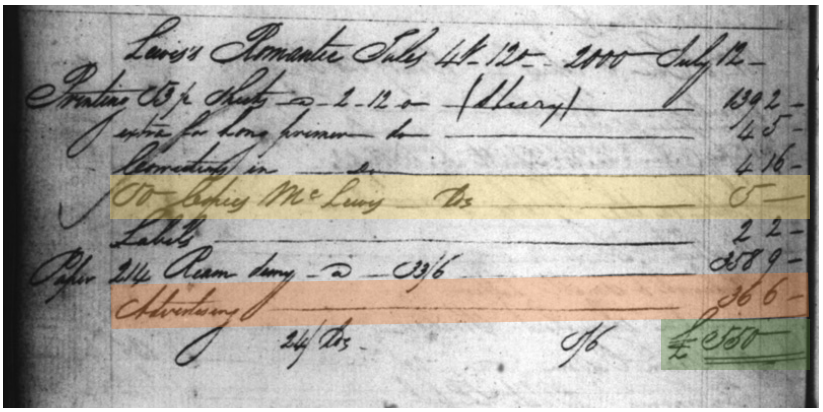
[55] M[atthew] G[regory] Lewis, *Romantic Tales*, 4 vols. (London: Printed by D.N. Shury, 7 Berwick St., for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, Paternoster Row, 1808). The only physical copy I've consulted is that in the University of Virginia's Sadleir-Black Collection (call no. PZ2 .L494 Rom 1808 v.1–4). I've also consulted five digital facsimiles: four from *HathiTrust*, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001422747, one from *NCCO*, **GALE**|FBCTLJ316755750; *HT*, and one from Google Books, https://google.com/books/?id=mQg_AAAAYAAJ.

[56] For the storied publication history of *The Monk*, see William B. Todd, "Early Editions and Issues of *The Monk* with a Bibliography," *Studies in Bibliography* 2 (1949/1950): 3–24, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40371066.

3.1a. Longman Impression Book 3:122[v].



3.1b. Longman Divide Ledger 1D:130.

Figure 5.3A. Costs, revenues, and profits
Matthew G. Lewis's *Romantic Tales*, 1808–1814:
Microfilm Photofacsimile

Green = total cost transferred from the Impression Books to the debit side of the Divide Ledger; orange = advertising; yellow = boards and payment for Lewis's 50 presentation copies; blue = sales revenue; purple = half-profit split between Longman and Lewis.

3.2a. Longman Impression Book 3:122[v].

			£	s	d	*Line*
	Lewis's Romantic Tales 4v 12mo 2000 July 12					*1*
Printing	53½ sheets @ 2.12.0 (Shury)		139	2		*2*
	extra for long primer		4	5		*3*
	Correcting in ... d[itt]o		4	16		*4*
	50 Copies Mr Lewis ... b[oards]		5			*5*
	Labels		2	2		*6*
Paper	214 Ream demy @ 33/6		358	9		*7*
	Advertising		36	6		*8*
	24/ b[oard]ds] 5/6.	[Total]	550	0	0	*9*

3.2b. Longman Divide Ledger 1D:130.

Line	Dr.	Romantic Tales 4V.					Cr.			*Line*
1										*1*
2	1808		[£]	[s]	[d]			[£]	[s]	[d]	*2*
3	[12] July	Paper, Printing, Adv[ertising] 36.6.0	550				2000 Copies pr[inte]d				*3*
4		50 Copies del[?ivere]d Mr. Lewis	38	6	8	1809	1150 on hand July				*4*
5	[1809] Paid	Bal[ance] ½ Mr. Lewis — [£]31.13.4					850 sold at [publisher's trade price] 15/4	651	13	4	*5*
6		½ L[ongman] & Co. —31.13.4	63	6	8						*6*
7		[Total debit as of July 1809]	£651	13	4		[Total credit as of July 1809]	651	13	4	*7*
8	July 7	To Advertising AL 140				1809	1150 Copies brou[gh]t down				*8*
9		D[itt]o — AL 257	4	7		1810	1113 On hand June 23				*9*
10		Ditto — N.L. 95	13	16	5		37 Sold @ 15/4	28	7	4	*10*
11	1810										*11*
12	June 23	Bal[ance] ½ M.L. 5.1.11½									*12*
13		paid 13 december 1815	[?] by cash								*13*
14		½ L & Co. 5.1.11½	10	3	11						*14*
15		[Total debit as of June 1810]	28	7	4		[Total credit as of June 1810]	28	7	4	*15*
16	1811										*16*
17	June	Advertising 95		18	3		1113 Copies bro[ugh]t down				*17*
18	1812						13 sold at 1/ p[er] vol.	2	12		*18*
19	June	d[itto]	1				36 sold at 5/	9			*19*
20		½ Author p[aid] 1 Nov/13 14.0.10					1089 1040 left June 1812				*20*
21		½ L & Co 14.0.10	28	1	9		24 sold at 15/4	18	8		*21*
22		[Total debit as of June 1812]	30	1			[Total credit as of June 1812]	30			*22*
23	1813										*23*
24	June	Advertising 95	1	0	6		1040 Copies bro[ugh]t forward				*24*
25		½ author (p[aid] 1 Nov / 13 3.5.9					1021 left June 1813				*25*
26		½ L & Co. 3.5.9	6	11	6		19 sold @ 8/	7	12		*26*
27		[Total debit as of June 1813]	7	12				7	12		*27*
28	1814										*28*
29	May	5 p[er] c[en]t dity & 2½ p ct Exps on £67.16.7	5	1	9		1021 Copies bro[ugh]t forw[ard]				*29*
30		Advertising 95	2	5			892 Sold 1/6¼ Globe	67	16	7	*30*
31	To Mr. Lewis	½ Author note @ mt 25 Sep 1815 } 42.5.7	D. N. Shury				9 @ 8/ cheap list	3	12		*31*
32		½ L & Co. 42.5.6¼					986 85 Inc. 1/6¼	6	9	3¼	*32*
33			84	11	1¼		35 sold @ 8/ ... 91.17.10¼				*33*
34			91	17	10¼			91	17	10¼	*34*

Figure 5.3B. Costs, revenues, and profits

Matthew G. Lewis's *Romantic Tales*, 1808–1814:
Diplomatic Transcription

Green = total cost transferred from the Impression Books to the debit side of the Divide Ledger; orange = advertising; yellow = boards and payment for Lewis's 50 presentation copies; blue = sales revenue; purple = half-profit split between Longman and Lewis.

advertisements establish that the novel was published no later than 21 July.[57] Whether the dates in other entries consistently refer to the publication date is unclear. Usually when a subsequent entry picks up from where the Impression Book left off, it only records transactions subsequent to the Impression Book's date. However, many Impression Book entries contain annotations that clearly postdate the initial entry, *e.g.* for further advertising outlays and the distribution of review copies.

Lines 2–4 and 6. Printing. Master printer Daniel Nathan Shury printed the entire edition at No. 7 Berwick St., Soho.[58] In total, Shury printed 53½ edition-sheets—that is, 53½ sheets of type set and imposed for presswork.[59] Provided none of this matter included cancels or extra material excluded from the final book, we should expect a complete copy of the novel to contain 53½ sheets, or 1,284 pages across 642 leaves.[60] Assuming, furthermore, that Shury printed *exactly* 2,000 copies of each

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[57] Advertisement in *The Star*, quoted in "Newspaper Advertisements" to *DBF* 1808A071. Advertisements routinely used the heading "This day was published" weeks or even months after initial publication, so without daily or near-daily listings the phrase is only helpful as a no-later-than demarcator of publication.

[58] Each volume also identifies Shury as printer in the imprint and colophon. See also Todd, *A Directory of London Printers*, 174.

[59] For the term "edition-sheets," see Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London*, 1.98, 938–41. Blayney defines an edition-sheet as "a printed sheet times however many copies of it were printed." When discussing the printing of an edition, it's useful to distinguish between two meanings of the word "sheet": (1) a sheet's worth of pages of type set and imposed for printing, and (2) any of the individual sheets of paper with the impression of those pages of type printed on them. The term "edition-sheet" refers specifically to the former, freeing up the word "sheet" to refer specifically to the latter. As Blayney puts it, "The number of sheets of paper actually printed was the number of edition-sheets times the number of copies printed. Rather than a measurable amount of typesetting, a book of ten sheets is treated as the surviving evidence of the printing of ten sheets times the size of the edition. In other words, 'ten edition-sheets' means only 10*x*, where *x* equals the unknown number of copies originally printed" (938–9).

As the word "unknown" suggests, Blayney is primarily concerned with early English printed books for which exact records of the number of sheets printed for an edition do not survive. In comparison, primary accounts of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century print runs consistently measure printing by the number of "sheets" in an edition in a sense synonymous with edition-sheets thus defined. Rather than needing to itemize typesetting and presswork separately in receipts to their customers, printers usually preferred to send a receipt in which the total charge and the length of the book were accompanied by a single multiplicand: the charge per edition-sheet.

[60] The copies I have consulted—all of which, unfortunately, are privately rebound—cumulatively contain the following leaves: Vol. 1. A6 B–N12 O10, 160 leaves; Vol. 2. A2 B–P12, 170 leaves; Vol. 3. A2 B–M12 N6, 140 leaves; Vol. 4. A2 B–O12 P7, 166 leaves. Assuming 4.P7 belonged to a two-leaf bifolium, in total these copies account for 636 leaves or (½ + 12 + 5/6) + (1/6 + 14) + (1/6 + 11 + ½) + (1/6 + 13 + ⅔) = 53 sheets. The seven leaves unaccounted for are likeliest to have contained advertisements for other books and spine labels, but one or two of them could also have gone into editions Shury was printing concurrently to *Romantic Tales*. To be sure,

edition-sheet—an assumption we'll soon have cause to interrogate—the edition would have entailed the printing of 107,000 sheets in total.[61] Shury charged Longman & Co. 52 shillings per edition-sheet for the regular labor costs of typesetting and presswork for these edition-sheets, capital outlays, and Shury's own profit, which works out to a subtotal of £139.2.0.[62] Shury also charged £4.16.0 for corrections, a comparatively modest average of 1.79 shillings per edition-sheet. For the relatively heavy use of long primer (a small type) in verse and footnotes, Shury charged £4.5.0, suggesting an expense equivalent to about three edition-sheets of the main text.[63] And finally, Longman paid £2.2.0 for labels to affix to the spines of trade binding in boards. If four labels were printed for each volume of all 2,000 copies, the cost would work out to one farthing (0.25 pence or 0.0125 shillings) per label. Cumulatively, the printing of *Romantic Tales* cost £150.5.0—57.17 shillings per edition-sheet, 1.5 shillings per copy, 0.375 shillings per volume, and 0.028 shillings (0.33 pence) per individual sheet printed.

Line 7. Paper. Unfortunately, *Romantic Tales* is among a minority of novels for which the Impression Books fail to identify the supplier of Longman's printing paper. Nevertheless, this one line conveys a great deal of information. The book was printed on demy, a size which, in the untrimmed Longman books I have consulted, takes sheet dimensions at or near what most sources list as standard for printing demy, 22.5 × 17.5 in (572 × 445 mm). Because the format of *Romantic Tales* is common duodecimo, the untrimmed leaf dimensions should be roughly 7.5 × 4.4 in (191 × 111 mm). This much—apart from the use of the term "demy"—an untrimmed copy can confirm or falsify.[64] But

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fractions of ⅙ and ⅚ of an edition-sheet are common for accounts of printing jobs in the Strahan Printing Ledgers, and in such cases Longman's Impression Books tend to round to the nearest half-sheet.

[61] 53.5 × 2,000 = 107,000.

[62] 53.5 × 52 shillings = 2,782 shillings = £139.2.0.

[63] The main text is set in pica (body size 4.2 mm, face height 3.9 mm), while verse and footnotes are set in long primer (body size ~3.3 mm, face height 3.2mm).

[64] For common paper sizes and that considerations that go into their identification, see Tanselle, "The Bibliographical Description of Paper." It is worth remarking that Longman's Impression Books give cause to question the common practice of inferring contemporary size categories solely from sheet measurements. For instance, William Todd and Anne Bowden identify the size of Ballantyne's first edition of Scott's *Guy Mannering* (*DBF* 1815A044) as royal, but Longman IB 5:178r identifies the size as demy. The edition's sheet dimensions (573 × 448 mm) fit the parameters of either demy or royal, so only a contemporary collateral source like the Impression Book can arbitrate between them. See Todd and Bowden, *Walter Scott*, 82Aa; for the Impression Book entry, see Appendix B to this dissertation.

more importantly, the entry gives precise information about the relationship between the edition's paper and its printing. Longman had 214 reams delivered to Shury for printing at a trade price of 30 shillings per ream, which works out to a total of £358.9.0. Here, as in all entries, the number of reams ordered conforms to the expression—

No. reams ≥ (no. copies × no. edition-sheets) ÷ 500

—a relationship that is usually equal in Longman & Co.'s editions even if it requires fractional reams, and is never unequal by more than one ream.[65] This pattern sets obvious lower limits on the number of sheets in a ream. By the late eighteenth century, a standard printer's ream in Britain comprised 21½ quires of 24 sheets each, or 516 sheets in total. Most likely, all or nearly all the reams Longman ordered for printing came in this size. In December 1814, Longman wrote to Archibald Constable, "We seldom exceed 30/– P. Ream of 21½ qrs for Novels."[66] Granted, Longman's claim about the parsimony of his paper prices is a little prevaricative. In fact, 11 out of 48 novels in the Impression Books up to this date had cost him more than 30 shillings per ream. But there is no reason to doubt that reams of 516 sheets were indeed the norm.

An important consequence of the standard size of a printer's ream is that Longman regularly bought more paper than was strictly necessary to complete the round numbers of copies he ordered printed. After make-ready and spoilage, a ream of 516 sheets typically allowed for the printing of as many as 508 perfected impressions on an order of 500, 762 on 750, 1,016 on 1,000, &c.[67] Thus, although there is nothing in Longman's records to suggest Shury printed more than 2,000 copies of *Romantic Tales*, he could feasibly have printed as many as 2,032 copies without requiring any more paper than

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[65] One example is Jane West's *Alicia de Lacy* (1814A062) comprised 59 edition-sheets and an edition size of 1750 copies, for which Longman ordered 207 reams.

[66] Longman & Co., letter to Archibald Constable & Co., 5 December 1814, quoted in "Publishing Papers" to *DBF* 1814A054.

[67] E.J. Labarre, *Dictionary and Encyclopædia of Paper and Paper-making* (Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1952), 222. The eight sheets per ream set aside for make-ready and spoilage probably would have been those at the top and bottom of each outer quarter-quire (termed "the outsides"). These outer sheets were likely to have sustained some damage from the cord holding the ream together, rendering them defective for perfected impressions. For the implications of cord damage to seventeenth-century printing paper, see Blayney, "The Publication of Playbooks," 409.

the 214 reams tracked in the Impression Book entry. At first, Longman & Co. did not systematically keep records of surplus copies.[68] Starting in the 1810s, Longman & Co. began to keep fastidious records of every copy printed, owing to the firm's growing roster of periodical review copies and the more stringent library deposit requirements of the 1814 Copyright Act.[69] From 1812 onward, Longman's Impression Books tabulate surplus copies directly above the edition size in the first line of most entries.[70] Between 1812 and 1836, the average surplus was 6.7 copies for every 500 ordered. For only four editions does the surplus outstrip the amount of paper ordered for the edition; in these cases, Longman & Co. probably ordered slightly more paper than the Impression Book entry indicates, or their printers fell back on surplus stock.[71]

Line 5. Boards for presentation copies. Lewis took an unusually large number of presentation copies for Romantic Tales: 50 out of the 2,000 printed, or 2.5% of the entire edition. Line 5 of the entry represents Longman & Co.'s deduction not for the copies themselves, which the Divide Ledger entry shows Lewis bought from Longman & Co. outright, but instead for their trade binding in boards. Longman paid a total of £5.0.0 for 200 bindings (four for each copy), or 0.5 shillings per volume.

Line 8. Advertising. Longman & Co. initially set aside £36.6.0 to advertise *Romantic Tales*. For this novel and for several others, the Divide Ledger reveals that the final advertising outlay differed from the initial sum. The difference depended in part on how well the edition sold in its first year of publication; as we'll soon see, *Romantic Tales* sold slowly, so Longman & Co. continued placing advertisements for it years after its initial publication. From internal evidence, it seems likely that Longman & Co. kept detailed accounts of advertising expenses, similar to those kept by Edinburgh

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[68] There are some exceptions, as in the case of large- or fine-paper copies. For Longman's edition of the first prose translation of Goethe's *Herman and Dorothea* (*DBF* 1805A033), Mercier printed 1,000 ordinary copies and 100 fine-paper copies; see Impression Book 2:32v.

[69] Publishers argued before Parliament that for small editions especially, the requirement to deposit copies in 11 research libraries ate significantly into an edition's revenue. See MacGarvie *et al.*, "Dead Poets' Property", *RAND Journal of Economics* 49, no. 1 (Spring 2018): 181–205 at 184–5, https://doi.org/10.1111/1756-2171.12223.

[70] In Appendix B, I indicate surplus copies whenever recorded.

[71] In Appendix B, see *DBF* 1814A048, 1823A040; *TEN3* 1833:57, 1836:67.

firm Oliver & Boyd.[72] Unfortunately, no such accounts survive in the Longman Archive; the abbreviation "A.L." (Advertising Ledger?) next to advertising outlays in the Divide Ledger entry may or may not refer to such accounts. However, Oliver & Boyd's accounts do give some idea of the relationship between Longman & Co.'s advertising expenditure on *Romantic Tales* and the number of advertisements may have placed early in the novel's publication. If the minimum cost of a newspaper advertisement was about 7 shillings, the initial outlay of £36.6.0 could entail the placement of no more than 100 advertisements. A more realistic estimate might be in the neighborhood of 40 to 60 advertisements. The total number of advertisements may be slightly higher if Longman & Co. advertised heavily in newspapers they themselves owned, in which case they were spared the commission fee but still needed to pay the stamp duty of 3 shillings per advertisement.

Line 9. Total cost, average cost, and price. Most Impression Book entries end with a total sum of itemized expenses, although from the 1810s onward many entries record miscellaneous expenses (mainly associated with review and copyright deposit copies) that postdate this total. Sometimes the total includes authorial payments in the case of copyright-purchase editions, and sometimes not.

Marginal and interlineal notes are common throughout Longman's accounts. Often these notes are too messy or fragmentary to interpret, but the two loose notes on line 9 are surprisingly illuminating: in context, they confirm that Longman & Co. set the retail price of *Romantic Tales* as a markup on the cost. Immediately to the left of the total cost, the entry gives the sum "5/6", *i.e.* £0.5.6 (5.5 shillings)—exactly the average unit cost of a copy of *Romantic Tales*.[73] Farther to the left, the entry gives the statement "24/ bds"—24 shillings in boards, the retail price and binding state advertised for *Romantic Tales* in *The Star*, *The Morning Chronicle*, and *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*.[74] The difference between these two sums, 18.5 shillings, was the absolute maximum return that all those involved in the novel's sale downstream of its physical input costs—wholesale and retail booksellers,

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[72] See Garside *et al.*, *DBF*, "Publishing Papers"; *DBF* "Newspaper Advertisements," http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk/guide/newspapers.html.

[73] £550 ÷ 2,000 = 11,000 shillings ÷ 2,000 = 5.5 shillings.

[74] See "Newspaper Advertisements" to *DBF* 1808A071.

trade bookbinders, and most importantly to our purposes, the publisher and author—cumulatively stood to earn per copy sold.

The Divide Ledger entry. By 12 July 1808, Longman & Co. had 2,000 copies of *Romantic Tales* on hand. All that now remained was to sell as many copies as possible for as high a profit as possible. The sales of these copies and their spoils to the author and publisher are the traffic of Divide Ledger 1D:130. For this entry, unlike the Impression Book entry, Garside *et al.* provides a detailed line-by-line paraphrase.[75] Although my analysis is more granular, my interpretation does not differ substantively from theirs, and readers may find it helpful to consult their record in parallel with the pages below.

Cross-listing the accounts. On the debit side of line 3, all the costs associated with the edition's 2,000 copies from the Impression Book entry are compressed into a single line, dated July 1808:

Paper, Printing, & Advert[isin]g £36.6.0 £550.0.0

The sum "£36.6.0" next to the word "Adv[ertisin]g" in Divide Ledger 1D exactly matches the initial advertising expense reported in Impression Book 3. Furthermore, the difference between this advertising expense and the Divide Ledger's calculation of "Paper [and] Printing" (£513.14.0) exactly matches the sum of all the expenses in the Impression Book entry apart from advertising: these included paper, typesetting and presswork, corrections, spine labels, small type, and boards for Lewis's 50 presentation copies. Clearly, the "Paper, Printing, & Advert[isin]g" line from the Divide Ledger is recording the exact same transaction as the Impression Book entry, and I consider it no outrageous leap in logic to suppose the Divide Ledger sum was transcribed directly from the Impression Book.

Credit side: Trade sales, price, and revenue. Longman initially offered the novel to booksellers at a publisher's trade price of £0.15.4 (15.33 shillings). This was a 36.1% discount to 63.9% of the retail price of 24 shillings in boards, leaving downstream sellers an absolute maximum profit of £0.8.8 (8.67 shillings) per copy. Importantly, though, this trade price must have been for unsewed quires; it

[75] As a reminder, the Abbreviations in the frontmatter to this dissertation include instructions for how to access entries in *DBF* by entering record numbers into URLs. The entry for *Romantic Tales* (*DBF* 1808A071) is http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk/titleDetails.asp?title=1808A071.

excluded any surcharge for trade binding. Like most novels published from 1808 through the 1830s, *Romantic Tales* was advertised for retail sale in pasteboard covers sewn over a paper spine, usually referred to simply as "boards."[76] Longman & Co. may well have commissioned boards on copies bought at trade sales to save their buyers the hassle of doing so themselves. In exchange for this service, they would have needed to add a surcharge—evidently constant between the 1780s and 1830s—of 0.5 shillings per volume bound. For *Romantic Tales*, the binding surcharge would thus have been 2 shillings per 4-volume copy, raising the trade price to £0.17.4 and reducing the trade sale discount to 72.2%. If Longman & Co. offered trade binding during this period, however, it goes unrecorded in all the entries I have consulted from the Impression Books and Divide Ledgers, except in the case of authors' presentation copies.

Most likely, all Longman's buyers apart from Lewis himself were booksellers. Some would have been London retail booksellers, who were in the enviable position of reselling copies directly to patrons at or near the full retail price, earning (minus 2 shillings for boards) a profit as high as £0.6.8 per copy. Full-price sales would probably have been on a credit allowance of two to four months, or perhaps even six.[77] For patrons willing to pay in ready cash rather than credit, retail booksellers could offer as much as a 10% discount without running afoul of wholesale booksellers' cartels. A majority of Longman's sales on most editions, however, must have gone to wholesale booksellers, who—if 250 years of precedent held—would have resold the books at a wholesale price somewhere between 75% and 85% of the retail price (probably depending, in part, on who bore the commission for trade binding), thus earning profits as high as £0.4.3 per copy.[78] Non-commercial subscription libraries, book clubs, and reading societies were entitled to discounts in line with wholesale prices, and

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[76] Garside, *TEN2* "Historical Introduction," 93.

[77] James Raven, *The Business of Books*, 49; Mui and Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth-Century England*, 24; Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade*, 55. Raven describes six months' credit as common for both customers and suppliers of retail bookshops in the seventeenth century, but Mui and Mui describe two to four months as more common for retail shops in the long eighteenth century.

[78] Pollard, "The English Market for Printed Books," 15–6.

circulating librarians—many if not most of whom were booksellers anyway—probably would have been entitled to comparable discounts as well.[79]

Despite having a relatively firm grasp of the trade norms governing book price markups, we know nothing at all about how many copies of *Romantic Tales* ultimately made their way to the retail sector. Unfortunately, the Commission and Divide Ledgers pass over the complexities of downstream resale in silence. Unlike Colburn and Bentley's trade subscription lists, Longman & Co.'s ledgers rarely record buyers' names. As far as profit-share arrangements were concerned, a trade sale was a trade sale was a trade sale—as long as the sale was final. Longman & Co. did keep detailed records of wholesale booksellers' stock on hand for certain of their publications, but none, as far as I can tell, survive for novels.[80]

What do survive, usually down to the nearest July-to-June fiscal year, are detailed records of sales, prices, revenues, and Longman & Co.'s remaining stock on hand. The Divide Ledger entry for *Romantic Tales* shows that within two years of publication, Longman & Co. sold 887 copies at the full trade price of £0.15.4. Of these, 850, including Lewis's 50 presentation copies, sold during the first year of sale (July 1808–June 1809), earning revenues of £651.13.4, and another 37 sold during the second year (July 1809–June 1810), earning an additional £28.7.4.

These would have been respectably brisk sales for a smaller edition, but they made for a glacially slow turnaround on an edition as large as 2,000 copies. After two years, 1,113 copies (55.6%) remained on hand. Longman & Co. sought to deplete this backlog by selling copies at steep discounts over the next three years. Between June 1810 and May June 1813, the firm sold 13 copies for 4 shillings, 36 for 5 shillings, and 19 for 8 shillings. This trickle of sales still left 892 copies on hand, so by May 1813 Longman & Co. took the drastic step of remaindering the edition.[81] The entry gives no indication of who bought the remainder. All we know is that the sale occurred at Hodgson & Co.'s room at the

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[79] James J. Barnes, *Free Trade in Books: A Study of the London Book Trade since 1800* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1964), 1, 173–4.

[80] Ledger of copies on hand with booksellers, 1826–1896, Reading MS. 1393 I/K, Chadwyck-Healy reel 53.

[81] Barnes and Barnes, "Reassessing the Reputation of Thomas Tegg."

Globe Tavern on 39 Fleet St., a common haunt of booksellers' trade auctions.[82] The buyer or buyers of *Romantic Tales* took most of the remainder for £0.1.6¼ (1.52 shillings) per copy, a mere 10% of the original trade price, earning Longman a revenue of £76.17.10¼ (£5.1.9 of which went to duties and expenses).

Debit side: Half-profits and further advertising. By the time *Romantic Tales* finally sold out *circa* 1814, it must have proved a disappointment to both Longman and Lewis. The large edition bespoke Longman's faith in the work's potential popularity, but the massive production cost of £550 meant that many copies needed to sell before the edition started to turn a profit. Although the edition did cover its costs by June 1809, the initial sales of 850 copies for £651.13.4 earned Longman and Lewis a scant profit of £31.13.4 each, after £38.6.8 was deducted for Lewis's presentation copies. Because Lewis paid for these presentation copies himself, however, he was actually running a net loss on the edition one year out from publication.

Romantic Tales still had profits left to earn, but the remaining stock had long outlived the edition's first promotional push. In order to squeeze out further sales during the July 1809–June 1810 fiscal year, Longman & Co. spent an additional £18.3.5 on advertising—nearly half of what they had spent advertising the edition to begin with. These expenses ate into most of the £28.7.4 in further revenues the edition would earn by June 1810, leaving Lewis and Longman & Co. with further half-profits of just £5.1.11½ each. Two years out, 1,113 copies remained on hand, and Lewis was *still* running a small loss.

Over the next three years (June 1810–June 1813), Longman & Co. earned a modest but steady profit by continuing to sell discounted copies while advertising more temperately than he had in 1809–10. Although the revenue from remaindering the edition was miniscule compared to what Longman and Lewis might have hoped from the outset of publication, it did generate a respectable windfall

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[82] Hodgson & Co., *One Hundred Years of Book Auctions, 1807–1907: Being a Brief Record of the Firm of Hodgson and Co.* (London: Chiswick Press, 1908), Google Books, https://google.com/books/?id=WzIQAAAAIAAJ. My thanks go to David Levy for calling to my attention that according to Hodgson's printed trade sale catalogues, the remainder went up for auction as early as 21 May 1813 (at which time Longman & Co. had 936 copies on hand), but the sale evidently was not made on that date.

compared to previous years, earning them each £42.5.6 by May 1814.[83] The final profit division for *Romantic Tales* was £96.17.6 to Lewis (£58.6.10 after presentation copies) and £96.18.6 to Longman & Co.

5.5. Bibliography on the threshold of economics

For the past several pages, I have tried to demonstrate that the structure of Longman's financial accounts rewards close scrutiny. Read carefully on their own terms and supplemented by other sources (including copies from the edition itself), the two entries for Matthew Lewis's *Romantic Tales* serve as a remarkably detailed microcosm of Longman's fiction publishing, and they show that the Longman Archives contain not a little information of use to analytical bibliographers as well as publishing historians. But in order to put all Longman & Co.'s entries for novels to their best possible use, we must be willing to step outside a narrow archival heuristic that might restrict our understanding of the relationship obtaining between price and cost, or that obtaining between sales and profit, solely to the structure in which Longman's accounts record them. Rather, we must conceive of costs, prices, profits, and authorial payments as intertwined parts of the risk-reward assessment that publishers entered into when they set a book's publication parameters in advance of sale.

Profit, loss, risk, and price. When setting an edition's price and impression size(s), Longman & Co. faced two constraints. Obviously, they hoped to maximize the edition's profit by selling as many copies at the full trade price as possible. Yet they had no way to know how many copies would sell, nor how quickly. The optimal pairing of price and quantity was one that promised a high return on costs if the edition sold well, while hedging against possible poor sales by ensuring early revenues would be high enough to keep the chances of a loss low. By the time Longman & Co. spent £550 to make and advertise 2,000 copies of *Romantic Tales* and then committed to offering it to booksellers at a trade price of £0.15.4, they had locked a certain range of possible outcomes for the edition into place. The

[83] To be specific, Lewis earned £42.5.7 and Longman earned £42.5.6¼.

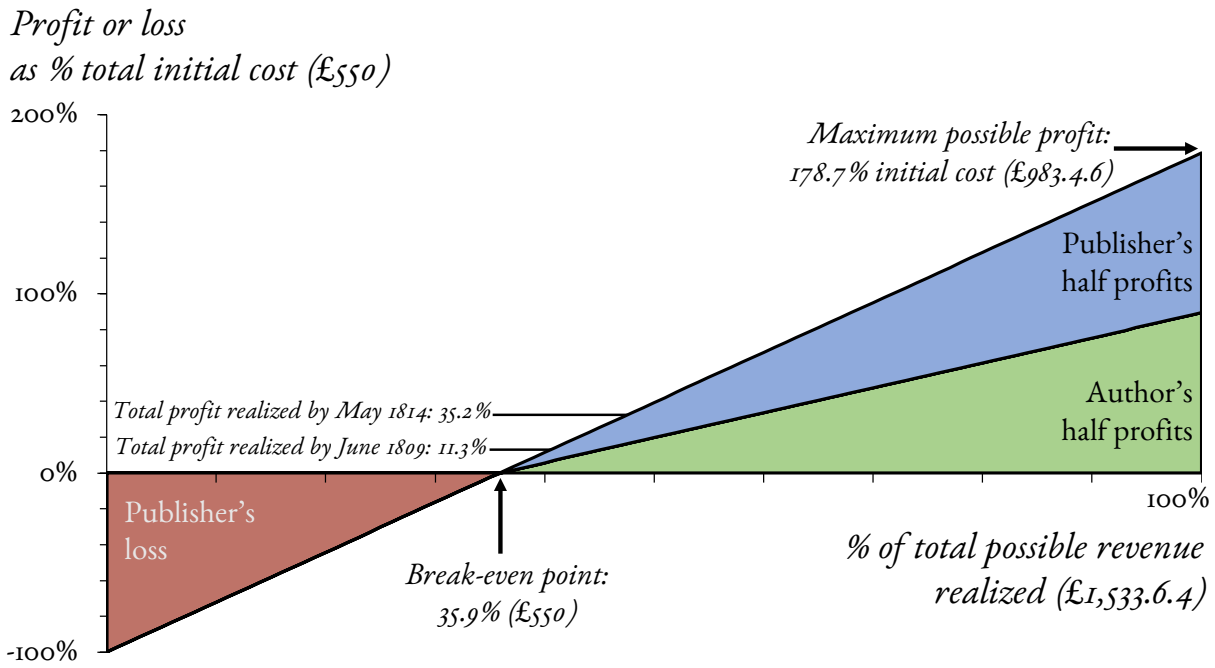

Figure 5.4. Total profit and loss as a function of revenue
Half profits for Matthew G. Lewis's *Romantic Tales* (1808)

absolute highest profit the edition could earn Longman & Co. and Lewis together if the firm managed to sell *every* copy to booksellers at full trade price (earning a total revenue of £1,533.6.4) was £983.6.4, or a lucrative return of 187.8% on the cost. Obviously, if Longman sold zero copies, the edition would incur a loss of £550.

These data are all we need in order to draw a simple graph relating the edition's revenues to its profits (see Figure 5.4). On the *x* axis is the edition's revenue realized at any given time, measured as a percentage of its total possible revenue, and on the *y* axis is the edition's loss or profit realized from any given amount of revenue, measured as a percentage of its costs. Thus charted, the potential loss and profit form two right-angled triangles, the edges of which meet at the point where the edition's profit is zero: the break-even point. Any sales would contribute to the edition's revenue, and thus its likelihood of earning a profit. But most of the stratagems necessary to get copies sold after the initial promotional push—paying for further advertising, distributing copies to reviewers, and selling copies

at a reduced trade price—would diminish the edition's maximum future profit by adding to costs or diluting possible revenues.

The shape of this graph underscores Longman & Co.'s risk-reward trade-off when setting the trade and retail prices of *Romantic Tales*. In order to break even, the edition needed to earn just 35.9% of its total possible revenue—equivalent to selling 718 copies out of 2,000 at the full trade price. Any further sales beyond these earned a profit, up to the maximum possible profit of £491.14.8 to the author and publisher each if all copies sold at full trade price.

By charting revenue and profit in this way, we have found the skeleton key that unlocks the mystery of nineteenth-century book prices. Because the trade price is, by definition, the publisher's maximum unit revenue on trade sales, the markup of the trade price on the cost implicitly has all the dynamics of the edition's total possible profits embedded into it in 1/2,000th-scale miniature. Indeed, the unit share of costs in the trade price, 35.9% (£0.5.5 out of £0.15.4), is merely the edition's break-even point by another name, and the share of the markup for author and publisher's profit on the trade price (4.9 shillings out of 15.33 shillings each) is proportionately equal to the share of total profit on total revenue earned by each if the edition realizes all possible trade sale revenues (£491.14.8 on £1,533.6.4). Figure 5.5 demonstrates this equivalence. On the *x* axis, as in Figure 5.5, is the revenue realized at any given time, again measured as a percentage of the total possible revenue. On the *y* axis are the constituent inputs of the price as realized by sales. The revenues on copies sold need to cover the costs of unsold copies alongside their own unit costs. Thus, until sales revenues reach the break-even point—that is, until the edition stops incurring a loss—all revenues go to recouping costs. Once the edition passes the break-even point, sales start earning profits, the totals of which proportionately rise with each new copy sold. Here I depict this profit as a triangular wedge that steadily displaces costs as a share of the price—until, if all copies sell at full trade price, the average share of price on profit is 9.8 shillings (4.9 shillings each for author and publisher).

It's within a dynamic framework of this kind that the historical book prices advertised in newspapers and trade catalogues are best understood—not as a single fixed return to each input per copy sold, but as a mathematically continuous *range* of potential returns that was evolving with each

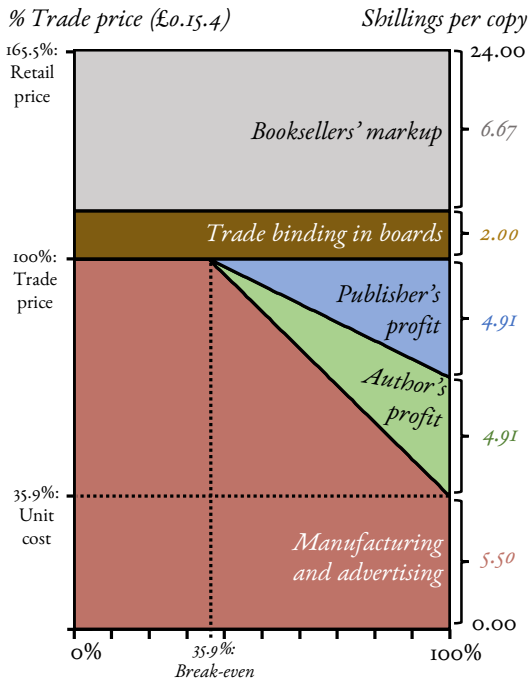

Figure 5.5. Input shares of price as a function of revenue
Half profits for Matthew G. Lewis's *Romantic Tales* (1808)

new copy sold. Above all, high nineteenth-century book prices were a bulwark against radical economic uncertainty. While Longman & Co. certainly must have hoped most or even all copies of their editions would sell at full trade price, their business model was far from reliant on every edition faring ideally. This innate conservatism is especially prominent for long-form fiction works like *Romantic Tales*. In 1808, it was an inherently risky venture to offer a nonessential leisure good like a novel to retail customers for 24 shillings, almost double the average manual day-laborer's weekly wage.[84] Yet as long as even a small swath of wealthy private Britons, circulating libraries, and book clubs were willing to pay this much or nearly this much, the very exorbitance of the price mostly insulated Longman & Co. from risk. If, as for Romantic Tales, sales on high prices were poor, the firm always had the option of tamping down the price and remaindering what was left unsold. An

[84] In 1808–12, that average was roughly £0.14.7; see Charles H. Feinstein, "Wage-earnings in Great Britain during the Industrial Revolution," in *Applied Economics and Public Policy*, ed. Iain Begg and S.G.B. Henry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 181–208 at 195.

egregiously high book price was a kind of hopeful conjecture—a plentifully stuffed trial balloon, out of which the publisher was ready for downmarket tradespeople to squeeze a fair share of hot air.

Authorial payments: to sell or to split? Thus far we have explained the relationship of costs to returns that was preset by the edition's price. However, we have taken for granted the authorial payment scheme that governed the proportional distribution of those returns (if any) to author and publisher. Given that Longman & Co. hazarded so much capital on *Romantic Tales*, they may well have optimistically believed that the edition could earn all or nearly all its maximum possible profit of £983.6.4. Why, then, didn't Longman & Co. buy the copyright from Lewis outright?

This chapter is not the place to rehash the contentious legal and economic history of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century copyright.[85] Suffice it to say that had Longman opted to buy the copyright for *Romantic Tales* from Lewis in 1808, he would have acquired the exclusive right to reproduce the work in the United Kingdom for at least fourteen years. Our counterfactual Longman could capitalize on his copyright ownership by reprinting the work to his pocketbook's content, or he could resell the copyright to other publishers—potentially for a far higher or lower sum than he paid Lewis, and potentially in fractional shares to multiple buyers.[86] If our counterfactual Lewis had his wits about him, he would know such post-sale dealings were likely, and he would haggle with Longman to

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[85] Important treatments of the legal-legislative and economic implications of copyright for the book trade include Graham Pollard, "The English Market for Printed Books"; Hugh Amory, "'De Facto Copyright'? Fielding's Works in Partnership, 1769–1821," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 17, no. 4 (Summer 1984): 449–476, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2738130; Sher, "Corporatism and Consensus"; St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*; Peter F. Bonnell, *The Most Disreputable Trade: Publishing the Classics of English Poetry, 1765–1810* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008); Diane Leenheer Zimmerman, "The Statute of Anne and Its Progeny: Variations Without a Theme," *Houston Law Review* 47, no. 4 (December 2010): 965–1011, https://houstonlawreview.org/article/4178; David Fielding and Shef Rogers, "Copyright Payments in Eighteenth-Century Britain," The Library, 7th series, vol. 18, no. 1 (March 2017): 3–44, https://doi.org/10.1093/library/18.1.3; David Fielding and Shef Rogers, "Monopoly Power in the Eighteenth-Century British Book Trade," *European Review of Economic History* 21, no. 4 (2017): 393–413, https://doi.org/10.1093/ereh/hex007; Leah Orr, "Valuing Copyright in Early Eighteenth-Century London: The Example of Daniel Midwinter," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 114, no. 4 (December 2020): 453–80, https://doi.org/10.1086/711322.

[86] Sharebook publishing is usually associated with London's eighteenth-century wholesale booksellers; see Blagden, "Booksellers' Trade Sales 1718–1768" and Belanger, "Booksellers' Trade Sales 1718–1768." But for an excellent account of the underappreciated continuation of this business model well into the nineteenth century—including for recent novels—see Lutes, "Andrew Strahan and the London Sharebook System."

get the highest sum possible in exchange for his work. The contract that Lewis and Longman would ultimately hash out—if surviving exhibits of actual copyright sale negotiations and contracts (discussed later in this chapter) offer any guidance—would likely have included an upfront payment for the first edition, perhaps in installments rather than a single lump sum, as well as subsequent payments conditional on Longman's publication of further editions.

Clearly, the purchase of copyright entailed a *very* different business model from the profit-share publishing model Longman and Lewis opted for with *Romantic Tales*—one even more complex and unpredictable. Copyright purchase was potentially more lucrative to both parties in the long term, as it involved potential anticipated future revenues on editions published after the first edition. In the short term, however, it was likely to be far riskier for the publisher—especially for large editions by popular authors. To understand why, we can consider the ways a copyright payment scheme would alter the revenue-profit calculation of *Romantic Tales*.

Scenario 1. Small copyright payment. Suppose Lewis happens to sell Longman & Co. the copyright to *Romantic Tales* in exchange for a single, up-front payment of £96.17.6, exactly the sum Lewis earned from half-profits in reality. Suppose, furthermore, that Longman still sells the edition for a trade price of £0.15.4 in boards. The key difference between this scenario and the actual initial pricing structure (as documented in Figure 5.5) is that from the publisher's point of view, the authorial payment is now effectively an upfront cost that compounds on the paper, printing, and advertising costs. I represent the resulting price structure in Figure 5.6.

