

Poetry and The Evidence of Nineteenth Century Reading

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We have all seized the white perimeter as our own  
and reached for a pen if only to show  
we did not just laze in an armchair turning pages;  
we pressed a thought into the wayside,  
planted an impression along the verge.

Even Irish monks in their cold scriptoria  
jotted along the borders of the Gospels  
brief asides about the pains of copying,  
a bird singing near their window,  
or the sunlight that illuminated their page –  
anonymous men catching a ride into the future  
on a vessel more lasting than themselves....

Yet the one I think of most often,  
the one that dangles from me like a locket,  
was written in the copy of *Catcher in the Rye*  
I borrowed from the local library  
one slow, hot summer.  
I was just beginning high school then,  
reading books on a davenport in my parents' living room,  
and I cannot tell you  
how vastly my loneliness was deepened,  
how poignant and amplified the world before me seemed,  
when I found on one page

a few greasy looking smears  
and next to them, written in soft pencil –  
by a beautiful girl, I could tell,  
whom I would never meet –  
“Pardon the egg salad stains, but I’m in love.”

-- Billy Collins, “Marginalia”

## Preface

In this poem “Marginalia,” Billy Collins gestures towards the reasons why we leave marks of reading behind. There is a desire for preservation of the self, and of the reading mind; a kind of immortality afforded to those who tether details of their lives to the physical. He also evokes the kinds of things readers feel when they come across something left by a past reader

– the romantic, sentimental fascination with the evidence of those who have touched this object before. Some people who come across marginalia, though, see it as graffiti marring the pristine page of text.<sup>1</sup> Rather than seeing these markings as additions to the text, they see them as distractions.

In no place is this dialogue so pertinent as in the library, where shared books with stray marks can either be seen as damaged or rich with context. But many of these works with marginalia are rarely even pulled off of the shelf – especially works that fall somewhere between a first edition and the newest scholarly edition. What do we do with the books that no one has any obvious need for, but that have some historical value? Further, does it make sense to preserve the artifacts of the past at all in a digital age? At this point in time these are vital questions, with digital repositories like Google Books and HathiTrust frequently being presented as substitutions rather than supplements to the “real thing.” More and more, libraries, the very places created to house physical artifacts, are downsizing and redirecting funds towards digital resources. This is not just a sentimental tragedy for those who prefer the feeling of a physical book. It is problematic for the future of academia, in that it eliminates vital contexts for our understanding of the past, especially in the case of literature.

In this thesis I explore the importance of the physical book as it pertains to the history of reading. In Chapter 1 I outline the historical and critical contexts for the study of readers of the past. I argue that a vital avenue for the study of the history of reading is the exploration of the physical traces readers leave behind. For this work I am primarily interested in books from the

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<sup>1</sup> See Sherman, *Used Books*, Chapter 8: “Dirty Books? Attitudes Towards Readers’ Marks” on this issue.

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and I discuss this parameter and others in this first chapter. In the ensuing three chapters I visit three examples of books with reader interventions, and discuss how they support, nuance, and sometimes even complicate our understanding of how the texts were consumed.

The first example is a copy of Tennyson's *Enoch Arden* with a letter written to a man named Thomas Price in 1884 from an old friend named "James R." that turned up fascinating historical context. Written nineteen years after the pair read the text together as Confederate soldiers, the letter indicates the circumstances in which James decided to purchase this Dutch translation of the text, even though neither of them spoke Dutch. The second example is a copy of Shakespeare's collected works published in 1853, with an intriguing nonverbal annotation on the endpapers and extensive marginalia on several of the plays. I examined everything from the reception history of the marked plays in the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the lives of the names inscribed within to help us understand the reception history of Shakespeare and the individual history of this particular volume. This will all be considered in the context of a school book for a woman, which has a variety of implications on the purpose of the marginalia. Finally, I will study a copy of *Snow Bound* by John Greenleaf Whittier published in 1866 in which there was once a small flower. At only 52 pages, I thought it odd that a book so small and with such an ironic title should be used to press a flower. In my biographical research on the previous owners I uncovered a potential reason for this intervention that tests the assumptions of why people insert botanicals into their books.

In an appendix to these chapters I discuss a large-scale effort to identify and catalog examples like these: a project called Book Traces at the University of Virginia, for which I have

been the statistical research assistant for two years. I present the statistics gathered from this inquiry with a focus on not only what they show us, but how they illuminate the work that still must be done to gain a more complete picture of the ways people encountered texts in the past.

My approach in analyzing the books on an anecdotal level is primarily descriptive by nature. In evaluating the historical value of the reader interventions, my study verges at times on biography. I am at all times searching not only for traces of the past reader in these books, but for traces of the books in the readers' lives. As I have examined these books it has occurred to me repeatedly that I am studying the way others studied literature in the past, and in doing so, am repeating what they did, adding another layer to the time capsule of the book. For this reason at times my own reactions to my discoveries enter the scene in order to demonstrate the ways that these reader interventions are affecting my reading contemporarily. This illustrates what stands to be gained in the reading experience from an incorporation of these deep dives into individual reception history.

## Chapter 1: Towards A History of Reading: Methods and Contexts

Never before in the history of humankind were so many people reading as in the nineteenth century. This sharp spike in books both published and read fostered a changing relationship between readers and publishers, as well as readers and the physical books they read. While we are ultimately interested in pursuing the history of reading and more specifically reception history, we must first establish historical context for this exploration. In order to examine this relationship, we must first understand the variety of historical circumstances that made the nineteenth century so significant.

A study of the physical book in the nineteenth century is necessarily concerned with the industrial revolution. Technological advancements revolutionized publishing over the course of the century, thereby altering the ways readers consumed literature. David Finkelstein gives context for calling this a revolution in his essay, "Publishing and the materiality of the book." He describes the turn of the century as "marked by a period of high costs, high book prices, and extensive government taxation on paper and periodicals in an effort to suppress and control mass access to potentially subversive literature" (16). In the 1800s a best-selling novel "might have had a combined print run and sales of up to 12,000;" in contrast, "by the 1890s popular titles were achieving print runs and sales of 100,000 in various editions within the first five years of publication" (20). This was due to changing technologies that led to an entirely changed nature of publishing and reading.

The nature of technological advancements is that changes grow almost exponentially: one invention allows for several more, and so on. This is one reason why the major changes in book production in the nineteenth century extended to practically every step of the production

phase, and even beyond the physical book. In discussing these new technologies, it is impossible to ignore the effects they had on publishers themselves, and the markets consuming the products. In his essay, "Manufacturing and Book Production," Michael Winship cites printing from plates as one of the most important advances of the time. The first stereotype was used successfully in the United States in 1813, although it did not become standard until the 1830s. Typesetting was still primarily done manually, although some experimented at the time with mechanical type-setting. This process standardized printing to an extent that was previously virtually unreachable: it nearly eliminated copy-to-copy variations in printing. It also eliminated the need for a skilled type-setter once the plates were completed (41-48).

Even more universal by mid-century than stereotyping plates was machine-made paper. Paper-makers experimented with various fibers and chemical treatments, trading out expensive linen for cheaper cotton, and eventually wood in the 1870s. The mechanization of molding and couching made the process far more efficient. So not only was paper cheaper to make because of its changing ingredients – it was also made more quickly and with lower labor costs. A process previously considered artistic was stratified to just that: art. Handmade paper was no longer practical, and papermakers were quickly usurped by mechanical alternatives in all realms excepting more artistic productions (Winship 48-53).

The mechanical printing press was another major invention with a great impact, although this impact is rather difficult to quantify. This is because there was such a wide variety of printing presses in use over the course of the century. They depended on several other improvements, including improvements in ink, design concepts, smaller mechanisms, and of course electric power. These presses altered the labor of printing, from a by-hand individual



creation to a process that took place in a factory by a worker feeding paper into a machine (Winship 53-59).

Bindings and illustrations both changed over the course of the century, leading to a changed dynamic between publishers and readers. Bindings were increasingly made by the publisher, rather than custom made for the reader by a local leathersmith. They were usually cloth, with gold stamping. Illustrations were done using previous processes like relief and intaglio with wood, steel, or copper, as well as new ones, like lithography and photography. All of these changes forged a closer relationship between publisher and reader. Books began more and more to physically represent their purpose, beginning with the binding and encompassing the illustrations; physical books became marketing objects for the texts within (Winship 59-68).

These advances did not stop in the nineteenth century by any means: they were soon followed by the invention of monotype and linotype, the book-sewing machine, and further advances in photography. But the middle of the nineteenth century saw major steps in industrialization of the trade that were used far into the future: as one example of many, stereotyped plates were still being used into the 1970s (Winship 68-69). These technological advances ensured that more books were being produced than ever before, and for less money. And the demand was certainly there – more people were reading more books than ever before as well.

The increasingly literate public was in many ways as much a part of the industrial revolution as the technological advances in printing. In an age focused on commerce and industry, there was an understanding that at least elementary education made better factory workers, thereby increasing societal interest and investment in popular education (Altick 142-

143). Further, there was increasing interest over the course of the century in encouraging children to be regular readers, establishing reading in a context of enjoyment rather than only a duty associated with work (Altick 149-150). At the same time, social revolution in the rapid rise of the middle class, which was increasingly literate, led to a reading public. These people had more leisure time, and they spent that time not only reading alone, but reading as a community. It became a cultural pastime of sorts, and prevailed as a method of escapism from the darker side of industrialization (Altick 81-98).

Since there were so many more readers, an attempt to reconstruct their reception becomes slippery and evasive, but for this reason it is all the more vital. A history of reading establishes context for the way we interpret texts now in that it helps us understand the way a text existed when it was released, and the circumstances that have led to our studying it today. At its purest, furthest extent, a history of reading wants to recover the thoughts of original readers. This is by nature an impossible task, of course. It encompasses the ultimate paradox of studying the past: it is gone and cannot be recovered. Our only option, then, is to study what evidence we have from the past we intend to study. A multitude of resources are at our disposal for this purpose. In this section I will give an overview of these and the scholarship using them. It will become apparent quickly that no one method of scholarship is comprehensive, including this study. I am aiming in this section to give both a sense of the scope that the project exists in and has the potential to touch, as well as the particular niche it resides in.

Perhaps the most obvious avenue for pursuing a history of reception is publishing history. Publishers' numbers and records can show us what was popular, and provide obvious

evidence of a growing reading culture. John O. Jordan and Robert L. Patten suggest in their essay “Publishing history as hypertext” that publishing details can be accessed by the surviving original records, histories of publishing houses, and even some accounts of authors’ interactions with publishers (3-4). Simon Eliot expands on these resources in his essay “Some trends in British book production, 1800-1919” by encouraging a double pronged approach: first, looking at statistics across publishing houses in order to begin to see patterns and trends, followed by individual case studies of specific publishers to see how these macro-trends manifest on a micro-level (19). While these resources and methods show us what was being published and what people were buying, they do not show us how people were reading the content, and more importantly, reacting to it. Further, these records do not even necessarily show us exactly what people were reading: there were certainly some books people bought and left unread.

Similar problems arise when looking to study the borrowing records of public libraries, and then some. In his essay on reader response, Jonathan Rose discusses an important flaw with this resource in his essay “How historians study reader response,” saying, “One’s first thought upon entering this field might be to check the borrowing records of public libraries. Unfortunately these are not often broken down by author” (195). Rose is able to gain a bit of information from a report published by the Belfast Public Library in 1888, showing that “*The Pickwick Papers* and *David Copperfield* were among the most requested books” (196). If in an ideal form, library records offer some access to the book ownership and readership habits of a lower class than publishers’ records. In pursuit of the common reader they can prove valuable if they contain enough basic information.

Another common place to look for evidence of reader response is contemporary reviews. Unlike with publishers' numbers, in reading a review we are certain the reviewer read the book, and we are given a glimpse into one reader's reaction that perhaps had influence on the popular response to the book, or at least in some part reflects it. Reading these reviews reinforces our understanding of the growing reading culture, and gives us specific touchpoints within it. However, the problem is that at the end of the day these provide just one person's reaction – the reviewer. While reviewers do function as a face for popular response, still absent is the response of the average individual reader. Perhaps most readers fell in line with the popular response, but what were the outliers thinking?

In order to start to get closer to the individual reader, we need to know who this common reader was. This is where a social study of the nineteenth-century reader comes in: in Richard Altick's 1957 book, *The English Common Reader*, he attempted to explore the place of reading in a social context. It is not an examination of the popular literature of the time:

Instead, one of the main purposes of this book is to provide some of the information that obviously must be taken into account before anyone can safely interpret the popular taste of an age – information, that is, on the social composition, educational experience, and general character of the public whose taste is to undergo scrutiny. The lack of such knowledge inevitably makes discussion of the audience's formative influence upon literature little more than idle speculation. (6)

Altick positions his study as a foundation for further inquiry; an almost sociological introduction to the relationship between literature and society. He does not claim it to be comprehensive: only one chapter of his study is actually concentrated on the common reader (Rose, 195). This study paints part of the picture of reception history: it gives us a sense of who the individual readers were, but it still does not get us sufficiently close to the mental processes of past readers or completely help us understand how they encountered literature.

One way to inch closer to the latter goal is to study the physical books they read.

Bibliography is an important piece of the puzzle for many reasons, perhaps most importantly because the book is the location of reading, and it is also the only physical evidence that remains from the reader/text interaction. The problems with studying the physical book abound, though, as a result of some of the very technological advances that produced the books. For bibliographers, a major facet of the value of a book is its rareness, whether from a small print run or because of some alteration from the norm in printing. Because books were being produced in such large quantities for the most part, with few exceptions, individual books are not very rare. Additionally, due to the standardization of the publishing process, there are fewer copy-to-copy differences per print run. While the books are not rare per se, they are not standing the test of time either. Since many were made with lower quality materials due to experimentation with paper and binding techniques, many of the pages are yellowing. Some paper breaks off cleanly with the slightest bend. Bindings are weak and often fractured. This makes the books more expensive to preserve and arguably of less individual value to the scholar of bibliography.<sup>2</sup>

Further, bibliography tends to be positioned more towards those who published a book than those who read it: in *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, Philip Gaskell places bibliography within textual criticism by discussing its ability to help “follow the threads of transmission back from an existing document and to try to restore its text as closely as possible to the form it originally took in the author’s manuscript” (336). Although this faces the publishing process

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<sup>2</sup> This being said, I have never met a bibliographer who I believe would say that any book is without value.

more than the reader, bibliography can and has been leveraged to provide a basis for understanding reception by exploring the way a book was encountered as a physical object by its original reader. Bibliography offers indications about and context for what a book looked like to the original reader, and can shift focus more towards the reader by taking into account physical marks left behind by readers. Those traits traditionally studied by bibliographers in tandem with these marks of past readers offer a rich access point for reconstructing reception.

Some scholars over the years have taken an interest in marginalia as evidence of the readerly relationship to the physical book. Many have focused on early modern marginalia or Renaissance marginalia, including William Sherman, Stephen Orgel, among many others. H. J. Jackson undertook an extensive study of Romantic marginalia that touches the nineteenth century, but stops short in 1830. Although Jackson's study includes the common reader, its focus is spread and most concentrated on those who were known in some way.<sup>3</sup> Jackson undertook this study with the purpose of getting as close as possible to the thoughts of original readers. From an essay published after her book on the aforementioned study:

Marginalia record the responses of actual readers. If it were possible to assemble a reasonable number of annotated books from a particular period, we should be able to find out how each reader approached and reacted to the book at hand, and eventually to build up a collective impression. Thus heartened, I decided to prove that it could be done, that marginalia could enable us to 'recapture the mental processes by which readers appropriated texts'. ("Marginal Frivolities" 137-8)

Jackson's study checks many of the boxes that other methods of inquiry did not: it reaches the average reader and provides actual physical evidence of their thoughts as they read. Jackson goes on to say, however, that in setting this expectation she was setting herself up for failure.

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<sup>3</sup> Jackson studies marginalia from about 600 unidentified contemporary readers, 500 minor figures, and 700 celebrities. For more, see *Romantic Readers*.

In observing the patterns of marking in books, Jackson came to realize a few important things. First, readers intervening in books did not do so as an involuntary reaction to a text. They saw their books as lasting objects, and made marks in them not in order to consume the text, but to contribute to it. Second, readers did not always mark their books, but from what she could tell, all readers marked in a book at some point. In her words, “Even a deep-dyed bibliophile like Southey left notes in a few of his books” (143). Third, and most importantly, no reader made marks “under conditions of privacy.” Marks were not, then, made as transcribed thoughts, but as conversation to some future reader, whether that would be themselves, or another to whom they would loan or leave the book. Marginalia and marks then “do not provide direct access to the mental processes of readers as they appropriate texts” (145).

Jackson continues, “But then again, who ever promised that they would? What human utterance ever does?” (145). This is a vital insight. Even though marginalia do not provide an exact replica of the thoughts of readers, they get extremely close. In order to gain the most information about reception from marginalia we must consider the context in which they were written, which we can gain from alternate forms of biographical evidence, including memoirs and correspondence. “Marginalia will thus become part of a documentary package, playing an important but often a supporting role in the history of reading” (148). This provides the basis for another kind of study: something that looks at a greater selection of time; that touches the common man and woman; that looks at what things other than just words written in the margins can tell us about the ways readers read texts by way of the ways they interacted with books.

This thesis will do some preliminary work in the void left by all of these other studies. I will first take a look at three specific examples of “user interventions” to acquaint us with the kind of things we are looking for. “User interventions” will be used in place of marginalia or markings to describe a variety of ways readers interacted with texts. The three examples I chose are all from books of poetry, for a few reasons. Poetry seems to invite incorporation of the self into the text. It does this using bibliographic codes, for example offering the reader more white space in the margins. Poetry involves rhetorical devices in a concentrated form, inviting deeper investigation and interpretation. Additionally, poetry’s social position in the nineteenth century made it collaborative and indulgent for readers: poems were featured in the enormous popularity of gift books towards the middle and end of the nineteenth century (Finkelstein 22). Beyond this, poetry is simply a convenient starting place that offered rich examples. Another inquiry could begin somewhere else, in another genre of literature, or even outside of literature, as the statistical evaluation at the end of this thesis will suggest. Each example will provide detail to the history of reading and reception that has not previously been accessed, situating this inquiry in unexplored and vast territory within an even more expansive critical context.