For Longman, the economic trade-off of this payment scheme is that it pits a lower and slower publisher's profit on early sales against a far higher maximum possible publisher's profit should the edition sell well. Longman's break-even point has risen slightly from 35.9% of the edition's total possible revenue (£550) to 42.2% (£646.17.6), which means he'll need to sell at least 844 copies at full trade price to earn a profit. If all copies sell at full trade price, Longman will earn an enormous profit of 8.7 shillings per copy sold, or £886.3.6 in total—nearly twice the maximum he could have earned in a profit share edition, and more than nine times as much as Lewis earns on his fixed copyright payment. If the edition sells exactly as well as the Divide Ledger shows it did in reality, however (including the

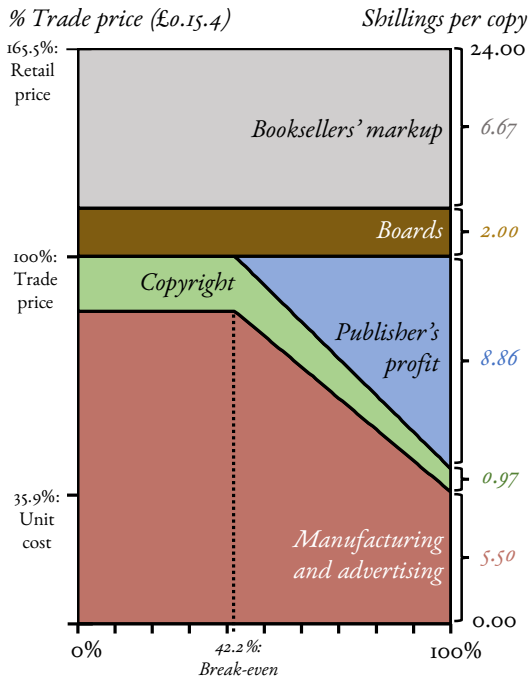

Figure 5.6. Input share of copyright to price, Scenario 1
Counterfactual £96.17.6 copyright payment for *Romantic Tales* (1808)

complications added by discounted copies, remaindering, and further advertising outlays), Longman and Lewis both earn exactly the same sums that they had under a profit share regime. The only difference from the edition's actual trajectory of publication is that the time scale of returns is significantly worse for Longman. Since in reality the edition only passed 42.2% of its potential profit some time between June 1813 and May 1814, our counterfactual Longman would have spent up to six years sitting on a small loss before his firm finally realized the modest profit of £96.18.6.

To be clear, this scenario is not particularly realistic. If Longman could have predicted in advance that the edition would only sell 887 copies at full trade price and that he would need to remainder most of the other copies, he would never have hazarded an edition of 2,000 copies to begin with. Conversely, if Lewis knew Longman anticipated a return on costs as high as £983.6.4, he would have been highly unlikely to settle for less than 10% of that return. Either Longman would have published a much smaller edition of *Romantic Tales*, or he would have been induced to offer Lewis a higher payment.

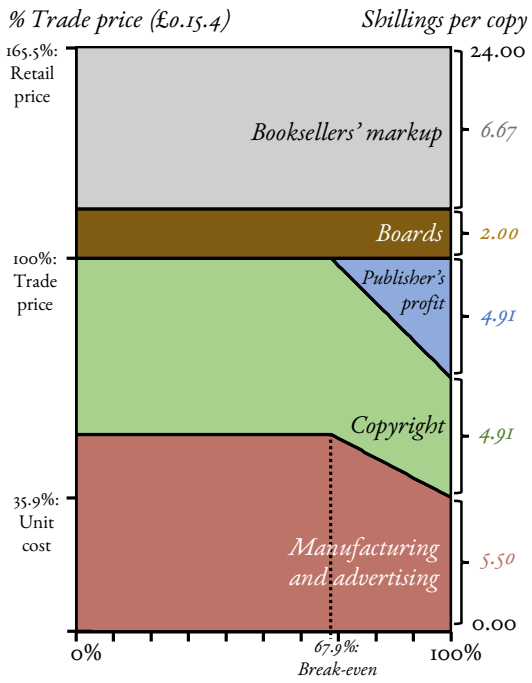

Figure 5.7. Input share of copyright to price, Scenario 2
Counterfactual £491.14.8 copyright payment for *Romantic Tales* (1808)

Scenario 2. Large copyright payment. Instead of the scenario described above, suppose Longman lets his optimism get the better of him—or, alternatively, that Lewis is in a far stronger bargaining position during copyright sale negotiations. In this scenario, Longman buys the copyright from Lewis for an up-front payment of £491.14.8—exactly what Lewis would earn under half-profits if Longman managed to sell every copy at the full trade price. I depict the price structure resulting from this arrangement in Figure 5.7.

This is a much more trying predicament for Longman than Scenario 1. Now Longman's revenues need to cover a far steeper sum of £1,041.14.8 before the edition earns a profit, resulting in a break-even point at 67.9% of all possible sales revenue—equivalent to selling 1,359 copies at full trade price. At best, if all copies of the edition sell at full trade price, Longman's profits are equal to those he would earn under half-profits. But anything less than the maximum possible revenue leaves him worse off than if he had simply split profits.

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What these two counterfactuals underscore is that Longman and other publishers must have been highly confident in the profitability of a literary work to be willing to buy its copyright outright for a large sum. Half-profit publishing was an appealing business model because it tended to earn the publisher a profit relatively quickly, even if the edition was only moderately successful. In this regard, the capacity of *Romantic Tales* to earn Longman & Co. a robust profit despite its mediocre sales serves as a perfect object lesson. In comparison, copyright purchase was by nature riskier for the publisher, since it drastically increased the possibility of a negligible profit or even a loss. Considering the safer alternatives, Longman could have had only two inducements to buy a copyright outright: (1) the willingness of the author to sell the copyright cheaply, and (2) the conviction that the work would prove popular enough to justify further editions.

The contemplation of these motives should lead us to consider two of the thorniest topics in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century book history: the nature of competition in the British book trade, and the durability of copyright as a capital asset. As recent scholarship has shown, the two are closely intertwined.[87] On their own, Longman & Co.'s records of authorial copyright payments unfortunately do not offer evidence of the firm's anticipated future returns on the copyrights he acquired, nor do they establish whether the threat of other publishers outbidding him ever induced him to pay more than he otherwise would. But what Longman's accounts *do* offer is the basis to attach specific numerical sums to the share of copyright payments in the edition's anticipated or (in a small handful of cases) actual returns on cost to the publisher, which previous studies of copyright have only been able to guess at. If the payment's share of total possible revenue was small, as in Scenario 1, we can reasonably suppose the author had little bargaining power over the publisher, and the work's prospects past its first edition were never bright. But if the payment's share of revenue was large enough to seriously jeopardize the publisher's potential profits if the edition sold modestly, as in Scenario 2,

[87] Fielding and Rogers, "Copyright Payments" and "Monopoly Power"; Orr, "Valuing Copyright."

Table 5.3. Presale unit shares of price for *Romantic Tales*

Inputs	Shillings (decimal)	% Max. trade price
Printing	1.50	9.8%
Typesetting, presswork, capital	*1.39*	*9.1%*
Correcting, small type, spine labels, &c.	*0.11*	*0.7%*
Paper	3.58	23.4%
Boards for Lewis's copies	0.05	0.3%
Advertising	0.36	2.4%
Unit production cost	5.50	35.9%
Author's profit	4.92	32.1%
Publisher's profit	4.92	32.1%
Trade price	15.33	100.0%
Surcharge for boards	2.00	13.0%
Wholesale and retail markup	6.67	43.5%
Retail price in boards	24.00	156.5%

Longman & Co. must have believed the long-term returns on the copyright across multiple editions were potentially lucrative enough to justify a high risk on the first edition. Implicitly, such a risk would only be necessary if Longman & Co. needed to court the author away from other publishers who also recognized the work's potential value.

Cost structure. The capacity of the entries on *Romantic Tales* to relate prices to authorial payments and profits with such intricacy speaks, above all, to the strength of the Longman Archive's data on costs. Although we do know the actual revenue and profit that *Romantic Tales* earned thanks to the Divide Ledger's running count of sales revenues and profits, line 2 of that entry alone contains most of the data necessary to anticipate the range of possible commercial outcomes the edition faced in advance of sale. Indeed, the only data strictly necessary to make Figure 5.4 and Figure 5.5 and to perform all the analysis accompanying them are the quantity of copies printed, the total manufacturing and advertising costs, and the trade price.[88]

However, what is missing from an account that relies solely on these statistics is an explanation of the costs themselves. Why did each edition cost as much as it did? Why did costs vary from edition to edition? How did Longman alter his pricing structure when input costs fluctuated from year to year? The capacity to bear the causal heft of these questions is the peculiar strength of the itemized

[88] The retail price is sufficient assuming Longman's trade prices were consistently at or near 65% of the retail price—an assumption all available data will bear out below.

Table 5.4. Post-sale unit shares of trade price for *Romantic Tales*

Inputs	Shillings (decimal)	% Avg. trade price
Initial unit production cost	5.50	68.3%
Further advertising, non-profit copies, &c.	0.61	7.6%
Author's profit	0.97	12.0%
Publisher's profit	0.97	12.0%
Average trade price at actual sales	8.05	100.0%
Average retail price at actual sales	UNKNOWN	

manufacturing outlays in the Impression Books. Table 5.3 draws on the Impression Book entry for *Romantic Tales* to show, in depth, the input shares of unit manufacturing costs in the price structure depicted in Figure 3.4. As we will see, it is though through minute attention to these seemingly dryasdust statistics that the sweeping human drama of continental warfare, class struggle between laborer and capitalist, and the technological upheavals of the Industrial Revolution leave their mark on the economics of the novel.

For now my treatment of costs will be brief, as we will be far better armed to understand the workings of costs when surveying a sample of 175 editions rather than a single case study. Two points are worth making at this stage, however. First, the cost structures of Longman's editions of novels vary widely, not just from year to year but among editions of varying characteristics within any given year. *Romantic Tales* was a highly atypical edition in 1808 insofar as its paper outlay was more than double its charge for printing and corrections. This ratio is a consequence of the edition size. Most of Longman's first editions of novels were printed in single impressions of 500–1,000 copies, far more conservative than the 2,000-copy edition printed for *Romantic Tales*. For reasons that will soon be apparent, the more copies were printed in a hand-press edition, the smaller the unit cost of printing tended to be—and concomitantly, the larger the proportional share of paper relative to printing (the word "printing" here including typesetting, presswork, and the associated capital outlays). Any effort to estimate the annualized average manufacturing costs of a class of broadly comparable books, or at least that class's "typical" costs, needs to control for edition size at the very least, and preferably such other factors as paper dimensions, the extent of corrections and other irregular incidents of printing, and the presence of lithographic prints and other illustrations.

Second, as Table 5.4 shows, the final ratios of an edition's input costs could turn out to be somewhat different from the initial projection that went into the determination of prices. Recall the various contingencies of sales in the Divide Ledger entry for *Romantic Tales*: the price reductions and remaindering, Lewis's presentation copies, and the fact that Longman ended up spending almost 50% more on advertising the edition than he'd initially budgeted. These result in the actual cost structure of the edition being slightly different from that projected in Table 5.3 and Figure 5.4. On their own, the reductions in trade price do not alter the unfolding relationship of revenue to profit represented in Figure 3.4. As far as Longman's revenues were concerned, selling 100% of copies for an average of 52% of the original trade price was no different from selling 52% of copies at full trade price (except insofar as the latter entailed the disposal of depreciated stock); either way, the same revenue needed to cover the same costs. But the edition's encumbrance of *new* costs does result in a slightly different progression in the edition's relationship of costs to profits. One could represent this variation in a variant of Figure 3.4 that bowed out the cost area upward at the phases of revenue-earning when costs increased. But I have opted not to do so, because life is short and graphs are many.

The contours of demand: a preview. As valuable as these data are, simply having oodles of edition costs to hand does not, on its own, establish the relationship of price to cost. I may have explained—perhaps overmuch—the consequences of an edition's markup for the distribution of revenues to its various productive inputs. But thus far, I have dodged the more urgent question of *why* the markup obtained the magnitude relative to cost that it did. It's for this reason that I can only claim, at this stage in my argument, to have brought bibliography up to the *threshold* of economics. For a microeconomist, the ultimate quarry buried under data on costs, prices, and quantities is the interaction between supply and demand. Longman's markups of price on cost testify, along with his edition sizes, to his informed conjectures about the effective demand for his novels. Demand thus understood includes not just the number of copies of a novel that paying readers and librarians actually bought, but a counterfactual *range* of possible purchases that includes those who would have been

willing to pay for the novel at a lower price: demand drawn, as economists draw it, along a curve.[89] With a modicum of statistical ingenuity, we can make costs, prices, and edition sizes attest to the shadowy, anticipatory image of demand that supply was responding to, like reconstructing fragments of a telephone conversation heard only from one end.

Now, I will not go so far as to advocate that book historians forsake historical bibliography *en masse* and wander into the aëry clime of linear equations, dynamic equilibria, multivariate regressions, and dubious operative assumptions wherein economists preside. The boundaries between disciplines exist for good reasons as well as bad ones. But I'm a firm believer that certain particles of truth spring out from the historical record only when jostled loose by the friction between competing systems of knowledge. A bibliographical approach to supply-side data that claims to yield economic insights on the nature of the demand for books may nor may not succeed, but it is likely to dredge up facts and interpretations of those facts that neither discipline is capable of producing on its own.

[89] See any introductory or intermediate microeconomics textbook: for instance, Paul Krugman and Laura Wells, *Economics*, 2nd ed. (New York: Worth Publishers, 2009), 60–71; Jeffrey M. Perloff, *Microeconomics: Theory and Applications with Calculus*, 2nd ed. (Boston, MA: Pearson, 2011), 97–134.

Chapter 6. The Manufacture of Novels: Paper and Printing Costs

Informed by the case study of Matthew G. Lewis's *Romantic Tales* (1808) in the previous chapter, we can now survey the publication data available across all of Longman's and Strahan's accounts for the novels Longman & Co. published between 1794–1836. This chapter offers a detailed analysis of this dataset, which comprises Appendix B. The dataset aims to address four topics important to the publication of novels:

1. **Cost**. Why did novels cost as much as they did to make and advertise? How did manufacturing costs vary among editions and from year to year?
2. **Markup**. How did the markup of price on cost vary from edition to edition? At best, how profitable could the markup allow each edition to be? At worst, how much of its possible returns did an edition need to realize before it broke even on costs?
3. **Authorial payment**. How much was each edition's author paid—or how much *might they be paid*, when payment was conditional on sales? How did each edition's authorial payment scheme affect the distribution of potential returns on cost, as well as its risk?
4. **Profit**. How well did the edition *actually* perform, compared to its potential returns? Did the profitability of novels change over time?

As the entry for *Romantic Tales* has already suggested, each of these questions builds atop the previous one, escalating the amount and complexity of data necessary to answer it. The dataset does not offer uniform coverage in the variables it includes for each edition. Rather, it replicates the complexly striated nature of the underlying manuscript record. Questions (1) and (2) are possible to

answer using data on edition sizes, costs, and prices, which survive for 175 of Longman's first editions of novels. Question (3) requires data on authorial payments, which survive—often albeit in a more opaque form than costs—for 152 editions out of these 175. Question (4), finally, requires sales and profit data that refer cleanly to just the first edition, for which only 90 editions out of these 152 have data that can reliably be attributed only to the first edition.

After describing the construction and coverage of the sample reproduced in Appendix B), I proceed to the primary goal of this chapter, which is to understand Longman & Co.'s manufacturing costs for novels. Although paper and printing outlays represent only one portion of the data available from Longman & Co.'s financial accounts, I have chosen to focus on them here because they are a necessary foundation for many other topics. By analyzing the total costs and unit costs of these editions, I aim to redress a serious gap in the scholarship on book costs and markups, offering a more thorough account than is possible from unsystematic sampling[1] and estimation based on sources extrinsic to the edition itself.[2] Edition-level cost data make it possible to understand the ratio of paper and printing costs, the influence of edition size on unit cost, and the relative profile of corrections—all topics that bear heavily on the microeconomics of fiction publishing during the hand-press era. Furthermore, these records make it possible to gauge how the marketwide trends discussed in Parts I and II of this dissertation were instantiated at level of the edition. Itemized production costs allow us to trace the consequences of the Industrial Revolution for productive efficiency and the relationship between labor and capital. Edition-level cost also offer a necessary context for the rising price range of novels, making it possible to gauge how much rising prices merely covered production costs and how much they represented a new entrepreneurial strategy to cope with rising demand.

[1] Raven, *The Business of Books*, 50, 301.
[2] Fielding and Rogers, "Monopoly Power," 304.

6.1. Data collection

This section describes the collection and interpretation of the data that I have reproduced in Appendix B. The insights that these data offer far outstrip the analysis I have been able to conduct here. Whereas my analysis below is largely limited to costs—mainly paper and printing costs—I hope a fuller account will ultimately emerge from the analysis of authorial payments. I must stress, once again, that my labors here are complementary to, and in no small part informed by, the coverage that Peter Garside *et al.* offer in their entries in *DBF*. While I have independently collected all data on production costs, and while I have independently confirmed fixed authorial payments, I have largely relied on *DBF* for sales, revenues, and profits on profit-share editions. As in my case study of *Romantic Tales*, readers are encouraged to refer to *DBF*'s entries to gauge what is unique to my account and what it excludes.

Date. I date each edition by the earliest month it is referred to in the Longman and Strahan Archives. As already noted, these may or may not be publication dates, to which end they would need to be checked against periodical advertisements. The best I can say for these dates *en masse* is that they postdate printing and precede sales, making them more precise dates than the imprint years by which to chronologize paper and printing costs.[3]

Edition size, length, and format. I have recorded the number of copies Longman ordered printed for each edition, along with the number of surplus copies printed in addition to the main order whenever available. Entries for editions published on commission usually do not indicate whether Longman took the entire edition or merely a fraction of it; for these editions I have separately tracked only the copies the Commission ledgers shows Longman took.

I measure each edition's length in edition-sheets, as recorded by Longman and/or Strahan. When an edition lacks a record of length, I estimate it using the pagination statements of *BBF*.[4] I also

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[3] Outright conflicts between imprint year and date in ledger are rare: see *DBF* 1810A080, 1811A026, 1822A006, 1822A044, 1826A008.

[4] This is only the case for eight out of 175 editions: *DBF* 1806A037, 1807A060, 1813A044, 1820A014, 1821A061, 1821A066, 1827A027, 1827A028. These estimates come with an important caveat. Because *BBF*'s

track the volume count, pagination, and format of every edition as recorded in *BBF*, which—besides helping to confirm that *BBF* and the Longman/Strahan entries refer to the same edition[5]—has made it possible to measure cost, price, and markup per volume, per edition-sheet, per individually printed sheet, and per page.

Production costs. I track six categories of production costs:

1. Main printing cost. In almost all the entries in Longman's Impression Books (including that for *Romantic Tales*) as well as those in Strahan's Printing Ledgers, the first line of printing costs indicates the number of edition-sheets printed, the main printing charge per edition-sheet, and the subtotal. For nearly all editions, I interpret this charge to include wages for typesetting and presswork, as well as the master printer's surcharge on wages to cover capital depreciation and personal profits.

2. Corrections and other irregular printing costs. Although eight out of the 184 editions with printing costs in the sample have a main printing charge that includes corrections,[6] most editions have corrections and further printing expenses itemized separately below the main charge. I have transcribed all such expenses in Appendix B. These include "corrections" and "correcting"; "postage" and "carriage" (presumably of the manuscript); "reading," "reading proofs," "critique," "revising," and "editor"; "alterations," "alterations and cancel," "print cancel," "cancelled title [page]," and "deleted matter"; "small letter" and "small type" (in two cases, more specifically "long primer" and "brevier"); "labels"; "remaking so late" and "night work"; "working large"; and "Greek."[7] I hope, in particular, that these accounts will prove useful to analytical bibliographers, who may be able to use the sums attached to these descriptions to identify textual cruxes, using the associated expenses to estimate

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pagination statements tend not to count unpaginated preliminary leaves, and because the copies *BBF*'s compilers have consulted tend to lack advertisements, *BBF* usually under-reports the true length of a complete copy of most editions by anywhere from a few leaves to more than a sheet. Edition-sheet estimates from *BBF* are thus likely to slightly understate sheet length and, as a result, slightly overstate cost per sheet.

[5] Even when format goes unidentified in the ledgers, it's usually possible to check the edition against the format in *BBF* by comparing edition-sheet counts to pagination statements. As discussed in detail in Chapter 1, I have found only one misidentification of format in *BBF*: Amelia Opie's *Adeline Mowbray* (*DBF* 1805A058) was printed in 16º on double foolscap paper, for which *BBF* misidentifies each double-sized sheet as two sheets printed in octavo.

[6] *TEN1* 1796:13, 1797:49,50,62; *DBF* 1802A035, 1802A060, 1824A031, 1824A049, 1825A041, 1826A046

[7] See Appendix B, *passim.*

roughly how much labor went into certain exigencies of printing. There must have been "Extraordinary alteration" indeed, for instance, for Andrew Strahan to charge Longman & Co. an extra £14.18.0 for *Follies of Fashion* (*DBF* 1801A048)—a third as much as the edition's main printing costs. For the present purposes of statistical analysis, however, I have combined all expenses into a single sum, for which I take an average per edition-sheet, copy, or sheet as needed to measure alongside the main charge.

3. Paper costs. Whenever available, I record the number of reams of paper ordered for each edition, the paper's size (along with any further descriptions of color and quality), the price per ream, and the total cost. In some cases, entries report remainders of paper ordered to the nearest 24-sheet quire. However, because these remainders can in all cases be rederived by dividing the total sum by the price per ream, I have opted not to transcribe any smaller remainder than the nearest quarter of a ream.

4. Miscellaneous further production costs. For a total of 25 editions, entries record further production costs not associated with composition, presswork, correcting, or paper for the main text. The largest such expenses are those for the casting of stereotype plates and for wood and metal engravings; I include the paper costs of engravings along with the charges for the plates themselves, counting these separately from the paper costs of the main text.[8] Four editions from the 1830s include expenses for cold-pressing, a technique used to flatten the bite of the printed impression into the paper, simplifying the beating process used to reduce offset (the transfer of ink from one piece of paper to another).[9] Most of the other expenses are small sums for miscellaneous "postage" and "carriage," which I group apart from corrections &c. when they do not unambiguously refer to the transit of the manuscript.

5. Advertising costs. Advertising costs were the most flexible of Longman & Co.'s outlays; they could rise or fall from the initial sum Longman committed as publication progressed. Thus I have needed to make a choice between initial and final advertising outlays. Because my primary purpose in

[8] See *DBF* 1805A033, 1809A076, 1823A039, 1824A048, 1824A049, 1826A046; *TEN3* 1830:24.
[9] *DBF* 1824A078; *TEN3* 1831:57, 1832:67, 1833:57, 1835:2. See Savage, *A Dictionary of the Art of Printing*, 775.

this chapter is to understand how Longman set retail prices as a markup on costs in advance of publication, I have contented myself with only recording the initial sum committed, even when subsequent entries show the actual expense to be different. Post-publication-date fluctuations in advertising cost are most important in the context of revenues and profits; to this end they are already implicitly present in the data, as part of the difference between the initially recorded cost and the final cost (measured as a difference between revenue and profit).

6. Costs associated with nonsale copies. From the 1810s onward, the distribution of presentation copies for authors, periodical reviewers, and copyright deposit libraries grew increasingly complex, sometimes taking up as much space in the accounts as the main cost and sale records. For 22 editions, Longman & Co. counted costs associated with these copies toward the edition's sum total of costs in the Impression Book entry; this is the only circumstance for which I count them toward the edition's production costs. These costs were primarily for the binding of presentation copies in boards, as with the presentation copies for *Romantic Tales*, but they may in some cases have been for postage and other expenses.

Printers and stationers. Appendix B identifies all the master printers and stationers I have identified as input suppliers for the novels in Longman & Co.'s accounts, along with references to standard trade directories establishing their full names and addresses when possible. The printers of early-nineteenth-century British books are trivially easy to identify, thanks to a 1799 law (39 Geo. III, cap. 79) requiring that all printers name themselves in the imprint and/or colophon to every piece of print matter they produced.[10] I have identified the printers of all editions that go unnamed in Longman's financial records, consulting each volume of multi-volume novels to check for the possibility of multiple printers.

In contrast with printers, wholesale stationers left their names nowhere on the paper they supplied for Longman's books, leaving us at the mercy of Longman's records in their identification. I have managed to identify the paper suppliers for 123 editions, relying principally on the Impression

[10] Todd, *A Directory of London Printers*, vii–xvi.

Books. Perhaps further stationers remain to be identified in Miscellaneous Publication Expenses Ledgers 1A–2A: only from these, for instance, do we learn that the 300 reams of demy paper used for Frances Burney's *The Wanderer* were supplied by the Key Brothers at 30 Abchurch Lane.[11]

Retail and trade prices. I take retail prices from the contemporary periodical sources cited in *BBF*, preferring prices advertised for the edition in "boards" (or in "cloth") to those "sewed" or with no indication of binding. Numerical conflicts for prices listed alongside the same binding state are rare, but when I encounter them I opt for the lowest variant price.

The discounted publisher's trade prices on which Longman & Co.'s profits relied are more troublesome. Whenever this trade price does not survive for an edition, we must estimate it in order to calculate the publisher's markup and anticipated profits. To this end, I have collected the trade price initially offered for 117 of Longman's novels, drawing primarily from the Commission and Divide Ledgers. (I will discuss the prices actually realized in sales below.) All 117 editions had a trade price between 60% and 70% retail price, and for all but three the ratio fell between the remarkably narrow range of 62.5–67.5%. Judging from this striking uniformity, these must, in most if not all cases, have been the prices in unsewed quires. There is some hard evidence to back up this inference. On the debit side of some ledger entries these trade prices are labelled "q." or "qr." for reference beneath the retail price.[12] Even more explicitly, in 1824 Longman wrote to George Wilkins, the author of *Body and Soul*, "The trade price 6/– in quires for a book that is retailed for 9/– in boards is regular, & we & the trade generally feel it the interest of a work to make that allowance."[13]

Six shillings against nine shillings implies that "that allowance" meant a trade discount to exactly two thirds of the retail price, but £*sd* rarely allowed for such a precise ratio. If anything, Longman & Co. were inclined to err generously on the side of *slightly less* than two thirds: their most

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[11] Ian Maxted, *The London Book Trades, 1775–1800*, recovered through Exeter Working Papers in Book History, Internet Archive, https://web.archive.org/web/20170119112003/https://bookhistory.blogspot.com/2007/01/london-1775-1800-i-k.html.

[12] See for instance the entries for Edward Neville (*DBF* 1823A053) in Divide Ledger 2D:206; *The Eccentric Traveler* (*DBF* 1826A003) in Commission Ledger 3C:229; *The Talba*(1830:26) in Divide Ledger 4D:36.

[13] Longman & Co., letter to George Wilkins, 12 April 1824, cited in "Publishing Papers" to *DBF* 1824A097.

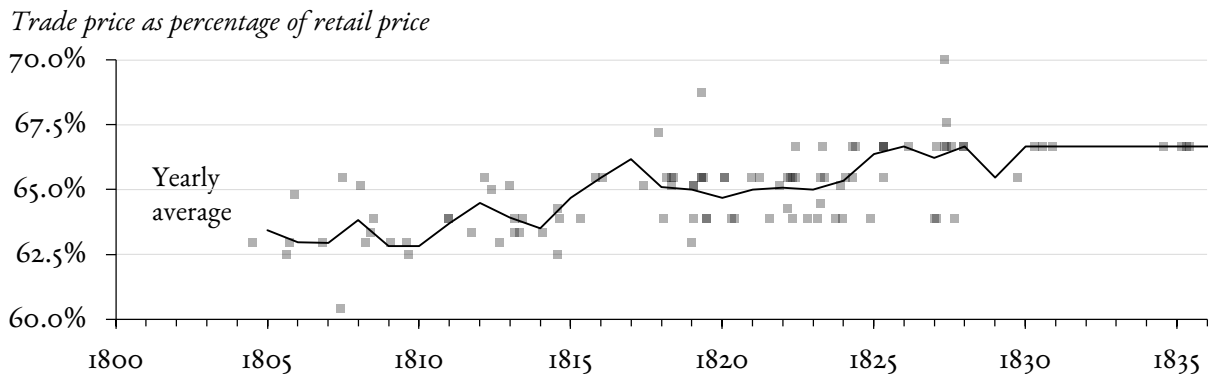

Figure 6.1. Ratio of publisher's trade price to retail price, 1804–1835

common ratio was 64.9% retail price, or about £0.13.1 on the pound. On the other hand, it appears Longman & Co. gradually edged the discount rate up in their favor over time: their average trade price for novels was 63.0% retail price in the 1810s but had crept up to 66.7% retail price by the late 1820s (see Figure 6.1). Although this uptake may seem picayune, it would have added up to the publisher's significant benefit across dozens of editions. Nevertheless, for the present purposes I think it fair to accept 65% retail price, the sample-wide average, as a working estimate of the trade price for editions lacking a direct record of this datum.

Revenues and profits (or losses). Because Garside *et al.* give extensive reports in the "Publishing Papers" to *DBF* for the revenues and profits of editions published between 1804–1829, I have opted not to reproduce these data in Appendix B. I have collected sums of six editions published 1830–1836 on my own. I have collected five sums for each edition whenever they survive: the total number of copies sold for profit, the total revenue from those sales, the average price per copy (simply the total revenue divided by the number sold), the publisher's profit (negative if the edition earned a loss), and the author's profit (zero if the edition earned a loss). These data come with some caveats. First, I have tabulated revenues and profits only when I am confident they refer solely to the first edition, without the admixture of revenues from subsequent editions or related works by the same author. Second, by dealing solely with *total, final* revenues, I have failed to do full justice to the dynamic nature of Longman's sales data. As the case study of *Romantic Tales* underscores, the timing of sales revenues could be just as important as the total magnitude the edition cumulatively earned.

Some editions earned profits only after a few years, and some were still selling regularly more than a decade after publication.

Authorial payments. For 90 editions published under a half-profit split between author and publisher, I calculate the authorial payment in the course of tabulating profits. For 62 other editions that earned the author a fixed sum, I record the sum and all accompanying descriptions with exactly the words Longman's accounts use.

In interpreting these fixed payments, I have often needed to make inferences that go beyond what is strictly recorded in the accounts. Only four payments are actually described using the word "copyright";[14] another seven are abbreviated "copy," four with the author's surname.[15] For two editions, Frances Burney's *The Wanderer* (1814) and Joseph Moyle Sherer's *Story of a Life* (1825) I derive payments from letters rather than financial accounts.[16] Two editions give the author's name but no further clarifying information,[17] and the remaining 40 payments are simply labelled "Author." Given that these are nearly all round sums divisible by £5 (as opposed to the arbitrary remainders in shillings and pence common to payments dependent on profits from sales), most of these are surely up-front payments for copyright. A notable exception is *The Village Pastor* (*DBF* 1825A074), for which both the wording of the entry and a letter from Longman & Co. confirm that the firm paid Rev. William Shepherd an advance of £50 on his half-profits.[18]

The final sample. How well does the final sample equip us to answer the questions I posed at the beginning of this section? I have already outlined coverage in advance of data collection; Figure 6.2 shows the chronological distribution of this coverage. Total production costs survive for 175 editions, and printing costs alone for another 11 (8 of them from 1800 or earlier). Thus we know the edition sizes and some sort of cost data for 186 editions—85.7% of novels with entries in Longman's accounts, and

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[14] See *DBF* 1801A022, 1806A051, 1826A064, 1801A022.

[15] *TEN1* 1796:13, 1797:62,71; *DBF* 1801A048, 1803A044, 1805A033, 1820A063.

[16] See "Publishing Papers" to *DBF* 1814A017; 1825A075. The latter has an unlabeled sum of £500 in the Impression Book entry, which a 25 May 1825 from Longman & Co. to Sherer confirms is an authorial payment "for the Copyright of the 'Tale of a Life' [*sic*] & in consideration of the success of your former work."

[17] *TEN3* 1831:57, 1833:57.

[18] See "Publishing Papers" to *DBF* 1825A074.

Figure 6.2A. Coverage of production costs and sales revenues

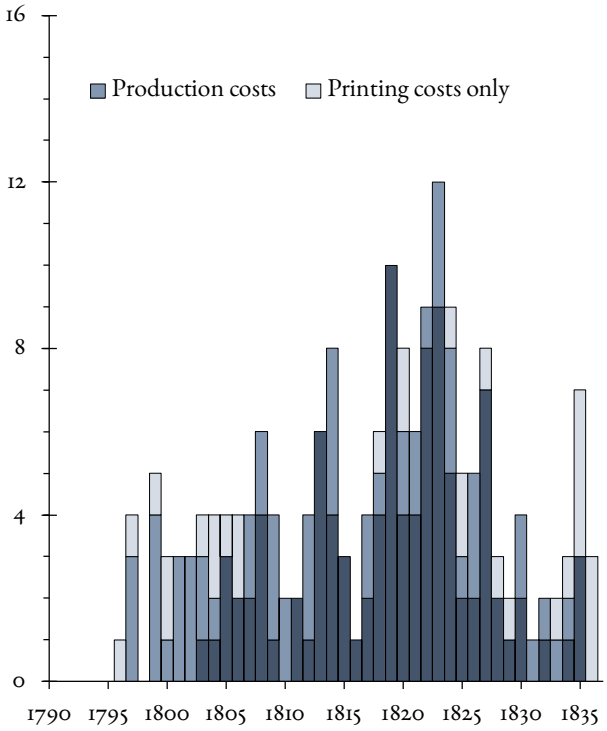

Figure 6.2B. Coverage of authorial payments

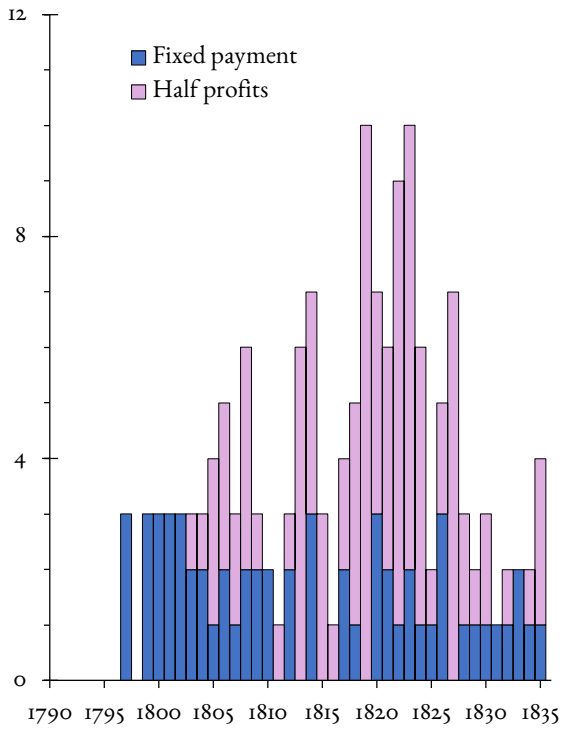

Figure 6.2. Final coverage of sample, 1797–1836

67.1% of all the novels that imprints suggest Longman & Co. published rather than merely wholesaling. Importantly, the sample almost entirely excludes works Longman & Co. published on commission. If comparable cost data exist in the entries of the Commission Ledgers, I've been unable to decipher them. Coverage of authorial payments is slightly narrower than that for costs. 152 editions have authorial payments on record: 61 for fixed payments and 91 for profit-share arrangements (78 confirmed payments, 13 confirmed non-payments due to editions resulting in a loss).

For the most part, this coverage follows the ups and downs of Longman & Co.'s fiction publishing. The dataset includes at least one edition from every year during the period 1799–1836. However, limited coverage for certain periods should occasion caution. The dataset only includes one edition from two years (1806 and 1831) and only two editions from four years (1800, 1829, and 1831–1832). The special strength of Longman's accounts on fiction publishing lies not so much in their consistent chronological coverage as in their consistent depth.

6.2. Longman & Co.'s input suppliers

Before analyzing the Longman Archives' data on production costs, it will be instructive to first understand their context in the firm's business relationships with their input suppliers. Like most of London's major wholesalers *cum* publishers, Longman & Co. did not make the books they published: they employed other firms to that end. The Longman family's history thus intersects with that of the manufacturers they commissioned as input suppliers for their publications. Although Longman III commissioned dozens of English printers and stationers over the years, his two most frequent collaborators were also the two firms with which the fate of his own was most deeply intertwined: the printing operation of Strahan and Spottiswoode, and the papermaking and stationary business of John Dickinson.

6.2A. Strahan & Spottiswoode

The history of the Strahan family illustrates the growth of the nineteenth-century London book trade from eighteenth-century roots in even sharper strokes than that of the Longmans. Apprenticed as a compositor in Edinburgh, William Strahan (1715–1785) had moved to London in 1736. He worked for William Bowyer, Sr. before opening his own printing house in 1738 at the intersection of Little New St. and Middle New St. with Printer's St. and New St. Sq., and he and his heirs would expand their operations into the surrounding blocks over the next century. Strahan wisely invested his earnings in the most lucrative form of capital available in the book trade: copyrights. From the 1750s onward, he made large purchases of copyright shares at trade sales. By 1780, he owned at least 350 shares valued at £3,000, making him one of Britain's largest copyright shareholders—and, by extension, one of its largest sharebook publishers. However, Strahan did notmanage the wholesale distribution responsibilities that came with his shares directly; instead, he turned their maintenance over to his friend Thomas Cadell I (1742–1802), a major wholesale bookseller and one of the leading fiction publishers of the late eighteenth century. William Strahan also used his prosperity to secure major royal patents on classes of literature that remained under state regulation. In 1761 he bought one half of the Law Patent, which granted him and coholder Henry Woodfall the exclusive right to print certain

books of common law and statute law. In 1766, he also acquired the King's Patent, which granted him the right to print "state statutes, acts, proclamations, injunctions, and works issued by command," as well as Bibles and miscellaneous liturgical texts. These interests enabled him to open a Law Branch and a King's Branch comparable in size (although not in profits) to his Private Branch, which handled his commercial printing.[19]

Upon William Strahan's death, ownership of his many operations passed to his eldest surviving son Andrew Strahan (1750–1831), who in Lutes's words "did all the things his father had done, but on a larger scale." The most important of Andrew Strahan's various partners were his sororal nephews, the brothers Andrew Spottiswoode (1787–1866) and Robert Spottiswoode (1791–1832), who moved from Scotland to join him in the formation of Strahan & Spottiswoode in 1811, ultimately succeeding him as owners of the Private Branch in December 1819. Despite his retirement, Andrew Strahan retained his interest in the Law Branch, resided in a house contiguous with his nephews' Printer's Street headquarters, and remained active in the management of the firm's copyright shares. The firm continued to trade as Strahan & Spottiswoode until his death.[20]

Although Thomas Longman I and II occasionally employed William Strahan, and although they must have held joint shares in many copyrights, the two families do not seem to have worked together often until the succession of Longman III in the 1790s. Thereafter, Longman & Co. were, along with Thomas Cadell II (1773–1836), among the largest and most frequent customers of Strahan & Spottiswoode's Private Branch. Lutes finds that between the 1790s and the 1820s, the Cadells' outlays to Strahan & Spottiswoode for printing regularly amounted to £2,000 a year or more.[21] My own consultation of Strahan's Printing Ledgers show that by the 1810s, Longman & Co.'s outlays were on roughly the same scale,and by the 1820s they were significantly larger. Indeed, in these later years, Longman & Co. was almost certainly Strahan & Spottiswoode's largest private customer, consistently

[19] Lutes, "Andrew Strahan and the London Sharebook System," 14–38.
[20] Lutes, "Andrew Strahan and the London Sharebook System," 21–3.
[21] Lutes, "Andrew Strahan and the London Sharebook System," 64.

paying the printers anywhere between £4,000 and £9,600 a year.[22] These were close business ties indeed, and they became family ties in 1819, when Andrew Spottiswoode married Longman III's daughter Mary Longman.[23]

6.2B. John Dickinson

In 1809, meanwhile, Longman had acquired another business *cum* family connection when he brokered a partnership between his brother George Longman (1776–c. 1822) and the papermaker, stationer, and inventor John Dickinson (1782–1869). Although Dickinson was a first-generation entrant into the paper industry, his parents had been close friends of Andrew Strahan. Strahan served as a mentor and financier to Dickinson throughout his early career, arranging his apprenticeship in the Stationer's Company from 1797–1804, loaning him substantial sums, and purportedly allowing him to build the prototype of his innovative cylinder-mould papermaking machine atop the roof of Strahan's office on Printer Street.[24] Dickinson incurred heavy debts while making his invention commercially operational at Apsley and Nash Mills, the two papermills he acquired near Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire. Dickinson mortgaged both properties to Strahan, adding steep annuities to his already high interests on Strahan's loans. Dickinson also incurred a debt of £20,000 to Longman III, in exchange for the payment of which Longman III sold his brother George Longman (already an active stationer by 1799, and also a Maidstone MP) a partnership in Dickinson's new venture. Longman & Dickinson—so the new firm was christened, though George Longman was evidently a silent partner—took up a London address at 63 Old Bailey.[25]

Collectively, the triumvirate of T.N. Longman & Co., Strahan & Spottiswoode, and G. Longman & Dickinson constituted one of the most powerful and dynamic business networks of the early-nineteenth-century British book trade. Theirs was not an equal division of power. Rather, the two longstanding dynasties propped up the founding of the third, enjoying a substantial share of the

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[22] Strahan Printing Ledgers 18–22, BL Add. MS 48815–48822, Research Publications reels 3–5.
[23] Briggs, *A History of Longmans*, 15.
[24] Joan Evans, *The Endless Web*, 2–4, 11–14.
[25] Bidwell, "The Brandywine Paper Mill," 203–4.

resulting product and profit. T.N. Longman and Strahan's status as creditors to Dickinson allowed them to exert the sort of direct influence over Apsley and Nash Mills that Henry and Sealy Fourdrinier, Dickinson's chief rivals in the early mechanization of paper, had deliberately sought to eschew by courting investors outside the book trade.[26]

The tenor of Strahan and T.N. Longman's dealings with Dickinson, if not the minutiae of their financial arrangements, are well documented thanks to the diary of his Dickinson's wife Ann Grover Dickinson. The daughter of prominent Hertfordshire banker Harry Grover, Ann helped manage her husband's financial accounts, and she chronicled the emotional strain Strahan and Longman's demands placed on him. By nature a temperamental and pugnacious man, John spent the early decades of his management of Apsley and Nash Mills in chronic anxiety over his obligations to his creditors, paying Strahan as much as £2,000 a year in interests and annuities, more than once endangering the steady operation of Apsley and Nash Mills to shuttle back and forth between London and Hertfordshire, and having Longman III override his hiring preferences by ordering him to take on his son Charles Longman as an apprentice after George Longman's death. Ann regarded Strahan's lending practices in particular as sordid and exploitative, writing in August 1822 after her husband secured a loan of £12,500:

> D[ear] Husband return'd by Mail knock'd up and unhappy and looking ill. Had a good deal of talk on the business now pending. Oh! that I had from the first set down every step of this proceeding! It w[ould] have been a memorial of meanness and tyranny seldom exhibited.

In January 1826, when Strahan and Longman learned of Dickinson's involvement in the precarious credit arrangements that led to the bankruptcies of Edinburgh publisher Archibald Constable and Longman's partner Thomas Hurst, they raced to Hertfordshire for damage control. In order to limit their own exposure to Hurst's debts, Ann Dickinson claims, Longman and Strahan sought to persuade Grover of Dickinson's sole culpability in the farrago:

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[26] Bidwell, "The Brandywine Paper Mill," 186.

> My d[ear] F[ather] is to meet Mr. Strahan and Longman on my dear's business. They have had a long conference in which Mr. S. has made out a list of grievances as long as my arm and succeeded to perfection with my Fa[ther] in making himself out an Angel and my dearest a Demon—but God knows the truth and will one of these days make it appear.

Unfortunately for the Dickinsons, the historical record offers scant detail to flesh out these ominous hints. Yet despite Longman and Strahan's deteriorating relationship with Dickinson, the centrality of his mills to their paper supplies ultimately led them to cushion him from disaster. In large part, their support spared Dickinson a fate comparable to that of Henry Fourdrinier, who was driven out of the paper trade by repeated bankruptcies and spent the second half of his life in rancorous legal proceedings. While Dickinson would spend much of his career digging himself out of his many debts, ultimately he managed to capitalize further and steadily expand his manufactures, enjoying—when the stresses of his business and the grief over the loss of four out of seven children allowed it—an idyllic lifestyle among the Hertfordshire elite.[27]

Much of Dickinson's paper was made differently than other early machine-made paper. Almost all of the (by Henry Fourdrinier's own count) 280 or so papermaking machines in operation by 1837 were Fourdrinier machines. Named for their entrepreneurs rather than their engineers, the Fourdrinier machines followed a design principle first crudely prototyped by Nicolas-Louis Robert and rendered commercially operational by Bryan Donkin, in which pulp was conveyed by flowing water onto an endless metal wire and through a series of press rolls. Dickinson was the inventor and, during his lifetime, the sole UK operator of the only commercially operational alternative design to the Fourdrinier machine, the Dickinson cylinder-mould machine. This machine used a large, hollow cylinder conveyed pulp by suction along its wire cloth surface onto an endless felt. Notwithstanding various faults that Dickinson spent much of his long career working to correct, the cylinder-mould machine was arguably superior to the Fourdrinier machine: it was more compact, simpler in the

[27] Evans, *The Endless Web*, 18–19, 26, 49.

operation of its moving parts, and left a less prominent wire-mark on the surface of the final web.[28] But in 1812, Dickinson colluded with the feuding claimants to the Fourdrinier machine's patent, relinquishing the right to earn patent royalties by allowing other papermakers to use his design (as the Fourdriniers had done) in exchange for favorable rates on the use of Fourdrinier machines at his own mills.[29] By preventing the mass UK adoption of a design that could readily have competed with the embattled Fourdrinier patent, this deal may well have set back the growth of English papermaking by a generation. Yet if the Fourdriniers' hardships offer any indication, on net the anticompetitive arrangement likely proved fortuitous for Dickinson, insofar as it allowed him to focus on expanding his own papermills without the threat of competitive price wars or legal opposition. By 1812, Dickinson had three cylinder-mould machines and two Fourdrinier machines at work across Apsley and Nash Mills, as well as a rag preparation plant at Batchworth Mill. In 1824, he installed steam power at Nash Mill, and he soon erected two further mills: Home Park in 1825, and Croxley in 1829.[30]

6.3. Output and total production costs

6.3A. Output

All forms of quantitative historical analysis ask two basic questions: How much of something was there in the past, and what significance lay in its change over time? Thus far, our analysis of Longman's accounting data has implicitly accepted the unit of study—the "something" being counted—as the *edition*, which we hope the accounts represent with tolerable accuracy as a discretely planned unit of the production and sale of print matter. A great deal of publishing history and quantitative literary history—indeed, much of the present dissertation—never has occasion to move beyond the *edition*, or even more broadly the *work*, as the basic unit of study. However, many of the

[28] Baker, *From the Hand to the Machine*, 50–65; Bidwell, PhD, 199–200.
[29] Bidwell, PhD, 205–7; Bidwell, "The Industrialization of the Paper Trade," 211–2.
[30] Evans, *The Endless Web*, 45–52.

questions I pose in this chapter require a more fluid conceptualization of output—one accounting for drastic differences in the size and manufacturing scale of editions.

The story edition counts tell is that Longman & Co. published a consistently high fiction output but that that output fluctuated precipitously from year to year (refer to Figure 5.2). After a dip in the 1810s, Longman & Co. reached peak publication of new novels with a flurry of profit-share editions in the 1820s, while the firm's copyright-purchase editions retained a stable but relatively small share of output during most years. The annual edition count fell during the 1830s but was on its way to a sizeable (if uneven) recovery by 1834–5, driven largely by novels published on commission. Thus counted, the profile of Longman & Co.'s co-publication of three of Walter Scott's novels seems quite small. Truth be told, this is a story that would seem to require surprisingly little revision if we were to account for the novels' lengths by measuring output in edition-sheets (i.e. the number of sheets of type printed for each edition)—a measure favored in many venerable bibliometric studies, owing to the fact that an edition's sheet length is usually a recoverable statistic even when the number of copies printed is not (see Figure 6.3).[31] Measured in edition-sheets, the profile of copyright-purchase editions is proportionately larger because these publications were, on average, almost 10 edition-sheets longer than profit-share editions and more than 20 edition-sheets longer than editions published on commission.[32] But if anything, the profit-share-driven growth of the 1820s and recovery of the mid 1830s look even more solid, owing to the rising overall lengths of novels during this period—in particular, the proto-Victorian increase in three-volume novels.

The chronology of Longman & Co.'s fiction output takes an entirely different shape, however, once we make use of Longman & Co.'s data on copies printed—or copies distributed, in the case of editions the firm published on commission—to tally the number of *total sheets* published for the firm's editions under each category of authorial payment (see Figure 6.4). Most glaringly of all, two of

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[31] See for example David L. Gants, "A Quantitative Analysis of the London Book Trade 1614–1618," *Studies in Bibliography* 55 (2002): 185–213, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40372239.

[32] The average length of the 54 editions known to have been published by copyright purchase was 45.2 edition-sheets. Meanwhile, the average length of the 99 known profit-share novels was 36.4 edition-sheets, and the average length of editions published on commission was 24.1 edition-sheets.

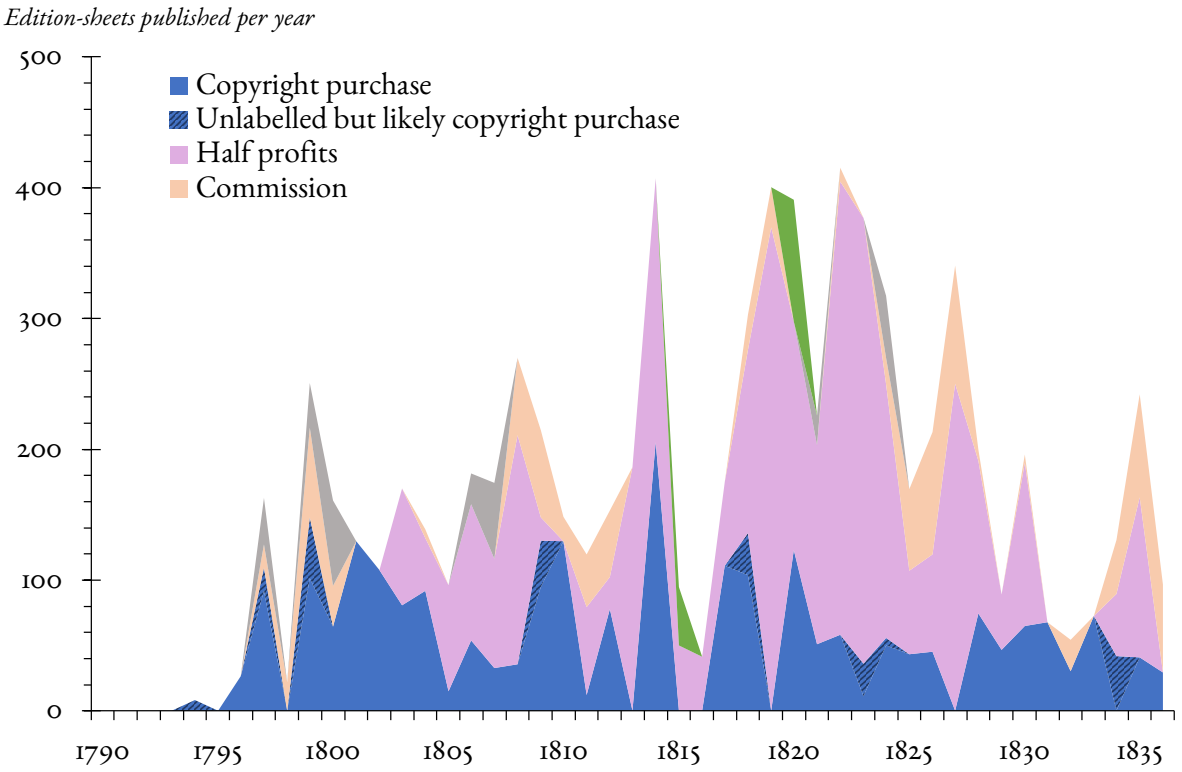

Figure 6.3. Longman & Co.'s new fiction output measured by cumulative length, 1794–1836

Scott's novels, *The Abbot* and *The Monastery*, were both printed by James Ballantyne and co-published by Longman & Co. with Archibald Constable & Co. in editions of 10,000 copies for publication in 1820, each constituting over 400,000 sheets. The extraordinary spike of that year underscores the audacity of Scott and Constable's business model with the *Waverley* novels, which entailed managerial complications and financial risks that no single London distributor proved willing to bear for very long.[33] Differences in other years are less extravagant but no less important. The profile of copyright-purchase editions in Longman's output is far more consequential when measured in total sheets. Peak years for copyright-purchase editions included 1809–1810 (with Sydney Owenson's *Woman: or, Ida of Athens*, Jane Porter's *The Scottish Chiefs*, and Jane West's *The Refusal*), 1814 (with Frances Burney's *The Wanderer*, Anna Maria Porter's *The Recluse of Norway*, and Jane West's *Alicia de Lacy*), 1817–1818 (with Anna Maria and Jane Porter's *The Knight of St John* and *The Pastor's*

[33] Millgate, "Archibald Constable and the Problem of London."

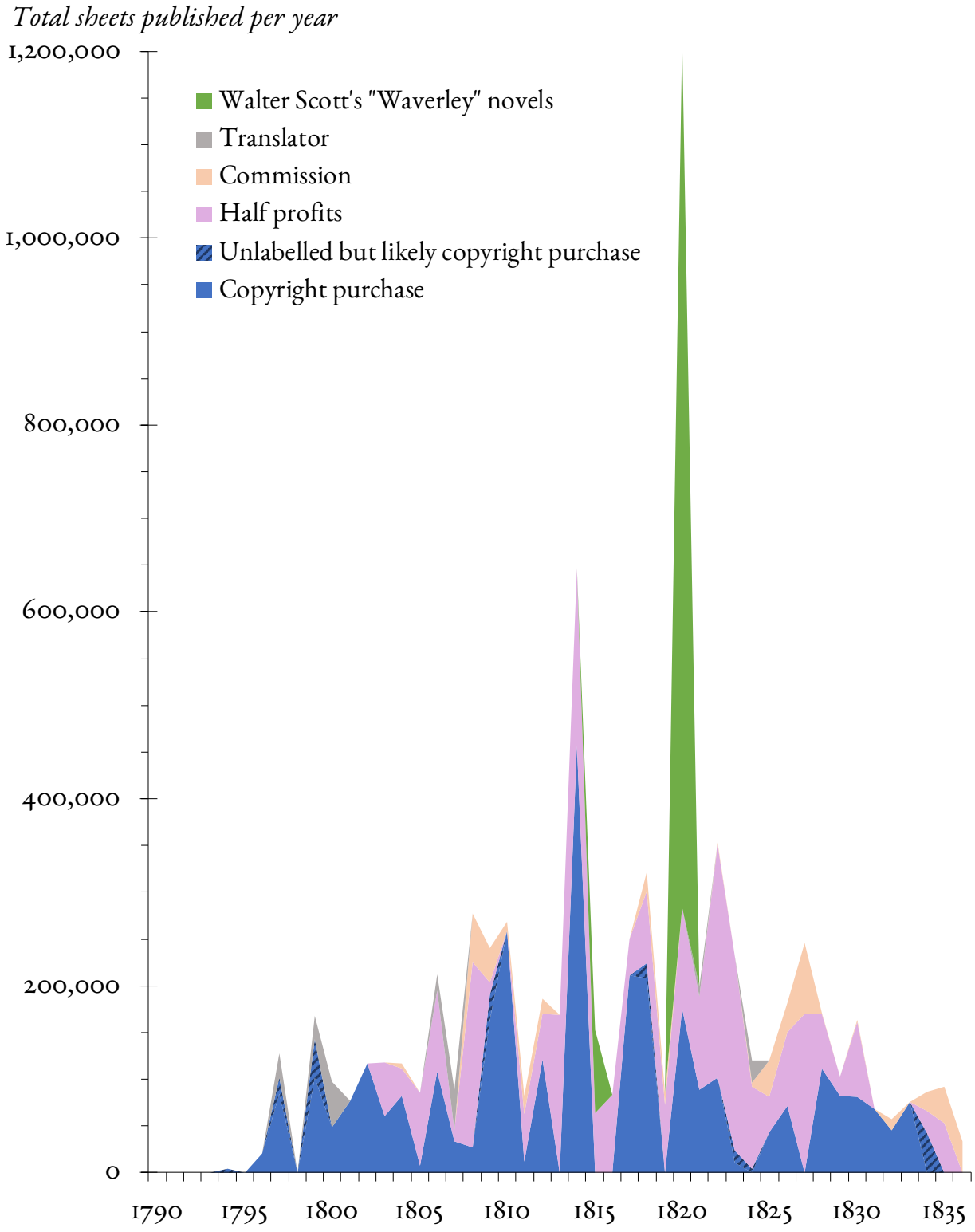

Figure 6.4. Longman & Co.'s new fiction output measured by total sheets printed, 1795–1836

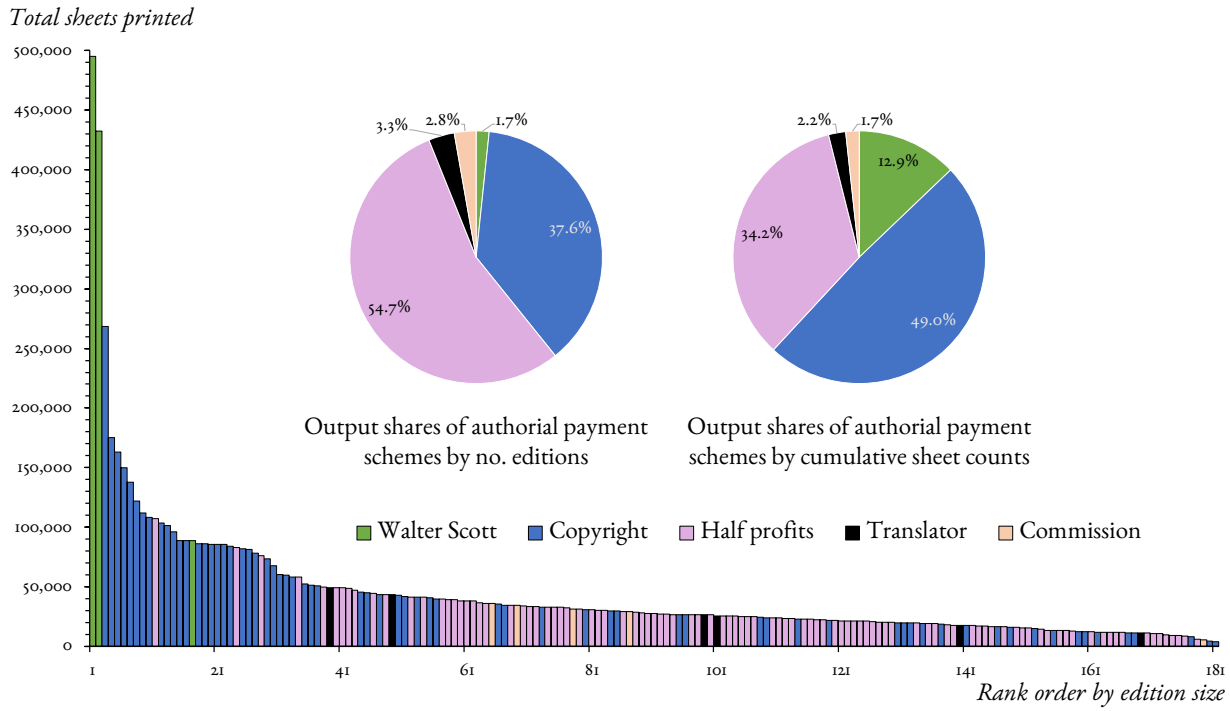

Figure 6.5. Authorial payment and edition size by sheet count
Rank order and output shares of editions Longman is known to have ordered printed, 1794–1836

Fireside and Amelia Opie's *New Tales*), and 1820 (with Barbara Hofland's *Tales of the Heart*).[34] In comparison, the role of Longman's increasing number of profit-share editions in the 1820s remains large but becomes less decisive, accounting for a period of stabilization rather than one of growth. And because the profile of novels published on commission is proportionately much smaller when counted in sheets, it's now apparent that by 1835–6 the firm's fiction publishing seems barely to rebounded from the sustained decline that began in the late 1820s.

The chronologies of edition counts and sheet counts diverge for a simple reason: copyright-purchase editions tended to be much larger commercial enterprises than the alternative publishing arrangements (see Figure 6.5). Excluding the three novels published by Scott, no fewer than 29 of

[34] *DBF* 1809A054, 1810A070, 1810A089, 1814A017, 1814A048, 1814A062, 1814A062, 1817A048, 1817A049, 1818A045, 1818A052, 1820A056, respectively.

Longman & Co.'s copyright-purchase editions entailed the printing of 50,000 sheets or more,[35] compared to just four copyright-purchase editions (including *Romantic Tales*).[36] The primary driver of this difference in sheet counts was the number of copies printed for the edition, although aforementioned differences in average edition length contributed as well. When Longman & Co. published a growing number of profit-share editions in the 1820s, they primarily opted for conservative editions of 500 or 750 copies; the same was true of novels published on commission. Copyright-purchase editions, on the other hand, usually entailed the printing of 1,000 copies and were by far the likeliest to entail 2,000 copies or more.

The variability of sheet counts concealed beneath simple title counts has important implications for the cliometric analysis of magnitudes, averages, and historical rates of change in book history. At the simplest level of interpretation, Figure 6.3 and Figure 6.4 reveals how much the true trajectory of fiction output may diverge from the seductively smooth line graphs that have become a staple in bibliographical studies of fiction (including my own).

6.2B. Total manufacturing costs

Records of manufacturing costs—i.e. the joint outlays to paper, printing, and other production processes besides advertising—survive for the first editions of 175 of Longman & Co.'s novels; printing costs alone survive for another six. Intuitively enough, the firm's accounts reveal a close relationship between the total number of sheets ordered printed for each edition and its total manufacturing costs (see Figure 6.6). While the relationship is far from perfectly linear, it's well approximated by a linear best-fit line. Indeed, a simple linear regression—a statistical technique

[35] *TEN1* 1797:71, 1799:78; *DBF* 1802A060, 1804A016, 1806A051, 1809A054, 1809A059, 1810A070, 1810A089, 1812A065, 1814A017, 1814A048, 1814A062, 1817A048, 1817A049, 1818A045, 1818A052, 1820A056, 1821A061, 1822A062, 1824A078, 1826A063, 1826A064, 1828A063, 1829A078; *TEN3* 1830:89, 1831:57, 1833:38, 1835:62.

[36] *DBF* 1808A071, 1813A044, 1815A046, 1816A047.

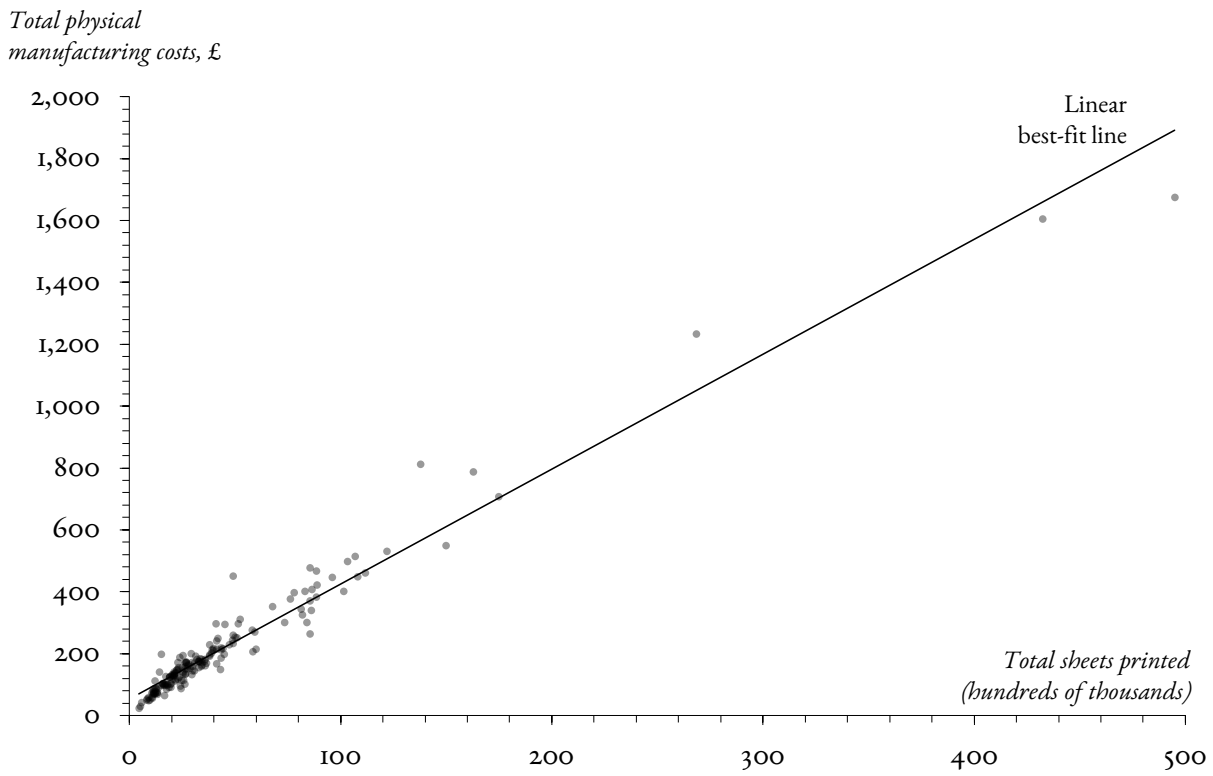

Figure 6.6. Physical manufacturing costs of novels by number of sheets printed

commonly used to estimate the relationship between two variables—suggests that sheet counts alone explain about 96% of variation in manufacturing costs.[37]

From this wide vantage, the *total manufacturing costs* of each edition may seem to have differed little for any reason other than their sheet counts. Yet as the liberal dispersion of points around the best-fit line suggests, the *unit manufacturing costs* of editions varied widely. Indeed, the unit costs of Longman's editions fluctuated considerably during the period 1797–1836 (see Figure 6.7). Using Longman's accounts, it is possible to calculate the firm's average annual manufacturing costs per sheet. I have calculated averages using both editions and yearly sheet totals as the base unit; the former

[37] With a sample of 175 observations, the simple linear regression has a correlation coefficient (R^2) of 0.96. The coefficient for total sheets (the slope of the best-fit line in Figure 6.8) 3.72×10^{-3} decimal pounds per sheet, equivalent to 7.44 shillings per 100 sheets; the constant (the best-fit line's y-intercept) is 51.61.

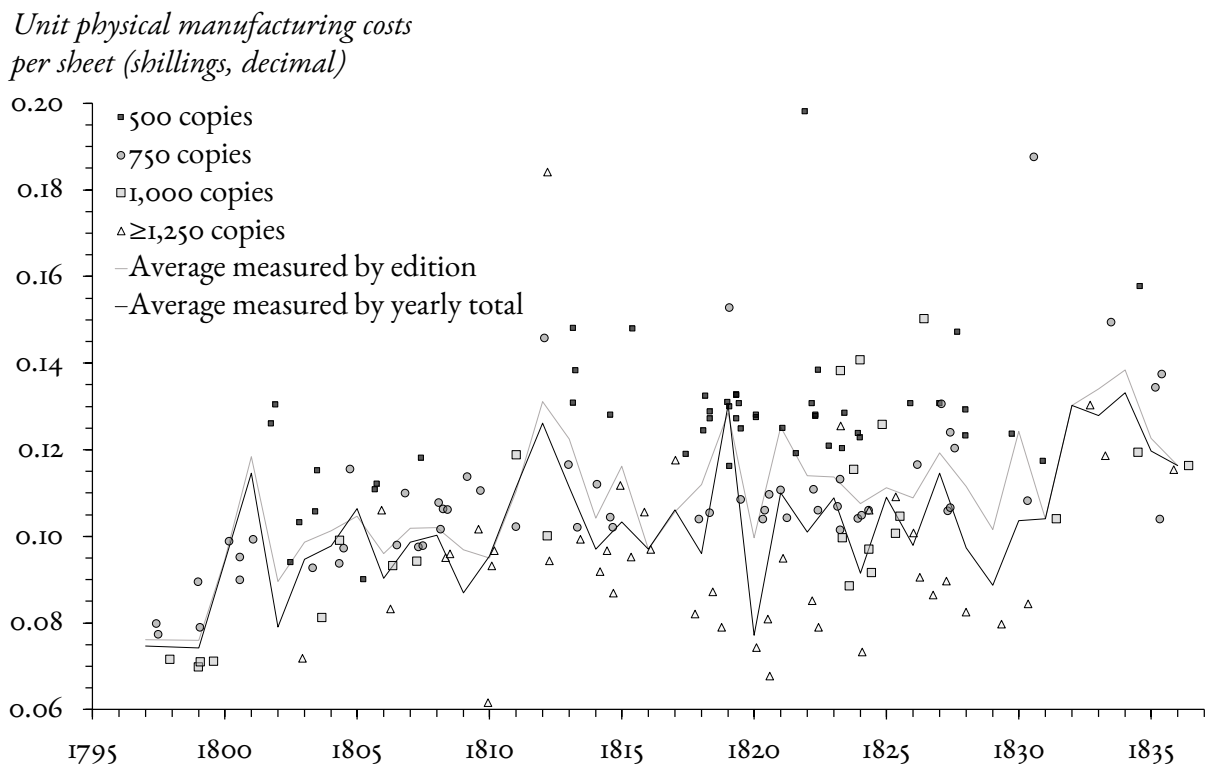

Figure 6.7. Annual manufacturing costs of novels per sheet, 1796–1836

average treats each edition equally, while the latter average gives proportionately larger weight to large editions.[38]

At first glance, the capricious zigzag of annual averages fails to inspire optimism that the sample will offer many insights about structural change in the economics of book manufacturing. Afer all, the sample's annual coverage is fairly uneven: many years have just one or two editions in the sample, and the representation of edition sizes and authorial payments varies widely from year to year. In fact, however, the sample registers historical variations in book production costs far more clearly than the annual averages might suggest they do, and these variations underscore rapid changes that were occurring in the manufacturing sector of the book trade during the early phases of Britain's Industrial Revolution.

[38] To clarify, the first average is the sum of the unit manufacturing costs per sheet observed for new novels in each year divided by the total number of observations in each year; the second average is the sum of total manufacturing costs for new novels each year divided by the sum of total sheet counts for all observations.

6.4. Paper costs

My account of paper costs is far more brief than that of printing costs—partly because I have already analyzed the British paper industry in depth in Chapter 2, partly because the trajectory of paper costs is easier to trace than those of printing, and partly because detailed firsthand cost accounting data for the industry are less readily available. Figure 6.8 charts the prices per ream that Longman & Co. paid for the paper in novels to the nearest month, delineated by size. Meanwhile, Table 6.1 shows the frequency of known paper sizes by format, as well as the sheet and leaf dimensions typical of books printed in those sizes (in imperial and metric units).

Are these prices typical of the paper in printed books? According to at least one definition of the word "typical," yes. In his landmark study of the British paper trade, D.C. Coleman used Longman's Impression Books to calculate the annual median price the firm paid for its most commonly used size of printing paper, demy (c. 22.5 × 17.5 in [572 × 445 mm]), during the period 1797–1860. Coleman found that after a protracted period of volatility during the Napoleonic Wars, Longman's prices for demy fell sharply during the late 1810s and continued to decline steadily through the rest of the century.[39] John Bidwell has critiqued Coleman for failing to differentiate among the grades of demy used for different kinds of publications: "In one year, 1815, [Longman & Co.] could pay 26s. 6d. for an ordinary demy used in an abridgement of Lindley Murray's Grammar and nearly twice as much for a thick superfine demy used in Wordsworth's *White Doe of Rylstone*, an elegant quarto designed for an elite clientele." Bidwell usefully complements Coleman by showing that the price of coarse, cheap demy did notfall permanently till after 1836.[40] However, Figure 6.8 shows that until 1832, most of the demy paper Longman & Co. bought for novels came at a price very close to Coleman's median for demy—if anything 1 to 1.5 shillings lower. Indeed, Coleman's choice to calculate

[39] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 203
[40] Bidwell, "The Industrialization of the Paper Trade," 213–4.

Table 6.1A. Paper in Longman & Co.'s novels, 1797–1836: imperial units

Name	Frequency by format			Typical sheet	Est. untrimmed leaf dimensions (in)		
	8º	12º	16º	dimensions (in)	8º	12º	16º
Foolscap		1		17 × 13¼	6.6 × 4.3	5.7 × 3.3	4.3 × 3.3
Post	10	10		19 × 15	7.5 × 4.8	6.3 × 3.8	4.8 × 3.8
Crown		1		20 × 15	7.5 × 5	6.7 × 3.8	5 × 3.8
Copy	2	17		20 × 16	8 × 5	6.7 × 4	5 × 4
Demy	1	101		22½ × 17¼	8.8 × 5.6	7.5 × 4.4	5.6 × 4.4
Medium	1			23 × 18	9 × 5.8	7.7 × 4.5	5.8 × 4.5
Double foolscap			1	26½ × 16½	8.3 × 6.6	8.8 × 4.1	6.6 × 4.1
Royal		1		25 × 20	10 × 6.3	8.3 × 5	6.3 × 5
Size unknown		20					
Total/*est. sample average*	14	131	1	*21.7 × 16.9*	*7.8 × 4.9*	*7.3 × 4.3*	*6.6 × 4.1*

Table 6.1B. Paper in Longman & Co.'s novels, 1797–1836: metric units

Name	Frequency by format			Typical sheet	Est. untrimmed leaf dimensions (mm)		
	8º	12º	16º	dimensions (mm)	8º	12º	16º
Foolscap		1		432 × 337	168 × 108	144 × 84	108 × 84
Post	10	10		483 × 381	191 × 121	161 × 95	121 × 95
Crown		1		508 × 381	191 × 127	169 × 95	127 × 95
Copy	2	17		508 × 406	203 × 127	169 × 102	127 × 102
Demy	1	101		572 × 445	222 × 143	191 × 111	143 × 111
Medium	1			584 × 457	229 × 146	195 × 114	146 × 114
Double foolscap			1	673 × 419	210 × 168	224 × 105	168 × 105
Royal		1		635 × 508	254 × 159	212 × 127	159 × 127
Size unknown		20					
Total/*est. sample average*	14	131	1	*550.9 × 430*	*197 × 125*	*185 × 108*	*168 × 105*

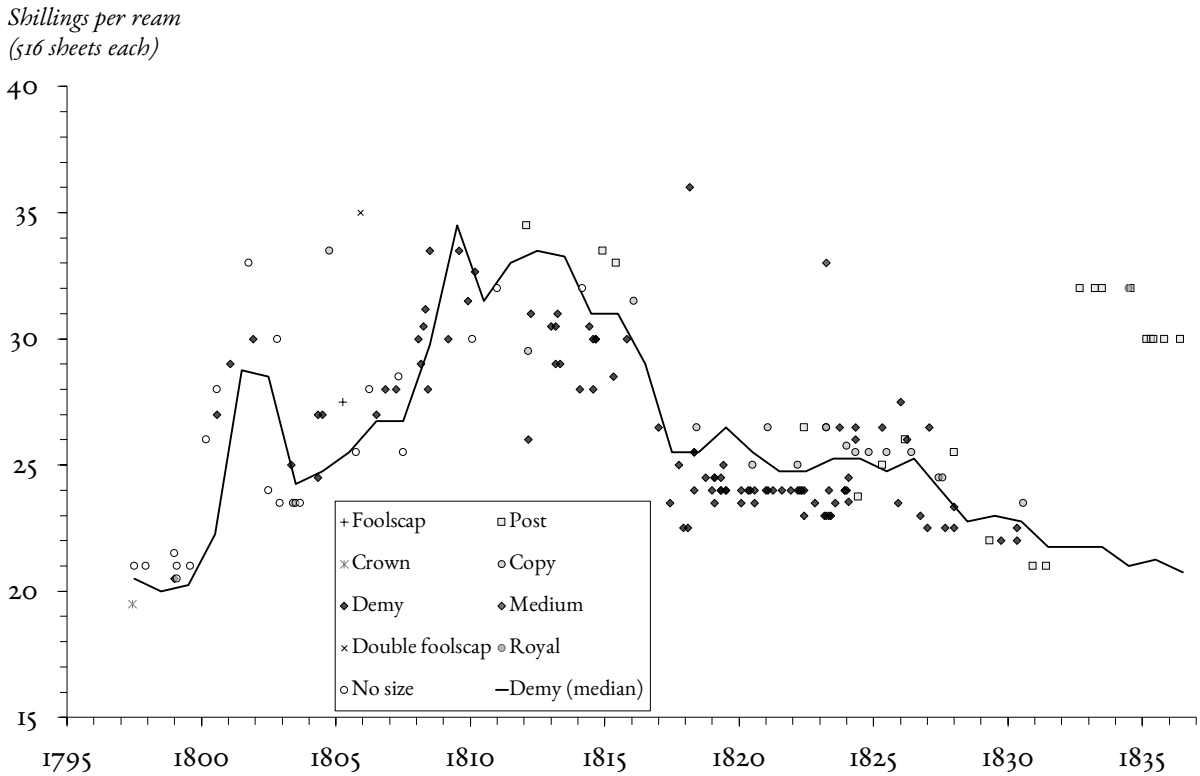

Figure 6.8. Longman & Co.'s paper prices for new novels by size, 1797–1815

the median rather than the average makes it an excellent approximation of the middling grade of demy most often used for novels—termed "retree," or slightly defective in comparison to the best grades.[41]

The fact that Longman's paper for novels generally follows established trends across the firm's accounts has important implications. If, as Bidwell argues, the early mechanization of papermaking did little to drive down the prices of the cheapest, coarsest grades of printing paper, plainly Longman & Co.'s fiction publishing *did* benefit from the early machines' effectiveness in producing middling paper for novels. If anything, Longman III's use of machine-made paper for these grades likely gave him a competitive advantage compared with much of the London market, owing to his heavy reliance on paper made by his brother's partner John Dickinson. From George Longman's death in 1822 through to 1836, T.N. Longman & Co. bought 86% of their paper for the editions of novels with surviving data (excluding Walter Scott's) from Dickinson. Judging from a desultory skim of Impression Books 8–9, it appears that while Longman & Co. were certainly continuing to buy paper from other stationers at a scale the entries for novels fail to reflect, the firm indeed bought a sizeable majority of its paper from Dickinson by the 1820s.

What were Longman & Co. paying for when they paid for paper? The firm's accelerated use of machine-made paper means they likely experienced the consequences of the industry's increasing capital intensiveness—a familiar symptom of the Industrial Revolution—a decade or two sooner than most other British publishers. It's important not to overstate the extent of this transformation, however. Notwithstanding the grueling and highly skilled work it entailed, hand papermaking was, by nature, already a heavily capital-intensive industry. Much of the "processing" necessary to render the cellulose fiber that grew in hemp, flax, and cotton suitable for papermaking had occurred well before the rags used for paper arrived at a papermill, in the course of their production and human wear as textile products. Thus, the largest input cost of papermaking was always rags, and their profile in a

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[41] In 1820, Longman & Co. paid 24 shillings per ream for the "retree Demy" used in Robert Charles Dallas's *Sir Frances Darrell* (1820A019); see Impression Book 7:89. Unfortunately, such explicit labels of grade are unusual in the Impression Books. Considering that almost all the demy paper the firm used for novels during the early to mid 1820s came at this price, however, it's reasonable to infer that most of Longman's demy for novels was likewise classed retree. See Labarre, *Dictionary and Encyclopædia of Paper and Papermaking* 226.

Table 6.2. Estimated factor shares of productivity for papermaking

Source of estimate	Labor	Capital and Misc.	Excise
Keferstein, 1765	21%	72%	7%
Whatman, 1784–1785	14%	64.5%	21.5%
Dickinson, 1837	6%	84%	10%

typical papermill's budget was almost as large as all other costs put together. It's for this reason that economic historians have found that papermaking had the lowest "value added" to raw inputs of any well-documented British industry.[42] Coleman reproduces two prominent eighteenth-century accounts of paper costs: one from the large and elite operation of James Whatman the Younger in 1784–1785, and another from German papermaker Georg Keferstein, outlining the typical operating costs of a smaller papermill in 1765. I reproduce these statistics in a simplified form in Table 6.2. These accounts suggest that in the late eighteenth century, papermills spent 2.5 to 4 times as much on the acquisition of rags and other raw materials as on workers' wages.[43] Naturally, much about a papermill's operating costs depended on its size, the quality and intended uses of its paper, the intensiveness of its rag preparation, and the magnitude of Customs & Excise duty, but these ratios probably represent reasonable upper and lower limits for hand papermills in the half-century before mechanization.

How did the early papermaking machines alter the industry's factor shares of productivity? Joan Evans offers sufficient statistics on Dickinson's labor costs to proffer some rough estimates. During January 1837, Dickinson's average weekly wages across his four papermaking mills (Apsley, Nash, Home Park, and Chrochley) amounted to £181 for 4,030 reams of paper, suggesting an average wage rate of 1.11 shillings per ream.[44] During the same month, Batchworth, Dickinson's fifth mill specializing in rag preparation, produced 36 tons of half-stuff for an average weekly wage of £90. Accepting D.C. Coleman's estimate of 20 lb. as the average weight of a dry ream (which Dickinson's ledgers roughly corroborate),[45] and crudely estimating that as much as 40 lb. of damp half-stuff might

[42] Crafts, *British Economic Growth*, 20–2.

[43] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 169.

[44] Evans, *The Endless Web*, 68–9.

[45] Evans reports that by 1838, the output of Nash Mills was about 8 tons per week; if this weight did notrepresent a dramatic increase over 815 reams the previous year, the average weight of Dickinson's reams

have gone into each ream before water drained out, the labor cost associated with rag treatment might have been as high as 0.8 shillings per ream. Together, the wage outlays for all five mills thus suggest a total labor cost of roughly 2 shillings per ream—perhaps higher, but not by much.

Obviously these estimates are highly tentative, and direct consultation of Dickinson's accounts may help to refine them by attaching hourly rates to reams of particular dimensions and grades. Nevertheless, Dickinson's wages suggest a stark picture of the growing capital intensiveness of papermaking. Considering that in the mid 1830s Dickinson sold Longman & Co. post paper for 32 shillings per ream, it is clear that the labor share of productivity from Dickinson's operation had retreated far below even late-eighteenth-century levels—from 15% or 20% total operating costs to as low as 6%. Of Dickinson's remaining revenue, the better part of 84% would have gone to what can broadly be classified as capital outlays: rags and other raw inputs, plant maintenance, personal profit, and interest due on loans. (Some of this 85% would have gone to carriage and miscellaneous other costs.) The remaining 10%, much to the chagrin of Dickinson and his customers, would have gone to a custom and excise duty of 3 pence per lb., or roughly 3 shillings per ream—down from a peak of 5 pence per lb. in 1801, but still steep.[46] In short, Dickinson's labor share of productivity in 1837 was likely somewhere between one quarter and one half of eighteenth-century levels. In some plants the reduction may have been even more stark: during the same year, Henry Fourdrinier boasted before Parliament that his machines produced with 18 shillings of labor the weekly output a traditional hand vat team made for wages of 120 shillings.[47]

Given the considerable savings on long-term average cost that mechanization entailed, it's a testament to the skills of both Dickinson and the Fourdriniers' lead engineer Bryan Donkin that early papermaking machines did notproduce a radically different final product from hand-made paper. Although machine-made printing paper had unique defects and limitations, contemporary users

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would have been 20 lb. or slightly less. For complications to this assumed average, however, refer back to my extended discussion of late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century ream weights in Chapter 1.

[46] Bidwell, "The Industrialization of the Paper Trade," 203.

[47] Commons, "Select Committee," 9.

generally agreed that it entailed no sacrifices in quality compared to the utilitarian hand-made paper against which it was primarily competing.[48] The quality of printing paper began to decline only after the industry introduced cheap rag substitutes such as wood-pulp and esparto grass in the mid to late nineteenth century.[49] In fact, early machine-made paper can be difficult to tell apart from handmade paper, even with the benefit of a backlight. The best-studied features of machine-made paper are faint marks sometimes left along the portions of sheets that formed across the seams sewn along each end of the machine's wire to render it endless.[50] Figure 6.9 shows seam marks marks on an untrimmed leaf from a sheet of demy paper G. Longman & Dickinson sold to T.N. Longman & Co. for use in *The Recluse of Norway*, printed no later than September 1814.[51] The sheet is a product of Dickinson's earliest years at Apsley and Nash Mills. Like other early machine papermakers, Dickinson regarded seam marks and water drills, "caused by an irregularity in the flow of the stuff and visible as thinnings in the resulting paper," as aesthetic defects, to be trimmed from the final product whenever possible.[52] Yet under ordinary light, this sheet meets the middling standards expected of novels as effectively as that made in any hand-operated mill. The sheet is thinner, but also finer and whiter than the handmade demy that Scottish papermaker Alexander Cowan sold Longman and Constable for Guy Mannering, printed no more than five months later. Both papers sold for the same price of 30 shillings per ream.