## Chapter 2: A Letter In *Enoch Arden*

On Thursday, August 28, 1884, it rained in Rotterdam. A man named James R. was looking in a bookseller's window at Dutch translations of English books, and decided to purchase a copy of *Enoch Arden* before settling in at a café with a bottle of wine. This day's events are available to use today because he decided to write them down in a gift inscription on the end pages of this book.<sup>4</sup> His letter said:

Dear Tom,

While looking in a bookseller's window just now, and smiling at "Dombey En Loon," and other English works in Dutch, I got caught in a shower so I got this book and retreated to a "café," and got a bottle of Rhine wine, and have taken the two together. I know the English poem almost by heart, and so I can read this Dutch without the dictionary; and it comes back to me as I read, that we read it together in dear Richmond nineteen years ago. Some of the lines that you read aloud then seem vivid and fresh in my memory - things not to die until I do. And so it seemed to me that it might be a pleasure for you to see clearly - as I do through the mists of another tongue - *Enoch Arden* from another point of view; and therefore through the golden light of this "flask" of Rhine wine, I give you this book to show you how dear to me our past has been, and how much I think of you now.

James R.

Tom is Thomas Randolph Price, Jr., born March 18, 1839, in Richmond to Thomas Randolph Price, Sr., and Christian Elizabeth Hall Price. Price grew up in Richmond before attending the University of Virginia beginning in 1851, where he would receive several degrees in languages and law. After graduating from UVa, Price studied abroad for two years in Germany and Kiel before his studies were cut short by the start of the Civil War in 1861. Price immediately returned home and joined the Confederate Army. In March of 1863 he was promoted to a

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<sup>4</sup> See Figure 1

Lieutenant in the Engineer Corps, and in September of the same year he was promoted to Captain ("Thomas Price" 2).

The Engineer Corps was considered by some to be a more "soft position," given to those with well-connected families (Sheehan-Dean 177). Price fell into this category most likely because his maternal great-grandfather was Bishop Richard Channing Moore ("Thomas Price" 2). Although his position was not engaged in combat, it played a major role in the Confederate Army. Their primary duties included "constructing and improving field fortifications deployed to the coastal and interior defenses," and since there were so many more Confederate engineers than Union engineers, they excelled in this realm ("Confederate Engineers in the American Civil War" 1). Price clearly excelled in this arm of service: in February of 1865 he was recommended for a Major's position ("Thomas Price" 2).

By late 1864 the Confederates were well aware that victory was no longer within reach (Sheehan-Dean 165). In April of 1865 Price and his comrades fought in the Petersburg Breakthrough, although at this point many soldiers had left the army after a long winter with little hope. In his book *Why Confederates Fought: Family and Nation in Civil War Virginia*, Aaron Sheehan-Dean gives insight into why soldiers continued to fight after the war was considered a lost cause. He says, "The Union campaigns, which targeted civilians and their resources all across the state and blurred the distinction between battlefield and home front, reinforced Virginians' sense that defense of family and defense of country were the same" (141). Sheridan and the Union forces' burning of all the country within their reach, while intended to discourage the Confederates, instead helped mobilize support for the Confederacy, blurring the distinction between defending family, land, and country further (181).

Price would have acutely felt this sense. His brother, Major Richard Channing Price, was an assistant to J. E. B. Stuart before he was killed in artillery fire in the Battle of Chancellorsville in May of 1863. Additionally, with Richmond, the place of Price's birth, at the center of the climax of the war, and given what it represented as the capital of the Confederacy, the lines between what Price was defending were overlapping and unclear. For this reason Price stayed in the army through the end of the war: on April 9, 1865, Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox, and in May of that year Thomas Price was paroled.

In examining the payroll records for the Engineer Corps of the Confederate Army at the Library of Virginia, I came across the name James Richards<sup>5</sup> – perhaps our James R. I say this because nineteen years before the year of the letter (1884), it is likely Thomas would have been facing the end of the Civil War, either still in the army or just paroled. The timeline indicates that James R. was a soldier with Thomas Price, meaning that they would have read it aloud together in 1865 with the context of the war surrounding them. *Enoch Arden* was published in late 1864, and it sold 17,000 copies the first day it was published, and 60,000 copies in the first year on both sides of the Atlantic, which was “at the time an astonishing figure for poetry” (Blair 4). So it is not surprising that James R. and Thomas Price read *Enoch Arden*. What is more intriguing is how they remembered it so well, and why.

It is immediately noticeable in reading *Enoch Arden* that it bears a narrative structural similarity to James R.'s letter. In *Enoch Arden* our unnamed narrator establishes his/her place

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<sup>5</sup> Not much information is available on Richards, even though we have his first and last name, position in the Confederate army, and location for some period of time. This is the nature of biographical research online – sometimes there is a wealth of information, but other times a search turns up very little.

and time at the beginning by saying, “Here on this beach a hundred years ago” (Tennyson 1). We are to understand that the narrator is physically occupying the space where the story took place, but is temporally removed by a significant amount of time. Establishing the narrator as a storyteller existing in space and time perhaps encouraged James R. to take a similarly structured storytelling role in writing this letter. He tells a story layered onto the text of something that happened nineteen years ago in a different place, so he is both spatially and temporally removed. For both the narrator and for James R., storytelling serves as a kind of anchor to a bygone past, giving some semblance of permanence to memory. Enoch’s story persists because the narrator tells his story, and James R.’s story persists because he retells it to Thomas: but in both cases it survives to this day because it is physically written down.

At a more baseline level James is telling a story about a story being told – a story being read aloud. This was a very the common practice of the century, cited in *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age* as universal: “Public reading was not just a bridge between literate and illiterate but an attribute of a cultivated and genteel person, one of the most important ways in which values and ideas were shared in an age before electronic media” (206). Reading aloud made reading not just a personal activity, but rather a social one.

In many ways it seems as though *Enoch Arden* is practically begging to be read aloud. As F. J. Rowe and W. T. Webb describe in the Introduction to *Enoch Arden*:

Tennyson’s sense of music is equally conspicuous in the melody of his diction. The mere sound of his words and phrases lingers in the brain, apart from any meaning, as the echoes of a musical cadence linger along a vaulted roof. This is in the main due to his selection of melodious vowels and liquid consonants, and also his skillful use of alliteration. (xxiii)

Tennyson's use of rhetorical devices is not only pleasing to a listener's ear – it made the words and phrases of his poetry resonate in memory. This is evidenced clearly by the sections marked by James R. in *Henoch Arden*.

One particular highly marked space where there is also a high volume of rhetorical effects is the stanza from lines 568 to 595. It is full of alliteration: "lustre of the long convolvuluses," "stately stems," "limit of the land" the glows / And glories," "broad belt," "branch'd / And blossom'd," "seaward-gazing gorge," and "sunrise broken into scarlet shafts." There is assonance: "drooping crown of plumes," "myriad shriek of wheeling," and "in the zenith, or the sweep." There is even combined alliteration and assonance: "league-long roller thundering on the reef." The slowness of the vowels combined with the slowness of the consonants imitates a slow-moving wave inching towards the beach, ending with a crash on the consonant "f."

Marginalia in *Henoch Arden* shows that James R. particularly remembers this passage.<sup>6</sup> He begins by rewriting the first line of this passage: "The mountain wooded to the peak. Do you remember?" He writes lines 579-580 next to their Dutch translation: "The myriad shriek of wheeling ocean fowl, / The league-long roller thundering on the reef," both of which are filled with alliteration, assonance, and brilliant diction – "shriek" and "thundering" as two examples that directly conjure a sound. The word shriek even imitates, if only slightly, the suddenness of a shriek. It begins softly with a subtle "sh" and abruptly ends on a hard consonant "k." Finally, the last five lines are marked with "I remember when you read this." These lines would be recognizable in any language because of the visual image of repetition, but are enhanced

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<sup>6</sup> See Figures 2 and 3.

because of the impressive sounds. Of all of the stanzas in the book, this passage is the most marked by James R., even though there is no plot development in all 28 lines. The rhetorical devices create auditory effects that impressed the passage permanently upon the memory of James R.

Armed with his memory of the poem thanks to these auditory effects, the visible structure of the poem, even in another language, would have given clues that would be useful in translation. For example, James marks lines 590-595 and writes, “I remember when you read this.”<sup>7</sup> In the words of Stephen Arata, “The shape of a poem is necessarily the first thing we take in” (518). The similarity in physical structure provided by repetition proves to be an identifier for James.

De lichtglans met het meir in 't oosen stoeiend: De lichtglans boven hem op 't eiland-zelf, De lichtglans in het meir van 't west vervloeiend, En dau de groote sterren aan 't gewelf Des hemels, zonder maat of perk of peil; 't Gekreun der zee, wier golven strandwaarts ijlen, En wederom de vlugge gouden pijlen Der nieuwe morgenzonne – maar geen zeil!	The blaze upon the waters to the east; The blaze upon his island overhead; The blaze upon the waters to the west; Then the great stars that globed themselves in Heaven, The hollower-bellowing ocean, and again The scarlet shafts of sunrise – but no sale.
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As we can see here though, the physical structure is somewhat misleading as well. The Dutch version has two more lines in this stanza, and it is end rhymed in an ABABCDDC structure.

Without the existing memory of what James heard so long ago and a knowledge of the plot, he would not be able to identify this passage. The structure provides a framework wherein

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<sup>7</sup> See Figure 4.

memory fills in the blanks. We see that text is more than text – even in a foreign tongue, form serves as a guideline for understanding.

These effects alone can explain how James R. remembered this poem so well to a certain extent, but there is something more at play here that can begin to explain why: sentimentality. The book's success stemmed from the fact that it "created fervent communities of readers on both sides of the Atlantic, communities apparently based on shared emotional responses to the poem" (Blair 3). Sentimentality has been cited as "the best model for sharing emotion amongst a community of readers"(Blair 1). Although it is not simple to define sentimentality, in the words of scholar Miriam Bailin, "[*Enoch Arden*] offers an almost encyclopedia of the sentimental preoccupations and tropes that typify Victorian pathos." *Enoch Arden* incorporates "lost lovers, an orphaned heroine, a shipwreck, lonely voyaging, illness, redemptive death, separation, and loss of community" (qtd. Blair 4). Often the role of sentimentality within these stories is to unite in feeling characters who cannot be united geographically in order to reestablish a sense of community, mirroring the desire of the authors to create community in the real world by uniting readers through feeling (Blair 4).

*Enoch Arden* is in many ways about the concept of community: how it can be created and fractured. It shares a narrative pattern with many classic stories: that of exile and return. Yet the end of the story does not provide a happy sentimental reunion like so many before it. Instead, Enoch is denied not just reunion but his entire home, family, and community upon return. In the text even the word "home" becomes alien and uninterpretable to Enoch upon return: "But homeward – home – what home? Had he a home? / His home, he walk'd" (Tennyson 21). Enoch is suspended in a world where his home is both not his home at all and

the only home he has. He walks along in the only place he can call home, but he has nowhere to seek refuge. For a moment here the narrator is indistinguishable from Enoch (Blair 10), but this isn't an ironic case of free-indirect discourse. Rather, the lack of separation between narrator and character brings the reader even closer to Enoch.

Considering Sheehan-Dean's insights into the way Confederate soldiers remained motivated to fight in a war they knew they would lose, this displacement of the physical location of a home and the emotional ties to it in the story seem especially pertinent. While Richmond, Price's childhood home, was destroyed, he may have displaced his reason for fighting onto protection of his family; but this presented yet another site of loss for Thomas after his brother's death. Like Enoch, so much of Thomas' community has been destroyed, in both the physical and abstract senses.

In returning to his home, however, Enoch recreates a community based on storytelling. When Enoch reveals his identity and tells his sad story to his caretaker Miriam Lane, she sheds "easy tears," which seems to be a commentary on sentimentality. In Blair's words, here the word "easy" seems to "invoke doubt: hard-won tears would surely be more valuable than gushing sentimentality." Miriam Lane is only ever referred to by her full name, indicating an unfamiliarity and distance between her and Enoch. Although she provides shelter for Enoch, she is not creating a new home for him (Blair 11), and although she can shed tears as an expression of sympathy, she cannot truly understand the deep and overwhelming sadness that overcomes him.

In some ways we are like Miriam Lane in considering James R. and Thomas Price's lives in relation to *Enoch Arden*. The overwhelming sentimental sadness of the end of the poem is



nuanced by the context of the real consequences of the Civil War for these men. This sentiment also contributes to our understanding of their mindsets as Confederate soldiers specifically.

From Sheehan-Dean again:

Virginians' tenacity on the battlefield belies the simplistic notion that they fought solely for the defense of a loving family. Their antebellum families were organized within a slave society and the two were inseparable, as Virginians recognized.... This study has sought to show that Virginians developed a sophisticated and compelling set of motivations, though not necessarily the ones that we would imagine or that have been emphasized in the historical literature. (194)

He is attempting to complicate our understanding of Confederate soldiers' motivations in the Civil War, centering individual motivations on more than just the family. The ways that family, land, money, legacy, and community were intertwined and inseparable for them. The complex motivations that kept Price and so many others in this war long after these soldiers knew they would not win give us a basis for understanding why this book remained in Price's collection until his death. It provided a compelling representation of community through storytelling that mirrored his own with James R.

Although the majority of this study centers on Price's life, we do not actually see physical evidence of Price's reactions to *Henoch Arden*. However, I believe there is reason to believe Price kept it as a souvenir of his shared memory with James R. In the story Enoch holds onto the lock of hair he clips from his sick son's head before leaving, and ultimately before he dies he holds up the lock of hair as evidence of his last tie to his family. While every true tie to his family has been severed in this moment, he still grasps onto this physical memento as proof of the community can still claim as his own in the afterlife. This is reflective of the ways readers intervened in their texts: we have discovered several locks of hair for the Book Traces project. Similarly, although James R. and Thomas Price's relationship was severed by distance and time,

James R. uses the story within the physical copy of *Enoch Arden* as a physical sign of a remaining connection. James R. says himself, "I give you this book to show you how dear to me our past has been, and how much I think of you now." The book functions as a souvenir of their past.

In *Enoch Arden* Enoch immortalizes himself by sharing his story, and in his own way Price did the same thing. Price died on May 7, 1903, and on November 19, 1904, a ceremony was held to donate his books to Alderman Library in accordance with his will. President Alderman spoke at the ceremony of how beautiful this gift was, given how much Price loved his books: they were "his companions, his weapons, his solace, and his comfort;" "the armory of the champion of light against darkness, of learning against ignorance" (University of Virginia Library 2-3). The latter was the description used by Professor Gildersleeve, one of Price's earliest mentors.

Gildersleeve describes a tender moment with Price that is reminiscent of Enoch's confessional moment with Miriam Lane:

It was not until after the war as I sat brooding over the ruin of the land of my birth and my love, broken in body, broken in fortunes, half-planning to escape from the intolerable anguish and degradation of the times, that my old pupil, no longer a boy, but a man, who had drunk deep of every source of learning, who had endured hardness as a good soldier of our common cause, came to me and told me his story. Told me with hesitating utterance that showed how deeply he felt every word he said, that it was my influence that had determined the course of his life and had deflected his powers from the grave study of the law to the arduous study of literature. (University of Virginia Library 3)

The intensity and sentimentality with which Gildersleeve recounts this conversation is not unique to this moment. The thrust of the speech is that Price devoted his life fully to the pursuit

of knowledge, particularly in the field of literature, and that is physically captured in his library which shall cause him to live on into the future. Gildersleeve says,

In his latter days he often spoke to his intimates of his desire to return to the University of Virginia, no matter in what modest capacity, so that he might close his career as a student where he began it. And by this gift his wish has been fulfilled. Only such a career is never closed. He lives on in the host of pupils he has formed, he lives on not only in the works he has written, but in the books that are herewith presented to the library of the University. (University of Virginia Library 5)

Gildersleeve equates the return of Price's books to the University of Virginia with the return of Price himself, highlighting this sort of immortality offered through preserving one's collection of books. He goes on to push this sense of immortality from physical presence in books to a presence in writing, and a presence in the memory of those he has met.

Colonel McCabe's speech at the ceremony touches on this:

Surely it is most meet that these books, quickened yet more and enriched on every page by the "life blood" of a kindred spirit, should at the end come as "an everlasting possession" to this benignant mother, not alone to keep alive the memory and achievement of her brilliant son, but to kindle in her children, now and hereafter, his own noble dissatisfaction with what he knew, and serve in no mean measure to teach them through "the best of what has been said and thought in the world, to know themselves and the world in which they live." (University of Virginia Library 7)

McCabe is saying that the connection between Price and his alma mater, his mother, is made physical and permanent through his gift of books to the university. But more importantly, McCabe quotes Matthew Arnold to say that the books will preserve for future generations an access point for Thomas Price's worldview. It is prophetic, even, that through my study of this book, Price's "memory and achievement" lives on, and I learn more of his world the more I study his book. Just as *Henoch Arden* was inextricably intertwined into Price's life, it is now woven into mine.

This is exemplified most aptly towards the end of Colonel McCabe's speech, when he describes Price's last days:

On the same evening, only two or three hours later, the busy brain was stilled, the tender, dauntless heart had ceased to beat forever.  
So passed away this noble Virginian, who from generous youth to gracious age ever "bore without abuse the grand old name of gentleman."  
If to labor is to pray, if to bind up the broken-hearted and keep one's self unspotted from the basenesses of the world, be in truth pure religion and undefiled, then are we sure that when the "one clear call" came to that fearless spirit to "put out to sea," he was "ready, aye, ready," to meet his "Pilot face to face" when he had "crossed the bar."  
(University of Virginia Library 14-15)

This passage, quoting Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar," mirrors the ending of *Enoch Arden*:

Then the third night after this,  
While Enoch slumber'd motionless and pale,  
And Miriam watch'd and dozed at intervals,  
There came so loud a calling of the sea,  
That all the houses in the heaven rang.  
He woke, he rose, he spread his arms abroad  
Crying with a loud voice 'A sail! A sail!  
I am saved;' and so fell back and spoke no more.

So past the strong heroic soul away.  
And when they buried him the little port  
Had seldom seen a costlier funeral. (Tennyson 33)

The description begins with the passage of time between contact with another: McCabe received a letter from Price on the day he died, and Enoch spoke to Miriam mere days before his passing. McCabe uses Tennyson's language to describe Price's death. Certainly this could be mere coincidence, but since now *Enoch Arden* is so resonant in my mind, I instantly identified this diction as from the poem.

This image of the sea tied to both a heroic journey and ultimately death persists in Tennyson's works. In "Ulysses," we are told of the Grecian hero's boredom of everyday life after returning from the adventure of the Odyssey. He narrates,

I am a part of all that I have met;  
Yet all experience is an arch wherethro'  
Gleams that untravell'd world whose margin fades  
For ever and forever when I move.

Ulysses yearns to return to the sea, and Tennyson intertwines the concept of the sea here with the pages of a text: the ends of the world as a margin. He intends “to sail beyond the sunset, and the baths / Of all the western stars, until I die.” Tennyson is placing together this passage about sailing over the ends of the world and a life beyond the margins of a book, like the one holding Ulysses’ poetic musings. It relates both death and immortality in the context of the sea and permanence on the page. This evokes images of a sort of message in a bottle: a message floating on a great repository of lost things, touching oblivion but also remaining safe from it. Its only value comes from someone discovering it. This copy of *Enoch Arden* operates similarly: it is both a marker of someone who has permanently passed onwards over the ends of the world and the key to his legacy, and thus his immortality of sorts.

## Chapter 3: A Hand In *King John*

There is hardly a shortage of information out there about the publishing and reception of the works of William Shakespeare over time: in the nineteenth century we see Shakespeare becoming more and more established as a British icon. In this section we will explore his status in the nineteenth century in order to contextualize our focus on an individual copy of Shakespeare's works from 1853. In looking at this copy we will discuss the individual connections to Shakespeare of two schoolgirls who studied his works in the mid-nineteenth century. What we learn of their lives and the ways they encountered this text will both enrich and complicate the contextualization.

The nineteenth century saw an increased memorialization of Shakespeare in public spaces. The first portrait the National Portrait Gallery in London acquired upon opening in 1856 was the Chandos portrait of Shakespeare. Today, Shakespeare is the most featured figure in the gallery outside of the British royal family with fifty portraits. In 1874 a fantastic marble bust of Shakespeare was placed in Leicester Square. Shortly after, in 1879 the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre opened in Stratford – these are only a small selection of the practically innumerable memorials to Shakespeare erected throughout the country in this century. This physical manifestation of Shakespeare's legacy gestures towards his prominence in other spheres: in the words of Gail Marshall, "He was also acted, spoken by theatre professionals and ordinary citizens, quoted, painted and endlessly referred to.... Shakespeare is a living presence in the nineteenth century" (Marshall, *Shakespeare in the Nineteenth Century* 1).

Part of the reason for this was Shakespeare's expanded readership due to changes in print culture. In Christopher Decker's exploration of editions of Shakespeare in the nineteenth century, he provides some numbers from the preceding centuries for comparison:

4 collected editions in the seventeenth [century], over 80 in the eighteenth, and then more than 800 in the nineteenth. Add to the last figure only the roughly 2700 editions of single plays then canonical and other 150 separate editions of Shakespeare's poems and one has a limited but still impressive sense of how Shakespeare was absorbed into the mass-market enterprise of nineteenth-century commercial publishing. (16)

In other words, at the most conservative estimate, the nineteenth century saw a 900% increase in collected editions of Shakespeare from the previous century. This is a direct result of the changes in print technology, making Shakespeare more accessible to the common man. At the same time, there is a ubiquity to ownership of Shakespeare that is shared by few other works. Charles Wordsworth, a classical scholar in the nineteenth century, cited Shakespeare, the Bible, and possibly *The Pilgrim's Progress* as the three volumes that "stood on every Victorian bookshelf, with bindings appropriate to the station of their owners" (Sillars 7).

The latter half of this quotation is as important to our understanding as the former. While the common man now had access to Shakespeare, a hierarchy of class remained, coded by not just bindings but also the way Shakespeare was incorporated into everyday life. While anyone could read Shakespeare, quoting Shakespeare was a kind of class indicator, showing that one is aristocratic and well educated. This is in part due to the fact that Shakespeare was regarded as rather difficult to understand by some, perhaps especially women. For example the Viscountess Rhondda

felt the understandable suspicion that 'people read and enthused over good literature not because they liked it, but because they ought to like it': thus she doubted her enthusiasm for the language of both Shakespeare and the Bible since it was the 'correct thing' to admire these. (Flint 220)

This understanding of Shakespeare as something that ought to be liked perhaps has its roots in Shakespeare's incorporation into education, including the education of women.

A study of Shakespeare for some women began in the home, but most women first encountered Shakespeare in schoolbooks, if only because schoolbooks were the easiest books for a woman to get her hands on (Price 88). Very few women first encountered Shakespeare in the theatre: usually only women who came from theatrical families would see Shakespeare on the stage before in a text (Marshall, *Shakespeare and Victorian Women* 13). Over the course of the century, Shakespeare progressed as a source of "sanctioned intellectual activity and moral guidance" primarily because of two factors: "developments in formal education for girls, and the increased availability of forms of Shakespeare made appropriate to the young female reader" (Flint 118).

Reasons for these developments in formal education are difficult to pin down. Arguments of the time range from the claim that God wanted women to have equal rights to education to claims that if women were occupied reading Milton and Shakespeare they would not be indulging in the more immoral or illicit forms of reading in this time. Shakespeare finds himself at the crux of this argument, as his works were seen as "a medium which could, and did, mediate between the two fields [of imaginative reading and the imbibing of morality], being both a force for good domestically and bringing publicly conferred cultural authority into the home." Although there is very little consensus about the motives for advancing women's education at this time, contemporary discourse highlights some of the benefits of incorporating Shakespeare into female education (Marshall, *Shakespeare and Victorian Women* 23-28).



Educating women with Shakespeare had many merits, one of which was providing female role models. Many, including Frances Trollope, saw an opportunity for moral education in fiction. Davenport Adams was quoted in his popular work *Woman's Work and Worth* as saying that fiction provided “those types which best deserve admiration and imitation” (qtd. Flint 76). He provides many examples directly from Shakespeare, including Juliet, Cordelia, and Rosalind to name a few. This purpose suggests a mode of reading centered around evaluating the central character for strength of piety (Flint 76-77).

This mode of reading falls in line with the understood purpose of a woman's education at the time: preparation for childbirth and child-rearing. At this time there was little emphasis on intellectual or professional advancement for women, as the domestic remained dominant. All reading for school was underpinned by an assumption that marriage and maternity would be of paramount importance in a woman's future (Flint 118). Flint explores Henry Maudsley's controversial yet influential article on the topic, summarizing,

If woman's 'natural,' biological function is presumed to be that of childbearing and rearing, of the inculcation of moral beliefs along with physical nurturing, with the ensuing presumption that she is thus especially constructed by nature so as to have a close, intuitive relationship with her offspring, then such instincts as sympathetic imagination, and a ready capacity to identify with the experience of others, are unalterable facts about her mental operations, and hence, by extension, about her processes of reading. (57)

This highlights another focus in a woman's mode of reading: the importance of sympathy with characters in order to develop a “sympathetic imagination.” Not only is a woman to be evaluating a character's morality, but she is also to be identifying with and caring about these characters.

A third important function of reading in a woman's education is its social value. Flint examines an advice manual for young female readers by Sarah Stickney Ellis, author of many books about the young woman's place, in order to expand upon this. For women, private reading was viewed by some as a self-centered activity, whereas "when, say, reading aloud biography, or Mrs. Jameson on Shakespeare's heroines - one is... not primarily consolidating one's own sense of identity, but establishing shared and acknowledged values with the group of people to which one is closest" (Flint 102). This emphasis on reading aloud can be extrapolated to reading in a school setting. For women in school the communal reading of Shakespeare offered a shared social platform to compare and coordinate values. Further, a thorough education in Shakespeare would allow these women to establish bonds in the future with others who are familiar with the works.

This future purpose of learning was bolstered the creation of marginalia in schoolbooks. We have reason to believe that students would write down what the teacher said in class, sometimes even specifically dictated to be written down, and then be thus encouraged to write more (Jackson, *Romantic Readers* 60). Returning to H. J. Jackson,

Though [marginalia] must in the first instance be performed by individual readers for themselves, the conventions of the time and regard for the value of books dictated that writing notes should be done in a responsible way so as to enhance the book for future readers. (*Romantic Readers* 119-120)

Students were writing in their books not only to enhance their learning of a text in the moment, but to memorialize their thoughts to be referred to later by themselves or by future readers of their books. There are indications in some books we have seen in the Book Traces project that in students' idleness they added things into their books that could not have been dictated by the teacher: drawings, sometimes relating to the text, and other times not. These commonly

negotiate a small but significant space between the dictated interpretations of the text and mindless doodles.

Keeping in mind the mixed scene common to schoolbooks, we turn now to a copy of Shakespeare's works published in 1853, filled with annotations, marginalia, and an intriguing tracing of a hand.<sup>8</sup> This particular edition has a relevant backstory thanks to its editor, John Payne Collier. Collier was a preeminent Shakespeare scholar of his time until scandal destroyed his legacy: scandal pertaining to this very edition of Shakespeare's works. In 1842 Collier claimed to have found twenty-four marginal corrections to the First Folio in the Egerton copy, which he then utilized to emend five plays in his 1842-4 edition of Shakespeare's works. All of these turned out to be forgeries. These were in some sense a testing of the waters for his one-volume *Plays of Shakespeare* published by Whittaker & Co. in 1853 and his six-volume *Works of William Shakespeare* published in 1858, in which he incorporated marginalia he claimed to have discovered in the 'Perkins Folio,' all of which were eventually revealed as forgeries as well. A recent estimation cited by Christopher Decker places the number of "substantive changes to the text" at about 2,700. No indication is given in the text as to where the emendations are – "To any reader with only this text or with little appetite for collation, the pervasiveness of Collier's emendacity was all but invisible" (23-24). The ensuing controversy lasted into the next decade, until Collier's credibility was irreparably destroyed.

For this reason and because this edition does not have any line numbers, it is an interesting choice as a textbook for women. While it was at the forefront of scholarly discourse at the time, this generally was not the priority in choosing textbooks for the education of

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<sup>8</sup> See Figures 5, 6, and 7.

women. Kate Flint discusses the prevalence of editions of Shakespeare specifically edited for women, removing anything that might be immodest in the slightest (220). These editions stand in stark contrast with the Collier edition in terms of purpose, and the former aligns much more with the purposes of female education in Shakespeare outlined previously. This highlights a tension between what this particular copy is telling us and what historical accounts have told us.

This discrepancy can be explained at least partially by giving some background on the owner of the book and her background. The owner's inscription on the front free end-paper says, "Miriam Trowbridge, Monday, March 5<sup>th</sup> 1885, Chegaray Hall, New York."<sup>9</sup> From some searching, I discovered her to be Miriam Adelaide Trowbridge Osborn, born Wednesday, April 15, 1840 in Augusta, Richmond County, Georgia to Nelson Clement Trowbridge (1815-1879) and Evelina F. Olive Trowbridge (1820-1880) (findagrave.com). Miriam was just over a month from her fifteenth birthday when she first wrote her name in this book. She attended Madam Chegaray's School in Manhattan, which was founded in 1814 and was known as one of the most fashionable schools in the country for girls, primarily the daughters of the rich and socially prominent (burwellschool.org; Webster 13). From other students we can see that English literature was taught and was a priority. In her memoir, Marian Campbell Gouverneur names Lorenzo L. da Ponte as the teacher of English Literature at Madame Chegaray's School, saying, "He taught us English literature in such a successful manner that we regarded that study merely as a recreation" (53). Although da Ponte passed away in 1838, before Miriam attended the

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<sup>9</sup> See Figure 8.

school, perhaps he established this association with the study of English literature so strongly that it persisted after his death.

From the edition of Shakespeare utilized to Marian Campbell Gouverneur's flowery and gushing descriptions of her educators and education, it appears that at Madame Chegaray's school, there was an interest, at least to some extent, to develop the intellect of the woman. While the development of morality and education on how to be a good wife and mother remained priorities, the development of intellect clearly took a greater share of priority than it would have in other instances from what my contextual research showed. The purpose of developing a woman's intellect would undoubtedly tie into the social purpose of education delineated above – these women would be able to discuss at length and even quote Shakespeare ideally at the end of their education, allowing her to indicate her social superiority as an upper-class woman.

For this purpose marginalia is an ideal tool. A woman could refer back to her schoolbook in order to refresh her memory on how she felt the first time she encountered a play, and to re-learn any relevant information provided by a teacher. There are extensive marginalia in Miriam's copy of Shakespeare's works. She underlines long passages and makes many notes in the margins. Like in the Burns book, the marginalia range from words taken from a professor's instruction, such as several spots where "irony" is identified, to remarks that seem to reflect more personal attitudes towards the text, like "more like the tones of an angel than anything else" written next to a passage of Cordelia's. Almost all of the plays with any markings inside have a word or phrase written above the title: for *Romeo and Juliet*, "Love," and for *Hamlet*, "Revenge." The plays that are most marked, as quantified by the highest percentage of pages

marked, are (in order) *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *King John*, *Julius Caesar*, and *King Lear*. While the majority of these plays are still studied in depth today, I thought it was curious that *King John* was so highly marked: it is not a commonly studied play today. The play stuck out right away perhaps especially because the binding was broken on the book right in the middle of the play.<sup>10</sup>

It turns out *King John* was among the most staged plays in the nineteenth century, and further it was one of Queen Victoria's favorites (Greenslade 244; Sillars 76). It was positioned as an assertion of British identity when Charles Kean inserted scenes with the signing of the Magna Carta; originally the Magna Carta was not so much as mentioned even though it is what King John was most historically known for. It was also known for the sentimental scenes with Arthur and Hubert, as well as Constance's dramatic scenes of mourning (Sillars 13). In 1880 Algernon Charles Swinburne, a poet, paired Cordelia and Arthur, saying, "The place they have in our lives and thoughts is not one for words" (qtd. Sillars 47). Its popularity is referred to rather fleetingly in the volumes I studied about Shakespeare in the nineteenth century, but it is clear from the marginalia in this copy that this play was studied with similar rigor to those plays which have more steadfastly stood the test of time. That being said, its popularity at the time did not mean Miriam and others believed it to be one of Shakespeare's greatest works – it is not included in Miriam's list of four of Shakespeare's finest plays: "Macbeth, King Lear, Hamlet, [and] Othello."

Miriam's marginalia enrich various parts of our previous understanding of the way women encountered Shakespeare in the nineteenth century. While she is clearly evaluating the

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<sup>10</sup> See Figure 9.

morality of various characters at points, there is a sense that she feels a kind of authority over both the text and the characters in doing so. She is quick and sharp in criticizing King John's more evil deeds, often weighing his actions against the characters she sees as "noble." The word "noble" is included in her marginalia seven times throughout the book, four of which are in *King John*. While this aligns with what we learned previously about women's modes of reading, seeing this evaluation of morality in action illustrates the subtle power allotted to the woman as reader in doing this.

Miriam's evaluation of Constance quite perfectly falls in line with the historical understanding of the importance of her character. Miriam remarks on her bravery, "noble character," and her use of language to communicate her grief over the loss of her son. She marks one passage "noble burst of grief" and another "so perfectly full of poetry and philosophy." Constance's monologues are almost all underlined in full. She clearly was a focal point for readers like Miriam.

Miriam also seems mildly empowered as a critical reader. At the very end of the play Miriam criticizes Shakespeare's realism, remarking beside the scene where King John dies, "Not natural – for no one just before dying is so poetical." This adds a nuance to our understanding of how women were evaluating these texts. For Miriam, she was not reading Shakespeare merely to bask in the presence of literary greatness. She clearly has the beginnings of a critical eye, although it is not particularly fine-tuned or extremely active at this point.

On the rear free end-paper there are three tracings of three hands, one of which is captioned, "Ruthie Whitehead's ugly hand – Oh! No, I mean beautiful one – ," across the length of the hand. At first glance this drawing appears entirely unrelated to the text, but I argue that

there is reason to believe that Miriam would have had hands on her mind, placing this drawing in a space in between a mindless doodle and a relevant nonverbal annotation.

I counted the appearances of the word “hand” and variations, and found that *King John* has the second highest count, with 67 appearances. The highest count belongs to *Titus Andronicus* with 72 appearances; however Miriam appears not to have studied it. In *King John* Miriam underlines or otherwise marks the vast majority of passages with the word “hand.” Miriam doesn’t comment directly on the appearances of the word hand in the margins or anything like that – it is not as though the hand doodle symbolizes some kind of hidden commentary on *King John*. Rather, it is an example of the subtle, perhaps subliminal, ways literature weaves its way into our minds.

Tied to this sentiment is the many indications that *King John* was quite frequently quoted. Two sections are marked in the margins as “often quoted;” in no other play is this written in the margins. It appears that *King John* had a societal role as a kind of living document. In Gail Marshall’s chapter on George Eliot and Shakespeare, she discusses an instance where Eliot quoted *King John*:

In that brief stay in Dover, whilst Eliot anxiously awaited the end of [George Henry] Lewes's search for accommodation and the more complex negotiation of the family life which awaited his return, her reading of Shakespeare was even more intensive.... Part invocation of the absent Lewes's voice, part continuation of their German reading programme, these Shakespearean evenings helped to initiate an intimate domestic and professional relationship which would persist until Lewes's death in 1878. In her journal for 1 January 1879, Eliot writes, 'Here I and sorrow sit,' quoting from *King John*, III.i.73 (*GE Journals*, p. 154). A relationship cemented in a joint love of Shakespeare finds its most appropriate voice of loss in him too. (103)

George Eliot and Henry Lewes established a relationship over Shakespeare, and in his death she finds Shakespeare’s language instrumental in coping, specifically the language in *King John*. This



phrase she quotes is not even one of the ones Miriam marks as often quoted – it is yet another example of a section of King John that has life outside of the bounds of the book or the stage. Further, Marshall goes on to say that Lewes and Eliot’s relationship with Shakespeare is mapped onto a volume they studied in the form of annotations.

Perhaps we can see a mirror of Eliot and Lewes in Miriam and Ruthie Whitehead: both pairs read Shakespeare together, and are intertwined on the pages of what they read. Miriam’s interventions inherently have a social function in part because school itself served a social function for these women. It was a place for them to establish camaraderie with other women before going off to get married and start families. Miriam marries Charles J. Osborn on March 25, 1858, only three years after she writes her name in this book. Although I cannot find evidence of her continued friendship with Ruthie Whitehead, there is some evidence to support the idea that they would have kept up with each other in some way.