A final development complicates what, until near the beginning of the Victorian period, appears to be a smooth reduction in Longman & Co.'s paper costs for novels. By 1830, Dickinson was supplying Longman & Co. with middling grades of demy, post, and copy at prices as low as 21 to 23.5 shillings per ream. From 1832 onward, however, the paper Dickinson supplied to the firm for novels was almost solely post, which Longman & Co. bought at the much higher prices of 30 to 32 shillings per ream. Because Coleman's sample attests that Longman & Co.'s middling demy prices were

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[48] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 204–5.
[49] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 337–49.
[50] McMullin, "Machine-Made Paper," 62–3.
[51] Impression Book 5.153r; see Appendix B, *DBF* 1814A048.
[52] McMullin, "Machine-Made Paper," 67.

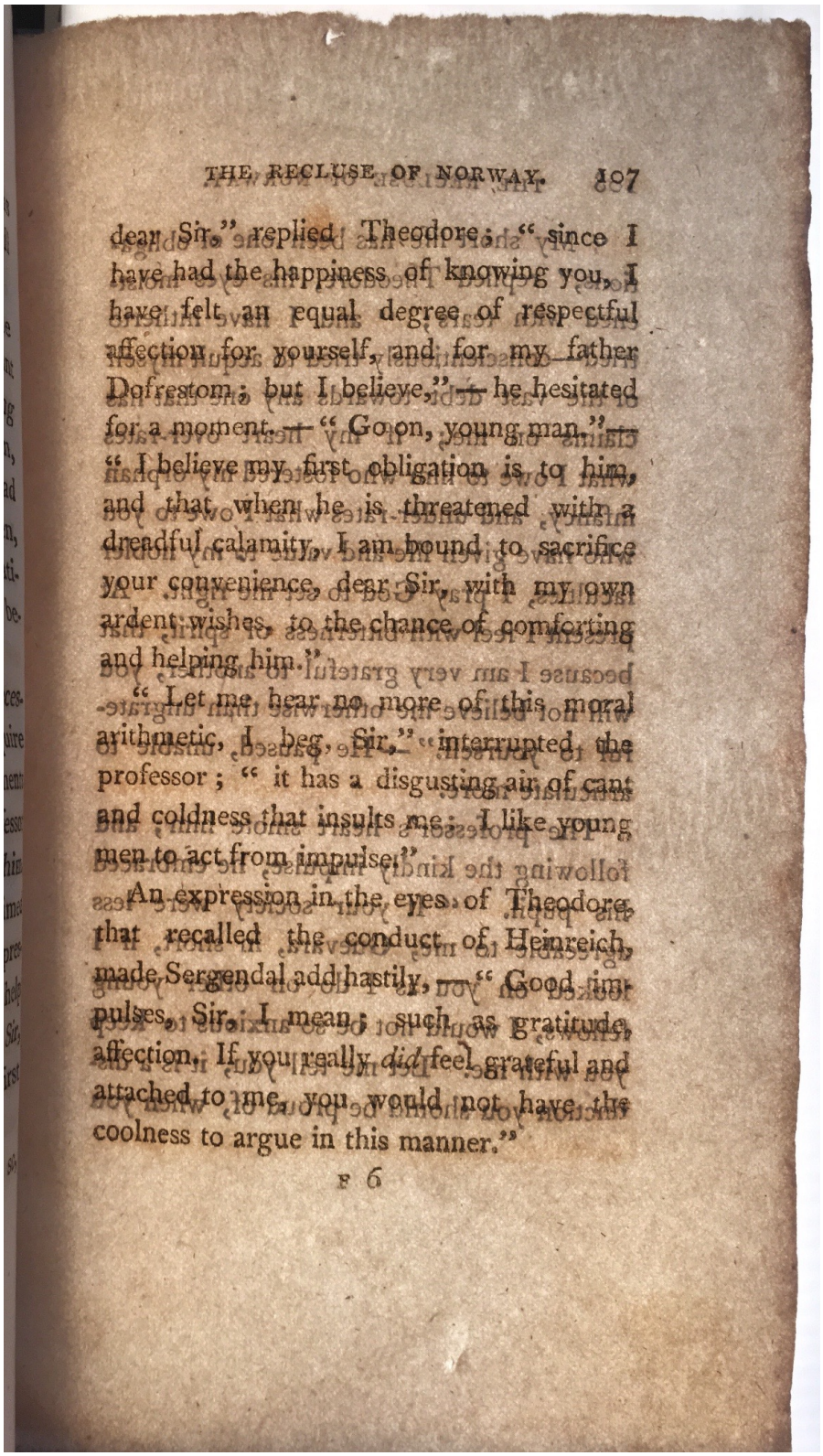

Figure 6.9. Seam marks in Anna Maria Porter's *The Recluse of Norway* (1814), leaf 1.F6. (Harrison Small Special Collections, University of Virginia)

continuing to fall during these years, we can be sure this price increase wasn't motivated by a hike in the overall production costs of paper. Instead, Longman & Co. were *choosing* to buy a more expensive grade of paper for novels than they had previously. Clearly, novels were becoming increasingly elite products during these years, which coincided with the ascendance of 10.5 shillings per volume as their standard retail price.

6.5. Printing costs

That my treatment of printing in this chapter is far longer than that of paper in no way reflects the relative importance of the two industries. Rather, the printing industry has simply left more, and more readily analyzed, quantitative evidence of historical costs than has the paper industry. At least as far as novels are concerned, printing costs also vary far more from edition to edition than do paper costs, and for more complex reasons. It's therefore difficult to arrive at a clear historical narrative to explain how the cost structure of printing evolved during this period, for novels or for any other genre.

What we do know for certain, thanks to Impression Book entries and imprints, is who printed Longman & Co.'s novels and how much output their work entailed. Evidence of the firm's favoritism in printing is even more decisive than that for its paper suppliers. During the years 1796–1836, Strahan & Spottiswoode printed 130 out of the 187 first editions for which data survive; cumulatively, they printed 4.6 million out of the 8 million sheets comprising these editions. None of the 29 other master printers with coverage in the dataset leave a comparable profile. James Ballantyne printed 1.1 million sheets (927,500 of them for *The Monastery* and *The Abbot* in 1820), and Richard Taylor printed 550,000 sheets, but no other printers are responsible for more than 200,000 sheets in the sample.

Figure 6.10 charts the main printing charges, excluding corrections and other irregular costs, that Longman & Co. paid per edition-sheet for each edition, grouped by quantity of copies printed, while Figure 6.11 charts the unit cost per sheet from these editions. Three patterns are apparent at a glance. First, and intuitively the more copies Longman & Co. ordered printed for each edition, the higher the charge tended to be. Second, within editions of the same size there is a gradual upward trend

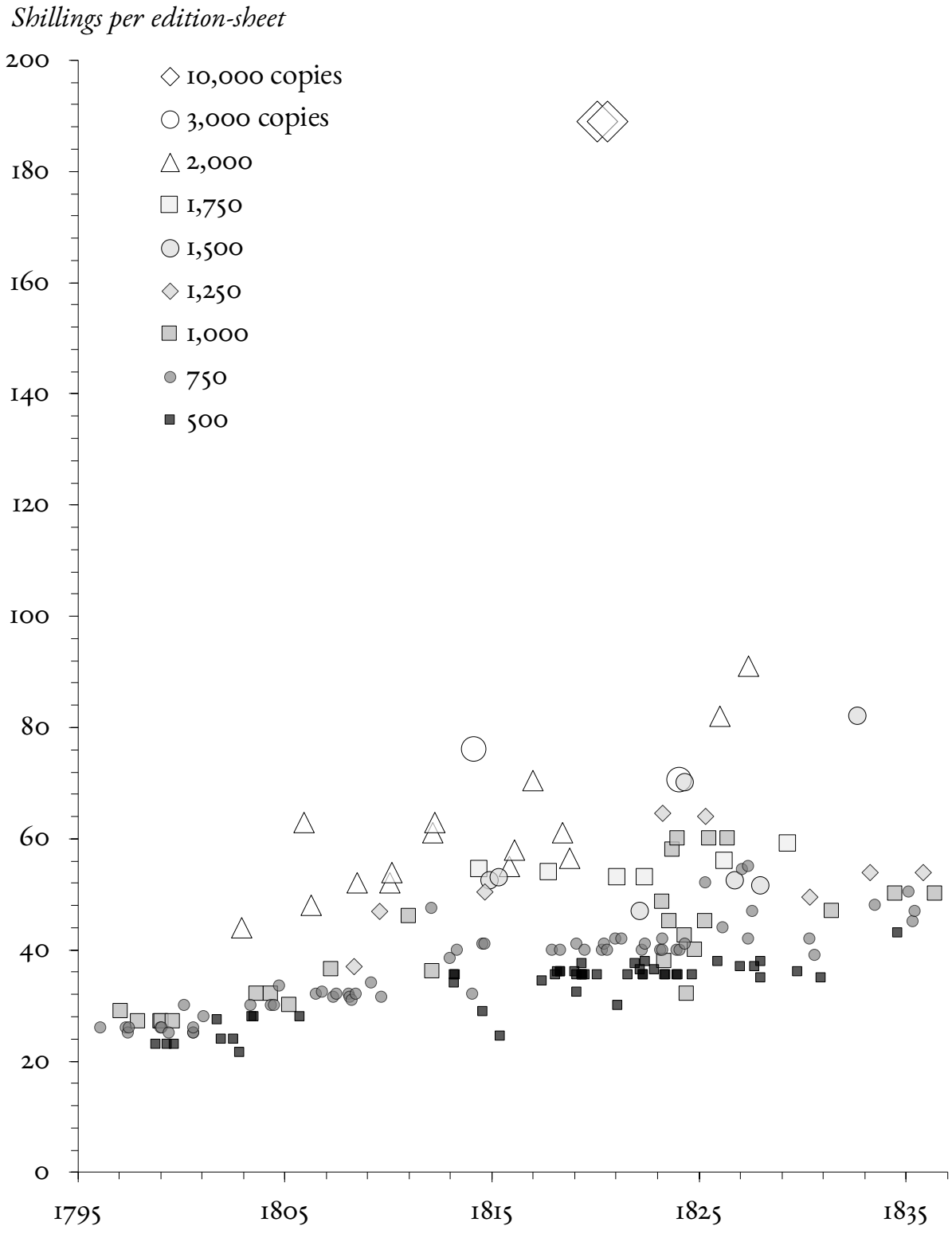

Figure 6.10. Longman & Co.'s printing charges for first editions of novels, 1796–1836

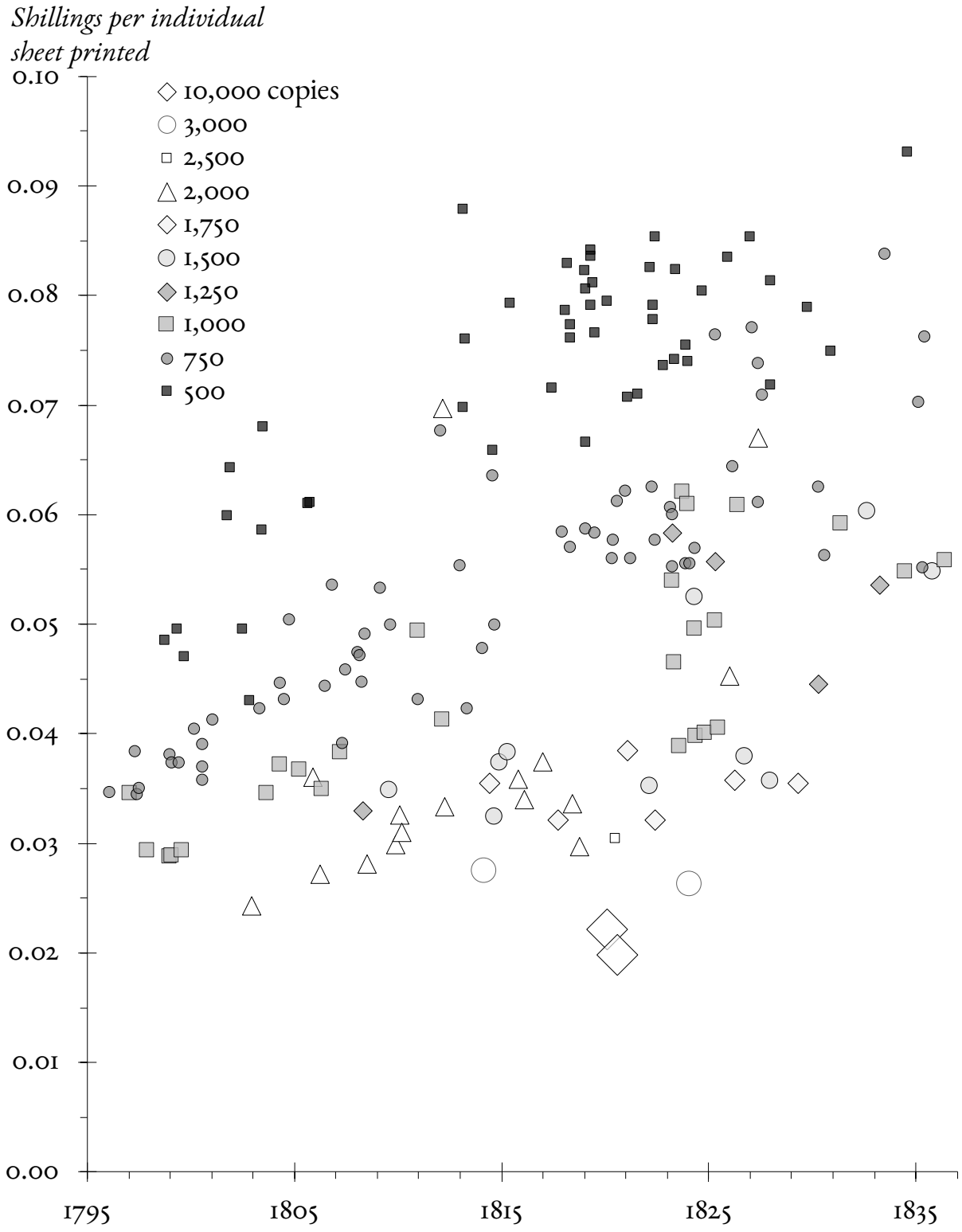

Figure 6.11. Longman & Co.'s unit printing costs for first editions of novels, 1796–1836

in printing charges across the period. This upward trend is most clearly visible from the three smallest and most common edition sizes in the sample, 500, 750, and 1,000 copies—which collectively account for 136 out of the 181 editions with surviving data. Despite considerable variation in cost among edition of the same size, it is clear that charges rose in the early 1800s, rose again in the early 1810s, and then rose once more (or at least widened in range) in the late 1820s. Third, the more copies printed for the edition, the smaller the unit printing charge tended to be.

For the present purposes, I will not dwell heavily on the costs of correcting and miscellaneous other activities excluded from the main charge. Such costs are specific to the exigencies of each edition, and I can detect no clear historical trends in their rates. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was evidently common practice for the master printer to pay the corrector of a printing house one sixth the compositor's wage for typesetting and then to add a 50% surcharge to cover associated capital outlays.[53] According to T.C. Hansard's *Typographia* (1825), by the early nineteenth century the standard correcting surcharge had risen to one quarter of the compositor's wage.[54] Longman's and Strahan's data suggest that standard practice rarely conformed to such even fractions. Of the 68 editions for which the corrections line indicates outlays only for "Corrections" or "Correcting," 13 have a rate as low as 5% of the main printing charge, while 55 have rates somewhere between 5% and 20% of the main charge. Variation is even wider when costs include labels, small type, Greek, &c. The average sum is 10.3% of the main charge, but a total of nine editions have additional expenses larger than 25% of the main charge.[55]

6.5A. Conceptualizing printing costs

In comparison to hand papermaking, hand-press printing was a highly labor-intensive industry. Yet the capital costs of printing have likely been somewhat understated. Bibliographers often refer to a "rule of thirds" in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century printing charges: master printers

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[53] Blayney, "The Publication of Playbooks," 407.
[54] Hansard, *Typographia*, 793.
[55] *DBF* 1801A048, 1810A089, 1815A021, 1815A044, 1827A014, 1827A054; *TEN3* 1831:57, 1833:57, 1835:62.

ordinarily added a 50% surcharge to an edition's labor costs, meaning two thirds of an edition's final charge ordinarily went to labor and one third to capital.[56] However, D.F. McKenzie's sample of 10 editions printed by William Bowyer during the years 1731–1733 reveals that Bowyer usually surcharged a little more to labor costs than this rule of thumb suggests, and for some editions significantly more. The sample's median capital share of printing charges was 36.1%, and for three editions it was as high as 50%.[57] Bowyer's willingness to deviate from the "rule of thirds" has important implications. As McKenzie recognized in his study of the Cambridge University Press at the turn of the eighteenth century, whether or not a printing house earned its proprietors a profit depended in large part on the efficiency with which its total scale of output allowed it to utilize its operating capital efficiently:

> As a rule, all overheads (except wages), and any profit, had to be met from the margin charged over and above costs. [. . .] These overhead costs [. . .] were basically either fixed (rent, taxes, overseers' salary, etc.) or variable (ink, pelts, wool, parchment, furniture, repairs, etc.). Above a certain high level of production fixed costs would form only a small and a constantly diminishing proportion of total costs, and variation in the rate of production above this level would not greatly matter, for the expenses of further production (wages and materials) would be directly proportional to the amount of work done. Conversely, however, below this critical level, fixed costs would begin to form a much higher proportion of total costs. And if production was allowed to fall below a certain point (basically that at which income from the mark-up equaled expenditure on all items except wages) the Press would begin to suffer a loss. The nadir would be reached when production (and therefore income) was nil and fixed costs equaled total costs.[58]

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[56] In addition to the sources cited immediately below, see Blayney, "The Publication of Playbooks," 408; Fielding and Rogers, "Monopoly Power," 395.

[57] McKenzie, "Printers of the Mind," Appendix II(f), 70–74, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40371475. In my scrutiny of whether Bowyer's statistics adhere to the "rule of thirds," I follow Keith Maslen, "Printing Charges: Inference and Evidence," *Studies in Bibliography* 24 (1971): 91–8, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40371528.

[58] McKenzie, *Cambridge University Press*, 1.153, my italics.

McKenzie offers an apt description of the overhead expenses hand-press printing houses continued to face into the early decades of the nineteenth century. However, the variability of Bowyer's surcharges suggests that unlike the Cambridge University Press, Bowyer was perfectly willing to charge above the "rule of thirds" when total output fell below the "critical level" of total production necessary for revenue to exceed costs. Indeed, if the Bowyer Ledgers offer any indication, commercial London presses likely varied their capital surcharges as necessary to cover period-variant expenses and protect their profits. For bibliographers, the pessimistic consequence is that even amid the technological staidness of the hand-press period, we cannot straightforwardly assume an edition's labor costs were equal to two thirds of its total charge, even if this ratio probably offers a good approximation for many editions.

Unfortunately, first-hand data on the wages paid to printing-house employees for specific editions during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are rare. When detailed wage data do survive—for instance, in the papers of the Chiswick Press—they usually take the form of payments to individual employees, obfuscating ready analysis at the level of the edition.[59] Although Charles Babbage's groundbreaking proto-econometric study *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufacture* (1832) famously decries book-trade collusion by reproducing detailed accounts of its own production costs, Babbage's frequent statistical tables and profuse late-stage alterations make his book too unusual to base generalizations on.[60] For the following analysis, I'll instead contextualize the printing charges of novels using various other kinds of evidence. First, London master printers in the early nineteenth century left surprisingly robust statistical and anecdotal accounts of their pricing practices. In particular, Caleb Stower's *The Printer's Price Book* (1814) cross-lists 324 specimen pages with a complex table instructing printers on how to charge customers for an edition based on its typographical layout. Second, printing wages from trade union records can serve as a basis for assessing how labor regulations

[59] J.L.M. Gulley, "More Chiswick Press Papers," *British Museum Quarterly* 26.3/4 (Spring 1963): 83–5, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4422779; Janet Ing, "A London Shop of the 1850s: The Chiswick Press," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 80, no. 2 (Spring 1986): 153–178, http://www.jstor.com/stable/24303966.

[60] Charles Babbage, *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures* (London: Charles Knight, 1832; facsimile reproduction, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 166–7.

affected printing costs.[61] And third, Richard Lutes's remarkably thorough account of Strahan & Spottiswoode's major capital expenditures makes it possible to trace the influence of early technological innovations on printing costs.

6.5B. Modeling prining costs

On 30 July 1822, master printer John Lewis Cox presented Parliament with an "Estimate of Profit and Loss" on the printing of 500 copies of an octavo volume comprising 26 edition-sheets (see Table 6.3).[62] Cox's data imply a printing charge in line with eighteenth-century practices: 63% of the charge went to wages (41.0% to compositors, 10.3% to the corrector and overseers, and 11.8% to pressmen), while 37% went to operating capital and profits. Importantly, however, Cox arrived at this sum by attaching different surcharges to different kinds of labor. He indeed practiced a "rule of thirds" with respect to typesetting and correcting, adding a surcharge of 50% for these categories. But he practiced a rule of *halves* with respect to presswork, adding 100% of pressmen's wages to his surcharge.

We can use Cox's data as the basis to create a simple model of the relationship between the number of copies printed for an edition and its total printing cost (see Figure 6.12).[63] Typesetting, correcting, and their 50% surcharge comprised what economics textbooks call *fixed costs* with respect to quantity. Fixed costs are those that do not change irrespective of whether the edition comprised 1 copy or 100 or 10,000, since they reflected labor costs and overhead the edition incurred in advance of any perfected copies being printed. On the other hand, presswork and warehousing labor and their associated 100% surcharge comprised *variable costs* with respect to quantity. The more copies printed, the higher the variable costs the edition incurred. When graphed with quantity on the *x* axis, *total cost*—the sum of fixed costs and variable costs—has a positive intercept at the level of fixed costs before following the slope of variable costs.

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[61] A. L. Bowley and George Hy. Wood, "The Statistics of Wages in the United Kingdom During the Last Hundred Years. (Part V.) Printers," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 62, no. 4 (December 1899): 708–15, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2979771.

[62] Quoted in Hansard, *Typographia*, 797.

[63] For the present analysis I set aside variations in the cost of corrections, which would have been difficult to predict accurately in advance of printing

Table 6.3. John Lewis Cox's report of the charge for an octavo edition of 500 copies

Cost per edition-sheet	s	d	% Total
"Compositors" for "casework" (*i.e.* typesetting and distribution)	16	0	41.0%
"Reading and overseers"	4	0	10.3%
"One ream Press-work" by "2 Pressmen, 4 hours each at 5½ d."	3	8	11.8%
"Warehouse-work"	0	11	
50% surcharge on casework and reading	10	0	25.6%
100% surcharge on presswork and warehouse-work	4	5	11.3%
Total charge per edition-sheet	39	0	100.0%

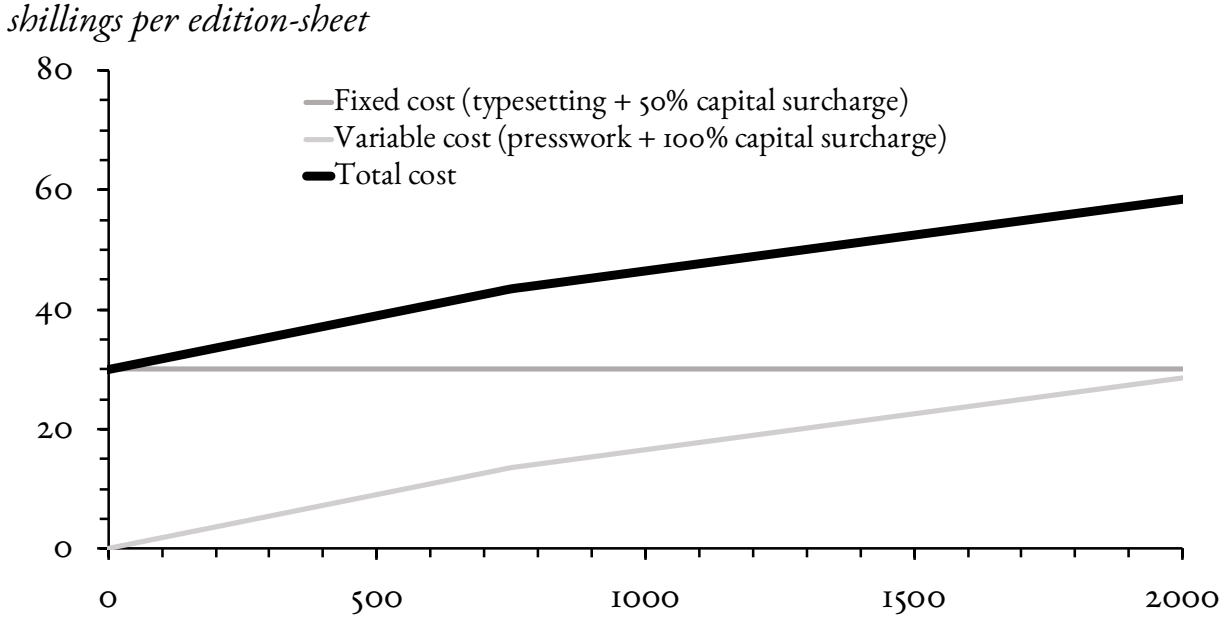
In practice, the slope of variable cost was unlikely to be a straight line. The 1810 London Scale of Prices for Presswork stipulates a reduction in pressmen's wages per copy past a threshold of 1,000 copies.[64] Still more severely, Stower's *Printer's Price Book* suggests it was common to charge 4 or 4.5 shillings for the 250 copies of an edition printed beyond the first 500, but only 2.5 or 3 shillings for all further increments of 250 beyond the first 750.[65] In light of the basic work routines of imposition and presswork, such a reduction makes intuitive sense: once make-ready had been performed to prepare an edition-sheet for printing, it was cost-effective, up to a certain threshold, to print as many copies from the standing type as possible. For this reason, I've drawn variable cost as kinked to a lower slope past the first 750 copies printed. It seems likely that even larger editions would have incurred even more steeply reduced rates, considering that Ballantyne's 10,000-copy editions of *The Abbot* and *The Monastery* cost only 189 shillings per edition-sheet; had variable costs remained constant after 1,000 copies, editions this large would surely have cost upward of 250 shillings. Certainly there was a threshold of diminishing productivity past which unit costs would have begun to *rise* the more copies were printed. However, such a predicament seems not to have been a practical concern for any of the edition sizes common to novels, simply because credit terms and risk aversion prevented publishers of even the most popular belletristic works from commissioning such large editions.

This model of total costs per edition-sheet enables us to estimate how average costs per sheet would have varied depending on the quantity of copies printed in the edition. Herein lies the most

[64] Howe, *The London Compositor*, 95–109.

[65] C[aleb] Stower, *The Printer's Price Book* (London: Printed for the editor for C. Cradock and W. Joy, 1814), 359–446.

6.14A. Total printing cost per edition-sheet



6.14B. Average printing cost per edition-sheet

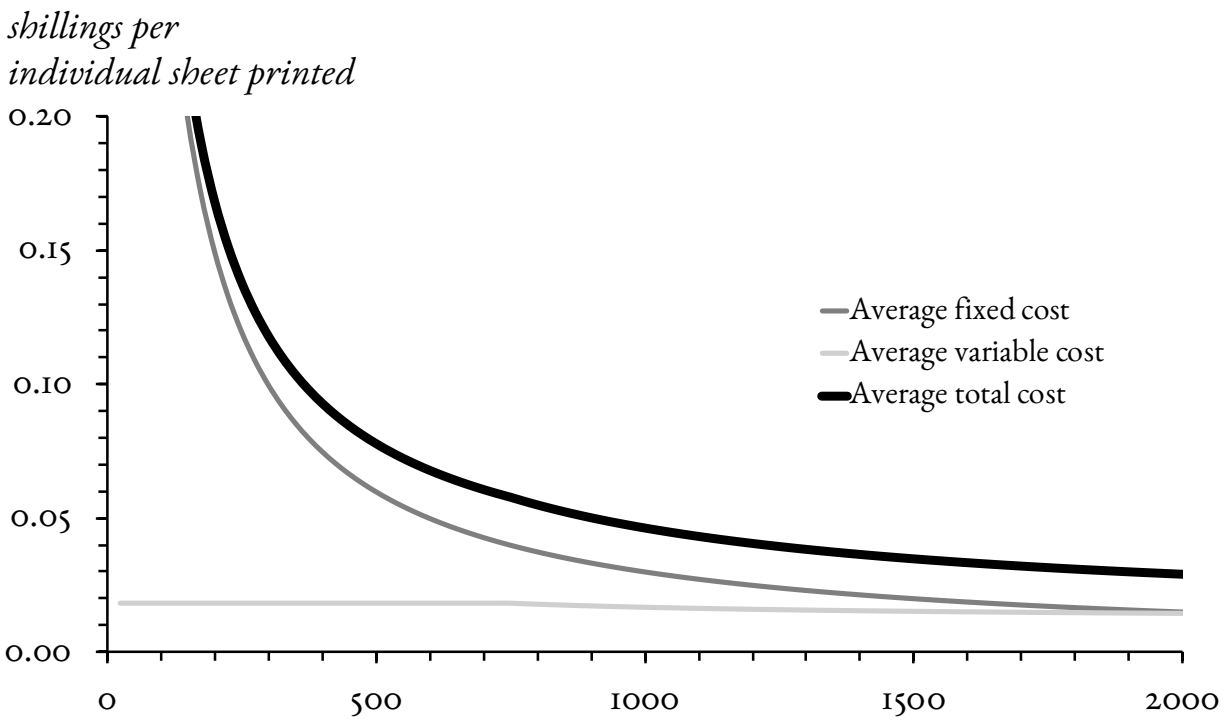


Figure 6.12. Printing costs and edition size:
imputed from John Lewis Cox's data on an octavo edition

important insight I can offer about the microeconomics of hand-press printing: the significance of economies of scale as a determinant of unit cost. Simply put, the more copies of an edition-sheet were printed, the smaller the unit cost of typesetting wages and other up-front outlays tended to be for each sheet. The concept of economies of scale was already implicitly present in McKenzie's above-quoted analysis of the capital overhead of the Cambridge University Press. Importantly, however, McKenzie was describing economies of scale in capital costs, which accrued across all of a printing house's concurrent jobs. The sizes of those jobs certainly affected a printing house's ratio of fixed to variable capital costs, but each job was part of a complex, firm-wide calculation. It's for this reason that the application of the "rule of thirds" did notnecessarily guarantee master printers a profit. In comparison, *labor* costs *did* accrue large, edition-specific economies of scale, for the simple reason a great deal of skilled, time-consuming work went into typesetting. Had Cox printed 500 copies of his hypothetical edition, for instance, the unit typesetting wage per copy would have been 0.032 shillings per individual sheet printed; the unit wage would have been twice as large for an edition of 250 copies but half as large for an edition of 1,000 copies.

Edition-specific economies of scale in printing wages are not merely a shadowy theoretical abstraction: they are readily apparent in printers' archives from the hand-press period. Take McKenzie's sample of Bowyer's labor costs for editions printed 1731–1733 in "Printers of the Mind" (see Figure 6.13).[66] The more copies Bowyer printed for his editions, the smaller the ratio of compositors' wages to pressmen's wages. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, economies of scale clearly had drastic effects on the average printing costs of editions with the range of quantities common to novels and other belletristic genres. Even moderately large editions were far more cost-effective to print than small ones. For the edition modelled here, the printing of 500 copies would cost 1.6 times as much per sheet as the printing of 1,000 copies, and twice as much as the printing of 2,000 copies. We have already seen that the proportion of large to small editions in Longman & Co.'s fiction output

[66] McKenzie, "Printers of the Mind," Appendix II (f), 70–5.

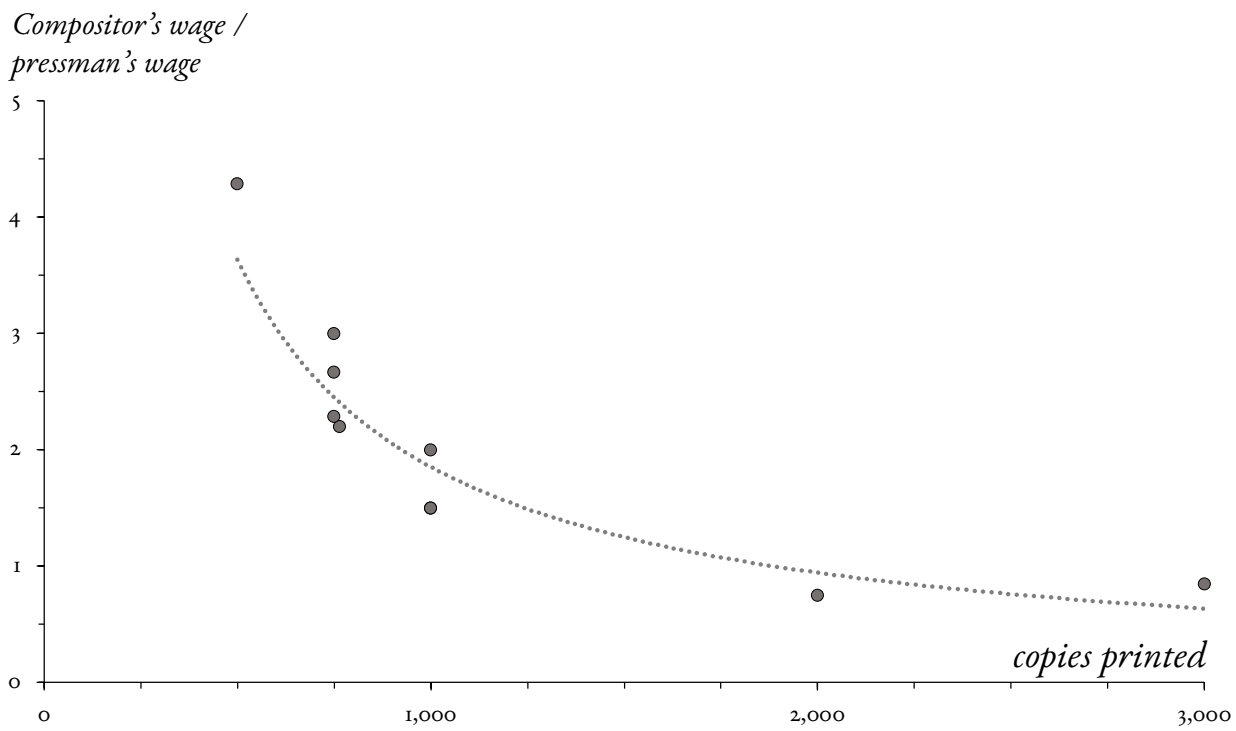


Figure 6.13. Economies of scale in printing wages: the relationship between edition size and the ratio of the wage shares of fixed and variable cost

varied heavily from year to year. This model thus hints that economies of scale drove much of the annual variation in the printing costs of Longman & Co.'s novels.

6.5C. Piece rates

Overview of piece rates. In its general shape if not its specific values, the rudimentary model I've constructed from Cox's data probably describes the cost structure of early-nineteenth-century printing fairly accurately. But importantly, costs differed among editions for other reasons than the quantity of copies printed. In particular, typesetting wages depended heavily on an edition's typographical layout. Obviously, we cannot recover the wages paid for an edition if no direct account of them survives. But we should at least be able to understand how these wages were arrived at, considering that the labor regulations used to determine them are a matter of public record.

The analysis of compositors' wages intertwines labor history with analytical bibliography. By 1785, the year London's master printers and their unionized workforce bilaterally approved the

London Scale of Prices for compositors' work, journeyman compositors were paid for typesetting by a piece rate. The standard unit of this piece rate was a typographical measure called the en.[67] When analyzing compositors' work, it's important to keep the physical inputs of typesetting labor concretely in mind. The traffic of typesetting was the setting of types—small rectangular pieces of lead alloy manufactured by type foundries. Master printers bought type in large batches of uniform size called founts, and the compositors they employed for any given printing job set types piece by piece and line by line. In typographical and printing-house jargon, an en is half an em, and an em is equal to the body size of any fount—that is, the height of each piece of type when it stands right-side-up.[68] The main texts of most novels I've consulted between 1780–1836 were set in pica, which by the late eighteenth century had a standardized body size of 4.21 mm, very close to modern 12-point type. Other mid-range sizes such as english (4.69 mm), small pica (3.60 mm), and long primer (3.34 mm) were also in common use.[69] Because the type for most novels was spaced interlinearly by thin strips of metal, wood, or card called leads, their body sizes are rarely possible to determine by the standard bibliographical method of measuring an average vertical height across 10 or 20 lines.[70] However, a useful *horizontal* yardstick of body size, ubiquitously present in novels, is the em dash (—), so named because, like the em quadrat (or quad), its type was exactly as wide as it was tall. Likewise, the en dash (–) and the en quad were exactly half as wide as the body height, which is to say half as wide as the em dash and the em quad.

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[67] The definitive history of the city's printing workforce during this period is Ellic Howe, *The London Compositor: Documents Relating to Wages, Working Conditions and Customs of the London Printing Trade, 1785–1900* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press for the Bbiliographical Society, 1947).

[68] Peter W.M. Blayney, "Quadrat Demonstrandum," review essay of Sir Brian Vickers, *The One "King Lear"* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 111, no. 1 (2017): 61–101 at 68–9, https://doi.org/10.1086/690603.

[69] James Mosley, "Type bodies compared," *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* n.s. 23 (Autumn 2015): 49–58. For a good overview of considerations that should go into the measurement of body and face sizes, see G. Thomas Tanselle, "Notes on Recent Work in Descriptive Bibliography," *Studies in Bibliography* 60 (2018): 1–93 at 50–8, https://doi.org/10.1353/sib.2018.0000. When measuring type, it's particularly important to keep in mind that because sheets were wetted before printing, they have typically shrunk 1–2% relative to the dimensions of the type-page.

[70] Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, 14; Tanselle, "Recent Work in Descriptive Bibliography," 52–3.

I will not discuss the compositor's work routine in detail here.[71] Suffice it to say that an edition-sheet's em count was a statistic the compositor and the master printer were able to estimate with considerable accuracy in advance of printing. As such, compositors knew how much work they were getting into at the outset of a job; the high degree of labor organization among journeymen compositors gave master printers little room short-change their hires. In lieu of firsthand wage data, I'll estimate piece rates using two methods: (1) by comparing typography to printing charges in Caleb Stower's *Printer's Price Book*, and (2) by comparing the wage component of John Lewis Cox's 1822 Parliamentary estimate to the typography of similarly charged novels printed by Strahan for Longman & Co. during the same period.

Estimation from Stower's Price-Book. During his brief but distinguished career, Caleb Stower (*c.* 1779–1816) was equally respected as a commercial printer and as an author of manuals to his profession. When London press registrations commenced in 1800, Stower was already a master printer at the age of 20 or 21, at which time he was the partner of Robert Hare at 8 Duke St., Lincoln's Inn Fields. Stower set out on his own in 1801, moving among several premises before he settled at 32 Paternoster Row from 1807 to 1810.[72] His high volume of printing from this advantageous address failed to protect him from financial troubles, and he was declared bankrupt in February 1811.[73] Although some imprints show Stower working from an undisclosed Hackney address between 1812 and 1814, his business seems never to have fully recovered. He died on 23 May 1816 at the age of 37, leaving four children.[74] A Mrs. Stower, almost certainly his widow, continued to operate a printing house in Clapton from 1817 to 1824.[75]

During his lifetime, as to later scholarship, Stower was best known for compiling *The Printer's Grammar* (1808), the first comprehensive nineteenth-century manual of printing and typography in

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[71] See Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, 40–56.

[72] Todd, *A Directory of Printers*, 185.

[73] "Cabeb Stower, Paternoster-row, printer, d.c." is listed among "Bankrupts from Saturday's Gazette," *Leeds Intelligencer* 59 (25 February 1811), p. 4, *Gale Primary Documents*, GALE|IG3217463845.

[74] *Stamford Mercury*, 21 June 1816, p. 2, *Gale Primary Documents*, GALE|JA3239457742.

[75] Todd, *A Directory of Printers*, 186.

English. Although Stower's *Grammar* is mostly derivative of eighteenth-century manuals by John Smith and Philip Luckombe, it adds original sections on press construction and the organization of printing houses, and it also offers a detailed account of recent technological developments such as stereotyping and the iron Stanhope press.[76] Stower went on to publish two shorter stand-alone guides, one for correctors in 1805 and another for proofreaders in 1808, and he also compiled a price book for jobbing printing near the end of his life.

Among Anglophone trade guides to printing, Stower's *The Printer's Price-Book* (1814) is *sui generis*. The purpose of the *Price-Book* is to aid master printers in determining how much to charge their customers for books of various typographical layouts. Although previous trade manuals, including Stower's own *Printer's Grammar*, had included guides to compositors' payment rates for quantities of type set, the *Price-Book* is unique in that it matches payment rates to typographic specimens of the quantity of work actually set. In all, the *Price-Book* contains 324 specimen pages, supplemented by 82 pages of tables listing the trade charges that correspond with each specimen page. Stower indicates in his preface that these were "the regular trade charges" for printing in London, meaning the rates ordinarily offered to commercial publishers—who, custom dictated, were entitled to lower charges than self-publishing authors and other private customers.[77]

A reference work densely packed with calculations that, Stower plausibly reports, were "numerous and the result of great labor," *The Printer's Price-Book* was surely the most ambitious typographically organized reference guide for payment rates since William Blackstone's *Some Thoughts upon the Oxford University Press* (1755).[78] And there is reason to believe Stower's charges were more representative of standard commercial practices for the early nineteenth century than Blackstone's had been for the mid eighteenth. As newly appointed rector of the Oxford University Press, Blackstone had

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[76] C[aleb] Stower, *The Printer's Grammar; or, Introduction to the Art of Priting* (London: B. Crosby & Co., 1808; repr. London: Gregg Press, 1965). For its relationship to earlier manuals, see Philip Gaskell, Giles Barber, and Georgina Warrilow, "An Annotated List of Printers' Manuals to 1850," *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* 4 (1968): 11–32 at 14–5.

[77] Stower, *The Printer's Price-Book*, [iii]-iv.

[78] See I.G. Phillips, *William Blackstone and the Reform of the Oxford University Press in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press for the Bibliographical Society, 1957).

fallen back on unreliable second-hand reports of London compositors' payment rates; London printer Samuel Richardson reacted with bafflement to the convoluted scheme Blackstone proposed of calculating payment by text-block area. Stower, in contrast to Blackstone, was himself an experienced London commercial printer, and his goal was not to devise his own newfangled scheme but to prepare a reference work for existing trade practices.