Ruth Berrien Whitehead was born on May 31, 1837 to John Whitehead and his second wife Julia Maria Berrien in Bath, Richmond County, Georgia: the same county Miriam was born in. They doubtless knew each other from a young age since they were both from prominent families, and they presumably attended Madame Chegaray’s school together, although it is not mentioned in a rather extensive biography of her in *The Children of Pride*, a complete collection of Jones family letters. This is perhaps because the biography is sourced from the Jones letters, and Ruth was not included in those until after her marriage to Charles Colcock Jones, Jr., on November 9, 1858. Charles was a graduate of Princeton, Dane Law School, and Harvard University. He was a lawyer in Savannah, on his way to becoming mayor in 1860. Ruth’s parents both died months apart in 1857, which also may have affected her enrollment at the elite

boarding school. It is after Ruth's marriage that the correlations between her life and *King John* emerge in an almost eerie fashion. Much like the word "hand" in *King John* and the hand illustration, it's not as though Ruthie read this text and made a conscious decision to incorporate it into her life – quite the opposite. It is as though her life cannot help but reflect the literature she read.

Ruth gave birth to her first child, Julia Berrien Jones, on November 18, 1859, and her second child, Mary Ruth Jones on June 25, 1861. Tragically, Ruth fell ill with puerperal fever shortly after giving birth to Mary Ruth, almost just as her first daughter Julia fell ill with scarlet fever. They were kept separate from one another to avoid sharing their diseases. Julia passes away on July 2, 1861, but in the words of Charles in a letter to his father, "[Ruth] never has been made acquainted with the fact of her decease. Her first intimation will be when they are united in the bonds of eternal love around the throne of God" (Myers 711). Her daughter is absent from the world just as she is absent from her side; although she does not know her daughter has died, in drawing a parallel between Ruth and Constance here, we can understand her grief.

In Gemma Miller's essay on the death of children in *Richard III* and *King John*, she identifies how Arthur functions as a "structuring absence" through Constance's mourning of him. She says, "Constance has no body to mourn. It is ironic, therefore, that her speeches in this scene have been lauded by many over the centuries as the ultimate expression of maternal grief.... It is an abstracted idea of death rather than the real experience of grief that fuels Constance's response" (221-222). I disagree with this analysis of Constance's speeches as ironic; in fact I think it is the absence of Arthur alone that is the cause of her grief. Without knowledge

of Arthur's fate she is left to assume the worst. Arthur's actual death is almost irrelevant – Constance is all too aware that, like Ruth, the next time she will see her child is in heaven.

Constance's madness shares interesting parallels with puerperal fever. From a description of the final stages of the disease from Dr. Michael Ryan's 1831 *Manual of Midwifery*:

The eyes become dull, the pupils dilated; the nose sharpened, the cheeks hectic or pale, the lips purple, or the face livid, as in the last stage of typhus; the forehead and chest are covered with cold perspiration.... The tongue becomes black, mouth aphthous, teeth covered with sordes, the breath cadaverous, vomiting of a brown pitchy fetid matter, involuntary alvine evacuations of black colour, with fetid odour.... The patient speaks incoherently, mutters to herself, or is delirious and attempts to get out of bed. The pulse is so rapid as not to be reckoned, the perspiration is cold and clammy; there is subsultus tendinum, and death soon closes the scene. Dr. W. Hunter stated in his Lectures, 'treat the disease as you will, three out of four will die...'. (qtd. Jalland 188)

These final stages of the disease are particularly grotesque. Ryan's focus on the scents and sights of the deterioration of the mother parallel Constance's final speech when she appeals to "lovely Death," saying, "Thou odoriferous stench, sound rottenness." She describes her death by saying she will "stop this gap of breath with fulsome dust, / And be a carrion monster like thyself." This image of kissing a mouth with "nauseous dust" and becoming a corpse-eating monster mirrors the horror of puerperal fever. Her desire for this graphic death is paired with her increasing madness, another common symptom of puerperal fever, as she proceeds to pull her hair out.

In his letters, Charles describes only some of the more horrible symptoms of Ruth's illness. He says that "her mind has for a good portion of the time wandered," and that she is "mostly unconscious of surrounding objects, but rational when roused, and able to nurse her little babe." This is presumably to maintain Ruth's dignity even in sickness, and ultimately in

death. On July 7, 1861, only five days after her first daughter, Ruth succumbed to puerperal fever. Ruth was one of a massive amount of women who died of puerperal fever in the nineteenth century. According to Irvine Loudon, an average of 6 to 9 women in every 1000 deliveries were affected by what we now recognize as a bacterial infection, killing 2 to 3 of them. "It was the single most common cause of maternal mortality, accounting for about half of all deaths related to childbirth, and was second only to tuberculosis in killing women of childbearing age" (6). Perhaps this play meant so much to the people of this time because of the frequent deaths of these mothers separated from their children to the last moment.

Ruth's death and the death of his firstborn daughter sent Charles into deep grief. In a letter written to his father and mother on July 29, 1861, from Savannah, GA, he speaks of his grief:

Oh, how precious to me every object which speaks of them! For three weeks yesterday has my dear wife been lying in her last long home, and our little Julia a little longer. During that period what I have suffered is known only to my desolate heart. Everything around me appears invested with the habiliments of the grave. And yet amid all these scenes of shadows and of silence there are considered associations, happy memories, hallowing by their precious influences every object and every hour.

Grief fills the room up of my absent ones,  
Lies in their beds, walks up and down with me,  
Puts on their pretty looks, repeats their words,  
Remembers me of all their gracious parts,  
Stuffs out their vacant garments with their forms.  
*Then have I reason to be fond of Grief.* (Myers 722).

Charles begins by considering the ways he is preserving their physical presence: through objects. But along with the objects that allow him to remember his loved ones is the constant reminder of their absence. Memory takes up space; in the place where they used to be lies his grief – his memory of them and the immense pain it brings him. Charles is processing his grief in this letter, and what does he quote but *King John*. This quote comes from Constance in III.iv.93-

98, but Charles makes some changes. He changes the end of the first line from “child” to “ones,” and so on throughout the passage to make the instances referring to only Arthur plural to describe his wife and daughter. In the final line Charles capitalizes “Grief,” further personifying it. He is describing the physical way his memories interact with the spaces his loved ones have left, and his tool for doing so is the language of a mother who has lost her child. Like George Eliot, Charles processes his grief by sourcing the language for it in this play.

In addition to these parallels between Ruthie’s life and the play, the end of Miriam’s life shows us some more subdued parallels. A major theme in *King John* is inheritance: the Bastard must decide at the beginning of the play between inheriting land and inheriting social capital by claiming the former King as his father. Although this is not mirroring per se, Miriam’s will is a source of great controversy after her death. Miriam and her husband Charles Osborn, a “well known stock broker and yachtsman” had only one son, Howell, who was known for living a rather wild and lavish lifestyle (New York Times 10 Mar 1892). When Charles died he left Miriam \$5,000,000, and when she died, she distributed this money to several sources. She left her niece Henrietta Olive Trowbridge the interest on \$250,000, and her sisters each the interest on \$50,000. She left Howell the interest on \$700,000, and “the right was given him to leave the principal of these funds to his issue, provided they were by a wife who had never acted, sung, or danced professionally, or had otherwise performed for hire on the stage or in a place of amusement or entertainment” (New York Times 30 Sept 1897). This was quite a pointed jab: Howell was involved for many years with famous actress Faye Templeton.

This is an interesting development due to Miriam’s clear admiration of Shakespeare. She remarks next to *The Comedy of Errors* in the table of contents that she had seen it performed,

so there is no indication that she made an enemy of the theatre. Faye Templeton was not simply a burlesque performer either – she had played a wide variety of roles on and off Broadway, including several Shakespearean roles. Her first performance in New York was in 1873 as Puck in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at only 12 years of age (Bordman 36). In 1875 she performed as the last major female Romeo (“Romeo and Juliet”). She debuted on Broadway in *Evangeline* in 1885, and did star in some other burlesques. Perhaps Miriam’s position on the theater changed over time, or perhaps she simply viewed the theater in a different light when those in a lower class participated in it. It is possible that this goes to show the complex role the theater played in the nineteenth century, and how it was distinct and disparate from the literary reception of Shakespeare.<sup>11</sup> But another possibility is illuminated by her marginalia: perhaps Miriam did like the theater and actresses with one notable exception: Faye Templeton.

A study of Miriam’s will also gives us some insight into how her books ended up at the University of Virginia. After a lawsuit between Miriam’s sisters and the executors of her estate was resolved, her lawyer and executor John W. Sterling to whom Miriam’s books and papers were left must have given her books to her niece Henrietta Olive Trowbridge. Henrietta later married Frank Campbell Littleton of Leesburg, VA – an alumnus of the University of Virginia. Herein lies the connection to the University, although unlike with Price, there is little evidence of when, how, or why exactly the books were donated.<sup>12</sup> From the bookplates on the books, we know that in the PR and PS section there are 23 books of theirs with interventions.

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<sup>11</sup> There is evidence to support the separate cultural lives of Shakespeare in print and Shakespeare in the theatre in the Introduction to *Reading and the Victorians* (Ashgate, 2015).

<sup>12</sup> This is the case with most donated books from my research. Price was an exception since he was a Professor at UVa, so there was a ceremony to celebrate the donation of his collection.

With all of the history surrounding this book and its owners unpacked, the hands on the free end papers have almost a spectral presence. They offer an image of the layered hands that brought this book into my hands today. In a way it feels like these hands flip the concept of a souvenir. Yes, the book was in a way a souvenir of Miriam, of Ruthie. But it is also as though Miriam and Ruthie are souvenirs this text is picking up over time. Maybe it's because the original play is so much older than the other texts we look at, or maybe it's the physicality of the handprint on the page. It feels like the text has collected their lives in the pages and brought them along to me today, holding the text.

I see Shakespeare first, but then I see a parade of ghosts who have touched this book before me. I imagine John Payne Collier painstakingly incorporating changes from the marginalia he thought would make revolutionary changes to Shakespeare's text. I imagine the publisher, enthralled over the potential success of this volume. I imagine Miriam's even hand practically coating the pages of King John, Macbeth, Hamlet in lead. I picture her carefully tracing Ruthie's hand; Ruthie, who would be dead in less than five years. I imagine Olive Trowbridge holding this volume from her late Aunt, passing it along to the University of Virginia, where faceless students have touched its pages here and there over the years. Then there are the hands of the Book Traces project, and finally my hands. The pages hold fingerprints of so many: souvenirs of the lives this copy has touched.

## Chapter 4: A Flower In *Snow Bound*

In the 19th century women especially made a habit of picking flowers and pressing them in books, saving the plant as a souvenir of sorts. The word “souvenir” – one we’ve encountered in previous sections as well - comes from the French *souvenir*, meaning act of remembering. The OED provides several definitions, all useful in considering the practice of saving flowers in pages of a book:

- 1.a. A thing or fact remembered; an act or instance of remembering; a memory.  
b. A slight trace or vestige *of* something. *Obs. rare.*
- 2.a. Something that is given or kept as a reminder of a place, person, event, etc.; a memento, a keepsake; *spec.* a (typically small and inexpensive) item designed for sale to tourists and having some association with the place visited. (Now the usual sense.)  
b. A book, esp. an illustrated literary annual, designed to be given as a gift.  
Cf. keepsake *n.* a. Now *hist.*

These definitions taken together mean an object tethered to memory. The word souvenir carries a connotation of something produced in abundance, but with special sentimental value due to the memory attached. Although a flower or leaf is simply one of a million others like it, they are saved because they were personalized by the memories of their keepers. Plucked from one set of leaves to be placed in another set (the word leaf has been in use to refer to the paper in books since the 14th century), the flower finds itself in another souvenir: the book. This draws a parallel with books in the 19th century, which also were produced at such high volumes so as to have little individual value. However, through personalization by intervention, a book becomes a unique specimen with individual importance. The book can be a site of memory in conjunction with or independently of the flower. From Pierre Nora on the concept of a site of memory: "There are *lieux de mémoire*, sites of memory, because there are no longer



*milieux de mémoire*, real environments of memory" (284). In the place of a past that cannot be reconstructed, we have evidence of its existence in both a flower and in a book.

Pressing flowers was very common in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, presumably because heavy books replicated the function of a botanist's flower press. As the price of paper plummeted, it was cheap to make larger books and cheap to buy them. Rather than buying a flower press, why not buy the cheaper alternative - a heavy book of philosophy for example. The book applies a constant even pressure, thinning the flower, and the pages that surround it serve as blotting papers, although over time the acidity of the paper ruins the pressing by altering the color and quality. This goes to show that these in-book flower pressings were not meant to be professional quality.

The popularity of this practice is reinforced by the words of Mary A. Coffin in *The Ladies' Companion, a Monthly Magazine; Devoted to Literature and the Fine Arts* from August of 1841:

Almost every one has a habit of recalling past events by associating them in their memory with some particular object or another, the sight of which will, at any time, bring them back again to the mind with the most perfect distinctness.... There is hardly a book in my possession, whose leaves do not bear the impress of several of the "fairies sweet tenements." (Coffin 203)

Coffin goes on to tell short stories of the memories that led her to save some of her flowers as souvenirs: some of walks in the woods, others of gifts from friends or other interactions with loved ones. She emphasizes the way that these physical objects can stir the memory within and take the owner back to the place where she collected the token, even when she cannot manage to put the memory into words. In Elizabeth Gamble Wirt's preface to *Flora's Dictionary*, she discusses the ability of flowers to transcend their role as simply physical objects to become "flowers of rhetoric" which "speak their feelings with far more tenderness and force than words

can impart” (Wirt 1). The language choices here illustrate how intertwined flowers were with books: it is as though the flowers add text onto the page.

The language of poetry and the blossoms Coffin collects intertwine within her memory. Towards the end of her essay, Coffin describes a scene where she is walking through wildflowers with her friend Nannie, and they “could not help repeating to each other, many a sweet lay of the poets, recalling, as it were, in poetry, the beautiful scenes before us.” She ends her essay saying that the flowers “will ever express most distinctly the fair scenes with which they are associated,” and what she actually uses to describe the scene to her reader is the poetry of Wordsworth. For Coffin the memory is stirred up by the flower, but language is required to translate this memory to someone else. Given this necessity, it makes sense that so many of these flowers are pressed in books of poetry, physically bringing together the book and the flower. While the pages of a heavy book serve a practical purpose in pressing a flower, the intention in taking the souvenir is not to create a perfect pressing: we must consider the words on the new leaves surrounding the plant in tandem with the souvenir's botanical context.

There is evidence that some books were chosen to house pressed flowers for reasons other than practicality. In Alderman library there is a book of John Whittier’s *Snow-Bound* that has a perfect imprint of a flower between pages 12 and 13.<sup>13</sup> If one was going to select a heavy book to press a flower in, one would presumably not choose this 52 page book. In fact there is no book in the PR or PS section with a botanical insertion under 250 pages. The vast majority of books with botanical insertions are from call number sections on philosophy and world history. The book has only one imprint of a flower, so it was not storing a high volume of botanicals.

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<sup>13</sup> See Figure 10.

These factors indicate that perhaps there's something that tied the desire to save this physical memento with this physical book of poetry in its particular place, inviting a consideration of the language inside the book and its meaning.

In considering the background of the book, we see preliminary indications that perhaps some sentiment related to grief is at play. *Snow-Bound* was published in February of 1866, two years after the death of Whittier's younger sister Elizabeth. Her death left him in such grief that for a time he struggled to put into words what he was feeling. He eventually took up the pen again in order to write a poem that would paint a portrait of his family for his niece Lizzie, and in it he incorporated the memory of his sister to aid in processing his grief. *Snow-Bound* tells the story of a snowstorm that took place in Whittier's childhood that kept his family indoors around the fire for a time while they waited for the roads to be cleared. It became Whittier's most famous and best-selling work (Rocks).

Interestingly, the owner of this particular copy was no stranger to tragedy. In late November of 1866 a young woman named Josephine Rogers from Oakland, California, picked up a Ticknor and Fields edition of the extremely popular *Snow-Bound* and wrote her name inside the front cover.<sup>14</sup> Two years later in September of 1868, Josie married James Terry Gardiner, a surveyor. Because of James' job, they spent much of their first few years of marriage apart. James would write Josie letters reminiscing about their time together in the Rockies right after they were married. In 1870 Josie gave birth to their daughter, Florence Gardiner. Tragically, in January of 1872 Josephine died of tuberculosis, the number one killer of women her age, with childbirth following (Loudon 6). Florence, at the time only 14 months old,

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<sup>14</sup> See Figure 11.

also contracted tuberculosis but would recover. She was sent to live with James' mother on the East coast (Moore 177-221).

Florence went on to live a full life. She became quite the philanthropist – she was decorated by the Queen of Belgium for her work with the YMCA in WWI. In 1895 she married Prescott Farnsworth Hall, but they divorced in 1904. At some point, probably even after her death, Florence's books and family papers were donated to the UVA Library (Hall). In with those books was the thin copy of *Snow-Bound* with her mother's name written on the front free endpaper and either a flower between pages 12 and 13 or simply the imprint of a flower. It would be difficult to find out just when this flower was put in and taken out, but the imprint upon the pages is so clear that my instinct is to say that the flower sat untouched for many years before it was found and taken out. It could have simply fallen out at some point, or it could have been found by a student checking the book out from Alderman, but the data I have shows that the book has very few recorded charges: the last activity associated with the book was in 2009, and only three other charges are recorded prior to that. The flower could have been removed by Florence some time after her mother had placed it in the pages of her book; it could've been placed and later taken out by Florence. Regardless, it is clear that it was placed here to be preserved - but why?

Upon experiencing the emotion of reading *Snow Bound*, Florence would have had many reasons to relate to it. It makes sense that a poem that contains a physical token of memory, a souvenir, would be very tied up with memory. The poem is an examination of change and loss as it relates to memory, and is even dedicated "to the memory of the household it describes." Whittier begins the poem by ominously describing the world before the snowstorm. He says,

“We heard the roar / Of Ocean on his wintry shore, / And felt the strong pulse throbbing there / Beat with low rhythm our inland air” (Whittier 10), stirring up images of a beating heart or ticking clock.

The rhythm then transitions to silence, reading like either the stopping of the heart that was conjured by the previous images, or the stopping of the clock. The moment the snowstorm hits is almost apocalyptically dark. He says, “All day the hoary meteor fell; / And, when the morning shone, / We looked upon a world unknown, / On nothing we could call our own” (12). From a very humanistic, life-filled world we have moved to a cold, unfamiliar one. The brooklet Whittier describes in human-like terms has frozen over, silencing its rhythm unlike the pulsing ocean of the starting description. It is upon this page that the imprint of the flower rests: once growing and alive, it sat between the pages, withering and fading. The language memorializes Whittier's sister, and the flower memorializes itself, reminding those who encounter it of a time when it was lush and full of color.