Of course, Stower's ambition to describe how London printers set their prices does not guarantee that he did so successfully. In the printing manual *Typographia* (1825), T.C. Hansard commended Stower's "labor and ingenuity" in preparing this resource. Yet Hansard questioned whether the specimen pages were particularly helpful for calculations that were bound to vary so widely from edition to edition. In practice, Hansard found, it was uncommon for the pages of an actual edition to match those of Stower's specimens exactly, since this would require an identical match between text block width and line count per page:

> I never found a single instance where some variation in width, length, proportion of various type, or something or other varying in combination, did not take place to render an entirely new calculation necessary; and I will venture to assert, that if any master printer in London was to look over his books, he would not find two works in fifty which were so exactly fellows, that they would, in every respect, be of the same expense to him, and consequently, charge to his employer.[79]

Misgivings such as Hansard's have likely contributed to the neglect of Stower's *Price-Book* by printing historians, who have done little more than to observe that it exists,[80] or at best to remark that its complexity underscores the difficulty of reconstructing printers' rationales for pricing editions as they did.[81] Yet Stower's work has more value than that stemming from the reported charges alone. Indeed, Stower's specimen pages are probably more useful to the modern printing historian than they ever

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[79] Hansard, *Typographia*, 792.

[80] Gaskell *et al.*, "An Annotated List of Printers' Manuals to 1850," 15.

[81] Tariq A. Baloch, "Law Booksellers and Printers as Agents of Unchange," *Cambridge Law Journal* 66, no. 2 (July 2007): 389–421 at 403–4, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4500911.

Table 6.4. Line heights of Stower's 1814 specimen pages (millimeters)

Type	Unleaded (body size)	Six to pica	Four to pica	Double, four to pica
English	4.71	5.40	5.80	6.79
Pica	4.21	4.92	5.32	6.37
Small pica	3.59	4.30	4.70	5.74
Long primer	3.33	3.98	4.41	5.43
Burgeois	2.99	3.76	4.08	5.17
Brevier	2.71	3.42	3.81	4.86

Note: Line heights are averaged from 10-line measurements.

were to contemporary printers, in that they offer extraordinarily thorough evidence to establish the rational by which an eminent London printer believed charges should be set.

The 324 specimen pages of Stower's *Price-Book* are arranged in descending order by text-block width, ranging from 26 to 14 pica ems (109 to 59 mm in the final printed book). A note at the bottom of each specimen page reports the type size and the leading height set between lines, as well as the page's lineation. Stower then provides the estimated letter count that an edition-sheet of any given format would contain if made up of pages occupying the specimen's dimensions. In the 82-page price table that takes up the later part of the book (pp. 359–446), each specimen page corresponds to a grouping of rows and columns, wherein Stower recommends the trade charge for a sheet comprised of pages with the given dimensions. This charge varies not only by the sheet's format, but also by the dimensions of the paper (Stower mercifully limits his coverage to just two sizes, demy and royal), the number of copies printed (in multiples of 250), and the frequency of small-letter footnotes.

Even setting aside its statistical applications, Stower's *Price-Book* is useful in its own right as a compendium of information about nineteenth-century typography. According to Stower's preface, the specimen pages from which I have derived these measurements use founts cast by Robert Thorn at 2 Fann St., Aldergate. In Table 6.4, I offer my measurements of the line heights of Stower's specimen pages, calculated from 10-line heights using a digital micrometer. For each body size, the unleaded line heights are equivalent to the impressions of the body sizes of each fount, while the differences between unleaded and leaded line heights indicate the heights of the given leads. Stower judged that Thorn's specimens "do credit to that gentleman's taste, and, in some measure, reward him for the labours of a

Table 6.5. Rate of increase in Stower's printing charge per 1,000 ens, estimated from simple bivariate linear regressions

Leading	Shillings per 1,000 ens	No. observations	t-value	Correlation coefficient (R^2)
Unleaded	0.981	139	118.9	0.990
1/6 pica	1.210	135	100.8	0.987
1/4 pica	1.330	135	96.1	0.986
1/2 pica	1.710	140	81.9	0.980

life incessantly devoted to the improvement of his profession."[82] A century later, D.B. Updike held a far less favorable view of Thorn, lambasting his foundry as "responsible for the vilest form of type invented—up to that time."[83] Whatever their aesthetic merits, Thorn's founts are venerable if for no other reason than that they show that body sizes had become increasingly standardized by the turn of the nineteenth century. According to my measurements, Stower's impressions of Thorn's founts are roughly 0.01 to 0.02 mm larger than those Mosley measures for the corresponding body sizes in Caslon's specimen of 1766, a difference minute enough that it may be due entirely to varying shrinkage rates of the paper.[84]

By measuring the typography of Stower's specimen pages using a digital micrometer, I have determined the number of ens (half the number of ems, calculated from the type's body size based on 10-line measurements of unleaded pages) to each sheet for which the price table offers charges. I have then performed a statistical estimation technique called simple linear regression analysis to calculate how the charges rise as the number of ens set per sheet increases, taking into account differences in the amount of leading set per line. I display the relationship between en counts and charges in Figure 6.14, and I report the results of the statistical regressions in Table 6.5.

By pivoting from typography to inferential statistics, I am taking a smaller methodological leap than it may at first appear. In fact, simple linear regression is a particularly apt statistical tool for the purpose at hand. Regression analysis is routinely used in the natural and social sciences to infer a causal relationship between two separately observed but interrelated variables; in these settings, its use typically involves a long gamut of tests to ensure statistical robustness. But in my analysis of the *Price-*

[82] Stower, *Printer's Price Book*, 32.
[83] Todd, *Directory of London Printers*, 194.
[84] Mosley, "Type Bodies Compared," 50.

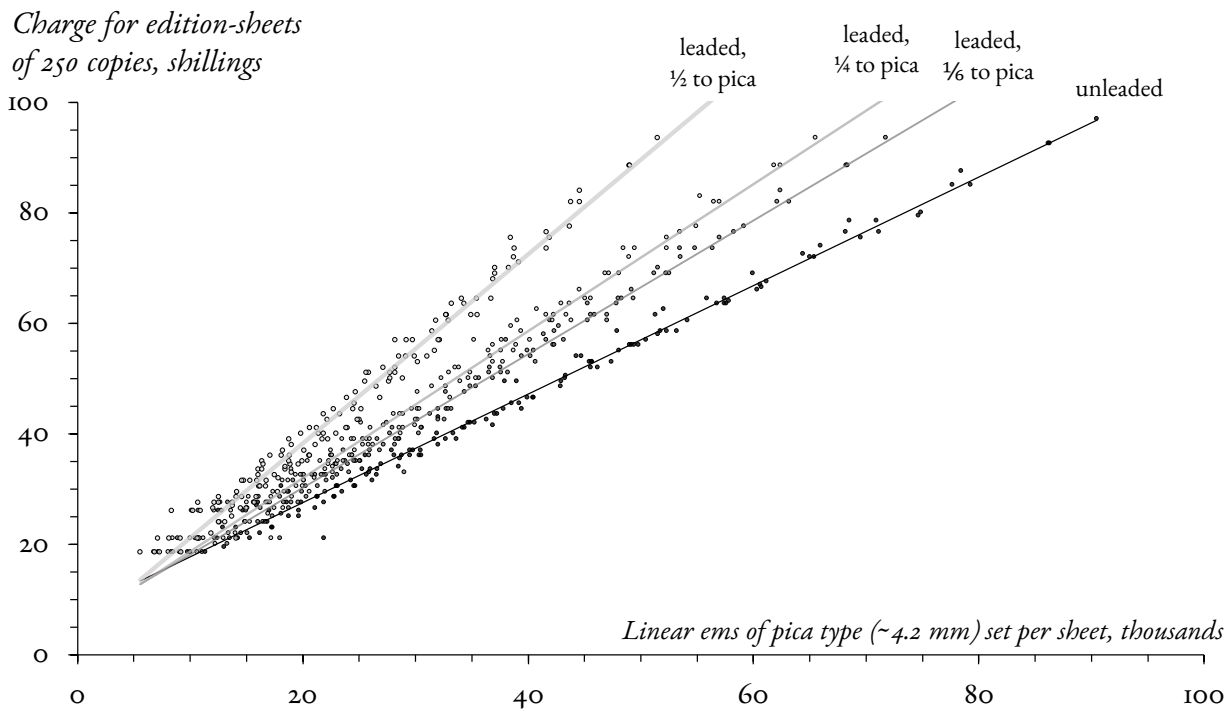

Figure 6.14. From typography to printing charges:
Caleb Stower's conversion factor for pica specimen pages in *The Printer's Price Book* (1814)

Book, I am more humbly and straightforwardly using a linear estimation technique to retrace what was a linear calculation on Stower's part to begin with.

Indeed, regression analysis suggests that Stower's calculations of the relationship between the amount of type set for an edition-sheet and the associated printing charge were almost exactly linear. A good indication of this relationship is a regression's correlation coefficient, which measures the extent to which data deviate from the linear best-fit line estimated in the regression. The correlation coefficients (R^2) for all four regressions are between 0.98 and 0.99, compared to a maximum value of 1. Most likely, the data deviate from a perfectly linear relationship only insofar as Stower rounded charges to the nearest 0.5 shillings (6 pence). Despite stipulations for small type in the Compositors' Price Scales of 1785–1810, it is clear from these regressions that Stower made no effort to distinguish en counts by type size: he counted the typesetting of ens of all bodies equally. The regression for unleaded specimen pages proffers the estimate that Stower raised the printing charge by 0.981 shillings (11.772 pence) per 1,000 ens of type set. The other three regressions imply incrementally rising rates for taller

leads on top of this initial charge: 0.229 shillings (2.748 pence) per 1,000 ens' worth of 1/6-pica leads, 0.349 shillings (4.188 pence) for 1/4-pica, and 0.729 shillings (8.748 pence) for 1/2-pica. Assuming Stower was using the rule of thirds, these numbers suggest that he was anticipating a piece rate to an edition's compositor of 0.654 shillings (almost exactly 8 pence) per 1,000 ens of type, while the labor of setting the leads involved what was counted as comparable fractions of labor.

Considering that Stower's charges do not include corrections, these statistics show that Stower was basing his calculations of printing charges on a piece rate 40% higher than the rate of 0.479 pence (5.75 shillings) per 1,000 ens settled upon in the most recent London Scale of Prices for compositors' work in 1810.[85] One explanation for the discrepancy is that the payment may have included an extra sum for distribution, the breaking down of type-pages and the returning of types back into their sorts after presswork was complete. Gaskell estimates that the distribution of a type-page took one quarter to one third as long as its typesetting.[86] However, Ellic Howe adamantly insists that the London Scale's piece rates included distribution as well as typesetting.[87] Another possibility is that Stower was deliberately paying compositors more than labor regulations required. It is clear from Janet Ing's analysis of the Chiswick Press that piece rates could be significantly higher than those mandated by the London Price Scale, especially for fine printing that required a high standard of workmanship.[88] In effect, the London Scale's piece rates functioned as a minimum wage (or a "wage floor") rather than a binding, inflexible market rate. Amid master printers' negotiations with their mostly journeyman labor force, wages were free to fluctuate above these mandated rates—not only due to edition-specific factors, but also because of the interaction between supply and demand for compositors' labor across the city.

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[85] Ellic Howe, *The London Compositor*, 134–87; see especially 171 for a comparison of rates across successively renegotiated Price Scales.

[86] Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, 54. Note that the terms "composition" and "typesetting" are interchangeable.

[87] Ellic Howe, *The London Compositor*, 59.

[88] Ing, "Chiswick Press," 169–70.

Stower's large allowance for leads is striking as well. The amount of labor that leads and blank quadrats took to prepare and set was a recurring point of controversy during the negotiation of the Compositors' Price Scale. Leads themselves are easy to set in comparison to lines of type, but compositors evidently regarded the preparation of leads from millboard and card to be quite odious. By the late eighteenth-century, printing houses increasingly came to use metal leads instead, but labor disputes establish that there was much disagreement about the extent of their use in printing houses and the amount of labor they actually saved. In 1793, the compositors wrote to the master printers,

> With respect to em or en quadrats, in works printed with distances, it is to be observed, that in general the advantage supposed to be derived to the compositor from the use of leads, etc., is lost by the cutting of milled leads, as well as by the introduction of two or three cast leads in a line; which, with the extra trouble occasioned by collecting em or en quadrats, in correcting and over-running matter so composed, and especially in clearing-away, form a substantial plea for their being allowed in the calculation of the price for the work.

In 1805, the master printers offered a refutation to what had plainly been an oft-repeated complaint:

> With respect to ems and ens at the beginning and ends of lines, we beg to urge the extreme hardship they have long been to the journeyman, and especially at the present period, when their necessity is done away by the cheapness of cast-leads; and the argument no longer standing good, that the journeyman derived equal benefit with the employers as, with the exception of a few houses, milled-leads are nearly out of use, and it is only to the advantage of the employer they are used, in order to accommodate his assortment of cast-leads.[89]

While the 1810 Price Scale did ultimately make an allowance for leads, its rate was far less generous as Stower's.[90] The 1810 Price Scale also lacked Stower's nice distinctions among leading heights, which seems to account for "the introduction of two or three cast leads in a line" by doubling the rate of "printers' thousands" for 1/2-pica leads relative to 1/4-pica.

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[89] Quoted in Howe, *The London Compositor*, 75, 86.
[90] Howe, *The London Compositor*, 170.

Estimation from Cox's wage statistics. The joint statistical and typographical analysis reveals a striking degree of internal consistency in the piece rates that underlie Stower's *Printer's Price Book*. But Stower's *Price Book*, like all trade manuals, does not comprise direct evidence of actual practice: it offers prescription, not description, and we must heed T.C. Hansard's contemporary rejection of its practicability as a guide to trade practice. In lieu of edition-level wage data, there is no "normal" rate to discover and apply to books printed during an era of nascent technological and economic change. When we proceed from recommended to actual trade practice, we are necessarily taking a leap of faith.

Fortunately, accounting practices were sufficiently uniform by the early nineteenth century that the conceptual leap is larger than the computational one. Indeed, the form in which Cox expresses his 1822 profit and loss estimates makes them directly comparable to the sums in our sample from Longman & Co. The only difference is that Longman's and Strahan's accounts would organize the same sum differently. If the edition were entered into these accounts, the first line of each firm's entry would report a main printing charge of 33 shillings per edition-sheet, while the second line would report a charge for corrections that would average 6 shillings per edition-sheet. Within a decade of Cox's parliamentary testimony, Strahan & Spottiswoode printed two novels in octavo editions of 500 copies, both of which have comparable main charges of 35 shillings per edition-sheet: *The White Hoods* (*DBF* 1828A020) and *The Talba* (*TEN3* 1830:36). The two editions have an almost identical typographical layouts, confirming that Strahan's wages for typesetting and presswork were the same or nearly the same for both editions. In both editions, a typical page has 24 lines of pica type spaced with ¼-pica leading (1.1 mm) between each line, while the width of the text block is 19 pica ems or 38 pica ens (80 mm). A typical page in both editions thus has 456 ems or 912 ens to a page. Disregarding blank spaces and headings at chapter divisions, a typical sheet's worth of type for each edition would thus have involved the setting of 7,296 ems or 14,592 ens. But the 1,545 linear mm of leading per sheet required labor to set too: Stower's *Price-Book* suggests that standard trade practice would have been to count this much leading as equivalent to about 4,500 ems (9,000 ens) of type, meaning the compositors of each edition set what, for the purposes of wages, would have been counted as 12,000

ems (24,000 ens) per sheet.[91] If Strahan & Spottiswoode paid the compositors of *The White Hoods* and *The Talba* 16 shillings per sheet of type set, as in Cox's comparably priced hypothetical edition, they would have been earning a wage of 0.67 shillings (8 pence) per 1,000 ens. The convergence of this statistic with that of Stower's *Price-Book* is, if not necessarily confirmatory, then at the very least uncanny. Granted, my interpolation of Stower's rate for leading contributes to the near-agreement. Yet if we assume a lower rate for the setting of leads, we concomittantly assume an even higher rate for the setting of type.

So was there a "typical" wage rate for the typesetting of novels during the Romantic period? The octavo format of *The White Hoods* and *The Talba* makes them atypical of the Longman & Strahan dataset. My composite impression, after having consulted about 30 of Longman & Co.'s novels firsthand and about 150 in photofacsimile, is that most of the firm's duodecimo novels from the years 1797–1836 had 18 to 22 lines of pica type to a page, leading to a height of ¼- or ⅙-pica, and a text-block width of 36 to 38 ens (c. 67–71 mm). Stower would count such piece rates as the trade equivalent of roughly 21,000 to 23,000 ens per sheet. Accepting our doubly supported estimate of a piece rate of about 0.65–0.67 shillings per 1,000 ens, we can reasonably guess that in the 1820s, the typesetting wage for a typical novel in duodecimo, including distribution but excluding corrections, was roughly 14 to 15.5 shillings per edition-sheet, compared to the estimate of 10.5 shillings per edition-sheet we would derive solely from the 1810 London Scale of Prices.

Before turning to basic inferential statistics in the next section, it may be helpful to consider the implications of these data using basic arithmetic. Between 1817 and 1824, Longman & Co. ordered 26 duodecimo editions of 500 copies. Of them, 19 had printing charges between 35.5 and 36 shillings per edition-sheet. During the same period, the firm ordered 16 duodecimo editions of 750 copies, all with printing charges between 40 and 42 shillings per edition-sheet. By subtracting the former range from the latter, we can estimate that it cost about 4 to 6 shillings per edition-sheet to print 250 copies of a

[91] Stower, *Printer's Price-Book*, 211. This specimen page is directly comparable to these two editions: it also has pica type, a text-block width of 19 pica ems, and a height of 24 lines with ¼-pica leading.

novel beyond the first 500, or about 11.4%–16.7% more than for the printing of the first 500 copies. This picture of variable costs is entirely consistent with both Cox's Parliamentary data, which suggest a variable cost of 8 shillings for an edition of 500 copies (4 shillings to the pressmen and 4 shillings to the master printer), and Stower's *Printer's Price Book*, which recommends an added charge of 4 or 4.5 shillings for the 250 copies printed beyond the first 500.

Although we seem to have arrived at a fairly robust account of variable costs, our wage estimate for these years evidently underestimates fixed costs. Supposing it reasonable to estimate a typesetting wage rate of 14 to 15.5 shillings per edition-sheet for novels printed in duodecimo during this period, we might expect fixed costs (including the 50% surcharge on typesetting wages entailed in the rule of thirds) to be in the neighborhood of 21 to 24 shillings. If variable costs on editions of 500 copies—which include pressmen's wages and a capital surcharge on presswork as high as 100%—were somewhere between 8 and 12 shillings per edition-sheet, we would be left with as much as 3–6 shillings routinely unaccounted for. In short, although I think the above estimates are not far off the mark, many uncertainties remain that only the minute bibliographical analysis of dozens of editions is likely to clear up. And given that these cost reflect a production processes so complex that, in McKenzie's words, "even an expert in cybernetics, primed with all the facts, would have little chance of discerning it," even the most exacting measurements are likely to yield inexact statistical relationships.[92]

Wage regulation: inferential statistics. Such educated guesswork is all well and good when the purpose is simply to understand, in a general way, why one edition cost more to print than another. But do these estimates have any explanatory value? And can statistical analysis help us to arrive at a historical narrative that explains how the printing costs of novels changed over time? Perhaps we should take McKenzie's remark about the complexity of printing as a challenge rather than a mere rhetorical flourish. What exactly would a "cybernetic" approach to the problem of historical printing costs look like? I have already introduced regression analysis as a method for estimating the relationship between one or more explanatory variables (the inputs to a process) and a response variable (the

[92] McKenzie, "Printers of the Mind," 60.

output). When interpreting Stower's *Printer's Price-Book*, I used a simple linear regression for the humble purpose of estimating Stower's evidently linear calculation of the relationship between the amount of type set in a sheet and the recommended charge to the final customer. Here, I propose to do something a little more audacious: I propose to estimate the causal influence of trade regulations on printers' wages on the printing costs of novels.

This procedure is less daunting than it may seem, as the available wage data are actually quite straightforward. Near the turn of the twentieth century, economists A.L. Bowley and George Hy. Wood compiled extensive data on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British wage rates from many industries, including printing wages from 1773–1798. "The records of wages of compositors," Bowley and Wood judged, "are more complete than those for any other industry except agriculture and the building trades." Their principal sources of data were the trade journal *The Typographical Circular* and various trade guides published throughout the British Isles. The London rates from these sources are simple enough. Bowley and Wood find that the standard journeyman compositor piece rate for setting 1,000 brevier ens was 4 pence in 1774, crept up to 4.5 pence in 1785, rose more steeply to 5.25 pence in 1801, and rose finally to 6 pence in 1810, where it remained level till 1861.

The question I am posing here is quite simple: Holding the quantity-variant costs of presswork aside, how clearly and how strongly did Longman & Co.'s printing costs respond to these wage increases? To approach this problem, I will lay out a very simple model—far simpler than much of the analysis thus far in this section. Suppose the printing charge of an edition (excluding corrections, &c.) was determined solely by London's current piece rate and the quantity of copies printed for the edition. In the multivariate regression we will use to estimate this model, the response variable is the total printing charge, and the two explanatroy variables are the annualized piece rate and the edition size. In Table 6.6, I estimate two regressions. Regression (1) is a multivariate linear regression, while Regression (2) is a nonlinear regression model called a double logarithmic (or "log-log") model. Both regressions look promising judging from their basic statistical parameters: the correlation coefficients R^2 are high—0.91 for Regression (1) and 0.86 for Regression (2)—and the coefficients for piece rates

Table 6.6. Statistical regressions: Longman & Co.'s printing costs compared to piece rates and edition sizes

Regression (1). Linear

Response variable: printing charge (shillings). Sample size = 176, R2 = 0.91

Explanatory variable	Piece rate	Edition size/250	Constant
Coefficient	11.8	4.05	-41.23
Standard error	-0.91	-0.11	5.17
t-value	12.98	38.22	-7.97

Regression (2). Log-Log

Response variable: natural logarithm of printing charge (shillings). Sample size = 176, R2 = 0.86

Explanatory variable	ln(Piece rate)	ln(Edition size/250)	Constant
Coefficient	1.8	0.46	0.01
Standard error	0.09	0.18	0.17
t-value	18.33	25.83	0.05

and edition sizes are both positive and statistically significant at 99% confidence levels. But do the magnitudes of the wages make sense?

For Regression (1), the linear regression, we can interpret the coefficients of the regression as estimating the effect of the magnitude of the explanatory variables on the magnitude of the printing charge. Judging from the model, we can estimate that a 1-pence increase in the London piece rate per 1,000 ens would have caused an increase of 11.9 shillings in the printing charge. Given, as discussed above, that Longman & Co.'s novels in duodecimo tended to have roughly 21,000–23,000 ens of type set per sheet, this coefficient would imply that for every 1 pence increase in the piece rate, the cost would have risen by about 5.8–6.2 pence per sheet. This increase is implausibly high. Assuming master printers set their capital surcharges using the "rule of thirds," the effect of 1-pence increase in the piece rate should not have been radically larger than 1.5 pence per 1,000 ens.

In Regression (2), the log-log model, the regression incorporates not the direct magnitudes of the variables but rather their natural logarithms. Although the mathematical intuition behind a log-log model is slightly more complex than that of a linear model, the coefficients are intuitive in this context: they can be interpreted as indicating the effect of a percentage change in each explanatory variable on a percentage change in the response variable. The log-log model eliminates the need to estimate the relationship between the charge and the piece rate by referring to the book's typography and the magnitude of the piece rate. In the output of the regression, the coefficient associated with the London piece rate is 1.82, which we can interpret as meaning that if the compositors' piece rate rose 10%, the

printing charge would rise by an estimated 18.2%. This increase is less extreme than that registered in the linear model, although it is still implausibly high. Assuming, once again, that master printers set their capital surcharges using the "rule of thirds," we would expect a 10% increase in the wage rate of compositors to occasion a 15% increase in quantity-invariant costs and no change at all for quantity variant costs, since pressmen's wages and their associated surcharges are unaffected. Thus, a 10% increase in compositors' piece rate should result in somewhat less than a 15% increase in the total printing charge, depending principally on the edition size. (Say, for the sake of argument, that the effect on a 500-copy edition might be about 13–14% and the effect on a 2,000 copy edition might be about 10–11%.)

In both regressions, then, it appears that a model that accounts only for the printing charge, the edition size, and the piece rate tends to overstate the effect of the increases to the piece rate of the Compositors' Price Scale that occurred in 1801 and 1810. Without delving too far into the gauntlet of statistical robustness checks that would be routine in an economics article, we can readily identify this model's glaring flaw. Because the two increases that occurred to the piece rate are the only time-variant changes incorporated that the model incorporates, the piece rate variable is absorbing all other factors that might have varied from year to year as well.

6.6. Cost and markup: the rise of the price of the novel revisited

As Figure 6.7 has already crudely shown, the data available from the Longman Archive make it possible understand how much novels cost to make and how those costs varied over time. More importantly, these data also allow us to understand why those costs varied and how their relative profiles changed over time. To this end, Figure 6.16 clarifies the factors underlying the capricious zigzag of Figure 6.7 by showing the annualized relationship between paper and printing prices across the editions for which data survive between 1799 and 1836. In large part, these data more or less confirm the pattern we would expect to see from the above accounts of each industry, which showed that paper prices were generally falling after 1815 while printing charges were resistant to deflation, holding steady

Figure 6.16A. Average annual manufacturing cost per sheet

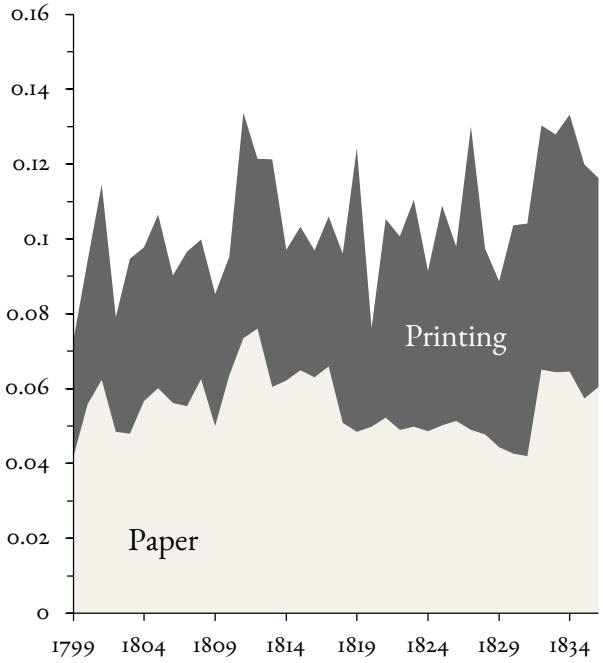

Figure 6.16B. Relative share of paper and printing costs

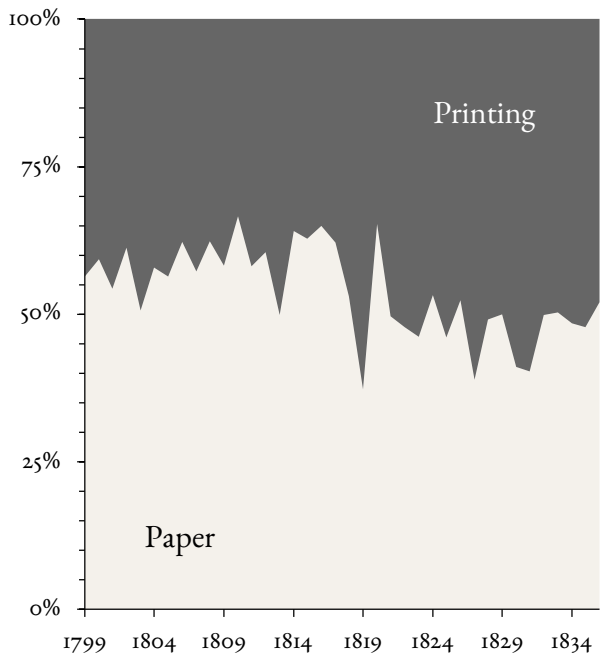

Figure 6.15. Relationship between paper and printing costs in Longman & Co.'s novels, 1799–1836

or even modestly rising relative to compositors' piece rates. From 1799 to 1816, paper generally comprised at least 50%, and occasionally upward of 65%, of physical manufacturing costs for novels in any given year. After 1817, however, paper only sporadically comprised more than 50% and for many years was as low as 40%.

We should not read too much significance into the year-by-year fluctuations in Figure 6.16. The largest dips in the relative share of paper are driven mostly by annual fluctuation in the frequency of large editions of 2,000 copies or more, which (as we have seen) were able to realize economies of scale in printing more effectively than smaller editions.[93] When controlling for edition size, however, it becomes apparent that the relative profile of paper fell across the board. To this end, Figure 6.17 shows

[93] *Cf*. Bidwell, "The industrialization of the paper trade," 215. Bidwell correctly notes that for most editions of less than 1,500 copies by 1830, paper constituted well under half of total costs, and often less than one third for editions of 500. However, since very large editions comprised a disproportionate share of output in any year they were published, they leave a larger profile on the sample.

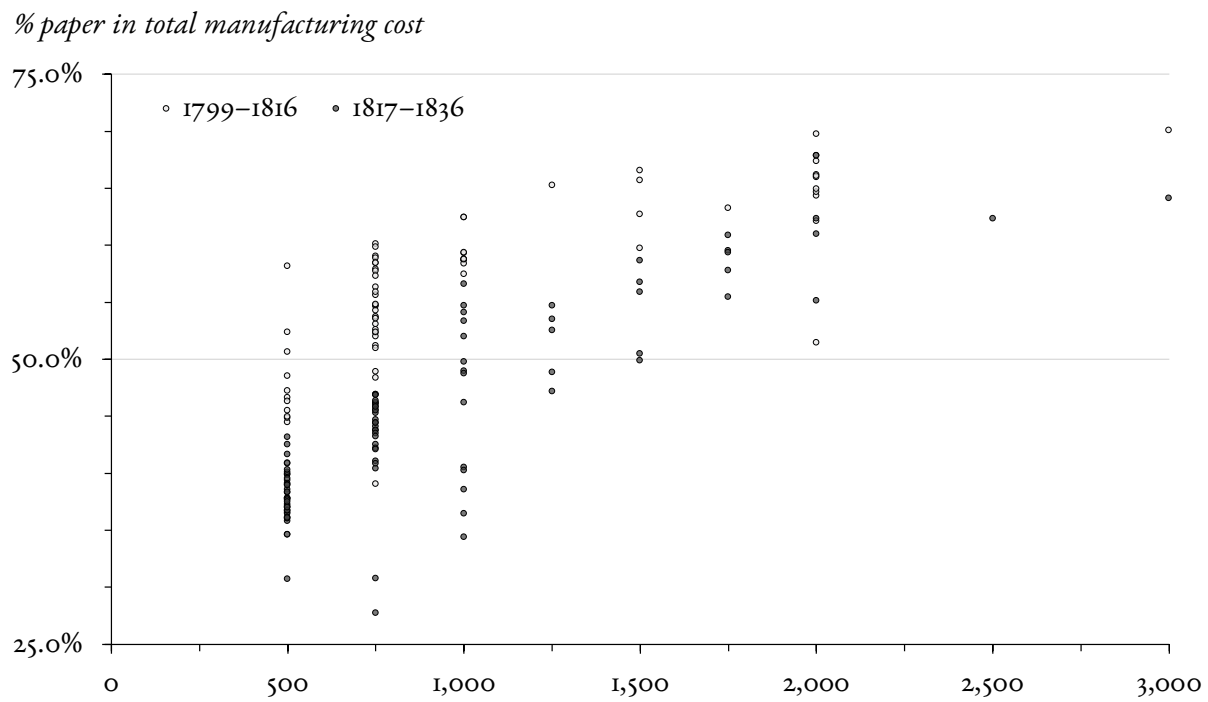

Figure 6.16. Relationship between edition sizes and paper share of total manufacturing cost, 1799–1836

the diminished profile of paper relative to printing after 1816. For editions of 1,000 copies or less, in particular, paper usually comprised between 45% and 60% of manufacturing costs between 1799 and 1816; between 1817 and 1836, in comparison, paper usually comprised between 37% and 48% of manufacturing costs, never rising above 50% for editions of less than 1,500 copies.

The significance of these data is that they offer a concrete reference point for understanding the uneven effects of the early phases of the Industrial Revolution on book production. Whereas the increasing mechanization of the paper trade drove down the unit costs of paper, prining costs remained stubbornly resistant to deflation. The fact that the ratio of paper relative to printing remained low in the 1830s, even after Longman switched from demy to a more premium grade of post, underscores the fact that the influence of technological change on the substitution of labor for capital was highly sectoral rather being monolithic across all industries. In papermills, the Fourdrinier and cylinder-mould machines drove down wages heavily, both because they required cheap and relatively unskilled labor to operate and because they devalued the bargaining power of traditional hand-vat

labor, declawing organized labor in the industry.[94] To be sure, concomittant technological change in the paper industry undoubtely increased its capital share of costs. The financial accounts of Strahan and Spottiswoode show that they ran a net loss for certain years across the late 1810s and 1820s, as they recouped the cost of erecting steam-powered presses and a stereotype foundry[95]. The need to amortize these expenses may account, in part, for what the data suggest was likely a rising capital surcharge in prining. However, the printing technologies differed from the papermaking machines in that they did not upend traditional labor routines. Stereotyped plates could devalue compositorial labor under some circumstances, as compositors recognized when they bid for higher piece rates on editions that were set out for stereotyping.[96] However, typesetting and presswork remained necessary phase in the manufacturing process of all editions in 1836, which could no longer be said of the vatmen and couchers' labors. As such, compositors and pressmen retained not only their large wage share of printing outlays, but also their negotiating power to keep wages comparatively high.

These trends should help to inform a nuanced understanding of the relationship between manufacturing costs and the rising prices of novels. It is clear that while the costs of a typical edition did not meteorically rise during the peak years of price hikes, 1799–1836, they did not fall either. In particular relationship between paper and prining costs—and the attendant relationship between labor and capital—provides a necessary context for explaining why Longman & Co. and other publishers were not incentivised to reduce prices during the deflationary years 1815–1825. At the same time, it is also clear that costs alone could not have justified the threefold increase in retail prices that occurred during the Romantic period. Although Longman & Co.'s average unit costs for novels were somewhat higher in the 1830s than they had been during the 1820s, this trend was due largely to proactive decisions on the publisher's part—namely, the new preference for copy over demy paper and the increasing preference for small edition sizes.

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[94] "Select Committee," 12; Evans, *The Endless Web*, 52–3.
[95] Lutes, "Andrew Strahan and the London Sharebook System," 30–1.
[96] Howe, *The London Compositor*, 174.

In short, although the influence of manufacturing costs on prices was not trivial, our findings from the Longman Archive underscore the point that publishers' decision-making about production cost was itself embedded in the larger considerations of market structure and entrepreneurship that I have covered in Chapters 4 and 5. Throughout the Romantic period and espeically after 1815, setting of retail prices was never a simple matter of setting a markup over cost. Prices—and with them edition sizes and all the other factors likely to influence unit costs—were interlinked with the specific modes of entrepreneurship made possible by the anti-competitive structure of the publishing and wholesale sectors of the book trade. They were interinvolved in the complex risk-reward calculus of literary publishing.

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Like all cultural artifacts, novels have led a double life. They are at once material objects, embedded in the complex histories of technology, labor, and profit motive that led to their manufacture, and stores of cultural and intellectual value, made for readers to variously interact with, share, store, and discard. In reality, these are two facets of the same life cycle, and yet the methods that scholars must employ to study each of them are necessarily different. In this dissertation, I have sought to give as full, rich, and multifarious an account as I can of the history of novels as commercial products—not out of disregard for their verbal content, but because cultural history is a mere shadow of itself unless it remains enriched by material history. It is only by cutting through the weeds of bibliographical entries and financial records that we can clear the underbrush, carving out new roads for literary history to traverse.

APPENDIX A.
Trade Distribution of Colburn & Bentley's Fiction in 1830

APPENDIX A CONTENTS

This appendix contains publishing and distribution data for the first editions of 33 novels published by the partnership of Richard Bentley and Henry Colburn between 10 October 1829 and 24 December 1830. The primary source of data for this appendix is the microfilm reproduction of the Bentley Papers, *The Archives of Richard Bentley & Son, 1829–1898* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healy, 1975–6), 3 parts, 215 reels. I have consulted the copy held at the Davis Library at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. These data are drawn from two groups of manuscript records, the originals of both of which are held at the British Library:

> Colburn/Bentley Subscription Lists: BL MS. 46637, Vol. 78; microfilm Part 1, reel 39.
> Colburn/Bentley Publication Lists: BL MS. 46667, Vol. 108; microfilm Part 1, reel 51.

In order to identify novels for which entries survive in these manuscripts, I have consulted Garside *et al., DBF;* and Garside *et al., TEN3.* In order to identify booksellers involved in the distribution of Colburn & Bentley's novels, I have consulted the following sources:

> British Book Trade Index, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/ (abbreviated BBTI).
> *Leigh's New Picture of London; or, A View of the Political, Religious, Medical, Literary, Municipal, Commercial, and Moral State of the British Metropolis* (London: printed for Samuel Leigh): 1827 edn., 362–366, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hn67pc; 1830 edn., 318–323, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hn67py.

Appendix A1 lists all the editions by Colburn & Bentley for which I could identify an entry in both the Subscription Lists and the Publication Lists. For each novel I identify the title, author, publication date, retail price, publisher's trade price, subscription price, and edition quantity.

Appendix A2 comprises a table of all the trade subscriptions for editions in the sample by each individual bookseller. Each column in the table corresponds with an edition, identified by the record number in *DBF* or *TEN3*. Each row corresponds with a bookseller. The numbers in the cells below the column headers indicate the number of copies for which each bookseller subscribed. In the bottom rows of the table, I give the subtotal of copies sold at trade subscription, as well as the edition size and the final tally of the disposal of stock for each edition recorded in the Publication Lists.

Appendix A3 comprises an alphabetically arranged directory of all 77 of the identifiable booksellers who participated in Colburn & Bentley's trade subscription of novels in the sample. I identify booksellers by BBTI record number whenever possible; note that many of these booksellers have additional entries in the BBTI. Whenever available, the directory contains the address(es) these booksellers occupied *circa* 1829–1830, as well as the type of business the bookseller ran according to Leigh's directory and/or the BBTI. The directory also includes the bookseller's rank order of total trade subscriptions in the sample. The bottom rows indicate the relationship between trade subscriptions and the final disposal of stock in the Publication Lists.

Note on prices. The prices reported from the Subscription Lists are in shillings and pence (s/d). Most of Colburn & Bentley's prices were in multiples of a guinea, equal to 21 shillings. The ratios between retail price, trade price, and subscription price are consistent across the sample. For all the three-volume novels that the firm offered at a retail price of 31.5 shillings (£1.11.6), the trade subscription price was 22.5 shillings (£1.2.6), representing a 28.6% discount to 71.4% retail price. In comparison, the standard trade price for these novels starting on publication day was 21.25 shillings (£1.1.3), entailing a more generous 32.5% discount to 67.5% retail price. Bulk discounts further complicate matters. At standard trade sales, Colburn & Bentley offered one free copy out of every twenty-five purchased (or "25 as 24"), effectively a 4% discount. They probably offered the same bulk discount on trade subscription sales, although the wording of entries makes this point ambiguous.