This memorializing function is enhanced by a sense of repeating, shadowing the movements of someone that has passed. After these descriptions, Whittier addresses his brother and says that they are the only two that live on, out of all those who gathered around the hearth. He describes the ways in which he remembers them:

We tread the paths their feet have worn,  
    We sit beneath their orchard-trees,  
    We hear, like them, the hum of bees  
And rustle of the bladed corn;  
We turn the pages that they read,  
    Their written words we linger o'er,  
But in the sun they cast no shade,  
No voice is heard, no sign is made,  
    No step is on the conscious floor! (20)

This passage describes the ways we turn the very pages that others wrote, and that others have read. A parallel is drawn between reading and walking the paths their feet have worn; a path on which you might collect a souvenir. Technically all reading is retracing the mental steps of others, placing us on a script of their minds creation. Although the people are gone and thus have no shadow, no physical presence, it is as if they are in a state of existence where they are not manifest. The indications of their presence are all there, yet they are latent. This is the sense one gets when looking at a book with an intervention - a book provides a physical locator for the memory of those who are long gone.

Whittier meditates on this later on when describing how each family member tells their various tales by the warmth of the fire. He pauses to describe how he saves the memory of his sister.

With me one little year ago: -  
The chill weight of the winter snow  
For months upon her grave has lain;  
And now, when summer south-winds blow  
And brier and harebell bloom again,  
I tread the pleasant paths we trod,  
I see the violet-sprinkled sod  
Whereon she leaned, too frail and weak  
The hillside flowers she loved to seek. (32)

The narrator walks in the footsteps of his sister once more, her presence weighing on him. The winter snow is working as a metaphor for grief. Within that metaphor, when the flowers do grow they represent the memories Whittier has with his sister, and the physical flowers allow him to engage with his memories. "The hillside flowers" are personified due to the enjambment: although one would think Whittier is saying that "she" is "too frail and weak," because of the lack of a comma after "weak," it seems he means that the flowers are frail and

weak. If this is the case not only are the flowers a souvenir, a physical marker of the memory of the girl; they are actually embodying the memory itself. There is a distance between the image of the "frail and weak" flowers, and the "pleasant" "violet-sprinkled sod," marking the passage of time and the improvement therein. In this way Whittier encourages physical locations of memory as a way to assuage grief: they make his sister's presence almost physical once more.

The importance of physical locations of memory is enhanced by a social context within the story. We see characters coming together around the warmth of a fire, spreading the warmth of joyous memories. We have the character of the uncle, who is not well read but tells stories of nature. This culture of oratorical connection is a hallmark of the 19th century: from John Brewer and Iain McCalman's article on publishing in *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age*, "Reading aloud, both in public and in private, was a universal practice that enabled nonreaders to share in the pleasures of the literate" (206). Nature, a setting and almost rationale for the circle of life, recurs here as a way to communicate when the "right" words are not available, and storytelling shows itself as something available even when no words are available at all; the uncle does not have myths or fables at the ready to tell, but he finds associations in nature that tell a story to the audience through a mutual understanding of meaning in the life around them.

The prescribed way to indulge memory in this poem seems to be taking out the time to revel in language: to inundate oneself in it, and further to locate it physically. In the same way that Whittier's family is forced to essentially put life on pause and tell stories to pass the time, poetry readers pause their interactions with the world and impose their memories on the stories with which they're interacting. Whittier encourages incorporation of flowers into this

storytelling moment as he describes the lighting of the fire that warms the storytellers, saying, “The old, rude-furnished room / Burst, flower-like, into rosy bloom” (16). The room is like the white pages of a book, surrounded by white snow, until it is covered with the embodiment of memory: the inky words on the page or words spoken aloud, and the souvenir to be saved and protected from the passage of time. We can locate Florence Gardiner's memory in this physical book just as Whittier located his in the storytelling room.

In a time when poems were as plentiful as the flowers in the field readers still found ways to make poetry personal. Poems like *Snow-Bound* invite interaction with the memories of the reader, and that is one major reason it saw such fame in its time. Similarly, the practice of pressing flowers in the pages of these books mirrors a desire to maintain a sense of the individual in a world marked by standardization and de-personalization.<sup>15</sup> People like Florence Gardiner Hall saved both the poetry and the pressed flower as souvenirs to be looked back at whenever they felt nostalgic. I like to imagine that Florence Gardiner Hall read this poem, held the flower, and thought of the mother she never truly got to know. Just as Whittier walks in the footsteps of those who have passed before him and remembers their steps, Florence would turn the same pages her mother turned many years before her and intertwine her own memories with the poetry and the flower as representations of the past.

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<sup>15</sup> For more on individualism and industry, from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, see Mencher, Samuel: “Individualism in Modern Western Culture.”



## Conclusion

In many ways, this is a project about absences: the absence of the people who once owned these books, and the absence of a record of their memories and personal histories. Then there are the more tangible absences: the missing flower from the copy of Whittier, as an example. But though the flower is gone, it has left a mark of its presence. Its outline is preserved in the pages of the book, forever hinting of where it used to be. In this way I think the project is about both absences and the way that although something can cease to exist, sometimes it leaves a trace behind.

These books are the traces of human connections over literature, and what more apt place to store them than a library. The library as a symbolic space is about the exchange of ideas; a physical house for these human connections over literature on a macro-level. Interestingly, so many of the secondary sources I used for this project had underlining, marginalia, inscriptions of all sorts in them. In the *English Common Reader* for example, a passage was marked, "It's all your fault, Dryden!" (Altick 30). There are layers of readers' markings covering everything I have touched, and as I touch these books the layers multiply.

When I was 13 years old I visited an antique market, and with my babysitting money I purchased a \$3 Farmer's Almanac from 1923. My mother questioned my interest in the book. It clearly was not something I could read casually since there was no plot. I had not previously demonstrated an interest in the history of farming, and even if I had, this book provided only one year of predictions, not history. In fact, it was arguably without purpose the moment 1924 hit.

Considering now why I spent my hard-earned money on such a book, I think a couple of motivations were at play. On a basic level, I was sentimental that an object that belonged to someone else had met such an unromantic end. Underlying this was a sense that there was something I could learn from this object: I could know the exact weather pattern predictions for 1923; what crops were expected to do well, and which weren't. I saw it as able to teach me about one particular farmer as well as what farming was like in 1923. That being said, my mom was mostly right: I did not have any need for this information, and so the book was placed on a shelf where it remains to this day. Recently, I pulled it off of my shelf at home: I wanted to look through it to remind myself why I had bought it in the first place. Upon opening it up, a paper bag from a store called "Kilt" fell out, containing a couple of bookmarks, a receipt, and a half-finished friendship bracelet I guess I had been making all that time ago. It was almost alarming to me how involuntarily I had left a trace in this book. It has housed a tiny piece of my past now for 10 years.

These books with interventions show us a way to look at libraries as living institutions housing the traces of human history, forging human connections and the exchange of ideas across time and space. From Ander Monson's *Letter to a Future Lover*, "To keep a story on a shelf or to remember then retell it means that it will be more likely to exist to those who will come after we have gone. It will all be gone in time. Maybe this is the best we can do" (4). Although we cannot recreate the thoughts of readers of the past, perhaps the next best thing is to engage intimately with their unquiet histories.

This project is arguably as much about biography as it is about literature. In completing such extensive research into the facts of someone's life while holding an object they once held,

I feel a sense of communion with these people. It is almost as though I know Miriam Trowbridge – I feel in many senses as though I have engaged in a dialogue with her that would not be possible without her physical book. I feel the pangs of distance between James R. and Thomas Price. I long to see the flower that once sat between pages 12 and 13 of *Snow Bound*, because now I feel as though I have attached a memory to it like Florence. While the material presence of everyday lives in these books is the basis for my discovery, I could not find a fraction of the biographical information I have found without the digital resources available on the Internet. Paradoxically, one cause of the need for this study, digital resources usurping print resources, is the very thing that makes this study possible. We are positioned uniquely in time to investigate the common reader of the past using modern technologies, but the vast availability of these resources, and their use in this project instead of physical sources is a sign of the ubiquity of the digital. In order to preserve and even rescue the material signs of reading from the nineteenth century, we must pursue this study before this unique moment in time passes.

## Appendix

In early 2015 a CLIR grant was awarded to Professor Andrew Stauffer and Librarian Kara McClurken in order to carry out a more scientific, methodical study of the books in the University of Virginia's libraries with user interventions: it was later named the Book Traces at UVa project. That summer I was brought on as a statistical research assistant. The project has two basic goals: to identify these special volumes and to catalog them. Ideally then, not only will we know the landscape of interventions across the collection at the end of the project, but any patron of the University of Virginia library will be able to identify and access these books. So the project not only enhances scholarship: it enriches the library's own catalog of its offerings.

Project Manager Kristin Jensen, along with Professor Stauffer, Kara McClurken, and the rest of the project advisory board developed a detailed research process in order to accomplish these goals with efficiency and accuracy. The project began by examining only pre-1923 books in Alderman library, since 1923 is the date of copyright and all books published after that are in less danger of being moved off-site or being removed from circulating collections entirely. After Alderman was completed, the project moved on to the other libraries on grounds, aiming to sample from and/or entirely explore all of the libraries on grounds with any number of pre-1923 books.

Research assistants search these books for 19 different intervention types, falling under 6 umbrella categories. The first umbrella category is "inscriptions," which includes "inscriptions by owner," "gift inscriptions," "author inscriptions," and "extensive inscription covered." The first three are self-explanatory, and the last one means any inscription covered by a bookplate

or some sort of other piece attached to the book after the inscription was created, obscuring it in part or in full. The threshold for description for owner inscriptions is the inscription must include a full name, date, and place if it is the only intervention present in a book. The project advisory board determined that anything less than this as the only intervention would make learning much about the intervention and past ownership very difficult.

The next category is “marginalia,” which includes “verbal marginalia,” “nonverbal marginalia,” and “underscoring.” While underscoring could be considered nonverbal marginalia, the project decided to distinguish between the two, since they indicate rather different levels of integration into the text.

The next category is “annotations,” which includes “verbal annotations,” “nonverbal annotations,” and “juvenile annotations.” Annotations are distinct from marginalia in that they do not relate specifically to the text. Examples include notes on another subject or math practice on the free endpaper.

The next, and largest, category is “insertions,” which includes “loose insertions,” “attached insertions,” “pasted insertions,” “botanical insertions,” and “extra illustration.” Attached insertions are tipped or pinned in rather than fully pasted to the page, like pasted insertions. Extra illustration indicates an insertion that relates specifically to the text: often people will insert a picture of the author of a book.

The next category is “doodles/artwork,” which includes both “doodles/artwork” and “juvenile doodles/artwork.” It is sometimes difficult to decide whether something qualifies as a doodle or as a nonverbal annotation – generally the less artistic the intervention is, the more the latter category is used.

The final category is “previous library markings,” which includes “previous library label” and “previous library other.” Bookplates indicating a personal library do not qualify in this category.

Many people ask how research assistants differentiate between markings by the original reader and more recent markings. There are a few strategies: if an intervention involves ballpoint pen or scotch tape, it is certainly not from the original owner since neither of those things were invented before 1923. Markings in pencil are frequently the hardest to date – for these, research assistants just use their best judgment. If the markings are in the same handwriting as the owner’s inscription, or were made with a similar looking pen, for example, it would seem that the interventions were from the original owner.

As the statistician for this project since June of 2015, I have had an interesting vantage point. I encounter the books as line items on a spreadsheet, every now and then with notes detailing their exceptional qualities. More often than not, though, they are to me only a 1 or 0 indicator, which shows a problem of this project. Of course the books are far more complex scenes than just a pile of indicators about their categorizations. At the same time, over 10,000 books with interventions have been identified thus far; the sheer enormity of this number directs our attention to the practicality of study. One must take pains to ensure that the trees are not obfuscated by the forest.

In order to paint a comprehensive portrait of the collection of user interventions at hand a mixture of overarching statistics and anecdotal evidence is vital. Scholars across the board have iterated this point in a wide variety of contexts – from Altick calling the anecdote a “valuable microcosm of history” (2), to James Secord in *Victorian Sensation* saying, “To learn

what is really important about reading, the limited and partial evidence of the situated case ... remains vital even when audiences number in the millions" (519). Jackson echoes this, saying, "Statistics are only the sum of particular instances and statistical patterns may obscure or distort actual experiences as much as they reveal them" (137). In this probe anecdotal evidence will be used in order to generate insight into how readers made mass produced commodities into expressions of individualism: with each example a straight line can be drawn between narrative elements of the text and the events of a reader's life. The unavoidable truth is that it is neither feasible nor practical to study each of the over 10,000 books with the same vigor and conviction. One also must avoid ignoring the forest for the trees.

Jackson outlines some advantages of a large sample which will prove useful for this study. She says, "Within a larger sample it is possible to get beyond individual experience by grouping books in other ways" (147), suggesting grouping books of one kind annotated by different readers, or grouping books by the way they were annotated, or finally grouping books by the characteristics of the readers themselves, creating virtual communities. All of these grouping methods are possible with the data at hand. There is almost unlimited insight to be found into both the individual reader and the intrinsically bound social network that engenders and locates his reading. Taken together these elements will add evidentiary value to the ongoing chronicle of the history of reading, and will inch us closer, however marginally, to detailed reception history.

The previous chapters gave us anecdotal evidence of the rich content the Book Traces at UVA Project has uncovered. I will now give statistical context for those anecdotes in the form of a statistical summary of the books studied in Alderman Library. The hit rate (percentage of

books with interventions) amongst books found on the shelves in Alderman was 11.71%. Figure 12 shows the top 25 hit rates in order from highest to lowest. For this chart and for Figure 13 with the bottom 10 hit rates, only call number sections with over 20 books found on the shelves were considered. This was to avoid letting exceptionally small call number sections overtake larger sections with high hit rates. When I say “books found” I am referring to books that were on the shelf. Due to cataloging issues and some lost books, a certain number of line items in each call number section were marked “not on shelf.” For the purpose of calculating hit rates, I use the “books found” number in order to get the rate of interventions we saw in the books we actually looked at.

Both the PR and PS sections are in the top 10 hit rates. The highest hit rate is in the BC section, which is the section on logic. This, as well as several other sections in the top 25, were among the first sections we surveyed for the project. We did perform a secondary sampling of the section later in the project in order to ensure that we did not select too many books for description in the section.

Figure 14 shows a multi-page chart of call number section hit rates in Alderman from A to Z. They are ordered from largest to smallest, and although they are not sorted or excluded based on number of books found, there is a column in the chart with that information for consideration. There is also a hit rate included based on the number of “expected” books. There are 116 call number sections in Alderman, and the ones with the most books are the PR and PS sections.

Finally, Figure 15 shows an overall breakdown of the intervention types found across all of these call number sections, from most to least common. From this we see that the most



common intervention type is the owner's inscription, followed closely by verbal marginalia, underscoring, and nonverbal marginalia (in order). Gift inscriptions and verbal annotations take up a significant amount of the pie chart as well, with then all of the other intervention types following in order of intervention rate from highest to lowest: nonverbal annotations (2.40%), doodles/artwork (1.99%), loose insertions (1.90%), fully pasted insertions (1.60%), author's inscriptions (1.14%), previous library stamp or other mark (0.90%), attached insertion (0.79%), covered extensive inscription (0.49%), juvenile doodles/artwork (0.31%), previous library label (0.26%), juvenile annotations (0.21%), botanical insertions (0.18%), and extra illustration (0.18%).

Next I will take a closer look at the statistics summarizing the PR and PS sections. The hit rates for each section are 14.03% and 16.42% respectively. Both of these hit rates are statistically significant compared to the overall hit rate at the 0.01 level (see Figure 16 for test write-ups). This may be surprising since the PR hit rate is only about 3% higher than the average hit rate, and the PS hit rate only about 5% higher. Because both sections have so many books in them, they naturally are going to approach the overall hit rate. Thus, the fact that the hit rates are still 3% and 5% higher is a significant result statistically speaking, even though to just look at it, it seems only slightly different.

Significance tests work by determining how likely it is to get a result different from your expectations. Because we are dealing with proportions, we use a probability distribution called a "chi-squared" distribution. At a high level we fit this probability distribution to the data we have using the hit rate and the total number of books looked at for two sections, let's call them A and B. The distribution gives us the probability that we would get hit rate A a certain distance

from hit rate B. The “null hypothesis” then is that the hit rates are only different by chance, not because there is a significant difference in the two hit rates. The “alternative hypothesis” is that hit rate A is significantly greater than hit rate B, and there is low likelihood that it is just greater by chance.<sup>16</sup> Generally hit rate B represents a sort of status quo. Our “p-value” gives us the probability that hit rate A is greater than hit rate B by chance, and that the sections we are comparing actually have the same hit rate across all books in that section. If that probability is very low, we can assume that the hit rates are not different by chance, and that hit rate A is significantly greater than hit rate B.<sup>17</sup>

Figures 17 and 18 show us the intervention breakdown for the PR and PS sections respectively. For the PR section, the top three intervention types were owner’s inscriptions, verbal marginalia, and underscoring. For the PS section, the top three intervention types were gift inscriptions, verbal marginalia, and underscoring. It is interesting that gift inscriptions replace owner’s inscriptions at the top in the PS section: in the PS section they represent 20.47% of interventions, as compared to 14.74% of interventions in the PR section.

I also completed an analysis of the hit rates for the authors in the PR and PS sections. Figure 19 shows a chart of the most highly marked authors in the PR and PS sections, as quantified by hit rates amongst found books. Like with the overall section hit rates, I eliminated

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<sup>16</sup> An important statistical distinction is that we are not seeking to “prove” the alternative hypothesis, but to “disprove” the null hypothesis. That is to say we are trying to disprove the fact that these hit rates are different by chance.

<sup>17</sup> Another purpose of these tests is to begin to draw conclusions outside of the UVa library, and to justify any generalizations we would like to make. Although there are biases in only looking at one library which we must acknowledge in drawing these tentative conclusions, these tests give us some freedom to say that generally the hit rate for section A will be greater than the hit rate for section B in libraries like UVa.

authors with holdings under 20 books in Alderman. Figure 20 shows the top 25 authors with any number of holdings in Alderman: the number of books is listed there for reference.

Next I include an analysis centered around publication dates. Figure 21 is a chart displaying the hit rates for each decade in the PR section. Figure 22 is the same chart for the PS section. Finally, Figure 23 is a composite of both of these, showing us which decades were most highly marked in both of these sections. For reference I also included Figure 24, which shows the number of books from each decade available in Alderman in the PR and PS section.

In order to further illuminate the anecdotes I provided in the previous chapters, I also analyzed the available statistical data on each of the authors whose books I studied. Beginning with Tennyson – amongst all of Tennyson's books found on the shelves there was a 30.98% hit rate. Unsurprisingly, this is a statistically significant hit rate as compared to both the overall hit rate and the PR section hit rate at the 0.01 level. This is to say that Tennyson's books are statistically significantly more likely to have a user intervention than any book picked off of the shelf in any section, as well as any book picked from the PR section. Figure 25 shows a write up of both statistical tests I used to show this.

Figure 26 shows the distribution of interventions in Tennyson's books. The top five intervention types were owner's inscriptions (23.62%), gift inscriptions (19.69%), underscoring (14.17%), nonverbal marginalia (14.17%), and verbal marginalia (14.17%). Several intervention types did not appear at all.

Seven of Tennyson's books were in the Price Library. In the PR section as a whole, 411 books on the shelf belonged to Price, and of these 89 had a notable intervention, for a hit rate of 21.65%. This hit rate is also statistically significantly higher at the 0.01 level than the overall

hit rate in Alderman. This indicates that Price collected in his library a significant amount of English literature that he either annotated or collected after its previous owner annotated it somehow. From a brief look at Price's PR collection it appears that he had mostly books by popular authors and books about the study of English Literature. Price's books also appear in many other call number sections: it appears that the collection he donated was rather extensive. Perhaps a less literature-focused inquiry could find valuable insight in examining the interventions in his non-PR/PS books.

Shakespeare rather unsurprisingly has the most books of any author on the shelves of Alderman in the PR and PS sections. The hit rate amongst books by Shakespeare was 16.49%, which is statistically significant at a 0.01 level (see Figure 27 for write up of p-test). A phenomenon which has been repeating itself is that the larger a section we are examining is, the more the hit rate will approach the overall hit rate. This is the basis of a statistical theorem called the Law of Large Numbers. The purpose of p-tests like I am performing is to prove that even though the hit rates for these sections are approaching the overall hit rate, books in these sections are still significantly more likely to have an intervention than the section of comparison, be it all of the books on the shelves of Alderman or the PR section. I say all of this here to point out that the p-test for the comparison of the Shakespeare hit rate and the PR hit rate has the highest p-value of all of the previous tests. Thus its significance is somewhat less strong. With chi-squared-based tests like this, it is generally fairly easy to get a low p-value with a large sized  $n$ , so significance must be considered beyond just the 0.01 alpha level. In the Shakespeare books the most frequent intervention types were owners' inscriptions (23.23%), underscoring (19.52%), verbal marginalia (19.15%), and nonverbal marginalia (16.36%). Figure

28 shows the intervention breakdown in a pie chart. Like in Tennyson's section, there are several intervention types that were not found at all.

The Whittier section is the smallest author section I took a look at, with only 38 books found on the shelves, and only 7 of them with interventions. This gives us an 18.42% hit rate, but because of the small n size, it is not statistically significant at even the 0.05 level compared to the overall hit rate and the PS hit rate. Figure 29 details these two p-tests, and Figure 30 shows us the intervention breakdown, with underscoring (23.53%), nonverbal marginalia (23.53%), verbal marginalia (17.65%), and loose insertions (11.76%) found most.

You will note that botanical insertions are not represented on this pie chart – that is because the *Snow Bound* copy I studied would not qualify as having a botanical insertion due to the fact that the actual flower has fallen out. Only a trace of it remains. In fact, the book would not qualify as a book with an intervention at all, because Florence Gardiner's mother only wrote her name in the front, making it below the threshold for description. I included this book to prompt a discussion of the ways that the Book Traces at UVa project, while important, unprecedented, and thorough, still leaves absences and room for further inquiry. It is rather alarming that as painstakingly detailed as everyone who worked on developing the research process was, there will always be books left out. There is a desire to not inflate our numbers with interventions that would prove useless, and it is essentially at odds with our desire to capture every little thing. In taking a more systematic approach, then, problems arise that do not exist for the anecdotal researcher.

One rather minor problem to consider is the reliance of the project on metadata that is flawed; this was perhaps most apparent to me as the statistician. For each spreadsheet I had

built in cells to catch the little human errors made by the project assistants: for example, marking a book as “return to shelf” when its interventions were later described in the Google Form. Some errors were easier to catch like this, making this problem minimal, but there certainly will be unrecoverable errors like this when all is said and done. It is the nature of metadata, human data collection, and large datasets to be flawed, but it is something to keep in mind. No matter how comprehensive one can attempt to be, there are still barriers inherent in the process.

The project also has problematic absences in its representation of readers. The books in the library primarily belonged to white, middle- to upper-class men and women, who were also generally educated. Many were tied to UVa in some way, which is why they donated their books to the University. It is important to keep this context in mind while considering the statistics – the project is by no means comprehensive. Another problem along these lines in considering the statistical insights in particular is how to scale them up. We cannot exactly draw conclusions about user interventions in library books everywhere – we are only one library, and it is possible UVA was just lucky enough to have a perfect storm of conditions for this project. In 1895 the Rotunda, which served as the main library, burned almost entirely, destroying the collection of books within. The library was thereafter rebuilt primarily from donations from Virginia families, many of which contained these user interventions.

There are some indications already within our reach that the University of Virginia is not alone and unique in having so many books with user interventions. Booktraces.org is a crowdsourced website started by Professor Stauffer encouraging patrons of libraries everywhere to search their shelves for books with user interventions. With over 700

submissions and counting, it serves as a robust albeit rather unscientific database for these library books with markings from the original readers. Booktraces.org continues to turn up examples from a wide variety of academic institutions, and Stauffer frequently finds fascinating examples when he visits other schools to speak on the project and examine some of the university's library holdings. Additionally, Book Traces at UVa hosted a rather small scale conference with several other universities last year, and prior to the conference six of the schools investigated their holdings for several key authors for interventions. Figure 31 details the overall hit rates for each university – it is clear with the lowest hit rate at just over 17% that UVa is hardly alone in housing books with user interventions. Perhaps we have a particular wealth of them, but we are clearly not alone.

At the time of writing, Alderman library had been entirely completed, including books that were recalled, which is the main reason Alderman is the only library I have examined in this inquiry. I have not yet been able to compile and complete the statistics for the other libraries, but this leaves an opening for future scholarship. The books in the Ivy stacks off-site storage facility are of particular interest, since it is possible that being moved off-site, some of the more delicate interventions have been more safely preserved. As an example, I discovered a lock of hair in one Ivy stacks copy of a Whittier volume, and a collection of leaves all still in their original pages in another Whitter volume.

Much like the critical contexts I used to introduce this project, it is not comprehensive, but it accomplishes critical work focusing on the individual reader. The clear research processes could be easily duplicated at other institutions, which would increase available data and allow for more broad claims about the nature of reading and intervening in books in the nineteenth

century. At the end of the project though, we will be able to make claims about the University of Virginia library collections as a whole, which is an extremely valuable starting point.



## Figures

Rotterdam Aug 28<sup>th</sup> '64  
 Dear Tom  
 While looking in a bookstore  
 and just now, & smiling at Dombey En Loon, and  
 other English works in Dutch, I got caught in a  
 and I got this book & retreated to a cafe, and the  
 bottle of Rhine wine, & have taken the two together  
 I know the English poem almost by heart, & I  
 can read this Dutch without the dictionary, &  
 it comes back to me as I do, that we saw  
 it together in dear Richard's mansion years ago  
 Some of the lines that you read aloud then  
 vivid & fresh in my memory - things not to  
 until I do. And so it seemed to me  
 it might be a pleasure to you to see clear  
 - as I do through the mists of another time  
 Ensch Arden from another point of view  
 therefore through the golden light of the  
 "flask" of Rhine wine, I give you this  
 book to show you how dear Tom's  
 has been, and how much I think of you  
 Yours  
 James R.

Figure 1 James R.'s letter to Thomas Price on one of the front free end pages of *Henoch Arden*.

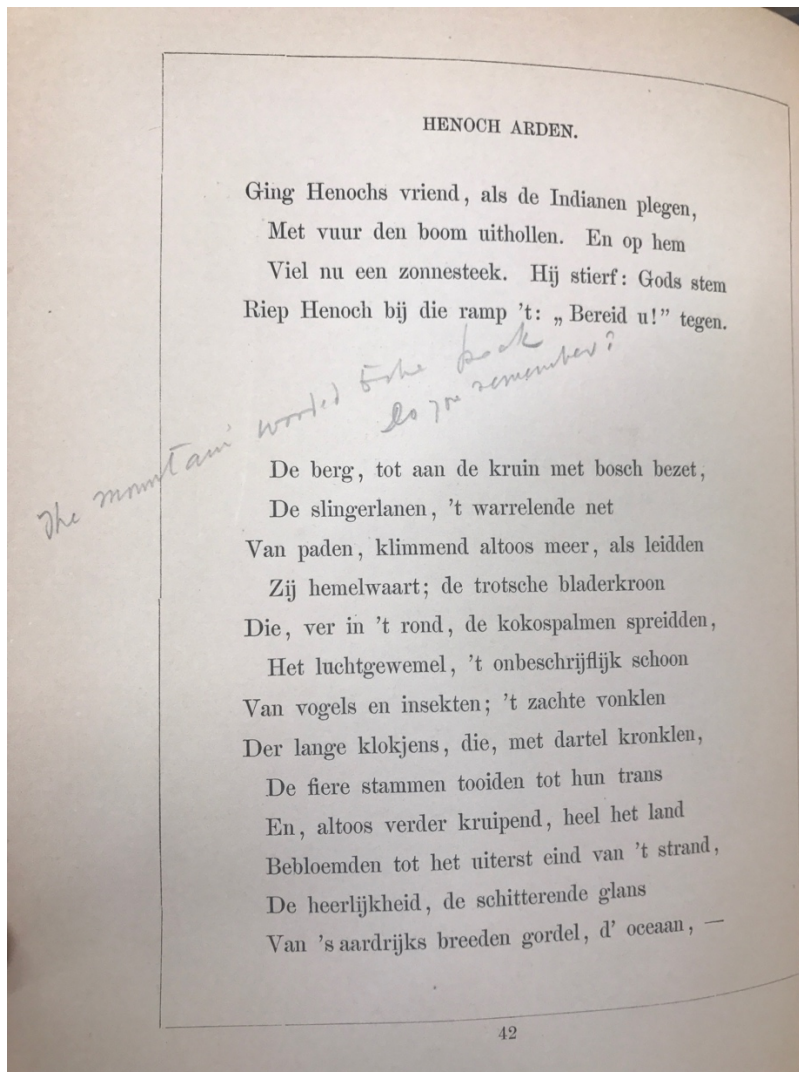


Figure 2 James R.'s comment on a stanza of *Henoch Arden*, in part quoting the English translation from memory: "The mountain wooded to the peak. Do you remember?"

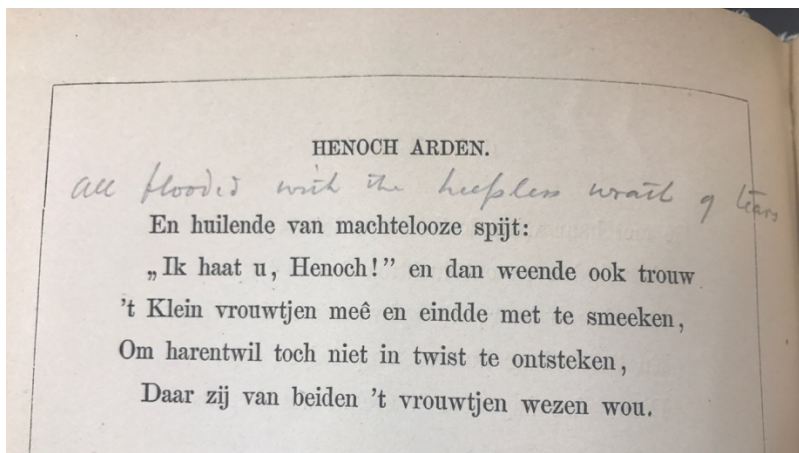


Figure 3 Another comment by James R., quoting *Enoch Arden*: "All flooded with the helpless wrath of tears"

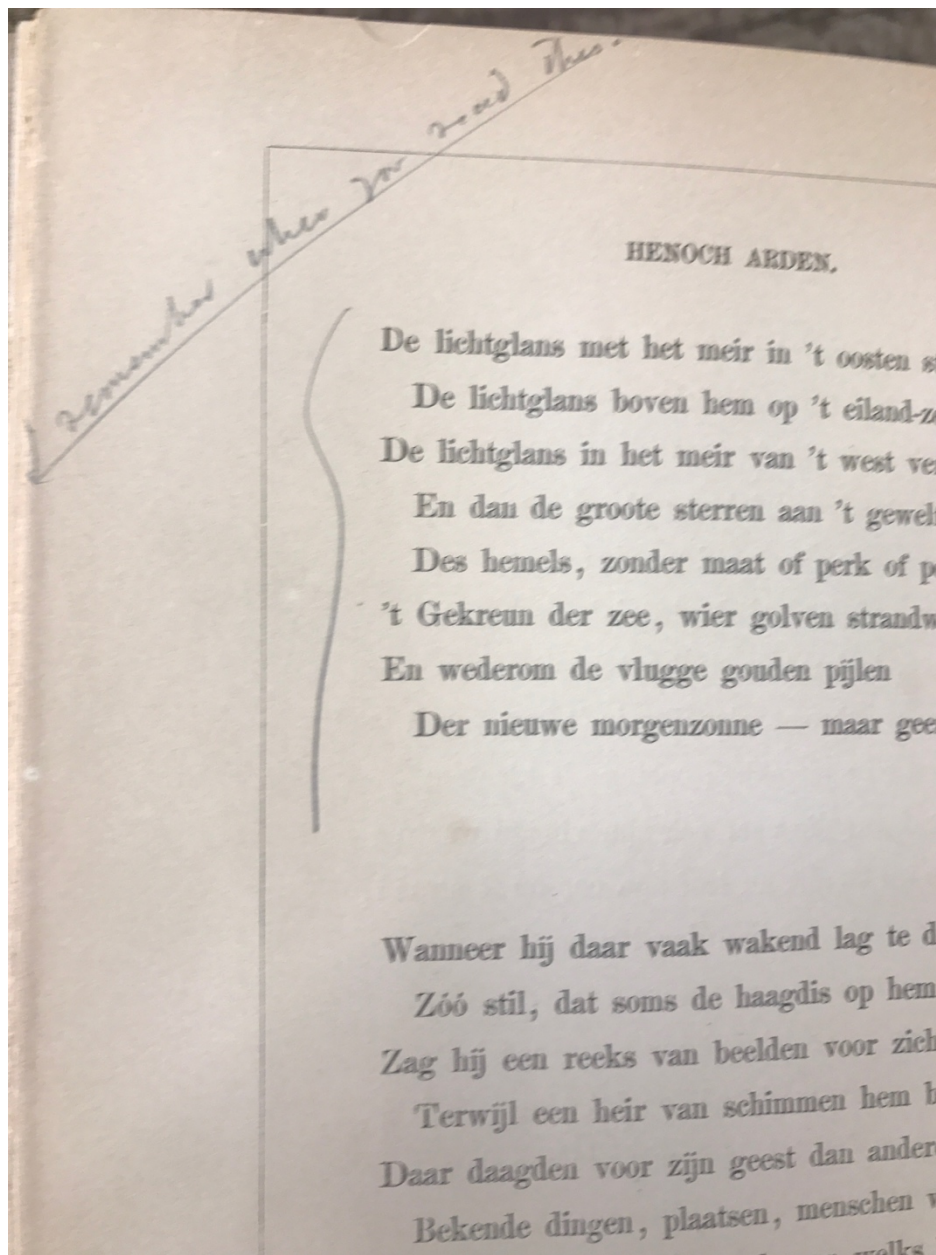


Figure 4 Comment by James R.: "I remember when you read this."