A1. Editions in the sample, prices, and disposal of stock—page 1 of 2

DBF/TEN3 Record No.	Title	Author(s)	Subscription List Vol. 108 Pg.	Publication date
1829A061	*Stories of Waterloo*	William Henry Maxwell	2r	10 Oct 1829
1829A006	*The Life of a Midshipman*	[Unknown]	10r	29 Oct 1829
1829A074	*Tales of a Briefless Barrister*	William Pitt Scargill	14r	7 Nov 1829
1829A053	*Tales of an Indian Camp*	James Athearn Jones (compiler)	20r	20 Nov 1829
1830:33	*The Exclusives*	Lady Charlotte Bury	22r	27 Nov 1829
1830:63	*Darnley*	George Payne Rainsford James	31r	6 Jan 1830
1830:54	*The Country Curate*	George Robert Gleig	36r	14 Jan 1830
1830:48	*Lawrie Todd*	John Galt	42r	19 Jan 1830
1830:56	*Manners of the Day*	Catharine Grace Frances Gore	48r	28 Jan 1830
1830:100	*Carwell*	Caroline Henrietta Sheridan	65r	5 Mar 1830
1830:35	*Gertrude*	Marchioness Frances Erksine Calderón de la Barca	69r	2 Mar 1830
1830:102	*Walter Colyton*	Horatio Smith	73r	26 Mar 1830
1830:62	*Tales of the Colonies*	John Howison	79r	3 Apr 1830
1830:78	*Frederick Marryat*	The King's Own	85r	16 Apr 1830
1830:76	*The Musselman*	Richard Robert Madden	98r	1 May 1830
1830:30	*Paul Clifford*	Edward George Bulwer Lytton	100r	4 May 1830
1830:99	*The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck*	Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley	102r	12 May 1830
1830:41	*The English at Home*	Eyre Evans Crowe	108r	27 May 1830
1830:52	*William Nugent Glascock*	Tales of a Tar	116r	7 Jun 1830
1830:21	*The Denounced*	John and Michael Banim	118r	11 Jun 1830
1830:22	*The Oxonians*	Samuel Beazley	122r	17 Jun 1830
1830:49	*John Galt*	Southennan	135r	13 Jul 1830
1830:97	*Clarence*	Catharine Maria Sedgwick	137r	23 Jul 1830
1830:34	*The Separation*	Lady Charlotte Bury	147r	11 Aug 1830
1830:64	*De L'Orme*	George Payne Rainsford James	153r	11 Aug 1830
1830:92	*Frascati's*	John Richardson	170r	25 Aug 1830
1830:50	*Basil Barrington*	Robert Pierce Gillies	189r	30 Sep 1830
1830:57	*The Heiress of Bruges*	Thomas Colley Grattan	196r	27 Sep 1830
1830:40	*The Water Witch*	James Fenimore Cooper	213r	14 Oct 1830
1830:105	*Russell*	Thomas Skinner Surr	227r	4 Nov 1830
1830:61	*Maxwell*	Theodore Richard Hooke	232r	11 Nov 1830
1831:10	*The Turf*	*[Unknown]*	251r	24 Dec 1830
1831:30	*Pin Money*	Catharine Grace Frances Gore	252r	24 Dec 1830

A1. Editions in the sample, prices, and disposal of stock—2 of 2

DBF/TEN3 Record No.	Title	Vols.	Retail price, boards (s/d)	Subscr. price (s/d)	Trade price (s/d)	Copies printed
1829A061	*Stories of Waterloo*	3	28/6	20/3	19/3	1,250
1829A006	*The Life of a Midshipman*	1	9/6	6/9	6/5	1,000
1829A074	*Tales of a Briefless Barrister*	3	28/6	20/3	19/3	750
1829A053	*Tales of an Indian Camp*	3	31/6	22/6	21/3	1,000
1830:33	*The Exclusives*	3	31/6	22/6	21/3	2,000
1830:63	*Darnley*	3	31/6	22/6	21/3	1,500
1830:54	*The Country Curate*	2	21/0	15/0	14/2	2,000
1830:48	*Lawrie Todd*	3	31/6	22/6	21/3	1,250
1830:56	*Manners of the Day*	3	31/6	22/6	21/3	1,500
1830:100	*Carwell*	1	10/6	7/6	7/1	1,500
1830:35	*Gertrude*	2	21/0	15/0	14/2	500
1830:102	*Walter Colyton*	3	31/6	22/6	21/3	2,500
1830:62	*Tales of the Colonies*	2	21/0	15/0	14/2	1,250
1830:78	*Frederick Marryat*	3	31/6	22/6	21/3	1,250
1830:76	*The Musselman*	3	31/6	22/6	21/3	1,250
1830:30	*Paul Clifford*	3	31/6	22/6	21/3	2,500
1830:99	*The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck*	3	31/6	22/6	21/3	750
1830:41	*The English at Home*	3	31/6	22/6	21/3	1,500
1830:52	*William Nugent Glascock*	1	10/6	7/6	7/1	1,250
1830:21	*The Denounced*	3	31/6	22/6	21/3	1,500
1830:22	*The Oxonians*	3	31/6	22/6	21/3	1,250
1830:49	*John Galt*	3	31/6	22/6	21/3	1,250
1830:97	*Clarence*	3	21/0	14/9	13/9	750
1830:34	*The Separation*	3	27/0	19/3	18/0	1,250
1830:64	*De L'Orme*	3	31/6	22/6	21/3	1,500
1830:92	*Frascati's*	3	27/0	19/3	18/3	750
1830:50	*Basil Barrington*	3	31/6	22/6	21/3	1,000
1830:57	*The Heiress of Bruges*	4	42/0	30/0	28/4	1,000
1830:40	*The Water Witch*	3	31/6	22/6	21/3	2,500
1830:105	*Russell*	3	28/6	20/3	19/9	750
1830:61	*Maxwell*	3	31/6	22/6	21/3	2,500
1831:10	*The Turf*	2	15/0	10/6	9/10	1,000
1831:30	*Pin Money*	3	31/6	22/6	21/3	1,000

A2. Table of trade distribution—page 1 of 2

	Subscr. List Vol. 108 Page	2r	10r	14r	20r	22r	31r	36r	42r	48r	65r	69r	73r	79r	85r	98r	100r	102r
	Publication Date	1829 10 Oct	29 Oct	7 Nov	20 Nov	27 Nov	1830 6 Jan	14 Jan	19 Jan	28 Jan	5 Mar	2 Mar	26 Mar	3 Apr	16 Apr	1 May	4 May	12 May
Bookseller	Bibliographic record no. in *DBF/*	1829	1829	1829	1829	1830:	1830:	1830:	1830:	1830:	1830:	1830:	1830:	1830:	1830:	1830:	1830:	1830:
Rank	*TEN3*	A061	A006	A074	A053	33	63	54	48	56	100	35	102	62	78	76	30	99
1	Longman & Co.	75	50	50	50	100	50	150	125	50	50	50	175	50	50	50	200	75
2	Simpkin & Marshall	50	50	50	50	150	50	125	100	50	50	25	150	50	50	50	175	50
3	Whittaker & Co.	50	50	50	25	75	25	100	100	25	25	25	100	50	25	25	100	50
4	Cumming	50	—	31		50	36	50		36	50	25	100	25	40	40		25
5	Hurst, Chance, & Co.	25	25	25	12	25	25	75	50	12	12	10	75	25	25	25	75	12
6	Bell & Bradfute	36	—	25	30	36	36	50		36	50	25	75	25	30	30		25
7	East		6	30	12	25	25	12	25	6	8	8	50	6	25	6	50	12
8	Baldwin & Cradock	12	12	12	12	25	12	26	12	12	13	12	25	12	12	12	25	12
9	Andrews	12	6	6	9	12	25	15	12	12	4	6	25	6	25	9	50	12
10	Cawthorn		12	8	10	25	25	25	25	12	8	6	25	4	18	10	25	10
11	Parbury, Allen, & Co	25	12	6	4	25	25	30	12	6	1	1	1	1	6	6	36	6
12	John Richardson	12	12	8	6	12	12	12	12	12	6	4	26		10	8	25	10
13	Duncan	10	10	12	25	25	8	25	25		8	4	25	8	10	8	25	8
14	Reynolds	4	6	4	4	12	16	6	10	3	4	4	25	2	12	3	25	4
15	Ebers	8	6	6	4	10	12	12	8	8	8	4	16	6	16	6	25	6
16	J.M. Richardson	1		4	4	12	4	12	12	4	4	1	25	4	25	6	25	6
17	Hookham	6	4	4	7	12	12	10	8	8	4	6	14	6	12	6	25	8
18	Saunders & Otley	4	4	4	6	10	12	10	8	6	4	4	25	6	8	6		6
19	Poole & Edwards	3	4	4	3	6	6	10	6	4	6	3	25	6	6	4	10	4
20	Rivington	*6*	6	4	3	8	8	25	8	8		4	25	6	10	4	25	6
21	Lloyd & Co.	4	6	4	4	12	8	10		6	3	4	10	4	8	4		
22	Bull	4	3	4	6	10	10	10		5	3	4	15	4	8	8		6
23	Newman & Co.	8	6	6	4	8	4	8	10	4	6	4	8	4	6	4	8	6
24	Sherwood	4	6	6	6	8	6	6	6	4	6	4	8	6	6	4	8	6
25	Hatchard	6		3	3	6		6	6	4	4	3	25	4	6	6	25	6
26	Smith, Elder, & Co	6	4					25	25				4	4	0	4	—	2
27	Joy	6	4	8	4	12	8	12	25	4	4	4	10	8	6		6	3
28	Sams	3	2	2	3		6	6	6	3	3	3	6		6	3		3
29	Cowie & Co.							8	10		6		12	10	8		12	4
30	Crew & Spencer	3			2	4					2				3		4	
31	Hebert	4	4	2	3	4	3	3	4		2	2	6	2	3	2	4	2
32	Hodgsons	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	2	2	3	2	3		2	2		2
33	Steuart	4	2	2	3	4	3	3	3	2	2	2	4	3	3	3	4	2
34	Calkin & Budd	3	2	2	2	6	3	3	3	2	2		3	2	3	2	4	3
35	Mason, William	2	2		2	2	2	2	3	3	2		4		2	2	6	2
36	Black Young & Young	2		2	2	3	2	3	3	2	3	2	3	2		3	4	3
37	McClary	2	2	2	2	4	3	4	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	2		
38	Horne	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	2			3		3	2	6	2
39	Wilson		2	2	3	4		3	6		2		6	2	2	4	3	3
40	Marsh & Miller	4	3	2	2	6	6	6		4	2		3	2	2	2		3
41	Booth		2		2	12		6			2	2	3	2	2	3		
42	Hamilton, Adams, & Co.	4		6	4	4		8	6				4				4	
43	Low						3	3					7	2		2	6	2
44	Carpenter																2	
45	J. Chappell	1		1		2	2				1	1	2	1	2	1	4	1
46	Underwood					2	2	4	4		2	2	3		2	2	4	
47	Westley	2	2	2	2	2	2	4			2		3	2		2	2	2
48	Holdsworth & Ball			3		6		6					4		3		3	
49	Capes								2						2		4	2
50	Hunter					3		3	3		2		4	2	3		2	
51	C. Chapple	2	2			2			2	2		2	2					
52	Rodwell	3				6		2	4				4					
53	Cock					3			3						2		6	
54	Ridgway	2	2					3			4		3			2		
55	Harvey & Darton	3	4	4		4											3	
56	Gossling & Egley		2	2		3	2	2	2	2				2		2		
57	Tilt							3	2				4				4	2
58	Wix						2	3	2				2		2		2	
59	Moore				2		3									2		
60	Greenland	2						3	3							2	3	
61	Moon					3	2	2	2								2	
62	Bain							3			2						2	2
63	T. Mason Jr.																	
64	Miller																	
65	Bowdery & Kerby					3							2		2			
66	Booker		2	2		3												
67	Jeffery												2					
68	Leguin																	
69	Lindsell							2										
70	Payne & Foss				3	3												
71	Jones					6												
72	Egerton	2													2			
73	Tegg																	
74	Fellowes	2																
75	Sustenance																	
76	Campbell																	
77	Wise	2																
78	Unidentified		4			6	4			4								
	Total copies subscribed	483	347	414	344	827	515	960	711	367	387	270	1193	368	516	389	1068	416
	Total distributed	1,250	643	495	455	1,794	1,338	1,638	1,250	828	509	331	1,417	415	1,119	723	1,993	522
	Waste												500	250				
	Remainders		357	255	545	206	162	362	0	426	991	169	512	585		527		228
	Sold to Colburn									246			71				507	
	Sold to Bentley														131			
	Total copies printed	1,250	1,000	750	1,000	2,000	1,500	2,000	1,250	1,500	1,500	500	2,500	1,250	1,250	1,250	2,500	750

A2. Table of trade distribution—page 2 of 2

Bookseller Rank	Subscr. List Vol. 108 Page	108r	116r	118r	122r	135r	137r	147r	153r	170r	189r	196r	213r	227r	232r	251r	252r
	Publication Date	1830 27 May	7 Jun	11 Jun	17 Jun	13 Jul	23 Jul	11 Aug	11 Aug	25 Aug	30 Sep	27 Sep	14 Oct	4 Nov	11 Nov	24 Dec	24 Dec
	Bibliographic record no. in *DBF/TEN*:	1830: 41	1830: 52	1830: 21	1830: 22	1830: 49	1830: 97	1830: 34	1830: 64	1830: 92	1830: 50	1830: 57	1830: 40	1830: 105	1830: 61	1831: 10	1831: 30
1	Longman & Co.	75	50	75	50	100	25	50	75	25	25	100	150	50	175	25	25
2	Simpkin & Marshall	50	50	75	50	100	25	50	75	50	25	75	125	50	100	25	25
3	Whittaker & Co.	25	50	50	25	50	25	75	50	50	25	50	100	25	100	25	
4	Cumming	50	50	100	40	50	25	25	50				50				
5	Hurst, Chance, & Co.	12	12	25	12	25	10	25	30		12	25	50	18	50	10	25
6	Bell & Bradfute	40	40	60	36	50	25	25	50				50				
7	East	9	10	25	25	25	12	25	50		6	25	50		40		
8	Baldwin & Cradock	12	12	25	12	25	12	25	25		12	25	25	12	25	12	12
9	Andrews	9	12	12	25	12	4	15	25	8	6	25	25	12	35	6	6
10	Cawthorn	6	12	18	18	12	6		18	6	8	18		10	25	6	10
11	Parbury, Allen, & Co		1	6	6	36	1	25	13	10	1	25	25	12		1	1
12	John Richardson	6		10	8	12	4	12	12	10	10	29	12	12	31		8
13	Duncan	4	8	6	6	6	4	25	10	4	6	10	10		25		
14	Reynolds	2	9	14	12	12	5	12	85	3	3	2	25	6	16		4
15	Ebers	6	8	10	12	8	6	25	18	6	6	14		10		4	6
16	J.M. Richardson		4	6	4	75	4	4	4	4	1	6	25		25		
17	Hookham	6	6	10	10	8	4	10	15	6	4	12		8	25	3	4
18	Saunders & Otley	6	6	2	10	8	4	25	17	4	6		12	6	25	3	3
19	Poole & Edwards	4	8	8	3	10		25	25	6		10	8	6	10		
20	Rivington	4	4	4	3	10	4	4	3	3		6	12	4	10		
21	Lloyd & Co.	6	6	3	8	6	3	8	12	4	4	6	8	6	25	3	4
22	Bull	6	4	6	4	8	3		10	4	4		15	6	25	2	
23	Newman & Co.	4	6	4				15	12		4	25	25		8		
24	Sherwood	6	6	6	6	8	6				6	6	6	3	6	4	4
25	Hatchard	4	4	6	3	6		6	4			3	6		6		
26	Smith, Elder, & Co	2	6	4		8	4	3	4	3	4	12	31				
27	Joy		4	6		6		4	3			4		4			
28	Sams	3	3	3	3	6	2	4	3	4	3	6	6	4	12		
29	Cowie & Co.		8	6								6	6		6		
30	Crew & Spencer	2				3	2	3	3	2			3	2	3		
31	Hebert	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	4	5	2	5		
32	Hodgsons	2	4	8	3	3	3	4	3	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2
33	Steuart	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3		
34	Calkin & Budd	2			3 3	3		4	3	2	3	3	3		3	2	2
35	Mason, William	2	3	3	3	4	2		3		2	4	6	2	6	2	
36	Black Young & Young	2	2	2	3	2		2	3	2		10	8		3		
37	McClary	2	2		3	3	2	2	3	2	2	3	4	2	6		2
38	Horne	2	3	2	2	2		2	3	2	2	2	5	2	3	2	2
39	Wilson		2	2	3	4	2	2					4		3		
40	Marsh & Miller	2											12				
41	Booth	2	2	2	2	2		2	2			2	2		2		
42	Hamilton, Adams, & Co.								4				6		6		
43	Low	2			2 2	2		4	4	2			3		6		
44	Carpenter					2		18					25		3		
45	J. Chappell		1	2	2	2	1	4	4	1	1	2	4		4	1	1
46	Underwood		2	2		2		2	4	2		3		2	2		
47	Westley		2		2	2			2		2	2	2	2		3	
48	Holdsworth & Ball					4		3			3	2	6		3		
49	Capes				2	2		1	3	2			3		5		2
50	Hunter			2		2						2	6		3		
51	C. Chapple				2	2		4	2	2	2	2	2		2		
52	Rodwell		2			4		4					4				
53	Cock		2	3		2			2				3		4		
54	Ridgway	2			2							2	3		3		
55	Harvey & Darton					3							3		2		
56	Gossling & Egley							3							2		
57	Tilt		2						2			2			2		
58	Wix							2					2		2		
59	Moore							2					3	2	2		
60	Greenland		2														
61	Moon		2														
62	Bain												2		2		
63	T. Mason Jr.												12				
64	Miller							3	3	4							
65	Bowdery & Kerby		2														
66	Booker																
67	Jeffery												3		2		
68	Leguin										2		2		3		
69	Lindsell												2		2		
70	Payne & Foss																
71	Jones																
72	Egerton																
73	Tegg												3				
74	Fellowes																
75	Sustenance													2			
76	Campbell												2				
77	Wise																
78	Unidentified											4			6		
	Total copies subscribed	384	439	622	429	742	239	597	756	239	206	578	1015	286	912	141	148
	Total distributed	397	704	726	502	838	335	921	1,345	348	286	879	2,233	478	1,909	573	681
	Waste	500			250												
	Remainders	603	546	774	498	412	415	329	155	402	714			272	591	427	319
	Sold to Colburn											121	267	—			
	Sold to Bentley																
	Total copies printed	1,500	1,250	1,500	1,250	1,250	750	1,250	1,500	750	1,000	1,000	2,500	750	2,500	1,000	1,000

A3. Directory of subscribing booksellers—page 1 of 2

BBTI No.	Bookseller	Address(es) circa 1829–1830	Category of business	Rank
1339	Andrews, John	167 New Bond St.	Retail; circulating librarian	9
2935	Bain, James	*[Unknown]*	Retail	62
3242	Baldwin & Cradock	47 Paternoster Row	Wholesale	8
[none loc.]	Bell & Bradfute	6 Bank St., Edinburgh, Scotland	Wholesale	6
6810	Black Young & Young	2 Tavistock St.	Retail	36
7717	Booker, Joseph	61 New Bond St	Retail	66
7774	Booth, John	32 Duke St., Manchester Sq.	Retail; circulating librarian	41
8087	Bowdery & Kerby	190 Oxford St	Retail	65
10717	Bull, Edward	26 Holles St.	Retail	22
11890	Calkin & Budd	118 Pall Mall	Retail	34
12010	Campbell, Duncan?	*[Unknown]*	Retail	76
12125	Capes, Joseph	Fleet St.	Retail	49
12308	Carpenter, James & Son	140 Old Bond St.	Retail	44
12837	Cawthorn, James	24 Cockspur St, Charing Cross	Retail; circulating librarian	10
13221	Chappell, John	41 Haydon Sq.	Retail; circulating librarian	45
13242	Chapple, Clement	59 and/or 66 Pall Mall	Retail; circulating librarian	51
14765	Cock, Charles Frederick	21 Fleet St.	Retail	53
16617	Cowie, George & Co	9 Bury St., St. Mary's Axe	Retail	29
17159	Crew & Spencer	27 Lamb's Conduit St.	Retail; circulating librarian	30
[none loc.]	Cumming, John	16 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin, Ireland	Wholesale	4
21184	Duncan, James	37 Paternoster Row	Wholesale	13
21652	East, Philip	14 St Martin's Court, Strand	Wholesale	7
21767	Ebers, John	23 and/or 27 Old Bond St.	Retail; circulating librarian	15
22175	Egerton, Thomas	*[Unknown]*	Retail	72
23885	Fellowes, Benjamin	*[Unknown]*	Retail	74
27996	Gossling & Egley	69 New Bond St.	Retail	56
28758	Greenland, George & Alfred	3 Finsbury Place	Retail	60
30179	Hamilton Adams & Co	31–33 Paternoster Row	Retail	42
18520	Harvey & Darton	6 Jerusalem Ct. and/or 55 Gracechurch St	Retail	55
31846	Hatchard & Son	187 and/or 190 Piccadilly	Retail	25
32665	Hebert, George	88 Cheapside	Retail; circulating librarian	31
34186	Hodgsons	Wimpole St.	Retail	32
34368	Holdsworth & Ball	18 St. Paul's Churchyard	Retail	48
34875	Hookham, Thomas	14 and/or 15 Old Bond St.	Retail; circulating librarian	17
123337	Horne, George	105 Queen St., Cheapside	Retail; circulating librarian	38
36286	Hunter, Rowland	72–73 St. Paul's Churchyard	Retail	50
36388	Hurst Chance & Co	65 St. Paul's Church Yard	Wholesale	5
37636	Jeffery, Henry & Son	4 Colonnade, Pall Mall	Wholesale	67
[none loc.]	Jones	*[Unknown]*	Wholesale	71

A3. Directory of subscribing booksellers—page 2 of 2

BBTI No.	Bookseller	Address(es) circa 1829–1830	Category of business	Rank
39244	Joy, William	14 Paternoster Row	Wholesale	27
[none loc.]	Leguin	*[Unknown]*	Wholesale	68
42872	Lindsell, Henry	87 Wimpole St.	Retail	69
43236	Lloyd, Edmund & Co	23 and/or 24 Harley St.	Retail	21
43648	Longman, Thomas Norton & Co	39 Paternoster Row	Wholesale	1
43879	Low, Sampson II	42 Lamb's Conduit	Retail	43
45352	Marsh & Miller	137 and/or 145 Oxford St.	Retail	40
45836	Mason, T. Jr.	Great Russel St.	Retail	63
45854	Mason, William	3 Braynes Row	Retail	35
46380	McClary, Henry James	32 St. James St.	Retail; circulating librarian	37
[none loc.]	Miller, Alfred	*[Unknown]*	Retail; circulating librarian	64
48064	Moon, Francis Graham	20 and/or 21 Threadneedle St.	Retail; circulating librarian	61
48201	Moore, Robert Parker	32 Store St., Bedford Sq.	Retail; circulating librarian	59
50029	Newman, Anthony K. & Co	32–33 Leadenhall St.	Retail; circulating librarian	23
52278	Parbury Allen & Co	7 Leadenhall St.	Retail	11
53124	Payne & Foss	81 Pall Mall	Retail	70
55162	Poole & Edwards	12 Ave Maria Ln.	Wholesale	19
57601	Reynolds, James	36 Crooked Lane	Wholesale	14
109535	Richardson, James Malcott	91 Royal Exchange, Cornhill	Retail	16
57956	Richardson, John	91 Royal Exchange, Cornhill	Wholesale	12
58231	Ridgway, James	169 and/or 170 Piccadilly	Wholesale	54
58405	Rivington, F. C. and J.	62 St. Paul's Churchyard	Wholesale	20
59278	Rodwell, James and/or John	46 New Bond St.	Retail	52
60701	Sams, William	1 St. James's St.	Retail; circulating librarian	28
61012	Saunders & Otley	50 Conduit St.	Retail; circulating librarian	18
62594	Sherwood & Co	23 Paternoster Row	Wholesale	24
63097	Simpkin & Marshall	3–4 Stationers Court	Wholesale	2
64781	Smith Elder & Co	65 Cornhill	Retail	26
66221	Steuart, Basil	132 and/or 139 Cheapside	Retail; circulating librarian	33
67293	Sustenance, Samuel William	*[Unknown]*	Retail	75
68483	Tegg, Thomas	*[Unknown]*	Retail	73
69698	Tilt, Charles	86 Fleet St.	Retail	57
71267	Underwood, Thomas & George	32 Fleet St.	Retail	46
74526	Westley, Frederick Cranwell	159 and/or 165 Strand	Retail	47
121449	Whittaker, George Byrom & Co	13 Ave Maria Ln.	Wholesale	3
76788	Wilson, Effingham	*[Unknown]*	Retail	39
97612	Wise, Adolphus Charles?	*[Unknown]*	Retail	77
77371	Wix, Henry	41 Bridge St., Blackfriars	Retail	58

APPENDIX B.
Longman & Co.'s Publication of Fiction, 1794–1836

APPENDIX B CONTENTS

This appendix contains data from contemporary accounting records of the first editions of 217 novels published by Longman & Co. between 1794 and 1836. I describe the compilation and analysis of these data in greater detail in Chapter 6.1. This appendix is color-coded to indicate the various sources of data. I have relied on the following bibliographies as finding aids and sources of collateral publication evidence:

Period	*Bibliography*
1794–1799	Raven and Forster, *TEN1*
1800–1829	Garside and Schöwerling, *TEN2*; Garside *et at., DBF.*
1830–1836	Garside *et al., TEN3.*

This table shows the relationship between the underling manuscripts of the Longman Group Archive (University of Reading Special Collections Ms. 1393) and their microfilm reproduction, *Archives of the House of Longman, 1794-1914*, 63 reels (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healy, 1978):

Abbreviation	*Reading Ms.*	*Item*	*No.*	*Reel*
CD	1393 1/A1	Joint commission & divide ledger	CD	1
1D	1393 1/A2	Divide ledger	1D	1
2D	1393 1/A3	”	2D	2
3D	1393 1/A4	”	3D	2
4D	1393 1/A5	”	4D	3
1C	1393 1/B1	Commission ledger	1C	10
2C	1393 1/B2	”	2C	10
3C	1393 1/B3	”	3C	11
4C	1393 1/B4	”	4C	11
1A	1393 1/C1	Misc. publication expenses ledger	1A	25
IB1	1393 1/H4	Impression book	1	37
IB2	1393 1/H5	”	2	37
IB3	1393 1/H6	”	3	37
IB4	1393 1/H7	”	4	38
IB5	1393 1/H8	”	5	38
IB6	1393 1/H9	”	6	38
IB7	1393 1/H10.	”	7	39
IB8	1393 1/H11.	”	8	39
IB9	1393 1/H12.	”	9	39

I have also collected printing data from the microfilm reproduction of the Strahan Archive (British Library Additional Mss. 48800–48918) in *The Strahan Archive from the British Library, London*, 23 reels (Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications, 1989):

Abbreviation	*BL Add. MS.*	*Item*	*Vol.*	*Reel*
S15	48815	Printing ledger	18	3
S16	48816	”	19	3
S17	48817	”	20	4
S18	48818	”	21	4
S19	48819	”	22	4
S20	48820	”	23	4
S21	48821	”	24	4
S22	48822	”	25	5

Where data are uncolored, I have collected them from copies of the novels themselves.

Appendix B1 lists all the first editions of works of long-form fiction that I have managed to identify in Longman's financial accounts, along with the pagination and dates of entries. I have also included the format, volume count, estimated sheet count, retail price (in boards when available), and trade price if known.

Appendix B2 lists all the novels with Longman & Co. mentioned in the imprint for which I was unable to locate an entry.

Appendix B3 lists data on printing, including the edition(s) commissioned in the order for the first edition; the edition's printer(s), identified individually for each volume in cases of shared work; the charge for typesetting and presswork per edition-sheet; the outlay associated with typesetting and presswork; and the description and sum charged for corrections and other exigencies of printing.

Appendix B4 lists data on paper, including the number of reams ordered for the edition; the size(s) of the paper and any accompanying descriptions of color and quality; the price per ream; the wholesale stationer who supplied the paper; and the total paper outlay for the edition.

Appendix B5 lists miscellaneous further physical production costs not covered by the main printing and paper costs, including carriage, freight, and postage; copper plates; cold-pressing; and stereotyping.

Appendix B6 lists advertising costs, noting any discrepancies between the advertising recorded in the Impression Books and that recorded in the Divide Ledgers. I also record the number of copies (if any) for which trade binding was included in the edition's outlays, as well as any costs associated with the distribution of nonsale copies for presentation, review, and copyright deposit copies.

Appendix B7 lists fixed-sum authorial payments, including the descriptions that accompany the payment. I include the author's name, gender, and my own judgment of the authorial payment type.

Appendix B8 lists the total sales, revenues, and profits (or losses) resulting from six editions published between 1830 and 1836. I also include the author's name and gender.

B1. List of first editions in the Longman Archives and Strahan Printing Ledgers—page 1 of 5

BBF Record No.	Short Title	Date in accounts	Longman Impression Books	Longman Commission & Divide Ledgers	Strahan Printing Ledgers	Format, vols., sheets	Trade price (sd)	Retail price (sd)
1794:4	*Caroline de Montmorenci*	Jun 1794	IB1:2r			12° 1 8.167		
1796:13	*Love's Pilgrimage*	Feb 1796	IB1:9r		S17:97v	12° 3 26.500		9 0 boards
1797:49	*Joscelina*	May 1797			S17:97v	12° 2 18.000		7 0 boards
1797:50	*Clara Duplessis, and Clairant*	Jul 1797	IB1:42v		S17:97v	12° 3 35.167		10 6 boards
1797:62	*Old Friend with a New Face*	Jun 1797	IB1:42v			12° 3 32.000		10 6 boards
1797:68	*Family Secrets* [Vol. 1]	Feb 1797	IB3:19		S17:97v	12° 1 17.500		5 0 boards
1797:71	*Walsingham*	Dec 1797	IB1:43r		S17:98r	12° 4 60.000		16 0 boards
1798:73	*Step-Mother: A Domestic Tale*	Oct 1798			S17:98r	12° 2 21.500		7 0 boards
1799:16	*Spirit of the Elbe*	Feb 1799	IB1:44v		S17:122v	12° 3 22.250		9 0 boards
1799:40	*Rash Vows*	Jan 1799	IB1:44r		S17:122v	12° 3 34.250		10 6 boards
1799:78	*False Friend*	Feb 1799	IB1:44r		S17:122v	12° 4 58.333		16 0 boards
1799:79	*Natural Daughter*	Aug 1799	IB1:64v		S17:123r	12° 2 24.500		7 0 boards
1799:95	*Tale of the Times*	Jan 1799	IB1:43v			12° 3 43.000		12 0 sewed
1799:20	*Witch, and the Maid of Honour*	May 1799			S17:122v	12° 2 21.000		7 6 boards
1799:77	*Destination*	Jun 1799			S17:123r	12° 3 29.000		10 6 boards
1799:92	*Monk-Wood Priory*	Sep 1799			S17:123r	12° 2 18.500		7 0 boards
1800A035	*Rival Mothers*	Aug 1800	IB2:34r		S17:124r	12° 4 65.500		18 0 sewed
1800A043	*Rimualdo*	Aug 1800	IB2:34r			12° 4 39.500		14 0 boards
1800A068	*Letters of a Solitary Wanderer* [Vols. 4–5]	Mar 1800	IB2:42r		S17:124v	12° 2 25.000		13 6 boards
1800A075	*History of Rinaldo Rinaldini*	Aug 1800			S17:123v	12° 3 31.000		10 6 boards
1801A022	*Percival*	Feb 1801	IB2:36r		S17:124r	12° 4 47.500		18 0 boards
1801A048	*Follies of Fashion*	Dec 1801	IB2:38r			12° 3 38.000		13 6 boards
1801A060	*Something New*	Oct 1801	IB2:40v		S17:124v	12° 3 44.000		15 0 boards
1802A035	*Astonishment!!!*	Nov 1802	IB2:71v			12° 2 26.500		9 0 boards
1802A049	*Memoirs of a Family in Swisserland*	Jul 1802	IB2:69r			12° 4 39.167		14 0 boards
1802A060	*Infidel Father*	Dec 1802	IB2:69r			12° 3 42.000		15 0 boards
1803A035	*St Clair of the Isles*	Sep 1803	IB2:101v			12° 4 41.250		14 0 boards
1803A044	*Very Strange, but Very True!*	Jun 1803	IB2:98r			12° 4 39.500		14 0 *[no desc.]*
1803A059	*Thaddeus of Warsaw*	Jul 1803	IB2:71v			12° 4 40.500		14 0 boards
1803A062	*Castle of the Tuileries*	May 1803	IB2:97v	CD:97, 1C:131		8° 2 48.750		14 0 boards
1804A013	*Modern Literature*	May 1804	IB2.104v			12° 3 41.000		15 0 boards
1804A016	*Aubrey*	May 1804	IB2:117r			12° 4 51.000		18 0 boards
1804A054	*Swiss Emigrants*	Oct 1804	IB2:95v	CD:178		12° 1 7.000		4 0 boards
1804A059	*Lake of Killarney*	Jul 1804	IB2:117v	CD:171		12° 3 40.000	8 6	13 6 boards
1805A033	*Herman and Dorothea*	May 1805	IB2:32v			12° 1 15.000		7 0 boards
1805A058	*Adeline Mowbray*	Dec 1805	IB2:122r	CD:77; 1D:78		16° 3 24.500	8 9	13 6 boards
1805A062	*Sailor's Friendship, and a Soldier's Love*	Sep 1805	IB2:163v	CD:241; 1D:98		12° 2 21.333	5 0	8 0 boards
1805A067	*Nobility of the Heart*	Oct 1805	IB2:118r	CD:189; 1D:52		12° 3 35.500	8 6	13 6 boards
1806A006	*Donald*	Nov 1806	IB3:54r	CD:221; 1C:21		12° 3 36.500	8 6	13 6 boards
1806A023	*Zofloya*	May 1806	IB3:19v	CD:123; 1D:44		12° 3 34.000	7 6	12 0 boards
1806A031	*Madame de Maintenon*	Jul 1806	IB3.55v	CD:146		12° 2 23.500		8 0 boards
1806A037	*Moreland Manor*	Sep 1806		CD:182; 1D:69		12° 3 33.500		12 0 *[no desc.]*
1806A051	*Simple Tales*	Apr 1806	IB3:53r			12° 4 54.000		21 0 boards
1807A004	*Margaretta*	Aug 1807		1C:42		*12° 1 [unk.]*	3 10	6 0 boards
1807A006	*Theodore; or, the Enthusiast*	May 1807	IB3:62r			12° 4 58.000		21 0 boards
1807A041	*Fatal Revenge*	Jul 1807	IB3:133v	1D:26; 1D:29		12° 3 59.000	13 9	21 0 boards
1807A051	*Hungarian Brothers*	Apr 1807	IB3:80r			12° 3 33.000		13 6 boards
1807A060	*Wedding Day*	Jun 1807		CD:130, 1D:33		12° 3 24.333	7 3	12 0 boards
1808A001	*Ned Bentley*	Dec 1808		1C:316		12° 3 31.500	9 9	15 0 boards
1808A039	*Knights*	Mar 1808	IB3:107v		S18:27r	12° 3 35.500		15 0 boards

BBF Record No.	Short Title	Date in accounts	Longman Impression Books	Longman Commission & Divide Ledgers	Strahan Printing Ledgers	Format, vols., sheets	Trade price (sd)	Retail price (sd)
1808A058	*Artless Tales*	May1808	IB3:111r	unt		12º 3 27.500		15 0 boards
1808A071	*Romantic Tales*	Jul1808	IB3:122v	1D:130		12º 4 53.500	15 4	24 0 boards
1808A074	*Wild Irish Boy*	Feb1808	IB3:96v	1D:76		12º 3 43.750	10 9	16 6 boards
1808A077	*Ring and the Well*	Apr1808	IB3:110r	1D:76		12º 4 44.000	11 4	18 0 boards
1808A085	*Hour of Trial*	Jun1808	IB3:120v	1D:95		12º 3 34.000	9 6	15 0 boards
1809A017	*Soldier's Orphan*	Feb1809		1C:338		12º 3 26.500	8 6	13 6 boards
1809A054	*Woman: Or, Ida of Athens*	Dec1809	IB3:161r			12º 4 42.750		21 0 boards
1809A059	*Don Sebastian*	Aug1809	IB3.211r			12º 4 52.000		21 0 boards
1809A060	*Tales of Other Realms*	Sep1809	A2:150;IB4:5	1D:150	S18:27r	12º 2 17.500	5 0	8 0 boards
1809A064	*Son of the Storm*	Aug1809		1C:382		12º 4 40.250	11 4	18 0 boards
1809A076	*Dominican*	Mar1809	IB3:178v			12º 3 35.500		15 0 boards
1810A070	*Scottish Chiefs*	Mar1810	IB4:31r			12º 5 81.500		35 0 boards
1810A080	*Incident and Interest*	Jun1811		1C:534		12º 2 18.750	6 10	9 0 boards
1810A089	*Refusal*	Feb1810	IB4:22r			12º 3 48.000		21 0 boards
1811A022	*Philosophical Wanderers*	Jan1811	IB4:102v	1D:274		12º 1 12.000	3 10	6 0 boards
1811A026	*Self-Control*	Feb1812	IB4:149v			8º 2 54.500		21 0 boards
1811A041	*Amatonda*	Jan1811	IB4:103v	1D:274		12º 1 13.000	3 10	6 0 boards
1811A068	*Rosalie*	Oct1811		1C:52; 2C:216,291		12º 4 40.000	12 8	20 0 boards
1812A010	*My Own Times*	Sep1812		1C:601		12º 2 19.000	5 8	9 0 boards
1812A023	*Marian*	Mar1812	IB4:180v			12º 3 34.500		15 0 boards
1812A040	*Friends Unmasked*	Jun1812		1C:486		12º 3 32.167	13 0	20 0 boards
1812A052	*Temper*	Mar1812	IB4:186v	1D:291		12º 3 24.500	13 9	21 0 boards
1812A065	*Loyalists*	Apr1812	IB4:187v		S19:94v	12º 3 43.167		21 0 boards
1813A002	*Demetrius*	Apr1813	IB5:34	1D:298	S19:95v	12º 2 21.000		10 6 boards
1813A011	*Heart and the Fancy*	Mar1813	IB5:26	1D:296	S19:95v	12º 2 23.500	7 8	12 0 boards
1813A035	*She Thinks for Herself*	Jan1813	IB4:225	1D:230		12º 3 37.000	10 9	16 6 boards
1813A036	*Miser Married*	May1813	IB5:48	1D:299; 2D:72		12º 3 35.500	9 6	15 0 boards
1813A044	*Tales of Real Life*	Jun1813		1D:300		12º 3 38.042	11 6	18 0 boards
1813A057	*Curate and his Daughter*	Mar1813	IB5:23	1D:297		12º 3 31.500	9 6	15 0 boards
1814A014	*Discipline*	Dec1814	IB5:181r			12º 3 57.000		24 0 boards
1814A017	*Wanderer*	Mar1814	1A:235		S19:96r	12º 5 89.500		*42 0* boards
1814A025	*Confessions of Sir Henry Longueville*	Aug1814	IB5:146	1D:306		12º 2 18.250	6 9	10 6 boards
1814A028	*Christabelle*	Sep1814	IB5:153	1D:38		12º 4 66.500	15 4	24 0 boards
1814A043	*Corasmin*	Feb1814	IB5:114	1D:303		12º 3 33.750	9 6	15 0 boards
1814A048	*Recluse of Norway*	Sep1814	IB5:153r		S19:96r	12º 4 57.000		24 0 boards
1814A049	*Duty*	Aug1814	IB5:149	1D:73; 2D:18		12º 3 26.000	7 6	12 0 boards
1814A062	*Alicia de Lacy*	Jun1814	IB5:140v		S19:96r	12º 4 59.000		28 0 boards
1815A021	*Memoirs of an Old Wig*	Jun1815	IB5:209r	1D:231	S19:96v	8º 1 11.500	4 6	7 0 boards
1815A044	*Guy Mannering*	Nov1815	IB5:178r	1D107		12º 3 44.250	13 9	21 0 boards
1815A046	*Varieties of Life*	May1815	IB5:194	1D:307; 2D:227		12º 3 38.750	11 6	18 0 boards
1816A047	*Valentine's Eve*	Feb1816	IB6:7v	1D:227, 2D:110, 3D:260		12º 3 41.500	13 9	21 0 boards
1817A034	*Welsh Mountaineer*	Jun1817	IB6:101v	2D39	S19:99v	12º 3 34.667	10 9	16 6 boards
1817A037	*Bachelor and the Married Man*	Dec1817	IB6:124v	2D:73	S19:100v	12º 3 29.000	10 9	16 0 boards
1817A048	*Knight of St John*	Oct1817	IB6:115r		S19:100r	12º 3 42.000		21 0 boards
1817A049	*Pastor's Fire-Side*	Jan1817	IB6:68v		S19:99r	12º 4 69.000		31 6 boards
1818A016	*Sophia*	May1818	IB6:150v		S19:213v	12º 3 32.000		16 6 boards
1818A025	*Advertisement, The*	Jan1818		2C:219		12º 3 26.750	10 9	16 6 boards
1818A031	*Northern Irish Tales*	Feb1818	IB6:136v	2D:75	S19:213v	12º 2 23.000	7 8	12 0 boards
1818A033	*Correction*	Mar1818	IB6:137	2D:79	S19:213v	12º 3 44.667	13 9	21 0 boards
1818A039	*Physiognomist*	May1818	IB6:169r	2D:92	S19:214r	12º 3 29.500	10 9	16 6 boards

B1. List of first editions in the Longman Archives and Strahan Printing Ledgers—page 3 of 5

BBF Record No.	Short Title	Date in accounts	Longman Impression Books	Longman Commission & Divide Ledgers	Strahan Printing Ledgers	Format, vols., sheets	Trade price (sd)	Retail price (sd)
1818A045	*New Tales*	Jun 1818	IB6:168v	2D:91		12º 4 61.000	18 4	28 0 boards
1818A052	*Fast of St Magdalen*	Oct 1818	IB6:200r		S19:215v	12º 3 43.000		21 0 boards
1818A050	*Lionel: or, the Last of the Pevenseys*	May 1818	IB6:151r	2D:86	S19:214r	12º 3 43.000	13 9	21 0 boards
1819A004	*Coraly*	Jan 1819	IB6:211v	2D:103		12º 3 27.167	8 6	13 6 boards
1819A007	*Errors and their Consequences*	Jun 1819		3C:44		12º 2 30.500	8 4	13 0 boards
1819A037	*Decision: A Tale*	May 1819	IB7:6	2D:99		12º 3 45.167	13 9	20 0 boards
1819A038	*Veteran*	May 1819	IB6:234	2D:136		12º 3 42.167	13 9	21 0 boards
1819A043	*Oakwood Hall*	Feb 1819	IB6:212v	2D:111		12º 3 33.750	10 9	16 6 boards
1819A044	*Leolin Abbey*	Jun 1819	IB6:233v	2D:151		12º 3 40.500	13 9	21 0 boards
1819A045	*Hesitation*	Feb 1819	IB6:216v	2D:112	S20:13v	12º 3 34.000	11 6	18 0 boards
1819A049	*Eveleen Mountjoy*	Jul 1819	IB7:34	2D:153		12º 4 50.000	15 4	24 0 boards
1819A052	*Dudley*	May 1819	IB6:234	2D:129		12º 3 54.000	13 9	21 0 boards
1819A054	*Ernestus Berchtold*	Jul 1819	IB7:8v	2D:153		12º 1 12.000	3 10	6 0 boards
1819A062	*Traveler's Tale of the Last Century*	Feb 1819	IB6:216v	2D:114	S20:14r	12º 3 31.167	10 9	16 6 boards
1820A014	*Domestic Scenes*	Feb 1820		2D:174		12º 3 46.375	13 9	21 0 boards
1820A019	*Sir Francis Darrell*	Aug 1820	IB7:89r			12º 4 53.000		28 0 boards
1820A027	*Mystery; or, Forty Years Ago*	Feb 1820	IB7:56	2D:173		12º 3 42.000	13 9	21 0 boards
1820A033	*Tales of the Priory*	May 1820	IB7:62	2D:191		12º 4 55.000	15 4	24 0 boards
1820A044	*Tales of the Imagination*	Jun 1820	IB7:68	2D:195		12º 3 31.500	11 6	18 0 boards
1820A056	*Tales of the Heart*	Jul 1820	IB7:84r			12º 4 70.000		28 0 boards
1820A061	*Abbot, The*	Aug 1820	IB7.79r			12º 3 49.500		24 0 boards
1820A063	*Monastery, The*	Feb 1820	IB7.32r			12º 3 43.250		24 0 boards
1821A019	*Cavalier*	Apr 1821	IB7:116	2D:231; 3D:61		12º 3 50.500	13 9	21 0 boards
1821A020	*Hall of Hellingsley*	Aug 1821	IB7:134	2D:245		12º 3 32.500	11 6	18 0 boards
1821A037	*Calthorpe*	Jan 1821	IB7:110v	2D:208		12º 3 41.000	13 9	21 0 boards
1821A053	*Woman of Genius*	Dec 1821	IB7:163v	2D:112		12º 3 28.500	10 9	16 6 boards
1821A061	*Village of Mariendorpt*	Feb 1821	IB7:110r			12º 4 50.833		28 0 boards
1821A066	*Helen de Tournon*	Feb 1821	IB7:110r			12º 2 22.333		10 6 boards
1822A006	*Days of Queen Mary, The*	Aug 1823		3C:111		12º 1 10.250	3 2	5 0 boards
1822A019	*Malpas*	Jun 1822	IB7:184v	2D:251	S20:127v	12º 3 46.000	13 9	21 0 boards
1822A034	*Lollards*	Apr 1822	IB7:173v	2D:256	S20:125v	12º 3 44.500	13 9	21 0 boards
1822A036	*Reformation*	Nov 1822	IB7:207v	2D:262		12º 3 42.500	11 6	18 0 boards
1822A037	*Refugees*	May 1822	IB7:184v	2D:98		12º 3 40.000	13 9	21 0 boards
1822A043	*Tales of the Manor*	May 1822	IB7:175v	2D:216		12º 4 53.500	15 4	24 0 boards
1822A044	*Three Perils of Man*	May 1823	IB7:185	2D:157		12º 3 48.833	16 0	24 0 *[no desc.]*
1822A060	*Madeline*	Mar 1822	IB7:174	2D:246; 3D:262		12º 2 29.000	9 2	14 0 boards
1822A062	*Roche-Blanche*	Jun 1822	IB7:195r			12º 3 58.000		24 0 boards
1822A070	*Old Stories*	Mar 1822	IB7:165v	2D:114	S20:124r	12º 2 17.000	6 9	10 6 boards
1822A081	*Body and Soul* [vol. 1]	Jun 1822	IB7:187	2D:86	S20:127v	8º 1 25.500	8 0	12 0 boards
1822A081	*Body and Soul* [vol. 2]	Apr 1823	IB7:220	2D:86		8º 1 16.500		9 0 boards
1823A015	*Hurstwood*	Dec 1823	IB8:13v	2D:128		12º 3 30.500	10 9	16 6 *[no desc.]*
1823A018	*King of the Peak*	Apr 1823	IB7:229v	2D:203–4; 3D:165	S20:136r	12º 3 48.000	13 9	21 0 boards
1823A020	*Self-Delusion*	Jun 1823	IB7:232v	2D:175	S20:136v	12º 2 30.500	9 2	14 0 boards
1823A034	*Other Times*	Mar 1823	IB7:224	2D:77	S20:135r	12º 3 38.167	11 6	18 0 boards
1823A035	*Stranger's Grave*	Oct 1823	IB8:2v	2D:236,239	S20:172v	12º 1 13.167	3 10	6 0 boards
1823A039	*Integrity*	Apr 1823	IB7:226v			12º 1 11.167		6 0 boards
1823A040	*Three Perils of Woman*	Aug 1823	IB8:14r	2D:157		12º 3 45.000		31 0 boards
1823A053	*Edward Neville*	May 1823	IB7:232	2D:206	S20:136v	12º 4 76.000	18 4	28 0 boards
1823A069	*Wine and Walnuts*	Apr 1823	IB7:226	2D:224	S20:135v	8º 2 42.750	9 8	15 0 boards
1823A077	*How to Be Rid of a Wife*	Dec 1823	IB8:18r			12º 2 25.000		12 0 boards

BBF Record No.	Short Title	Date in accounts	Longman Impression Books	Longman Commission & Divide Ledgers	Strahan Printing Ledgers	Format, vols., sheets	Trade price (sd)	Retail price (sd)
1824A002	*Arthur Seymour*	Dec1824		3C:140		12º 2 19.833	7 8	12 0 boards
1824A016	*Country Belles*	Jan1824	IB8:21v	2D:285	S20:175r	12º 3 33.500	11 6	18 0 boards
1824A031	*Ourika*	May1824	IB8:34r		S20:177v	12º 1 6.000		3 0 boards
1824A039	*Witch-Finder*	May1824	IB8:34r	2D:297	S20:178r	12º 3 47.167	13 9	21 0 boards
1824A048	*Decision. A Tale*	Nov1824	IB8:48v	2D:130		12º 1 11.500		6 0 boards
1824A049	*Patience*	Jan1824	IB8:15v			12º 1 12.500		6 0 boards
1824A050	*Private Memoirs* [...] *Justified Sinner*	Jun1824	IB8:33r	2D:239		8º 1 24.750	7 0	10 6 boards
1824A069	*Ellen Ramsay*	Feb1824	IB8:24r	2D:292	S20:175v	12º 3 44.500	13 9	21 0 boards
1824A078	*Duke Christian of Luneburg*	Feb1824	IB8:22r		S20:175r	12º 3 50.000		24 0 boards
1824A097	*Two Rectors*	May1824	IB8:31v	2D:301	S20:177v	12º 1 20.000	7 0	10 6 boards
1824A022	*Lasting Impressions*	Sep1824			S20:179r	12º 3 47.500		21 0 boards
1825A041	*Moderation*	Jul1825	IB8:91r			12º 1 11.000		6 0 boards
1825A050	*London in the Olden Time*	May1825		3C:348–9; 4C:308		8º 1 20.750	6 8	10 0 *[no desc.]*
1825A051	*Fire-Side Scenes*	Dec1825	IB8:62	2D:73	S20:181r	12º 3 38.000		21 0 boards
1825A062	*Adventurers*	May1825		3C:196,272	S20:184r	12º 3 42.000	13 9	21 0 boards
1825A074	*Village Pastor*	May1825	IB8:87v	2D:172,183	S20:183v	12º 1 14.500	5 4	8 0 boards
1825A075	*Story of a Life*	May1825	IB8:87v		S20:183v	8º 2 43.500	12 0	18 0 boards
1826A003	*Eccentric Traveler*	Apr1826		3C:269		12º 4 54.500	24 4	36 0 boards
1826A008	*Rebel, The*	Dec1825		3C:269		12º 2 31.750	9 2	14 0 boards
1826A010	*Gertrude de Wart*	Feb1826		3C:143		12º 1 7.500		6 0 boards
1826A018	*De Foix*	Mar1826	IB8:119v	2D:328		8º 3 55.250	18 0	27 0 boards
1826A046	*Reflection*	Jun1826	IB8.123r			12º 1 11.333		6 0 boards
1826A063	*Honor O'Hara*	Oct1826	IB8.144v			12º 3 59.000		24 0 boards
1826A064	*Tales round a Winter Hearth*	Apr1826	IB8:126v		S21:65v	12º 2 34.000		28 6 *[no desc.]*
1826A075	*Convert*	Jan1826	IB8:119v	2D:208		12º 1 19.000		10 6 boards
1827A011	*Stories of Chivalry and Romance*	Feb1827		3C:217		12º 1 11.500	3 10	6 0 *[no desc.]*
1827A013	*Tales of Welsh Society and Scenery*	Feb1827	IB8:158	2D:44	S21:71r	12º 2 35.000	12 0	18 0 boards
1827A014	*Emir Malek*	Sep1827	IB8:187v	2D:299	S21:74v	12º 3 34.167	11 6	18 0 boards
1827A016	*Owain Goch*	Jun1827		2D:256	S21:73r	12º 3 53.000	16 0	24 0 boards
1827A027	*Busy-Bodies*	May1827		2D:272		12º 3 44.000	16 0	24 0 boards
1827A028	*Odd Volume. Second Series*	Apr1827		2D:339		8º 1 24.000		10 6 *[no desc.]*
1827A042	*Self-Denial*	Jun1827	IB8:174r			12º 1 10.750		6 0 *[no desc.]*
1827A050	*London in the Olden Time* [2nd Series]	May1827		3C:348; 4C:308		8º 1 21.250	7 0	10 0 *[no desc.]*
1827A054	*Epicurean*	Jun1827		3C:313–4; 4C:165	S21:73v	12º 1 14.500	6 1	9 0 boards
1827A064	*Dame Rebecca Berry*	Jan1827	IB8:169	2D:46		12º 3 38.000	11 6	18 0 boards
1827A071	*Vallies*	Dec1827		3C:259		12º 2 18.500	6 4	10 0 boards
1827A079	*Ringrove*	Aug1827	IB8:186v	2D:48; 3D:350	S21:74v	12º 2 35.500	10 8	16 0 boards
1828A001	*De Beauvoir*	Jan1828	IB8:198v	2D:46; 3D:78	S21:77r	12º 3 54.000	16 0	24 0 boards
1828A004	*Hundred Years Hence, A*	Aug1828		4C:231		12º 1 9.000	3 10	6 0 *[no desc.]*
1828A020	*White Hoods*	Jan1828	IB8:196	2D:314	S21:77r	8º 3 62.500	21 0	31 6 boards
1828A063	*Coming Out*	Jan1828	IB8:194r			12º 3 74.500		30 0 boards
1829A049	*Beatrice, a Tale Founded on Facts*	Oct1829	IB9:31	3D:129		12º 3 42.000	13 9	21 0 boards
1829A078	*Tales of the Wars of our Times*	May1829	IB9:20v		S21:84v	8º 2 46.750		21 0 *[no desc.]*
1830:24	*Pen Tamar*	Aug1830	IB9:72r	4D:271	S21:91v	8º 1 16.000	7 0	10 6 boards
1830:26	*Talba, or Moor of Portugal*	Dec1830	IB9:74v	4D:36		8º 3 56.250	18 0	27 0 boards
1830:42	*Sir Ethelbert*	May1830	IB9:59	4D:88		12º 3 52.417	16 0	24 0 boards
1830:80	*Traditions of Palestine*	Aug1830		4C:369		12º 1 6.250	4 2	6 0 boards
1830:89	*The Barony*	May1830	IB9:56v			12º 3 65.167		27 0 boards
1831:57	*Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative*	Jun1831	IB9:93			8º 3 67.750		31 6 boards
1832:67	*Legends of the Library at Lilies*	Sep1832	IB9:131v			12º 2 30.167		21 0 boards

B1. List of first editions in the Longman Archives and Strahan Printing Ledgers—page 5 of 5

BBF Record No.	Short Title	Date in accounts	Longman Impression Books	Longman Commission & Divide Ledgers	Strahan Printing Ledgers	Format, vols., sheets	Trade price (sd)	Retail price (sd)
1833:38	*Mary of Burgundy*	Apr1833	IB9:144v			12º 3 42.000		3 6 boards
1833:57	*Traditionary Stories of Old Families*	Jul1833	IB9:163v			12º 2 30.500		2 0 boards
1834:11	*Warleigh*	Aug1834	IB9:197r	4D:36		12º 3 47.500	2 1 0	3 6 boards
1834:44	*Dacre*	Jul1834	IB9:189r			12º 3 42.000		3 6 boards
1835:2	*English in India*	Mar1835	IB9:211v	3D:89		12º 2 31.000	1 4 0	2 0 boards
1835:62	*One in a Thousand*	Nov1835	IB9:225r			12º 3 41.167		3 6 boards
1835:106	*Rosabel*	May1835	IB9:204r	3D:284		12º 3 52.000	2 1 0	3 6 boards
1835:111	*Mephistopheles in England*	Jun1835	IB9:213r	4D:241		12º 3 39.000	2 1 0	3 6 boards
1836:67	*Broken Font*	Jun1836	IB9:239r			12º 2 29.500		2 1 0 cloth

B2. List of Longman & Co's novels not represented in the sample

Identified by *BBF* record number:

1794:36	1810A038	1823A085
1796:89	1810A051	1824A001
1797:4	1810A063	1824A030
1798:52	1812A015	1824A070
1798:59	1812A025	1826A020
1798:60	1812A033	1826A026
1799:17	1813A008	1826A030
1799:45	1813A029	1826A031
1800A037	1814A029	1826A042
1801A037	1814A054	1826A048
1801A056	1815A016	1826A070
1802A031	1815A024	1827A078
1803A060	1815A030	1828A025
1804A027	1816A044	1828A078
1804A037	1816A052	1830:107
1804A047	1817A006	1831:59
1804A075	1817A029	1832:47
1805A012	1817A031	1832:77
1805A018	1818A041	1832:80
1805A025	1818A047	1833:10
1805A026	1818A055	1833:16
1805A035	1819A017	1833:5
1805A037	1819A057	1833:71
1805A038	1819A060	1834:39
1805A041	1819A070	1834:59
1805A063	1820A021	1835:104
1805A073	1820A049	1835:60
1806A034	1821A005	1835:80
1808A036	1822A022	1835:82
1808A096	1822A061	1836:13
1808A108	1823A025	1836:26
1809A044	1823A063	1836:48
1810A027	1823A070	1836:64

B3. Printing costs—page 1 of 4

BBF Record No.	Short Title	Edn.	Copies ordered + surplus	Edition-sheets	Printer(s)	Typesetting & presswork charge per edn.-sheet (£sd)	Type + press outlay (£sd)	Corrections, reading, alterations, small type, labels, &c. (£sd)	
1794:4	*Caroline de Montmorenci*		500						
1796:13	*Love's Pilgrimage*	1	750	26½	Strahan	26 0	34 9 0	[*Corrections included in charge?*]	0 0 0
1797:49	*Joscelina*	1	750	18	Strahan	26 0	24 6 0	[*Corrections included in charge?*]	1 12 0
1797:50	*Clara Duplessis, and Clairant*	1	750	35⅙	Strahan	26 0	46 3 0	[*Corrections included in charge?*]	0 0 0
1797:62	*Old Friend with a New Face*	1	750	32	Strahan	25 0	40 0 0	0.3.0 Corrections; 1.2.6 Woodbridge for reading	1 5 6
1797:68	*Family Secrets [Vol. 1]*	1	1,000	17½	Strahan	29 0	25 7 6	Corrections	4 17 0
1797:71	*Walsingham*	1	1,000	60	Strahan	27 0	82 0 0	Corrections	5 18 0
1798:73	*Step-Mother: A Domestic Tale*	1	500	21½	Strahan	23 0	24 14 6	Corrections	1 7 0
1799:16	*Spirit of the Elbe*	1	750	22¼	Strahan	26 0	29 5 0	Corrections	1 18 6
1799:40	*Rash Vows*	1	750	34¼	Strahan	26 0	44 17 0	Corrections	4 0 12
1799:78	*False Friend*	1	1,000	58⅓	Strahan	27 0	78 19 6	Corrections	5 3 0
1799:79	*Natural Daughter*	1	1,000	24½	Strahan	27 0	33 1 6	Corrections	2 17 6
1799:95	*Tale of the Times*	1	1,000	43	Strahan	27 0	58 1 0	Corrections	3 14 0
1799:20	*Witch, and the Maid of Honour*	1	500	21	Strahan	23 0	24 3 0	Corrections	1 17 0
1799:77	*Destination*	1	750	29	Strahan	25 0	36 5 0	Corrections	4 6 0
1799:92	*Monk-Wood Priory*	1	500	18½	Strahan	23 0	21 5 6	Corr[ections] and Catalogue	0 9 6
1800A035	*Rival Mothers*	1	750	65½	Strahan	26 0	85 3 0	Corrections	10 15 0
1800A043	*Rimualdo*	1	750	39½	Strahan	25 0	49 7 6	Corrections	3 12 0
1800A068	*Letters of a Solitary Wanderer* [Vols. 4–5]	1	750	25	Strahan	30 0	37 10 0	Corrections	0 7 0
1800A075	*History of Rinaldo Rinaldini*	1	750	31	Strahan	25 0	38 15 0	Corrections, small letter, & cancelled Title	4 5 0
1801A022	*Percival*	1	750	47½	Strahan	28 0	66 10 0	Corrections &c.	6 18 0
1801A048	*Follies of Fashion*	1	500	38	Strahan	24 0	45 12 0	£14.18.0 Extraordinary alteration; £0.10.6 Mr James, Reading	15 8 6
1801A060	*Something New*	1	500	44	Strahan	27 6	60 10 0	Corrections	5 8 0
1802A035	*Astonishment!!!*	1	500	26½	Payne	21 6	28 10 6	[*Corrections included in charge?*]	0 0 0
1802A049	*Memoirs of a Family in Swisserland*	1	500	39⅙	Strahan	24 0	47 8 0	Corrections	1 2 0
1802A060	*Infidel Father*	1	2,000	42	*[Strahan –T.P.]*	44 0	93 10 0	Mr Jones Correcting	8 8 0
1803A035	*St Clair of the Isles*	1	1,000	41¼	Strahan	32 0	66 8 0	Corrections	4 16 0
1803A044	*Very Strange, but Very True!*	1	500	39½	Strahan	28 0	55 0 0	Corrections	2 18 0
1803A059	*Thaddeus of Warsaw*	1	500	40½	*[Strahan –T.P.]*	28 0	56 14 0	Many corrections	12 3 11
1803A062	*Castle of the Tuileries*	1	750	48¾	Strahan v.1; Brooke v.2	30 0	73 10 0	2.12.0 Corrections v.1; 0.12.6 Corrections v.2; 0.12.0 labels	3 16 6
1804A013	*Modern Literature*	1	750	41	Strahan	30 0	61 10 0	Extracts small letter & corrections	7 2 0
1804A016	*Aubrey*	1	1,000	51	Strahan	32 0	81 12 0	£11.7.0 Corrections; £1.5.0 Remaking so late on Introduction	13 3 0
1804A054	*Swiss Emigrants*	1	750	7	*[N. Biggs –T.P.]*	33 6	11 14 6	6s Extra for Critique; £1.4.0 Corrections	1 10 0
1804A059	*Lake of Killarney*	1	750	40	Strahan	30 0	60 0 0	Corrections	4 12 0
1805A033	*Herman and Dorothea*	1	500	6½	Mercier	33 0	10 14 0	Corrections	1 10 6
1805A058	*Adeline Mowbray*	1	2,000	24½	Taylor	63 0	77 3 6	9.12.0 Alterations; 1.10.0	11 2 0
1805A062	*Sailor's Friendship, and a Soldier's Love*	1	500		*[Strahan and Preston –T.P.]*		30 2 0	Corrections	2 9 0
1805A067	*Nobility of the Heart*	1	500	35½	Strahan	28 0	49 14 0	Corrections	4 10 0
1806A006	*Donald*	1	750	36½	Gold	32 6	59 6 3	£7.3.0 Corrections; 1.6.0 Title 17/6 Labells [sic] 8/6; £0.10.6 Erata [*sic*]; £5 Reading Proofs, &c.	13 19 6
1806A023	*Zofloya*	1	1,000		*[G. Woodfall v.1, Mercier & Co. v.2, Brooke v.3 –T.P.]*		59 7 11	[*Corrections included in charge?*]	0 0 0
1806A031	*Madame de Maintenon*	1	750	23½	Stower	32 0	37 12 0	1.2.6 Alterations; 0.6.0 Labels	1 8 6
1806A037	*Moreland Manor*	1	750		*[Cundee –T.P.]*				
1806A051	*Simple Tales*	1	2,000	54	Taylor	48 0	129 12 0	Corrections £25.12.0; Small letter 5s; Labels 20*s*	16 17 5
1807A006	*Theodore; or, the Enthusiast*		750	58	v1–2 Sidney 29 @ 24/; v3 Brooke @ 31/6; v4 Abraham 15 @ 31/6	31 6	80 9 6	4.2.0 Corrections; 0.10.0 [?]	4 12 0
1807A041	*Fatal Revenge*	1	750	60	v.1–2 Stower; v3. Woodfall	32 0	93 18 0	v1-2: £4.8.0 Alterations, Greek &c.; £0.8.0 Labels; v3: £2.12.0 Corrections	7 8 0

BBF Record No.	Short Title	Edn.	Copies ordered + surplus	Edition-sheets	Printer(s)	Typesetting & presswork charge per edn.-sheet (£sd)	Type + press outlay (£sd)	Corrections, reading, alterations, small type, labels, &c. (£sd)
1807A051	*Hungarian Brothers*	1	1,000	33	Howe	36 6	60 3 6	Corrections 2 19 0
1807A060	*Wedding Day*	1	500		*[v.1–2 C. Stower; v.3 E. Blackader –T.P.]*			
1808A039	*Knights*	1	750	35½	Strahan	31 6	55 18 3	Corrections 6 15 6
1808A058	*Artless Tales*	1	1,250	27½	Strahan	37 0	50 17 6	Corrections & Labels 5 16 0
1808A071	*Romantic Tales*	1	2,000	53½	Shury	52 0	139 2 0	£4.5.0 extra for long primer; £4.16.0 Correcting; £2.2.0 Labels 11 3 0
1808A074	*Wild Irish Boy*	1	750	43¾	*[L.J. Dewick –T.P.]*	32 0	70 4 0	£6.5.0 Corrections & List; £1.7.0 Labels 7 12 0
1808A077	*Ring and the Well*	1	750	44	Dewick	31 0	68 4 0	£3.18.0 Corrections in 4 Vols; £1.12.0 Labels 5 10 0
1808A085	*Hour of Trial*	1	750	34	Hansard	32 0	54 14 0	Correcting 7 16 6
1809A054	*Woman: Or, Ida of Athens*	1	2,000	42¾	Dawson v.1; Dewick v.2–3; McCreery v.4		107 10 0	v1,3: extra notes & corrections [v2 included in vol. 3 corrections?]; *v.4: extra notes &c.*; £10.10.0 Editor 20 4 0
1809A059	*Don Sebastian*	1	1,500	52	Creary	47 0	122 4 0	12.14.8 Extra corr[ection]s & Postage; 0.17.0 Labels 13 12 8
1809A060	*Tales of Other Realms*	1	750	17½	Strahan	31 6	29 15 0	Corrections 3 0 0
1809A076	*Dominican*	1	750	35½	v1. Blackadder; v.2–3 Davidson	34 0	60 7 0	v.1: Corrections; v.2: Additional matter reset; £1.13.6 10 12 0
1810A070	*Scottish Chiefs*	1	2,000	81½	McCreery	54 0	220 19 0	£30.6 ending of Last Vol; £1.7.6 extra corrections, £1.7.6 Labels 31 14 0
1810A089	*Refusal*	1	2,000	48	Thomas	52 0	124 14 0	£2 alterations, £0.12.0 Extra for small Letter, £0.16.0 labels; £28.4.0 Editor 31 12 0
1811A022	*Philosophical Wanderers*	1	1,000	12	Cundee	46 0	28 15 0	Small letter &c. 0 17 6
1811A026	*Self-Control*	1	750	54½	[*No printer given*]	47 6	128 18 9	£8.19.0 Extra on both vols.; £0.7.6 back titles 9 6 6
1811A041	*Amatonda*	1	750		*[Turner and Harwood –T.P.]*	. .	21 0 6	[*Corrections included in charge*] 0 0 0
1812A023	*Marian*	1	1,000	34½	Walker & Grieg	36 0	62 2 0	£8.12.4 Alterations & small letter; Labels £0.8.0 9 0 4
1812A052	*Temper*	1	2,000 + *16*	24½	Taylor	61 0	144 17 6	£20 Alterations &c.; 4.18.9 Postage & Carr[iage]; 0.18.0 Labels 25 16 0
1812A065	*Loyalists*	1	2,000 + *25*	43⅛	Strahan	63 0	137 0 6	Corrections, Labels 6 18 0
1813A002	*Demetrius*	1	500 + *0*	21	Strahan	35 6	37 5 6	Corrections and Labels 2 13 0
1813A011	*Heart and the Fancy*	1	500 + *5*	23½	Strahan	35 6	41 14 3	Corrections and Labels 9 18 0
1813A035	*She Thinks for Herself*	1	750 + *[illeg.]*	37	*[J.G. Barnard –T.P.]*	38 6	71 4 6	Corr[ectio]ns, Catalogue & Labels 5 12 0
1813A036	*Miser Married*	1	750 + *9*	35½	*[v. 1–2 J.G. Barnard, v. 3 G. Bryer –T.P.]*	40 0	52 0 0	3.6.0 Corrections and labels vol. 1–2: 1.0.0 corrections and labels v.3 4 6 0
1813A044	*Tales of Real Life*	1	2,000		*[R. Taylor and Co. –T.P.]*			
1813A057	*Curate and his Daughter*	1	500 + *3*	31½	E. Blackader	34 0	53 11 0	Corr[ectio]ns & Extra for Brevier; Print cancel Mrs. Blackader 0.7.0 paper for d[itt]o 0.4.0 0.11.0 below total 1 8 0
1814A014	*Discipline*	1	1,500	57	*[George Ramsay –T.P.]*	52 6	149 12 6	Alter[ation]s & extras ... Labels 10/6 9 19 6
1814A017	*Wanderer*	1	3,000	89½	Strahan	76 0	340 2 0	Corrections 28 11 0
1814A025	*Confessions of Sir Henry Longueville*	1	500 + *0*	18¼	*[James Ballantyne, Edinburgh –T.P.]*	29 0	26 9 3	38/ small letter, 33/9 Alt[eratio]ns & Cancel 3 11 9
1814A028	*Christabelle*	1	750 + *14*	66½	*[Strahan and Preston –T.P.]*	41 0	115 16 6	Corr[ectio]ns & Labels 8 12 0
1814A043	*Corasmin*	1	750 + *31*	33¾	*[Walker & Grieg –T.P.]*	32 0	54 0 0	Corr[ectio]ns & Alt[eratio]ns 6 8 2
1814A048	*Recluse of Norway*	1	1,500 + *18*	57	Strahan	50 6	131 6 6	Corr[ectio]ns 7 1 0
1814A049	*Duty*	2	750 + *5*	26	*[Richard and Arthur Taylor –T.P.]*	41 0	54 12 0	Alt[eratio]ns, small letters, postage &c., labels 12/ 7 6 0
1814A062	*Alicia de Lacy*	1	1,750 + *21*	59	Strahan	54 6	160 15 6	£12.18.0 Corr[ectio]ns; £9.9.0 Rylance, Reading Ms. 22 7 0
1815A021	*Memoirs of an Old Wig*	1	500 + *8*	11½	Strahan	24 6	17 5 0	Greek & Corrections 5 11 0
1815A044	*Guy Mannering*	1	2,000 + *66*	44¼	Ballantyne	55 0	121 13 9	£18.7.11 heavy alter[ations] & small letter; £18.10.0 transcribing the author M.S. 36 17 11
1815A046	*Varieties of Life*	1	1,500 + *15*	38 ½+¼	*[Barnard and Farley –T.P.]*	53 0	102 10 6	7.10.0 Corr, 6th Carr[iage] &c.; 0.18.0 Labels 8 16 0
1816A047	*Valentine's Eve*	1	2,000 + *21*	41½	*[Richard and Arthur Taylor –T.P.]*	58 0	120 7 0	18.15.0 Alt[eratio]ns. Erasure, &c.; 1.19.0 small type, advert[isement pages?], & postage 1/ 20 14 0
1817A034	*Welsh Mountaineer*	1	500 + *4*	34 ½ + 1/16	Strahan	34 6	60 7 6	Corrections 1 12 0
1817A037	*Bachelor and the Married Man*	1	750 + *7*	29	Strahan	40 0	58 0 0	5 10 0
1817A048	*Knight of St John*	1	1,750 + *28*	42	Strahan	54 0	113 8 0	small letter & Corr[ectio]ns 4 12 0
1817A049	*Pastor's Fire-Side*	1	2,000 + *46*	69	Strahan	70 6	243 4 6	Corr[ectio]ns 14 16 0
1818A016	*Sophia*	1	500 + *6*	32	Strahan	36 0	57 12 0	Corr[ectio]ns 4 5 0
1818A031	*Northern Irish Tales*	1	500 + *7*	23	Strahan	35 6	40 16 6	Corrections 4 8 0
1818A033	*Correction*	1	500 + *4*	44⅔	Strahan	36 0	81 0 0	Corrections & Errata 11 12 0

BBF Record No.	Short Title	Edn.	Copies ordered + surplus	Edition-sheets	Printer(s)	Typesetting & presswork charge per edn.-sheet (£sd)	Type + press outlay (£sd)	Corrections, reading, alterations, small type, labels, &c. (£sd)
1818A039	*Physiognomist*	1	750 + *8*	29½	Strahan	40 0	59 0 0	£4.2.0 Small letter & Corr[ectio]ns; £1.0.0 — 4 2 0
1818A045	*New Tales*	1	2,000 + *27*	61	Taylor	61 0	186 1 0	Alterations — 18 16 0
1818A052	*Fast of St Magdalen*	1	2,000 + *23*	43	Strahan	56 6	121 9 6	Corr[ectio]ns — 6 6 11
1818A050	*Lionel: Or, the Last of the Pevenseys*	1	500 + *1*	43	Strahan	36 0	77 8 0	Corr[ectio]ns — 4 9 0
1819A004	*Coraly*	1	500 + *1*	27⅙	Strahan	36 0	49 10 0	Corr[ectio]ns — 6 7 0
1819A037	*Decision: A Tale*	1	500 + *6*	45⅙	Strahan and Spottiswoode	37 6	85 6 3	Labels & Corr[ectio]ns — 9 13 0
1819A038	*Veteran*	1	500 + *2*	42⅙	Strahan and Spottiswoode	35 6	75 8 0	Corr[ectio]ns — 12 14 0
1819A043	*Oakwood Hall*	1	500 + *3*	33¾	Strahan and Spottiswoode	32 6	53 12 6	Corr[ectio]ns — 2 11 0
1819A044	*Leolin Abbey*	1	500 + *4*	40½	Strahan and Spottiswoode	35 6	71 17 9	Corr[ectio]ns — 10 6 0
1819A045	*Hesitation*	1	750 + *5*	34	Spottiswoode	41 0	69 14 0	Corrections — 5 1 11
1819A049	*Eveleen Mountjoy*	1	500 + *8*	50	Strahan and Spottiswoode	35 6	88 15 0	Corr[ectio]ns & Labels — 7 0 0
1819A052	*Dudley*	1	500 + *1*	54	Strahan and Spottiswoode	35 6	95 17 0	Corr[ectio]ns — 10 18 0
1819A054	*Ernestus Berchtold*	1	750 + *7*	12	Strahan and Spottiswoode	40 0	24 0 0	Corr[ectio]ns — 2 5 0
1819A062	*Traveler's Tale of the Last Century*	1	500	31⅙	Spottiswoode	35 6	55 18 3	Corrections — 6 17 0
1820A014	*Domestic Scenes*	1	500		[Strahan and Spottiswoode – T.P.]			
1820A019	*Sir Francis Darrell*	1	750 + *12*	53	Spottiswoode	40 0	106 0 0	Small letter & Corr[ectio]ns — 15 14 0
1820A027	*Mystery; or, Forty Years Ago*	1	500 + *[illeg.]*	42	Strahan and Spottiswoode	35 6	74 11 0	Corr[ectio]ns & Labels — 8 17 0
1820A033	*Tales of the Priory*	1	750 + *11*	55	Strahan and Spottiswoode	40 0	110 0 0	Corr[ectio]ns — 5 9 0
1820A044	*Tales of the Imagination*	1	750 + *6*	31½	Strahan and Spottiswoode	41 0	64 11 6	Greek & Corr[ectio]ns — 3 10 0
1820A056	*Tales of the Heart*	1	2,500 + *32*	70	Nash; Taylor [*parts unknown*]		239 14 0	17s/6d 1 sh[eet] completed but not worked; £25.6.0 alterations and postage 49[s] — 26 3 6
1820A061	*Abbot, The*	1	10,000	45½	Ballantyne	189 0	429 19 6	28.6.0 Alterations, &c.; 31.10.0 paid transcribing — 59 16 0
1820A063	*Monastery, The*	1	10,000	43¼	Ballantyne	189 0	## 14 3	38.19.0 numerous attending; 31.10.0 transcribing — 70 9 0
1821A019	*Cavalier*	1	750 + *8*	50½	Spottiswoode	42 0	106 1 0	[Corrections included in charge?] — 0 0 0
1821A020	*Hall of Hellingsley*	1	500 + *3*	32½	Spottiswoode	35 6	57 13 9	[Corrections included in charge?] — 0 0 0
1821A037	*Calthorpe*	1	750 + *9*	41	Spottiswoode	42 0	86 2 0	Corr[entio]ns — 9 8 0
1821A053	*Woman of Genius*	1	500 + *5*	28½	Spottiswoode	37 6	53 8 9	Corr[ectio]ns — 5 8 0
1821A061	*Village of Mariendorpt*	1	1,750 + *23*		Spottiswoode	53 0	159 0 0	Corr[ectio]ns & errata — 11 17 0
1821A066	*Helen de Tournon*	1	500 + *7*		Spottiswoode	30 0	35 15 0	Corrections — 3 15 0
1822A019	*Malpas*	1	750 + *8*	46	Spottiswoode	41 0	94 6 0	Corrections — 5 1 11
1822A034	*Lollards*	1	750 + *7*	44½	Spottiswoode	40 0	89 0 0	Corrections — 15 6 0
1822A036	*Reformation*	1	500 + *6*	42½	Spottiswoode	36 6	77 11 3	Small letter &c. — 0 12 0
1822A037	*Refugees*	1	500 + *7*	40	Spottiswoode	35 6	71 0 0	Corr[ectio]ns &c. — 8 2 0
1822A043	*Tales of the Manor*	1	500 + *5*	53½	Spottiswoode	35 6	98 10 3	Small letter & corr[ectio]ns — 5 12 0
1822A044	*Three Perils of Man*	1	1,000 + *40*	48½ + ⅓	John Moir, Edinburgh	38 0	93 2 0	10.6.10 Carr[iage], Corr[ectio]ns, &c.; 2.19.6 1 ream demy 2/ for proofs, 6.0.0 pressing[?] — 20 6 4
1822A060	*Madeline*	1	1,500 + *5*	29	R. and A. Taylor	47 0	68 3 0	7.7.0 alterations, small type, &c., 1.1.0 postage & carriage — 8 8 0
1822A062	*Roche-Blanche*	1	1,750 + *28*	58	Spottiswoode	53 0	153 14 0	Corr[ectio]ns — 9 2 0
1822A070	*Old Stories*	1	500 + *3*	17	Spottiswoode	36 6	31 0 6	Corrections — 4 0 12
1822A081	*Body and Soul* [vol. 1]	1	500 + *7*	25½	Spottiswoode	38 0	48 9 0	Corr[ectio]ns &c. — 5 19 0
1822A081.v2	*Body and Soul* [vol. 2]	1	1,250 + *27*	16½	Spottiswoode	64 6	53 4 6	Small letter & corrns — 6 18 0
1823A015	*Hurstwood*	1	750 + *9*	30½	Spottiswoode	40 0	61 0 0	Small letter, Corr[ectio]ns, &c. — 2 10 0
1823A018	*King of the Peak*	1	750 + *8*	48	Spottiswoode	40 0	96 0 0	Extra for Small Letter, & Corrections — 3 7 0
1823A020	*Self-Delusion*	1	500 + *[illeg.]*	30½	Spottiswoode	35 6	54 2 9	Extra for Sm[all] Letter, deleted Matter, & Corrections — 8 14 0
1823A034	*Other Times*	1	750 + *9*	38⅙	Spottiswoode	40 0	77 0 0	Extra for Small Letter & Corrections — 9 15 0
1823A035	*Stranger's Grave*	1	1,000 + *22*	13⅙	Spottiswoode	58 0	39 3 0	Corrections — 1 14 0
1823A039	*Integrity*	1	1,000 + *21*	11⅙	Spottiswoode	48 6	27 17 9	£2.4.0 Corrections & Labels — 2 4 0

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1823A040	*Three Perils of Woman*	1	1,000 + *33*	45	Ballantyne	45 0	81 0 0	£6.7.0 Co[rrections] Labels & small letter 6 7 0
1823A053	*Edward Neville*	1	500 + *7*	76	Spottiswoode	35 6	134 18 0	Extra for Sm[all] Letter, deleted Matter, & Corr[ectio]ns 5 19 0
1823A069	*Wine and Walnuts*	1	750 + *15*	42¾	Spottiswoode	42 0	90 6 0	Corrections 5 18 0
1823A077	*How to Be Rid of a Wife*	1	500 + *5*	25	Spottiswoode	35 6	44 7 6	Corr[ectio]ns & Labels 2 16 0
1824A016	*Country Belles*	1	500 + *6*	33½	Spottiswoode	35 6	59 9 3	Corrections 2 10 0
1824A031	*Ourika*	1	750 + *6*	6	Spottiswoode	41 0	12 6 0	labels [*Corrections included in charge*] 0 10 0
1824A039	*Witch-Finder*	1	1,000	47⅙	Spottiswoode	42 6	100 18 9	Corrections on D[itto] & Advert[isements] №. 4,000 15 16 0
1824A048	*Decision. A Tale*	1	1,000 + *18*	11½	[J. and R. Childs –T.P.]	40 0	23 0 0	main charge: 23.0.0 composing casting 11 1/2 reams childs [Corrections included in charge?] 0 0 0
1824A049	*Patience*	1	1,000 + *13*	12½	Child	60 0	37 10 0	[*Corrections included in charge*]; £0.11.0 Print Labels–Barnard 0 11 0
1824A050	*Private Memoirs [...] Justified Sinner*	1	1,000 + *40*	24¾	[James Clarke, Edinburgh – T.P.]	32 0	39 12 0	7.3.0 Altns 22/6 & Label 6/ Eng & print 58/ facsimile; 2.7.6 21 qurs laid post 29/6 20 qrs demy 18/ for proofs &c. 9 11 0
1824A069	*Ellen Ramsay*	1	750 + *9*	44½	Spottiswoode	40 0	89 0 0	Corrections &c. 3 13 0
1824A078	*Duke Christian of Luneburg*	1	3,000 + *51*	50	*[Spottiswoode –T.P.]*	70 6	176 5 0	Corr[ectio]ns 20 8 0
1824A097	*Two Rectors*	1	1,500 + *28*	20	Spottiswoode	70 0	70 0 0	Corrections and Errata 8 13 0
1824A022	*Lasting Impressions*	1	500	47½	Spottiswoode	35 6	84 6 3	Corrections 11 3 11
1825A041	*Moderation*	1	1,000 + *13*	11	Child	60 0	22 0 0	[*Corrections included in charge*]; £0.6.0 back labels 0 6 0
1825A051	*Fire-Side Scenes*	1	500 + *4*	38	Spottiswoode	38 0	72 4 0	Labels and Corrections 7 1 11
1825A062	*Adventurers*	1	750	42	Spottiswoode	52 0	109 4 0	Small Letter and Corrections 11 3 11
1825A074	*Village Pastor*	1	1,250 + *19*	14½	Spottiswoode	64 0	46 8 0	Corr[ectio]ns 4 2 0
1825A075	*Story of a Life*	1	1,000 + *19*	43½	Spottiswoode	45 0	97 17 6	Corr[ectio]ns, night work, & labels 11 12 0
1826A018	*De Foix*	1	750 + *9*	55¼	Davigan	44 0	122 2 0	Corr[ection]s 11 4 0
1826A046	*Reflection*	1	1,000 + *5*	11⅓	Child	60 0	34 3 4	[*Corrections included in charge*]; Printing labels 0 6 0
1826A063	*Honor O'Hara*	1	1,500 + 22	59	Spottiswoode	52 6	154 17 6	Corr[ections] & Errata 12 16 0
1826A064	*Tales round a Winter Hearth*	1	1,750 + *[illeg.]*	34	Spottiswoode	56 0	95 4 0	£11.2.0 Corr[ections] & labels 11 2 0
1826A075	*Convert*	1	2,000 + *23*	19	*[Spottiswoode –T.P.]*	82 0	77 18 0	Greek, deleted matter & Corr[ectio]ns 8 0 0
1827A013	*Tales of Welsh Society and Scenery*	1	750 + *5*	35	Spottiswoode	54 6	95 7 6	Corrections 5 16 0
1827A014	*Emir Malek*	1	500 + *5*	34⅙	Spottiswoode	37 0	62 18 0	Corrections 24 2 0
1827A016	*Owain Goch*	1	750	53	Spottiswoode	42 0	111 6 0	Labels & Corrections 10 3 11
1827A027	*Busy-Bodies*	1	750		*[James Ballantyne,–T.P.]*			
1827A028	*Odd Volume. Second Series*	1	1,500		*[James Ballantyne, –T.P.]*			
1827A042	*Self-Denial*	1	750 + *40*	10¾	J. & R. Childs	55 0	29 15 0	*[Corrections included in charge]* 0 0 0
1827A054	*Epicurean*	1+2	2,000	14½	Spottiswoode	91 0	65 19 6	Small Letter, Labels, and Corrections 31 2 11
1827A064	*Dame Rebecca Berry*	1	500 + *6*	38	*[Spottiswoode –T.P.]*	37 0	70 6 0	Corr[ectio]ns & small letter 10 16 0
1827A079	*Ringrove*	1	750 + *8*	35½	Spottiswoode	47 0	83 8 6	Corrections 10 18 0
1828A001	*De Beauvoir*	1	500 + *5*	54	*[Spottiswoode –T.P.]*	38 0	102 12 0	Corr[ectio]ns 7 3 0
1828A020	*White Hoods*	1	500 + *3*	62½	Spottiswoode	35 0	109 7 6	Corrections 2 17 0
1828A063	*Coming Out*	1	1,500 + *22*	74½	Spottiswoode	51 6	191 16 9	Corr[ectio]ns 7 10 0
1829A049	*Beatrice, a Tale Founded on Facts*	1	500 + *2*	42	*[Spottiswoode –T.P.]*	36 0	75 12 0	Corr[ectio]ns 7 5 0
1829A078	*Tales of the Wars of our Times*	1	1,750 + *17*	46¾	Spottiswoode	59 0	138 13 0	Corr[ectio]ns 6 6 0
1830:24	*Pen Tamar*	1	750 + *9*	16	Spottiswoode	39 0	31 4 0	Corrections 2 11 0
1830:26	*Talba, or Moor of Portugal*	1	500 + *2*	56¼	Spottiswoode	35 0	98 17 6	Corrections & labels 6 9 0
1830:42	*Sir Ethelbert*	1	750 + *4*	52¼ + ⅙	Spottiswoode	42 0	111 6 0	Corrections 11 10 0
1830:89	*The Barony*	1	1,250 + 13	65⅙	Spottiswoode	49 6	162 2 3	Corrections 19 5 0
1831:57	*Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative*	1	1,000 + *6*	67¾	Spottiswoode	47 0	159 16 0	£20.2.0 Sm[all] letter and corr[ection]s 40 8 6
1832:67	*Legends of the Library at Lilies*	1	1,500 + *24*	30⅙	Spottiswoode	82 0	125 1 0	Small letter and corrections 11 5 0
1833:38	*Mary of Burgundy*	1	1,250 + *4*	42	Spottiswoode	54 0	115 8 0	Corr[ectio]ns 25 2 6
1833:57	*Traditionary Stories of Old Families*	1	750 + *15*	30½	Spottiswoode	48 0	72 0 0	Small letter, delete, corr[ections] 23 17 0
1834:11	*Warleigh*	1	500 + *5*	47½	Spottiswoode	43 0	102 2 6	Corrections & Labels 8 9 0
1834:44	*Dacre*	1	1,000 + *11*	42	Spottiswoode	50 0	105 0 0	Corrections & Labels 9 19 0
1835:2	*English in India*	1	750 + 11	31	Woodfall	50 6	78 5 6	£3.8.0 Corrections 54/ & Labels; 3 8 0
1835:62	*One in a Thousand*	1	1,250 + *18*	41⅙	Spottiswoode	54 0	112 1 0	Corrections & Labels 28 15 6
1835:106	*Rosabel*	1	750 + 12	42	Mallett	45 0	95 2 0	Corrections 12 9 0
1835:111	*Mephistopheles in England*	1	750 + *10*	39	Spottiswoode	47 0	91 13 0	£18.5.0 small letter, deleted matter, & corr[ections]; £1.11.6 Mr Hansard revising M&D 19 16 6
1836:67	*Broken Font*	1	1,000 + *12*	29½	Spottiswoode	50 0	73 15 0	Corrections 8 12 0