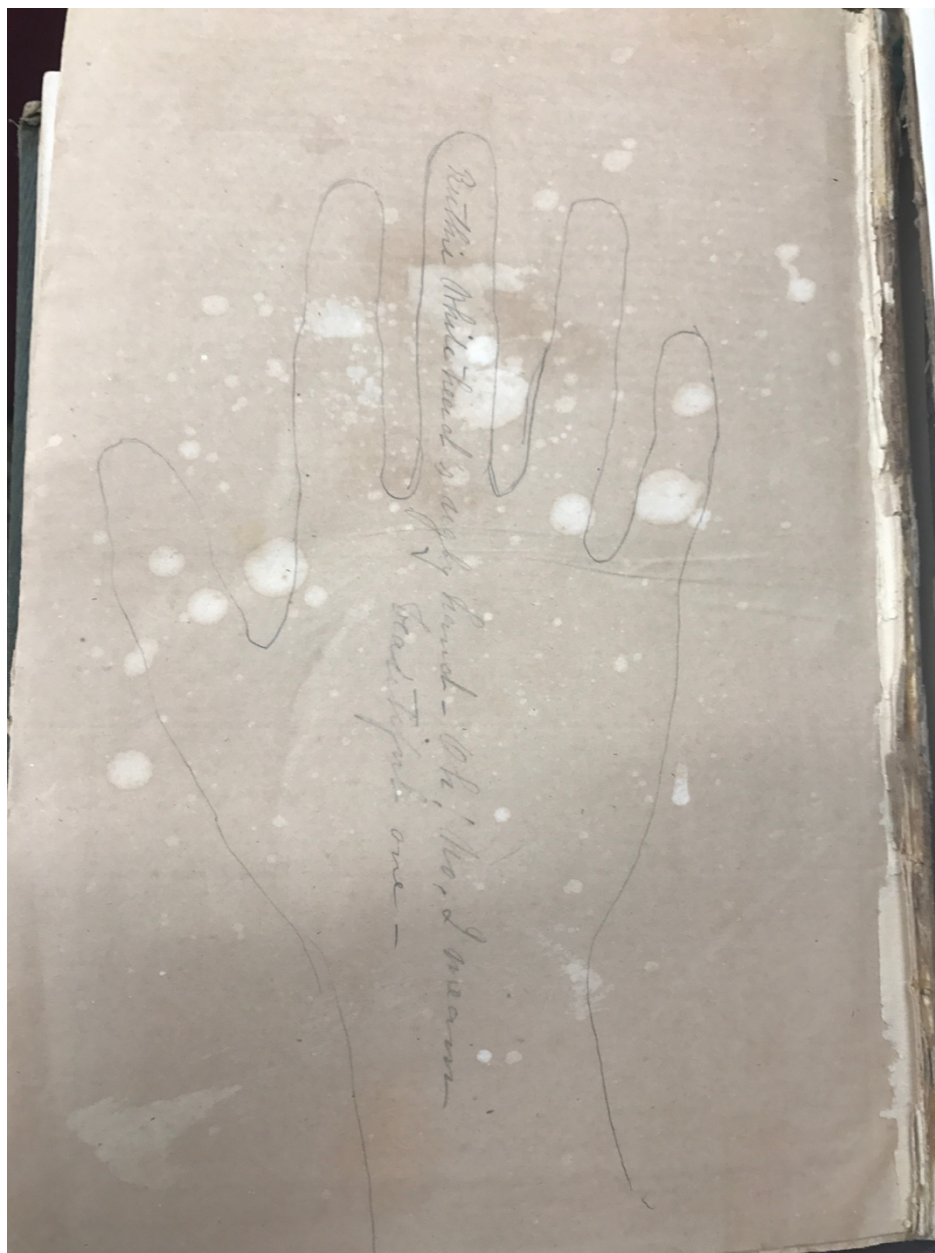


Figure 5 A tracing of a hand, with "Ruthie Whitehead's ugly hand – Oh! No, I mean beautiful one –" written in the middle

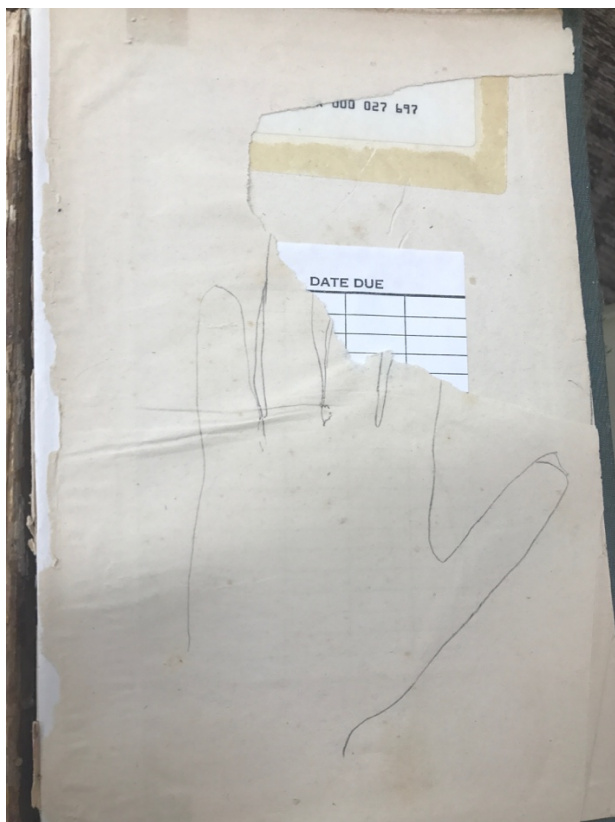


Figure 6 Part of a traced hand, which appears to be a slightly different size from the other two.

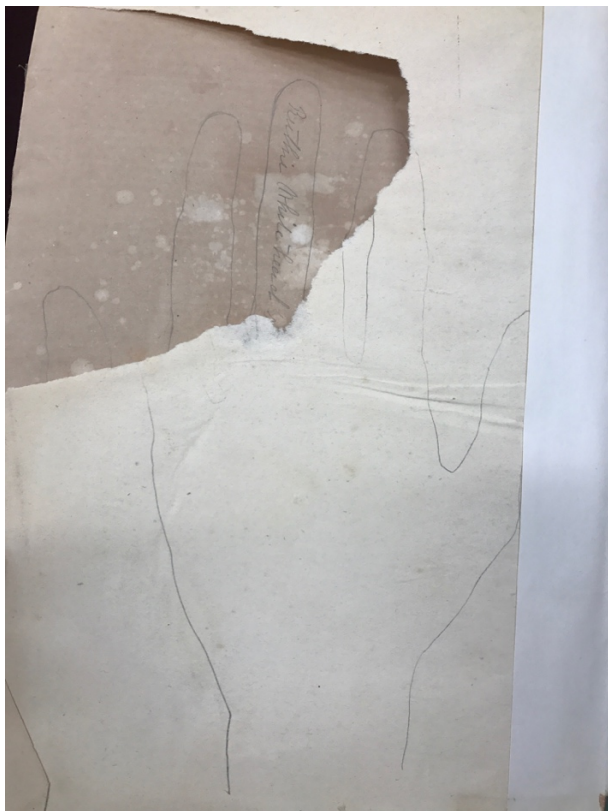


Figure 7 Another traced hand on the opposite side of the free endpaper pictured in Figure 6.

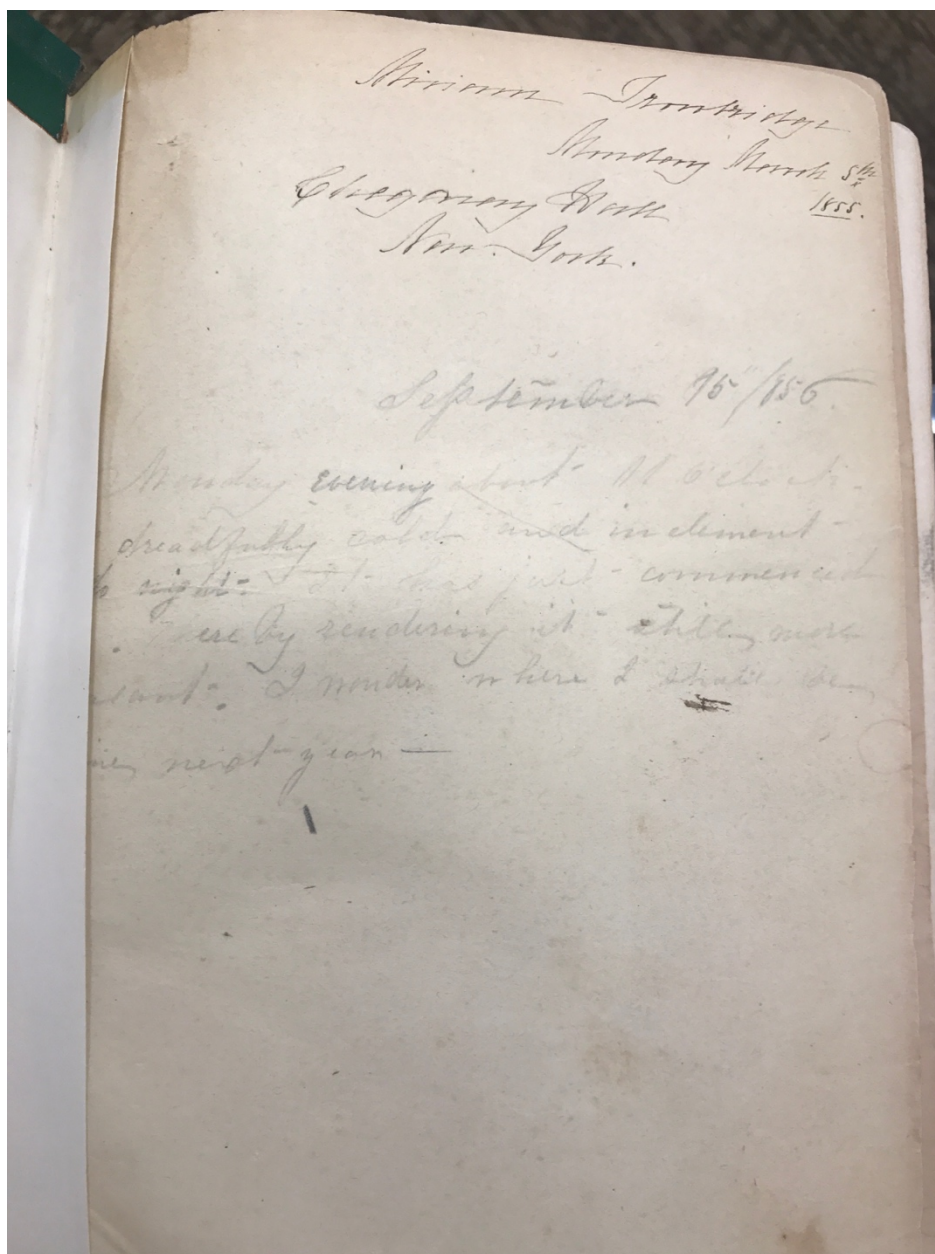


Figure 8 Two owner's inscriptions by Miriam Trowbridge. The second inscription is partially obscured by the tape put in place to ensure that the cover does not come loose from the book.





SNOW-BOUND.

A fiery meteor fell;  
 The second morning shone,  
 On a world unknown,  
 We could call our own.  
 Listening wonder bent  
 On the firmament,  
 No earth below, —  
 Sky and snow!  
 Our sights of ours  
 Strange shapes; strange domes and towers  
 No sty or corn-crib stood,  
 No belt of wood;  
 The mound the brush-pile showed,  
 Not what once was road;  
 An old man sat  
 In a long coat and high cocked hat;  
 He had a Chinese roof;  
 A long sweep, high aloof,

12

SNOW-BOUND.

In its slant splendor, seemed to  
 Of Pisa's leaning miracle.

A prompt, decisive man, no b  
 Our father wasted: "Boys, a  
 Well pleased, (for when did fa  
 Count such a summons less t  
 Our buskins on our feet we d

With mittened hands, and  
 To guard our necks and ea  
 We cut the solid whiteness t  
 And, where the drift was de  
 A tunnel walled and overlaid  
 With dazzling crystal: we h  
 Of rare Aladdin's wondrous  
 And to our own his name v  
 With many a wish the luck  
 To test his lamp's supernal

13

Figure 10 The imprint of a flower in *Snow Bound*, between pages 12 and 13.



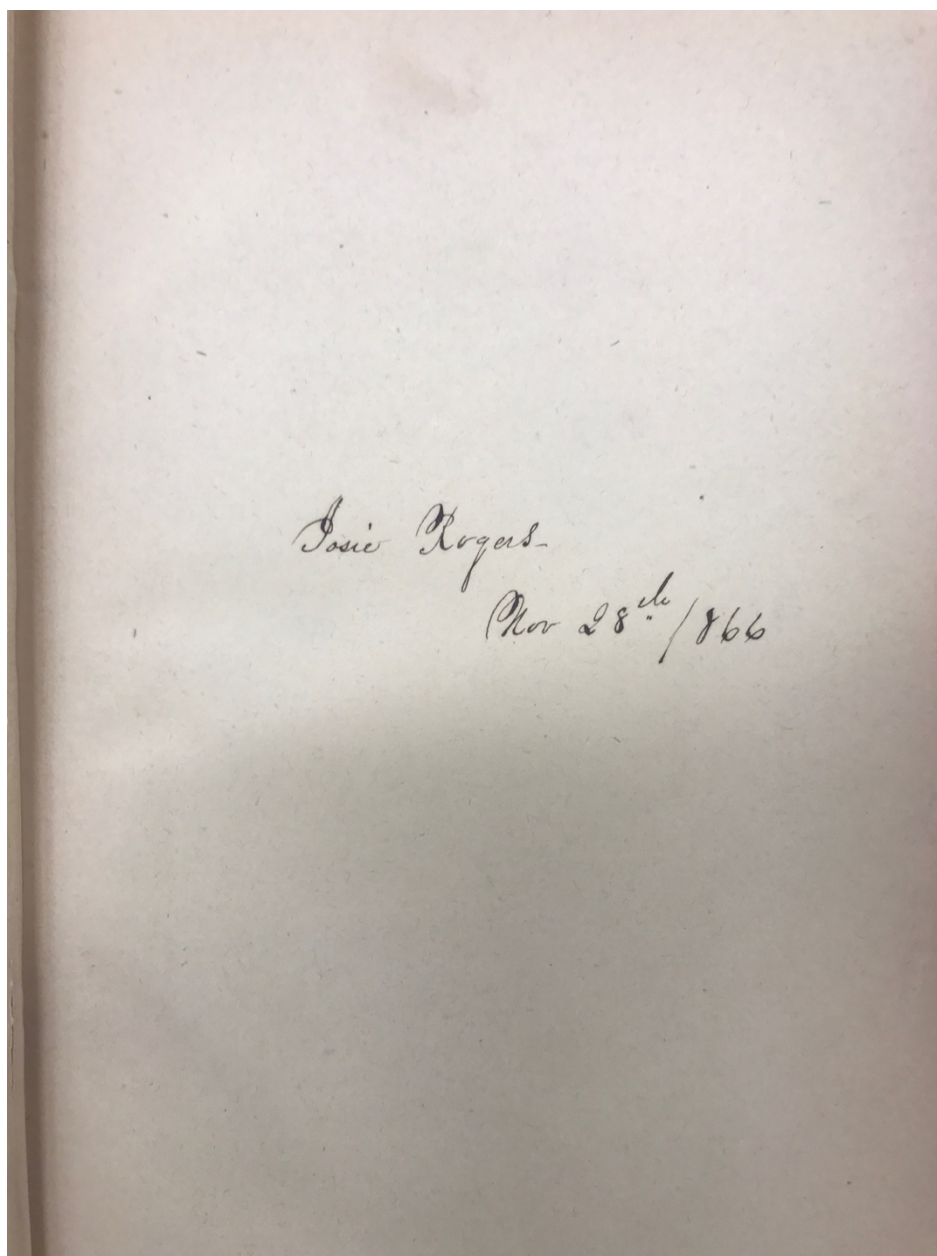


Figure 11 Josie Rogers' owner's inscription on the front free endpaper of *Snow Bound*.

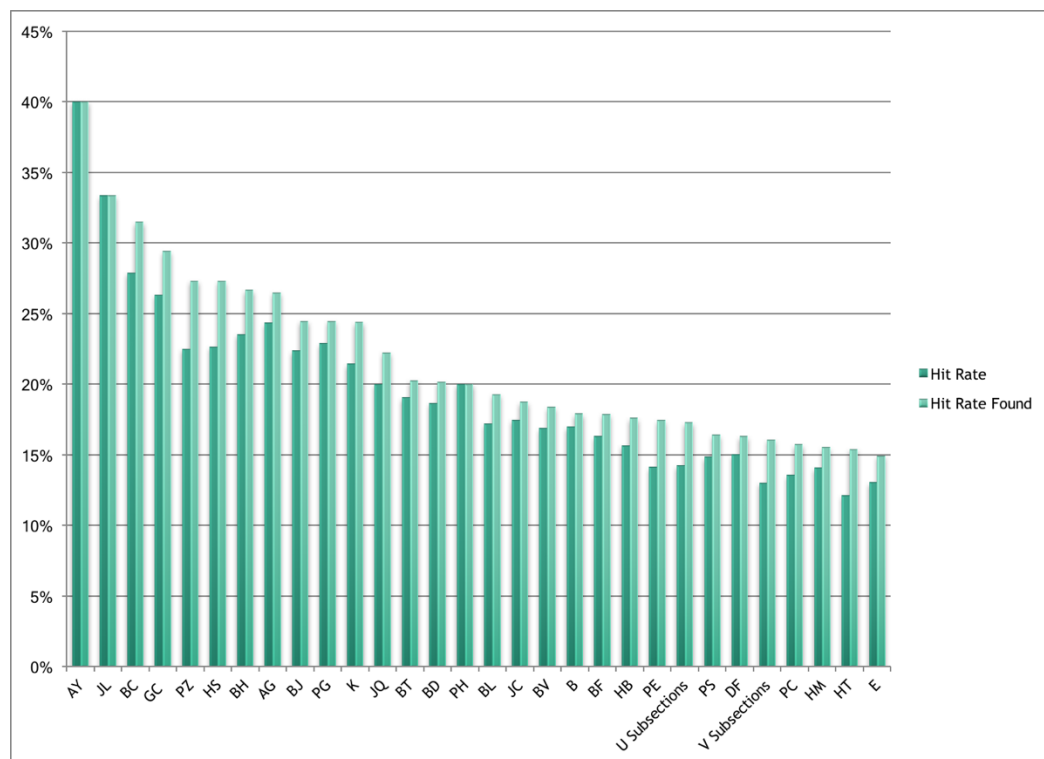


Figure 12 The top 25 hit rates in order from highest to lowest. The bar on the left for each section, “Hit Rate,” is out of all of the books on the shelf list, including books with metadata errors and books not on the shelf. The bar on the right, “Hit Rate Found” is out of only the books on the shelf.

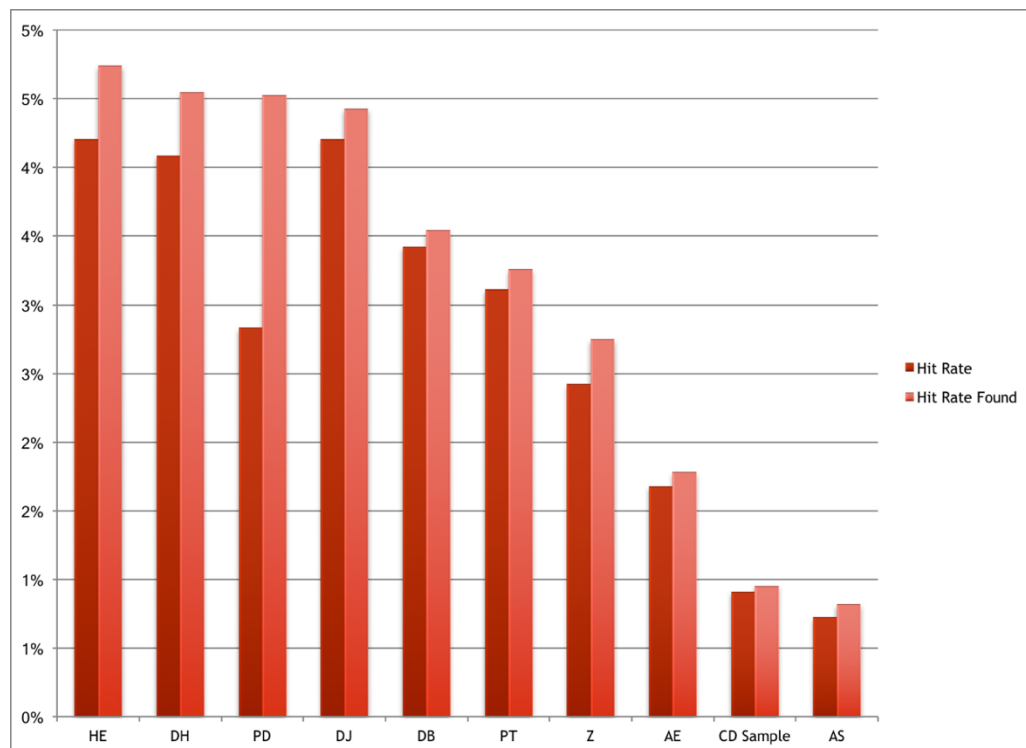


Figure 13 The bottom 10 hit rates in order from highest to lowest. The bar on the left for each section, “Hit Rate,” is out of all of the books on the shelf list, including books with metadata errors and books not on the shelf. The bar on the right, “Hit Rate Found” is out of only the books on the shelf.