B4. Paper costs—page 1 of 4

BBF Record No.	Short Title	Reams ordered	Paper size and descriptions	Price/ream (sd)	Paper supplier	Total paper outlay (£sd)
1796:13	*Love's Pilgrimage*	*[no record]*	demy	*[none given]*	Chapman	*[no total]*
1797:50	*Clara Duplessis, and Clairant*	53	[*no size*]	21 0	Morgan	55 13 0
1797:62	*Old Friend with a New Face*	48	crown	19 6	Key	46 16 0
1797:71	*Walsingham*	120	[*no size*]	21 0	Morgan	126 0 0
1799:16	*Spirit of the Elbe*	33¼	[*no size*]	20 6	Longman	34 11 10
1799:40	*Rash Vows*	51¼	[*no size*]	21 6	[*No supplier*]	55 12 6
1799:78	*False Friend*	117	[*no size*]	21 0	Morgan	122 17 0
1799:79	*Natural Daughter*	48	[*no size*]	21 0	Longman	51 2 6
1799:95	*Tale of the Times*	86	demy	20 6	[*No supplier*]	88 3 0
1800A035	*Rival Mothers*	90¼	[*no size*]	28 0	[*No supplier*]	137 11 0
1800A043	*Rimualdo*	59¾	demy	27 0	[*No supplier*]	79 19 9
1800A068	*Letters of a Solitary Wanderer* [Vols. 4–5]	38½	[*no size*]	26 0	[*No supplier*]	54 13 0
1801A022	*Percival*	76¼	demy	29 0	[*No supplier*]	103 6 3
1801A048	*Follies of Fashion*	30	yellow wove demy	30 0	[*No supplier*]	62 14 0
1801A060	*Something New*	44	[*no size*]	33 0	[*No supplier*]	72 12 0
1802A035	*Astonishment!!!*	25½	[*no size*]	30 0	[*No supplier*]	39 15 0
1802A049	*Memoirs of a Family in Swisserland*	36	[*no size*]	24 0	[*No supplier*]	43 9 0
1802A060	*Infidel Father*	170	[*no size*]	23 6	[*No supplier*]	199 15 0
1803A035	*St Clair of the Isles*	82½	[*no size*]	23 6	Longman	96 6 11
1803A044	*Very Strange, but Very True!*	39½	copy	23 6	Longman	46 8 2
1803A059	*Thaddeus of Warsaw*	40½	copy	23 6	[*No supplier*]	47 11 9
1803A062	*Castle of the Tuileries*	73½	demy	25 0	[*No supplier*]	91 17 6
1804A013	*Modern Literature*	61½	demy	24 6	[*No supplier*]	75 6 9
1804A016	*Aubrey*	102	demy	27 0	[*No supplier*]	157 14 0
1804A054	*Swiss Emigrants*	10½	copy	33 6	[*No supplier*]	17 1 3
1804A059	*Lake of Killarney*	60	demy	27 0	[*No supplier*]	81 0 0
1805A033	*Herman and Dorothea*	33	30 rms. foolscap 27/6, 3 rm drawing demy 57/6	30 0	[*No supplier*]	11 14 0
1805A058	*Adeline Mowbray*	98	double foolscap	35 0	[*No supplier*]	171 10 0
1805A062	*Sailor's Friendship, and a Soldier's Love*		[*no size*]		*[Divide Ledger entry only]*	26 10 6
1805A067	*Nobility of the Heart*	35½	[*no size*]	25 6	Glougman	45 5 3
1806A006	*Donald*	55	demy	28 0	[*No supplier*]	77 0 0
1806A023	*Zofloya*		[*no size*]		*[Divide Ledger entry only]*	99 0 0
1806A031	*Madame de Maintenon*	35	demy	27 0	[*No supplier*]	47 5 0
1806A051	*Simple Tales*	216	[*no size*]	28 0	[*No supplier*]	302 12 6
1807A006	*Theodore; or, the Enthusiast*	89	*no size*]	28 6	Longman & Dickinson	126 16 6
1807A041	*Fatal Revenge*	90	[*no size*]	25 6	[*No supplier*]	114 15 0
1807A051	*Hungarian Brothers*	66	demy	28 0	[*No supplier*]	92 8 0
1808A039	*Knights*	50	demy	29 0	[*No supplier*]	72 10 0
1808A058	*Artless Tales*	68½	demy	*31.2*	[*No supplier*]	106 14 9
1808A071	*Romantic Tales*	214	demy	33 6	[*No supplier*]	358 9 0
1808A074	*Wild Irish Boy*	65½	demy	30 0	[*No supplier*]	98 15 0
1808A077	*Ring and the Well*	66	demy	30 6	[*No supplier*]	101 9 0
1808A085	*Hour of Trial*	51¼	demy	28 0	Longman & Dickinson	72 15 0
1809A054	*Woman: Or, Ida of Athens*	86	yellow wove demy	31 6	[*No supplier*]	135 9 0
1809A059	*Don Sebastian*	156	demy: 143 reams @ 33.6 13 reams @ 31	33 6	[*No supplier*]	260 15 6

B4. Paper costs—page 1 of 4

BBF Record No.	Short Title	Reams ordered	Paper size and descriptions	Price/ream (sd)	Paper supplier	Total paper outlay (£sd)
1809A076	*Dominican*	52½	yellow wove demy	30 0	[*No supplier*]	78 15 0
1810A070	*Scottish Chiefs*	327	demy	*32.7*	[*No supplier*]	534 18 0
1810A089	*Refusal*	192	[*no size*]	30 0	[*No supplier*]	288 0 0
1811A022	*Philosophical Wanderers*	26	[*no size*]	32 0	[*No supplier*]	41 12 0
1811A026	*Self-Control*	92½	post	34 6	[*No supplier*]	159 11 3
1811A041	*Amatonda*		[*no size*]		*[Divide Ledger entry only]*	28 15 3
1812A023	*Marian*	78	wove demy	26 0	[*No supplier*]	101 8 0
1812A052	*Temper*	190	copy	29 6	Bowles	280 5 0
1812A065	*Loyalists*	170	demy	31 0	Grosvenor	263 10 0
1813A002	*Demetrius*	21	demy	31 0	Longman & Dickinson	32 13 0
1813A011	*Heart and the Fancy*	23½	demy	29 0	Longman & Dickinson	34 5 6
1813A035	*She Thinks for Herself*	53½	demy	30 6	Longman & Dickinson	84 12 9
1813A036	*Miser Married*	54¾	demy	29 0	B[owles] and G[ardiner]	79 7 0
1813A057	*Curate and his Daughter*	31½	demy	30 6	Longman & Dickinson	48 0 9
1814A014	*Discipline*	190	post	33 6	[*No supplier*]	318 5 0
1814A017	*Wanderer*	300	demy	32 0	Key	864 0 0
1814A025	*Confessions of Sir Henry Longueville*	20¼	demy	28 0	Cowan	28 7 0
1814A028	*Christabelle*	85	demy	30 0	Longman & Dickinson	129 12 6
1814A043	*Corasmin*	58	demy	28 0	Cowan	81 4 0
1814A048	*Recluse of Norway*	153	demy	30 0	Longman & Dickinson	233 6 6
1814A049	*Duty*	39	demy	30 0	Magnay	39 15 0
1814A062	*Alicia de Lacy*	207	demy	30 6	Longman & Dickinson	315 13 6
1815A021	*Memoirs of an Old Wig*	11¾	post	33 0	Grosvenor	19 13 9
1815A044	*Guy Mannering*	206	demy	30 0	Cowan	309 0 0
1815A046	*Varieties of Life*	116	demy	28 6	Longman & Dickinson	165 6 0
1816A047	*Valentine's Eve*	166	copy	31 6	Longman & Dickinson	261 9 0
1817A034	*Welsh Mountaineer*	35	demy	23 6	Bonsor	41 2 6
1817A037	*Bachelor and the Married Man*	44	demy	22 6	Bonsor	49 10 0
1817A048	*Knight of St John*	147½	demy	25 0	Bowles & Co	183 16 0
1817A049	*Pastor's Fire-Side*	414	demy	26 6	Bonsor	551 0 9
1818A016	*Sophia*	32¼	demy	25 6	Bonsor	41 2 4
1818A031	*Northern Irish Tales*	25¼	demy	22 6	Bonsor	26 3 2
1818A033	*Correction*	44½	demy	36 0	Longman & Dickinson	55 2 6
1818A039	*Physiognomist*	44½	demy	24 0	Bonsor	53 8 0
1818A045	*New Tales*	245	copy	26 6	Longman & Dickinson	324 12 6
1818A052	*Fast of St Magdalen*	173	demy	24 6	Bonsor	211 18 6
1818A050	*Lionel: Or, the Last of the Pevenseys*	43	demy	25 6	Bonsor	54 16 6
1819A004	*Coraly*	27½	demy	24 0	Longman & Dickinson	33 0 0
1819A037	*Decision: A Tale*	45½	demy	24 0	Longman & Dickinson	54 12 0
1819A038	*Veteran*	42¼	demy	24 6	Bonsor	51 15 2
1819A043	*Oakwood Hall*	34	demy	24 6	Bonsor	41 13 0
1819A044	*Leolin Abbey*	40¾	demy	25 0	Bonsor; 3/4 Grosvenor	50 0 0
1819A045	*Hesitation*	51¼	demy	23 6	Bonsor	59 18 6
1819A049	*Eveleen Mountjoy*	50½	demy	24 0	Longman & Dickinson	60 4 0
1819A052	*Dudley*	54	demy	24 0	Bonsor	64 17 3

BBF Record No.	Short Title	Reams ordered	Paper size and descriptions	Price/ream (sd)	Paper supplier	Total paper outlay (£sd)
1819A054	*Ernestus Berchtold*	18¾	demy	24 0	Bonsor	22 10 0
1819A062	*Traveler's Tale of the Last Century*	31¼	demy	24 6	Bonsor	38 5 8
1820A019	*Sir Francis Darrell*	80	retreé demy	24 0	Longman & Dickinson	96 0 0
1820A027	*Mystery; or, Forty Years Ago*	42	demy	24 0	Hicks	50 8 0
1820A033	*Tales of the Priory*	82¼	demy	24 0	Longman & Dickinson	98 14 0
1820A044	*Tales of the Imagination*	47½	demy	24 0	Longman & Dickinson	57 0 0
1820A056	*Tales of the Heart*	353	copy	25 0	Longman & Dickinson	441 5 0
1820A061	*Abbot*	1009	demy	23 6	Ballantyne	1185 11 6
1820A063	*Monastery*	959	demy average credit 91/	23 6	[*No supplier*]	1126 16 0
1821A019	*Cavalier*	76	demy	24 0	Longman & Dickinson	91 4 0
1821A020	*Hall of Hellingsley*	32½	demy	24 0	Longman & Dickinson	39 0 0
1821A037	*Calthorpe*	62	demy	24 0	Longman & Dickinson	74 8 0
1821A053	*Woman of Genius*	28½	demy	24 0	Longman & Dickinson	34 4 0
1821A061	*Village of Mariendorpt*	209½	demy	24 0	Longman & Dickinson	251 8 0
1821A066	*Helen de Tournon*	22¾	copy	26 6	Longman & Dickinson	30 3 0
1822A019	*Malpas*	69	demy	24 0	B[owles] and G[ardiner]	82 16 0
1822A034	*Lollards*	67	demy	24 0	B[owles] and G[ardiner]	80 8 0
1822A036	*Reformation*	42¾	demy	23 6	Longman & Dickinson	50 4 8
1822A037	*Refugees*	40	demy	24 0	B[owles] and G[ardiner]	48 0 0
1822A043	*Tales of the Manor*	55½	demy	24 0	B[owles] and G[ardiner]	66 12 0
1822A044	*Three Perils of Man*	106	demy	24 0	Longman & Dickinson	129 17 6
1822A060	*Madeline*	87	copy	25 0	Longman & Dickinson	108 15 0
1822A062	*Roche-Blanche*	23.75	demy	23 0	Grosvenor; L&D	238 2 0
1822A070	*Old Stories*	17	demy	24 0	Westley	20 8 0
1822A081	*Body and Soul* [vol. 1]	25½	post	26 6	Longman & Dickinson	33 15 9
1822A081.v2	*Body and Soul* [vol. 2]	42	medium	33 0	Longman & Dickinson	69 6 0
1823A015	*Hurstwood*	46	demy	24 0	Longman & Dickinson	55 4 0
1823A018	*King of the Peak*	72¼	demy	23 0	Longman & Dickinson	83 1 9
1823A020	*Self-Delusion*	30½	demy	23 0	Longman & Dickinson	35 1 6
1823A034	*Other Times*	57½	demy	23 0	Longman & Dickinson	66 2 6
1823A035	*Stranger's Grave*	26½	demy	26 6	Longman & Dickinson	35 2 3
1823A039	*Integrity*	22½	copy	26 6	Longman & Dickinson	29 16 3
1823A040	*Three Perils of Woman*	94½	demy	23 6	Longman & Dickinson	109 0 3
1823A053	*Edward Neville*	76	demy	23 0	Longman & Dickinson	87 13 9
1823A069	*Wine and Walnuts*	64¼	copy *[demy crossed out]*	26 6	Longman & Dickinson	85 2 8
1823A077	*How to Be Rid of a Wife*	25	demy	24 0	Longman & Dickinson	30 3 0
1824A016	*Country Belles*	33½	demy	24 0	Longman & Dickinson	40 13 0
1824A031	*Ourika*	8¾	copy	25 6	Longman & Dickinson	10 18 7
1824A039	*Witch-Finder*	47⅙	demy	26 6	Longman & Dickinson	112 1 11
1824A048	*Decision. A Tale*	23	copy	25 6	Longman & Dickinson	29 6 6
1824A049	*Patience*	25	copy	25 9	Longman & Dickinson	32 2 0
1824A050	*Private Memoirs* [...] *Justified Sinner*	54	laid post	23 9	Longman & Dickinson	64 2 6
1824A069	*Ellen Ramsay*	100	demy	24 6	Longman & Dickinson	82 0 3
1824A078	*Duke Christian of Luneburg*	300	demy	*23.6*	[*No supplier*]	352 18 6
1824A097	*Two Rectors*	60¼	demy, 1/4 ream fine	26 0	Longman & Dickinson	80 6 9

B4. Paper costs—page 4 of 4

BBF Record No.	Short Title	Reams ordered	Paper size & descr.	Price/ream (sd)	Paper supplier	Paper (£sd)
1825A041	Moderation	22	copy	25 6	Longman & Dickinson	28 1 0
1825A051	Fire-Side Scenes	38	demy	23 6	Longman & Dickinson	44 14 10
1825A074	Village Pastor	36½	demy	26 6	Longman & Dickinson	48 6 11
1825A075	Story of a Life	87¼	post	25 0	Longman & Dickinson	109 2 0
1826A018	De Foix	83	post	26 0	Longman & Dickinson	107 18 0
1826A046	Reflection	23	copy	25 6	Longman & Dickinson	29 6 5
1826A063	Honor O'Hara	178	demy	23 0	Dickinson	213 15 9
1826A064	Tales round a Winter Hearth	119¾	demy	26 0	[*No supplier*]	155 14 2
1826A075	Convert	74¾	demy	27 6	Longman & Dickinson	105 14 0
1827A013	Tales of Welsh Society and Scenery	52¾	demy	26 6	Longman & Dickinson	69 19 3
1827A014	Emir Malek	34	demy	22 6	Dickinson	38 13 2
1827A042	Self-Denial	16½	copy	24 6	[*No supplier*]	20 4 1
1827A064	Dame Rebecca Berry	38	demy	22 6	Longman & Dickinson	42 19 0
1827A079	Ringrove	53	copy	24 6	Dickinson	65 14 5
1828A001	De Beauvoir	54½	demy: 16 rms at 26/6, 38.5 rms at 22/6	22 6	Dickinson	64 10 3
1828A020	White Hoods	62¾	post	25 6	Dickinson	80 2 8
1828A063	Coming Out	225	demy	*23.4*	Dickinson	261 16 0
1829A049	Beatrice, a Tale Founded on Facts	42	demy	22 0	Dickinson	46 18 0
1829A078	Tales of the Wars of our Times	164½	post	22 0	Dickinson	180 18 11
1830:24	Pen Tamar	24¼	copy	23 6	Dickinson	31 4 0
1830:26	Talba, or Moor of Portugal	56¾	post	21 0	Dickinson	59 10 6
1830:42	Sir Ethelbert	79¾	demy	22 6	Dickinson	89 14 6
1830:89	The Barony	166½	demy	22 0	Dickinson	162 2 3
1831:57	Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative	153¾	post	21 0	Dickinson	142 0 3
1832:67	Legends of the Library at Lilies	91¾	post	32 0	Dickinson	147 0 9
1833:38	Mary of Burgundy	106½	post	32 0	Dickinson	170 10 6
1833:57	Traditionary Stories of Old Families	45	post	32 0	Dicksinon	72 0 0
1834:11	Warleigh	47¾	post	32 0	Dickinson	76 12 0
1834:44	Dacre	84¾	royal	32 0	Dickinson	135 12 10
1835:2	English in India	46¼	post	30 0	Dickinson	69 7 6
1835:62	One in a Thousand	104	post	30 0	Dickinson	156 0 0
1835:106	Rosabel	63½	post	30 0	Dickinson	95 0 0
1835:111	Mephistopheles in England	59	post	30 0	Dickinson	89 5 0
1836:67	Broken Font	56¾	post	30 0	Dickinson	89 5 0

B5. Miscellaneous further physical production costs

BBF Record No.	Short Title	Edn.	Miscellaneous physical costs (£sd)			
1805A033	Herman and Dorothea	1	Plates: £6.5.0 Working 500; £3.11.6 paper for d[itt]o;	9	16	6
1809A076	Dominican	1	Copper [plates]	1	13	6
1810A070	Scottish Chiefs	1	Postage & carriage	0	7	3
1813A011	Heart and the Fancy	1	1.0.0 10 qrs foolscap Mess. June 22 1812; 0.1.3 [?]	1	1	3
1818A045	New Tales	1	Postage & carr[iage]	2	7	0
1820A056	Tales of the Heart	1	3 qu[ire]s green demy	0	6	0
1822A019	Malpas	1	Sundry carriages	0	11	0
1822A037	Refugees	1	Carriages	0	17	8
1823A015	Hurstwood	1	Oct 13 Carr 2/ Oct 14 d[itto] 2/6 Nov 15 d[itt]o 2/	0	6	0
1823A039	Integrity	1	Plates	17	6	0
1823A040	Three Perils of Woman	1	freight of books to London	2	17	0
1824A016	Country Belles	1	Dec 3 Carr	0	3	0
1824A048	Decision. A Tale	1	Plate: design by Corbould 5.5.0, Eng by E. Finden 12.12.0, writing 0.7.0 print 3/ Hall 1.10.0, paper 3/q demy L&D	20	0	0
1824A049	Patience	1	Plate: £13.13.0 plate draw & engraving; 2.8.0 Print 3/ paper 18/; £1.3.5 Carr[iage] of Copies to London	17	6	5
1824A078	Duke Christian of Luneburg	1	£0.3.9 Pressing [paper] Shepherd; £0.3.7 Carr[iage]	0	7	4
1824A097	Two Rectors	1	April 12 Carriage	0	1	9
1825A041	Moderation	1	£6.6.0 Englehart Junr. Engraving; £0.16.10 Carriage to London	7	2	10
1826A046	Reflection	1	Plate – 18.18.0 design 84/ Engraving 14.14.0 (40 t 21); 1.8.9 printing 30/ paper 8/9; 0.9.0 writing engraving; 0.9.0 carr[iage] books to London	21	4	9
1826A064	Tales round a Winter Hearth	1	sundry carriage	7	5	0
1830:24	Pen Tamar	1	Plates Print 4 paid to Miss H[?] & Lewis[?]; paper	47	10	0
1831:57	Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative	1	Cold printing 135½ Reams Shepherd	10	3	3
1832:67	Legends of the Library at Lilies	1	Cold Pressing 91 Reams 2/6	11	7	6
1833:38	Mary of Burgundy	1	Postages		7	1.5
1833:57	Traditionary Stories of Old Families	1	Cold pr[ess] 30 r[ea]ms	3	0	0
1835:2	English in India	1	Cold p[ress] 8/6 carriage 18/6	5	0	0

B6. Advertising costs and costs associated with nonsale copies—page 1 of 4

BBF Record No.	Short Title	Advertising in Impression Book (£sd)	Advertising in Divide Ledger (£sd)	Binding (# *bound*; £sd)	Copies not for sale (# *copies*; £sd)
1796:13	*Love's Pilgrimage*	10 0 0			
1797:50	*Clara Duplessis, and Clairant*	12 7 0			
1797:62	*Old Friend with a New Face*	6 4 0			*20* 7 10 0
1797:71	*Walsingham*	13 0 0		*12* 0 12 0	
1799:16	*Spirit of the Elbe*	10 13 0			
1799:40	*Rash Vows*				*25* 10 7 0
1799:78	*False Friend*	13 0 0			
1799:79	*Natural Daughter*	10 16 0			
1799:95	*Tale of the Times*	9 15 0			
1800A035	*Rival Mothers*	11 7 0			
1800A043	*Rimualdo*	8 19 0			
1800A068	*Letters of a Solitary Wanderer* [Vols. 4–5]	6 6 0			
1801A022	*Percival*	10 0 0			
1801A048	*Follies of Fashion*	10 0 0			
1801A060	*Something New*	7 0 0			
1802A035	*Astonishment!!!*	7 7 0			
1802A049	*Memoirs of a Family in Swisserland*	8 5 0			
1802A060	*Infidel Father*	15 0 0			
1803A035	*St Clair of the Isles*				
1803A044	*Very Strange, but Very True!*	6 15 0			
1803A059	*Thaddeus of Warsaw*	10 0 0			
1803A062	*Castle of the Tuileries*	15 0 0			
1804A013	*Modern Literature*	*[No adv. in Imp. Bk.]*			
1804A016	*Aubrey*	*[No adv. in Imp. Bk.]*			
1804A054	*Swiss Emigrants*	20 0 0			
1804A059	*Lake of Killarney*	12 12 0	12 12 0		
1805A033	*Herman and Dorothea*	10 0 0			
1805A058	*Adeline Mowbray*	30 0 0	30 0 0		
1805A062	*Sailor's Friendship, and a Soldier's Love*		8 4 6		
1805A067	*Nobility of the Heart*	10 0 0	10 0 0		
1806A006	*Donald*	12 6 0	12 12 0		
1806A023	*Zofloya*		15 0 0		
1806A031	*Madame de Maintenon*	11 19 1			
1806A051	*Simple Tales*	*[No adv. in Imp. Bk.]*			
1807A041	*Fatal Revenge*	20 0 0	20 0 0		
1807A051	*Hungarian Brothers*	*[No adv. in Imp. Bk.]*			
1807A060	*Wedding Day*		8 3 6		
1808A039	*Knights*	14 13 6			
1808A058	*Artless Tales*	24 1 9	38 12 2		
1808A071	*Romantic Tales*	36 6 0	36 6 0	*50* 5 0 0	
1808A074	*Wild Irish Boy*	17 4 1	23 12 0		
1808A077	*Ring and the Well*	21 4 6	21 2 6		

B6. Advertising costs and costs associated with nonsale copies—page 2 of 4

BBF Record No.	Short Title	Advertising in Impression Book (£sd)			Advertising in Divide Ledger (£sd)			Binding (# *bound*; £sd)				Copies not for sale (# *copies*; £sd)			
1808A085	*Hour of Trial*	14	14	6	17	5	0								
1809A054	*Woman: Or, Ida of Athens*	61	15	4											
1809A059	*Don Sebastian*	53	11	9											
1809A060	*Tales of Other Realms*				21	5	0								
1809A076	*Dominican*	26	15	0											
1810A070	*Scottish Chiefs*	60	0	0											
1810A089	*Refusal*	83	16	0								*60*	3	0	0
1811A022	*Philosophical Wanderers*	20	0	0											
1811A026	*Self-Control*	25	0	0											
1811A041	*Amatonda*				22	1	9								
1812A023	*Marian*	30	0	0											
1812A052	*Temper*	49	1	6	49	1	6								
1812A065	*Loyalists*	50	0	0											
1813A002	*Demetrius*	21	3	6	21	3	6								
1813A011	*Heart and the Fancy*	20	7	3	20	7	3								
1813A035	*She Thinks for Herself*	32	5	9	32	5	9								
1813A036	*Miser Married*	30	0	0	30	0	0								
1813A044	*Tales of Real Life*				50	0	0								
1813A057	*Curate and his Daughter*	22	11	3	22	11	8								
1814A014	*Discipline*	52	10	0											
1814A025	*Confessions of Sir Henry Longueville*	24	18	8	24	18	8								
1814A028	*Christabelle*	40	0	0	40	0	0								
1814A043	*Corasmin*	25	0	0	25	0	0								
1814A048	*Recluse of Norway*	60	0	0											
1814A049	*Duty*	20	0	0	30	0	0								
1814A062	*Alicia de Lacy*	50	0	0											
1815A021	*Memoirs of an Old Wig*	16	5	5	16	5	5								
1815A044	*Guy Mannering*	50	0	0											
1815A046	*Varieties of Life*	35	0	0	35	0	0								
1816A047	*Valentine's Eve*	50	0	0	50	0	0								
1817A034	*Welsh Mountaineer*	25	0	0	25	0	0								
1817A037	*Bachelor and the Married Man*	25	0	0	25	0	0								
1817A048	*Knight of St John*	60	0	0											
1817A049	*Pastor's Fire-Side*	60	0	0				*3*	2	10	10				
1818A016	*Sophia*	25	0	0											
1818A031	*Northern Irish Tales*	25	0	0	25	0	0					*6*	0	2	0
1818A033	*Correction*	25	0	0	25	0	0								
1818A039	*Physiognomist*	25	0	0	25	0	0								
1818A045	*New Tales*	50	0	0				*1?*	0	2	0				
1818A052	*Fast of St Magdalen*	40	0	0				*1?*	0	2	0				
1818A050	*Lionel: Or, the Last of the Pevenseys*	25	0	0	25	0	0								
1819A004	*Coraly*	25	0	0	25	0	0								
1819A037	*Decision: A Tale*	25	0	0	30	0	0								
1819A038	*Veteran*	30	0	0	30	0	0								
1819A043	*Oakwood Hall*	25	0	0	25	0	0					*1*	0	2	0

B6. Advertising costs and costs associated with nonsale copies—page 3 of 4

BBF Record No.	Short Title	Advertising in Impression Book (£sd)	Advertising in Divide Ledger (£sd)	Binding (# *bound*; £sd)	Copies not for sale (# *copies*; £sd)
1819A044	*Leolin Abbey*	25 0 0	25 0 0		
1819A045	*Hesitation*	30 0 0	30 0 0		*1* 59 18 6
1819A049	*Eveleen Mountjoy*	30 0 0	30 0 0		
1819A052	*Dudley*	25 0 0	25 0 0		
1819A054	*Ernestus Berchtold*	20 0 0	20 15 0		
1819A062	*Traveler's Tale of the Last Century*	25 0 0	25 0 0		*1* 0 2 0
1820A014	*Domestic Scenes*		20 0 0		
1820A019	*Sir Francis Darrell*	30 0 0			
1820A027	*Mystery; or, Forty Years Ago*	20 0 0	20 0 0		
1820A033	*Tales of the Priory*	30 0 0	30 0 0		
1820A044	*Tales of the Imagination*	30 0 0	30 0 0		
1820A056	*Tales of the Heart*	75 0 0			
1821A019	*Cavalier*	30 0 0	30 0 0		
1821A020	*Hall of Hellingsley*	25 0 0	25 0 0		
1821A037	*Calthorpe*	30 0 0	30 0 0		
1821A053	*Woman of Genius*	25 0 0	25 0 0		
1821A061	*Village of Mariendorpt*	40 0 0			
1821A066	*Helen de Tournon*	20 0 0		*1?* 0 2 0	
1822A019	*Malpas*	30 0 0	30 0 0		
1822A034	*Lollards*	30 0 0	30 0 0		
1822A036	*Reformation*	25 0 0	25 0 0		
1822A037	*Refugees*	25 0 0	25 0 0		
1822A043	*Tales of the Manor*	25 0 0	25 0 0		
1822A044	*Three Perils of Man*	30 0 0	30 0 0		
1822A060	*Madeline*	31 0 0	30 0 0		
1822A062	*Roche-Blanche*	40 0 0		*1?* 0 2 0	
1822A070	*Old Stories*	25 0 0	25 0 0		
1822A081	*Body and Soul* [vol. 1]	25 0 0	25 0 0		
1822A081.v2	*Body and Soul* [vol. 2]	40 0 0			
1823A015	*Hurstwood*	30 0 0	30 0 0		
1823A018	*King of the Peak*	30 0 0	30 0 0		
1823A020	*Self-Delusion*	25 0 0	25 0 0		
1823A034	*Other Times*	30 0 0	30 0 0		
1823A035	*Stranger's Grave*	30 0 0	30 0 0		
1823A039	*Integrity*	25 0 0			
1823A040	*Three Perils of Woman*	40 0 0			
1823A053	*Edward Neville*	25 0 0	25 0 0		
1823A069	*Wine and Walnuts*	30 0 0	30 0 0		
1823A077	*How to Be Rid of a Wife*	25 0 0			
1824A016	*Country Belles*	25 0 0	25 0 0		
1824A031	*Ourika*	20 0 0		*1* 0 2 0	
1824A039	*Witch-Finder*	40 0 0	40 0 0		
1824A048	*Decision. A Tale*	30 0 0	25 0 0		
1824A049	*Patience*	25 0 0		*4* 0 9 0	
1824A050	*Private Memoirs* [...] *Justified Sinner*	36 1 0	36 10 0		

B6. Advertising costs and costs associated with nonsale copies—page 4 of 4

BBF Record No.	Short Title	Advertising in Impression Book (£sd)			Advertising in Divide Ledger (£sd)			Binding (# *bound*; £sd)				Copies not for sale (# *copies*; £sd)			
1824A069	*Ellen Ramsay*	30	0	0	30	0	0								
1824A078	*Duke Christian of Luneburg*	75	0	0											
1824A097	*Two Rectors*	40	0	0	40	0	0								
1825A041	*Moderation*	20	0	0											
1825A051	*Fire-Side Scenes*	25	0	0	25	0	0								
1825A074	*Village Pastor*	30	0	0	30	0	0								
1825A075	*Story of a Life*	50	0	0				*1*	0	2	0	*2*	0	5	2
1826A018	*De Foix*	40	0	0	40	0	0								
1826A046	*Reflection*	25	0	0				*1?*	0	2	0				
1826A063	*Honor O'Hara*	75	0	0								*15*	0	17	10
1826A064	*Tales round a Winter Hearth*	60	0	0				*1?*	0	2	0				
1826A075	*Convert*	40	0	0											
1827A013	*Tales of Welsh Society and Scenery*	36	0	0	36	0	0								
1827A014	*Emir Malek*	25	0	0	25	0	0								
1827A016	*Owain Goch*				30	0	0								
1827A027	*Busy-Bodies*				40	0	0								
1827A028	*Odd Volume. Second Series*				40	0	0								
1827A042	*Self-Denial*	20	0	0											
1827A064	*Dame Rebecca Berry*	33	10	0	33	10	0								
1827A079	*Ringrove*	30	0	0	30	0	0								
1828A001	*De Beauvoir*	30	0	0											
1828A020	*White Hoods*	30	0	0	30	0	0								
1828A063	*Coming Out*	75	0	0											
1829A049	*Beatrice, a Tale Founded on Facts*	46	18	0	30	0	0								
1829A078	*Tales of the Wars of our Times*	50	0	0				*1?*	0	2	0				
1830:24	*Pen Tamar*	30	0	0	30	0	0								
1830:26	*Talba, or Moor of Portugal*	30	0	0	30	0	0								
1830:42	*Sir Ethelbert*	35	0	0	35	0	0								
1830:89	*The Barony*	50	0	0											
1831:57	*Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative*	50	0	0											
1832:67	*Legends of the Library at Lilies*	72	17	7											
1833:38	*Mary of Burgundy*	40	0	0											
1833:57	*Traditionary Stories of Old Families*	20	0	0											
1834:11	*Warleigh*	25	0	0	25	0	0								
1834:44	*Dacre*	76	7	7											
1835:2	*English in India*	30	0	0	30	0	0								
1835:62	*One in a Thousand*	75	0	0											
1835:106	*Rosabel*	40	0	0	40	0	0								
1835:111	*Mephistopheles in England*	40	0	0	40	0	0								
1836:67	*Broken Font*	72	12	9											

B7. Fixed authorial payments—page 1 of 2

BBF Record No.	Short Title	Author	Gender	Payment type	Authorial payment (£sd) and description in ledger			
1796:13	*Love's Pilgrimage*	Miss REEVES?	f	Copyright	Copy[right] Miss Reeves *[no sum given]*			
1797:50	*Clara Duplessis, and Clairant*	August Heinrich Julius LAFONTAINE; Mr WOODBRIDGE, Trans.	m	Translator	Mr Woodbridge Trans	21	0	0
1797:62	*Old Friend with a New Face*	Eliza PARSONS	f	Copyright	Copy[right] M. Parsons	60	0	0
1797:71	*Walsingham*	Mary ROBINSON	f	Copyright	Copy[right] M. Robinson	150	0	0
1799:40	*Rash Vows*	Comtesse de GENLIS; Matthew O'HINKLEY, Trans.	f	Translator	Translating Matthews & Hinkley	39	18	0
1799:78	*False Friend*	Mary ROBINSON	f	Copyright	Author	150	0	0
1799:95	*Tale of the Times*	Jane WEST	f	Copyright	Author	90	0	0
1800A035	*Rival Mothers*	Comtesse de GENLIS	f	Translator	Translating	101	9	0
1800A043	*Rimualdo*	William Henry IRELAND	m	Copyright	Author for Copy[right]	60	0	0
1800A068	*Letters of a Solitary Wanderer* [Vols. 4–5]	Horatio SMITH	m	Copyright	Author	49	8	0
1801A022	*Percival*	Robert Charles DALLAS	m	Copyright	Copyright Mr Dallas	120	0	0
1801A048	*Follies of Fashion*	Mr LYTTLETON	m	Copyright	Copy[right]	31	10	0
1801A060	*Something New*	Anne PLUMPTRE	f	Copyright	Author	60	0	0
1802A035	*Astonishment!!!*	Francis LATHOM	m	Copyright	Author	21	0	0
1802A049	*Memoirs of a Family in Swisserland*	Anne ORMSBY	f	Copyright	Author	42	0	0
1802A060	*Infidel Father*	Jane WEST	f	Copyright	Author	180	0	0
1803A035	*St Clair of the Isles*	Elizabeth HELME	f	Copyright	To author	84	0	0
1803A044	*Very Strange, but Very True!*	Francis LATHOM	m	Copyright	Copy[right] Paid Mr Latham	60	0	0
1804A013	*Modern Literature*	BISSET, Robert	m	Copyright	Author	100	0	0
1804A016	*Aubrey*	Robert Charles DALLAS	m	Copyright	Author	120	0	0
1806A031	*Madame de Maintenon*	Comtesse de GENLIS [Trans. unknown]	f	Translator	Translating	37	0	0
1806A051	*Simple Tales*	Amelia Alderson OPIE	f	Copyright	Copyright (G155)	400	0	0
1807A051	*Hungarian Brothers*	Anna Maria PORTER	f	Copyright	Author	63	0	0
1808A039	*Knights*	Robert Charles DALLAS	m	Copyright	Author	60	0	0
1808A058	*Artless Tales*	Margaret HURRY, née MITCHELL	f	Commission and/or Subscription	To Balance of Mr Hurry's Acct.	6	3	0
1809A054	*Woman: Or, Ida of Athens*	Lady Sydney MORGAN, née OWENSON	f	Copyright	Author	600	0	0
1809A059	*Don Sebastian*	KER, Louisa Theresa Bellenden	f	Copyright	Author	210	0	0
1810A070	*Scottish Chiefs*	Jane PORTER	f	Copyright	Author	315	0	0
1810A089	*Refusal*	Jane WEST	f	Copyright	Author	210	0	0
1811A022	*Philosophical Wanderers*	John BIG LAND	m	Copyright	Author	20	0	0
1812A023	*Marian*	Elizabeth Ogilvy BENGER	f	Copyright	Author	50	0	0
1812A065	*Loyalists*	Jane WEST	f	Copyright	Author Note at 6[?] May 2nd	210	0	0
1814A017	*Wanderer*	Frances D'ARBLEY, née BURNEY	f	Copyright	[See *DBF* "Anecdotal Records"]	1,500	0	0

BBF Record No.	Short Title	Author	Gender	Payment type	Authorial payment (£sd) and description in ledger			
1814A048	*Recluse of Norway*	Anna Maria PORTER	f	Copyright	Author	210	0	0
1814A062	*Alicia de Lacy*	Jane WEST	f	Copyright	Author	210	0	0
1817A048	*Knight of St John*	Anna Maria PORTER	f	Copyright	Author	316	0	0
1817A049	*Pastor's Fire-Side*	Jane PORTER	f	Copyright	Author	420	0	0
1818A045	*New Tales*	Amelia Alderson OPIE	f	Copyright	Copyright (G155)	420	0	0
1818A052	*Fast of St Magdalen*	Anna Maria PORTER	f	Copyright	Author £400	400	0	0
1820A019	*Sir Francis Darrell*	Robert Charles DALLAS	m	Copyright	Auth[or]	120	0	0
1820A056	*Tales of the Heart*	Barbara HOFLAND, née Hoole	f	Copyright	Author	400	0	0
1820A063	*Monastery, The*	Sir Walter SCOTT	m	Scott	Copy[right] money 4º a q[ui]r[e]	420	0	0
1821A061	*Village of Mariendorpt*	Anna Maria PORTER	f	Copyright	420 Author; 100 Cash AM Porter 282 [?] 1920 /100 printed	520	0	0
1821A066	*Helen de Tournon*	Marquise de SOUZA-BOTELHO; Ralph RYLANCE, Trans.	f	Translator	Rylance Translating	12	12	0
1822A044	*Three Perils of Man*	Frances JACSON	f	Half profits	To note at 6 m[onth]s to Ja[me]s Hogg for his entire Interest in 1st Edn of Perils of Man [See *DBF* "Publishing Papers")	150	0	0
1822A062	*Roche-Blanche*	Anna Maria PORTER	f	Copyright	Author	420	0	0
1823A039	*Integrity*	Barbara HOFLAND, née Hoole	f	Copyright	Author for this edition	25	0	0
1823A040	*Three Perils of Woman*	James HOGG	m	Half profits	Author	151	18	11
1824A078	*Duke Christian of Luneburg*	Jane PORTER	f	Copyright	Author	630	0	0
1825A074	*Village Pastor*	Revd SHEPHERD	m	Half profits	Author on as of his half profits 4º of 116	50	0	0
1825A075	*Story of a Life*	Joseph Moyle SHERER	m	Copyright?	*[No label, but almost certainly a copyright payment based on the fixed sum and magnitude]*	500	0	0
1826A046	*Reflection*	Barbara HOFLAND, née Hoole	f	Copyright	Author (Mrs Hofland) for 1d qr	25	0	0
1826A063	*Honor O'Hara*	Anna Maria PORTER	f	Copyright	To author	420	0	0
1826A064	*Tales round a Winter Hearth*	Anna Maria and Jane PORTER	f	Copyright	Copyright @ 4º a q[ui]r[e]	280	0	0
1828A063	*Coming Out*	Anna Maria and Jane PORTER	f	Copyright	Authors @ 4º a q[ui]r[e]	420	0	0
1829A078	*Tales of the Wars of our Times*	Joseph Moyle SHERER	m	Copyright	Authors	400	0	0
1830:89	*The Barony*	Anna Maria PORTER	f	Copyright	Author £300 postage 1/6 p. 4º A.111	300	1	6
1831:57	*Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative*	William Ogilvie PORTER; Jane PORTER, Editor	m	Copyright	Miss Porter	300	0	0
1832:67	*Legends of the Library at Lilies*	Baron and Baroness George and Anne Lucy NUGENT	mf	Copyright	Author–29 Sep	300	0	0
1833:38	*Mary of Burgundy*	George Payne Rainsford JAMES	m	Copyright	Author for first 1000	300	0	0
1833:57	*Traditionary Stories of Old Families*	Andrew PICKEN	m	Copyright	To Paid Mr Picken 4t A131	50	0	0
1835:62	*One in a Thousand*	George Payne Rainsford JAMES	m	Copyright	Author	300	0	0
1836:67	*Broken Font*	Joseph Moyle SHERER	m	Copyright	Author first ed.	200	0	0

B8. Sales, revenues, and profit shares of profit-share editions published 1830–1836

BBF Record No.	Short Title	Author	Gender	Copies sold for profit	Revenue from sales (£sd)			Trade price (sd)		Avg. trade price at sale (s, dec.)	Author's share of profit (£sd)			Publisher's share of profit (£sd)			Loss (£sd)		
1830:26	Talba, or Moor of Portugal	Anna Eliza BRAY, formerly Mrs. Charles	f	143	127	16	0	18	0	17.87	4	17	2	4	17	1			
1830:42	Sir Ethelbert	Catherine CUTHBERTSON	f	373	293	12	0	16	0	15.74	19	17	8	19	17	8			
1834:11	Warleigh	Anna Eliza BRAY, formerly Mrs. Charles	f	246	256	4	0	21	0	20.83	10	1	5	10	1	5			
1835:2	English in India	HAY, William	m	718	223	18	4	14	0	6.24							52	9	7
1835:106	Rosabel	Katherine THOMSON, née Byerley	f	713	305	0	9	21	0	8.56	14	12	11	14	12	10			
1835:111	Mephistopheles in England	Robert Folkestone WILLIAMS	m	708	204	7	0	21	0	5.77							42	19	6

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