Subsection	Hit Rate	Hit Rate Found	
AY	40.00%	40.00%	10
JL	33.33%	33.33%	0
BC	27.87%	31.48%	54
GC	26.32%	29.41%	1
PZ	22.49%	27.31%	108
HS	22.64%	27.27%	7
BH	23.53%	26.67%	30
AG	24.32%	26.47%	34
BJ	22.36%	24.45%	364
PG	22.86%	24.45%	81
K	21.43%	24.39%	28
JQ	20.00%	22.22%	1
BT	19.04%	20.26%	469
BD	18.66%	20.16%	124
PH	20.00%	20.00%	0
BL	17.20%	19.28%	643
JC	17.46%	18.72%	13
BV	16.86%	18.37%	713
B	16.96%	17.90%	1788
BF	16.29%	17.86%	599
HB	15.64%	17.59%	31
PE	14.12%	17.42%	116
U Subsections	14.22%	17.28%	37
PS	14.83%	16.40%	494
DF	14.99%	16.30%	319
V Subsections	13.00%	16.05%	16
PC	13.54%	15.73%	84
HM	14.06%	15.52%	9
HT	12.12%	15.38%	10
E	13.02%	14.91%	534
T Subsections	11.11%	14.29%	2
AZ	10.00%	14.29%	7
JV	13.04%	14.12%	3
PR	13.04%	14.03%	984
HC	11.51%	13.62%	33
HN	12.28%	13.59%	8
LD	8.82%	13.38%	47
GN	12.59%	13.33%	20
BS	12.02%	13.03%	1696

PA	11.49%	13.01%	508
PK	11.43%	12.50%	13
AC	10.36%	12.34%	235
D	11.55%	12.21%	1474
PF	11.04%	12.16%	15
DA	10.98%	11.89%	3809
JF	10.00%	11.48%	9
BP	9.43%	11.36%	88
GR	10.05%	11.17%	14
K Subsections	9.09%	11.11%	18
GF	10.53%	11.11%	0
DE	10.20%	10.87%	92
DU	9.84%	10.81%	111
DG	9.76%	10.76%	1022
C Subsection	10.13%	10.73%	289
JK	9.89%	10.61%	35
N Subsections	6.67%	10.59%	90
PM	8.47%	10.20%	9
PL	8.96%	10.08%	28
DD	9.20%	10.02%	629
AM	10.00%	10.00%	10
F	8.83%	9.99%	265
HD	8.74%	9.74%	61
PN	8.63%	9.60%	113
H	7.60%	9.49%	134
BM	8.26%	9.18%	98
J	8.70%	9.03%	1
DT	8.02%	8.68%	599
DC	8.03%	8.68%	2085
DS	7.69%	8.49%	259
BR	8.15%	8.42%	1485
GT	7.41%	8.11%	5
CS	7.11%	7.96%	201
HQ	6.68%	7.74%	39
HG	7.06%	7.73%	11
DQ	7.34%	7.55%	106
DR	6.56%	7.08%	113
JX	6.80%	7.08%	14
G	6.02%	7.06%	106
CT	6.26%	6.91%	391

HA	5.71%	6.67%	1
DP	6.25%	6.64%	226
BX	6.00%	6.39%	2174
HV	5.85%	6.38%	30
BQ	5.40%	5.95%	622
DX	5.88%	5.88%	17
PQ	5.34%	5.77%	455
L Subsections	4.90%	5.62%	13
DK	5.02%	5.38%	520
DL	4.96%	5.13%	117
HE	4.21%	4.74%	20
DH	4.08%	4.55%	88
PD	2.83%	4.52%	115
DJ	4.20%	4.42%	113
DB	3.42%	3.54%	226
JS	3.09%	3.33%	6
PT	3.11%	3.26%	151
GA	2.78%	3.23%	5
GB	2.78%	3.23%	5
JA	2.86%	3.13%	4
Z	2.42%	2.75%	148
HJ	1.85%	2.13%	4
AE	1.68%	1.78%	337
CD	0.91%	0.95%	105
AS	0.72%	0.82%	367
AI	0.00%	0.00%	2
AP	0.00%	0.00%	10
DISS	0.00%	0.00%	2
DJK	0.00%	0.00%	1
JZ	0.00%	0.00%	0
Q Subsections	0.00%	0.00%	0
R Subsections	0.00%	0.00%	1
S Subsections	0.00%	0.00%	4

Figure 14 All of the hit rates for every section, ordered by "Hit Rate Found." The third column contains the number of books in each section, with sections with under 5 books highlighted in red.

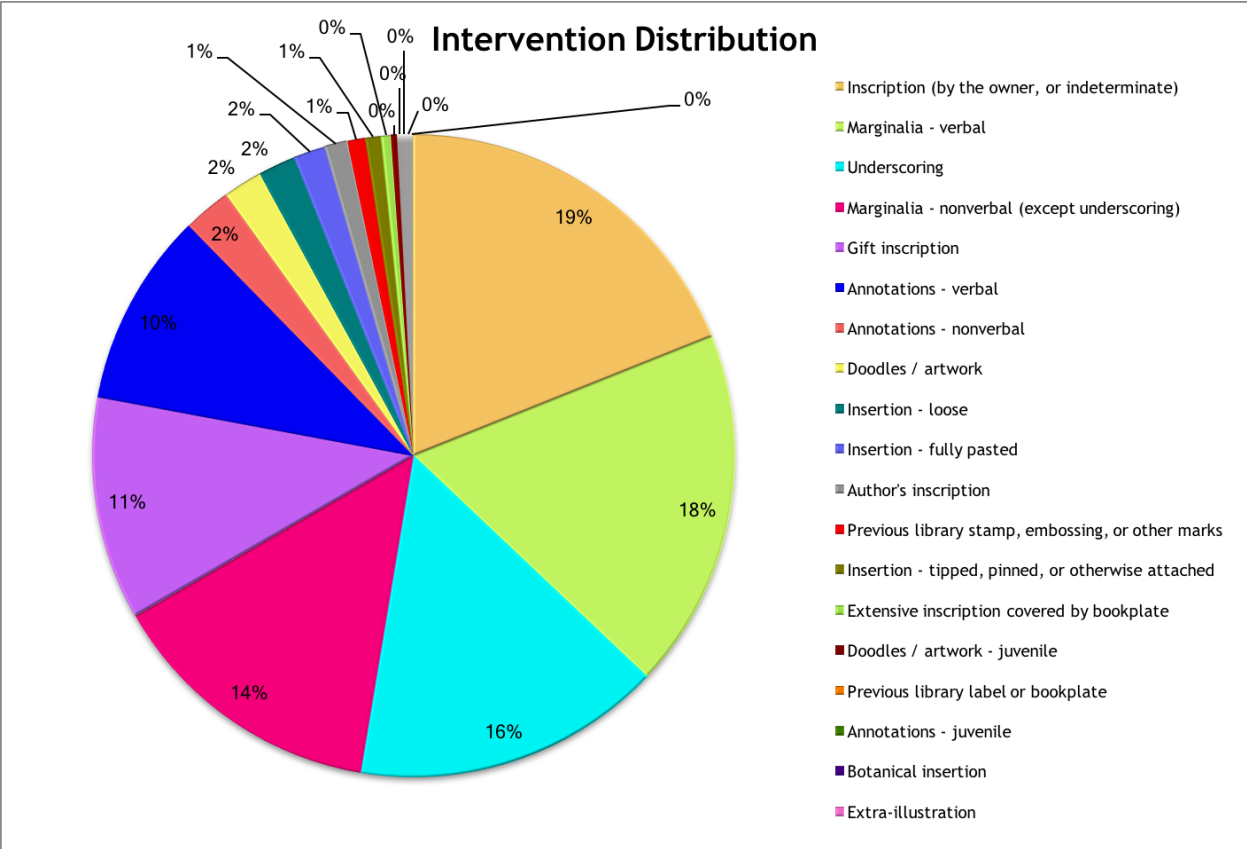


Figure 15 The distribution of interventions for all of the books in Alderman. If viewing in black and white, the order of the labels match the sections beginning at “12 o’clock” on the circle and moving clockwise. They are ordered from most common to least common.

$H_0: p_{pr} = p_{overall}$ $H_a: p_{pr} > p_{overall}$ $p - value = 2.2e - 16$	$H_0: p_{ps} = p_{overall}$ $H_a: p_{ps} > p_{overall}$ $p - value = 2.2e - 16$
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Figure 16 The p-test for the PR section and PS section versus the overall hit rate for Alderman. Both of these probability values are very small, indicating that it is unlikely the PR and PS hit rates were so much higher than the Alderman hit rate by chance.

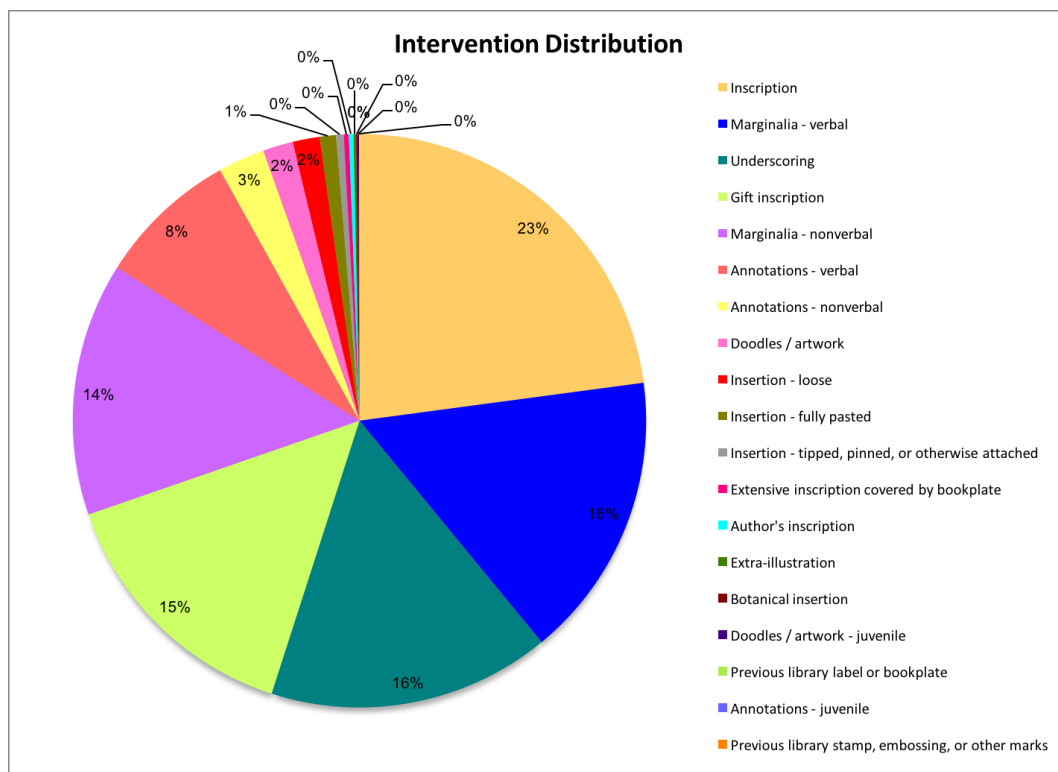


Figure 17 The intervention distribution for the PR section. If viewing in black and white, the order of the labels match the sections beginning at “12 o’clock” on the circle and moving clockwise. They are ordered from most common to least common.

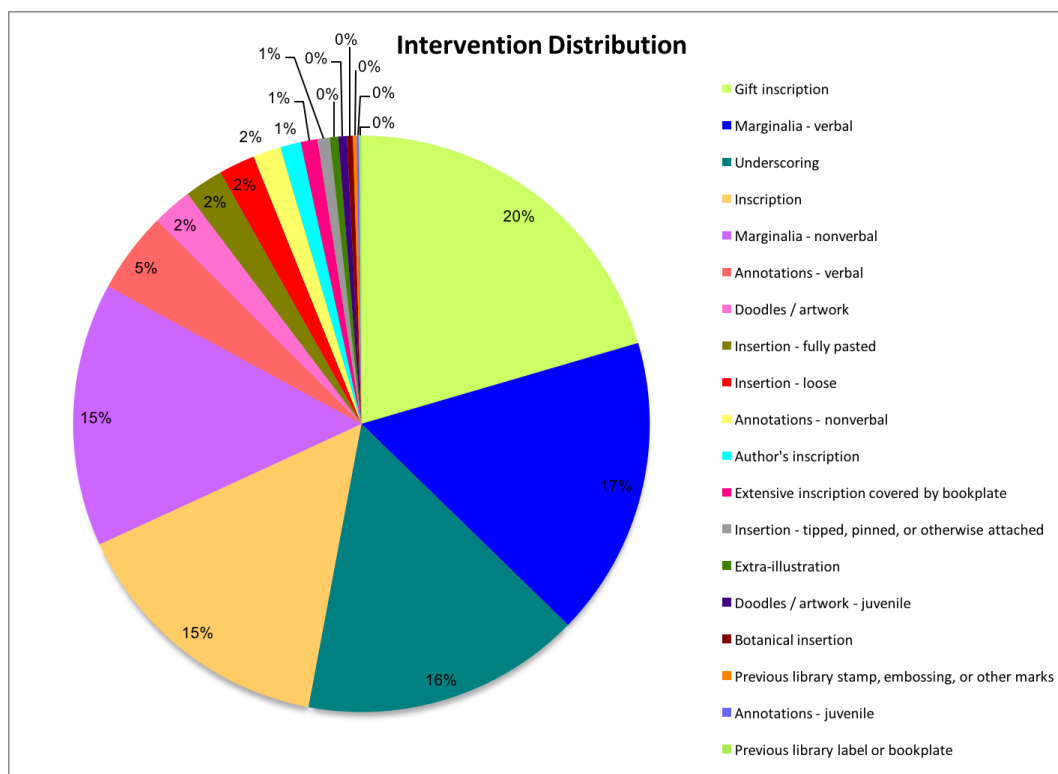


Figure 18 The intervention distribution for the PS section. If viewing in black and white, the order of the labels match the sections beginning at “12 o’clock” on the circle and moving clockwise. They are ordered from most common to least common.

Authors	Total # of Books	Hit Rate
Simms, William Gilmore, 1806-1870	33	48.48%
Lytton, Edward Robert Bulwer Lytton, Earl of, 1831-1891	33	45.45%
Pater, Walter, 1839-1894	23	43.48%
Middleton, Thomas, -1627	22	40.91%
Yonge, Charlotte M. (Charlotte Mary), 1823-1901	25	36.00%
Moore, Thomas, 1779-1852	37	35.14%
Thoreau, Henry David, 1817-1862	36	33.33%
Arnold, Matthew, 1822-1888	90	31.11%
Browning, Elizabeth Barrett, 1806-1861	78	29.49%
Bryant, William Cullen, 1794-1878	35	28.57%
Bacon, Francis, 1561-1626	46	28.26%
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 1772-1834	89	26.97%
Tennyson, Alfred Tennyson, Baron, 1809-1892	204	26.96%
More, Hannah, 1745-1833	46	26.09%
Keats, John, 1795-1821	43	25.58%
De Quincey, Thomas, 1785-1859	102	25.49%
Bunyan, John, 1628-1688	53	24.53%
Hemans, Mrs., 1793-1835	25	24.00%
Rives, AmFelicie, 1863-1945	22	22.73%
Cooper, James Fenimore, 1789-1851	228	21.49%
Byron, George Gordon Byron, Baron, 1788-1824	149	21.48%
Dixon, Thomas, 1864-1946	28	21.43%
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 1807-1882	113	21.24%
Milton, John, 1608-1674	164	20.12%
Service, Robert W. (Robert William), 1874-1958	25	20.00%

Figure 19 The top 25 authors with the highest hit rates, with authors with less than 20 books total eliminated. Hit rates are amongst found books.



Authors	Total # of Books	Hit Rate
Miles, Alfred H. (Alfred Henry), 1848-1929 ed	10	60.00%
MacDonald, George, 1824-1905	19	57.89%
Lever, Charles James, 1806-1872	12	50.00%
Simms, William Gilmore, 1806-1870	33	48.48%
Lytton, Edward Robert Bulwer Lytton, Earl of, 1831-1891	33	45.45%
Taine, Hippolyte, 1828-1893	18	44.44%
Pater, Walter, 1839-1894	23	43.48%
Middleton, Thomas, -1627	22	40.91%
De La Pasture, Henry, Mrs., 1866-1945	10	40.00%
Ingram, John Henry, 1842-1916	11	36.36%
Yonge, Charlotte M. (Charlotte Mary), 1823-1901	25	36.00%
Moore, Thomas, 1779-1852	37	35.14%
Thoreau, Henry David, 1817-1862	36	33.33%
Taylor, Henry, Sir, 1800-1886	15	33.33%
Arnold, Matthew, 1822-1888	90	31.11%
Wiggin, Kate Douglas Smith, 1856-1923	13	30.77%
Hood, Thomas, 1799-1845	10	30.00%
Browning, Elizabeth Barrett, 1806-1861	78	29.49%
Van Dyke, Henry, 1852-1933	17	29.41%
Wallace, Lew, 1827-1905	17	29.41%
Bryant, William Cullen, 1794-1878	35	28.57%
Mitchell, Donald Grant, 1822-1908	14	28.57%
Lyly, John, 1554?-1606	14	28.57%
Bacon, Francis, 1561-1626	46	28.26%
Riley, James Whitcomb, 1849-1916	11	27.27%

*Figure 20* The top 25 authors with the highest hit rates, with authors with less than 20 books included. Hit rates are amongst found books.

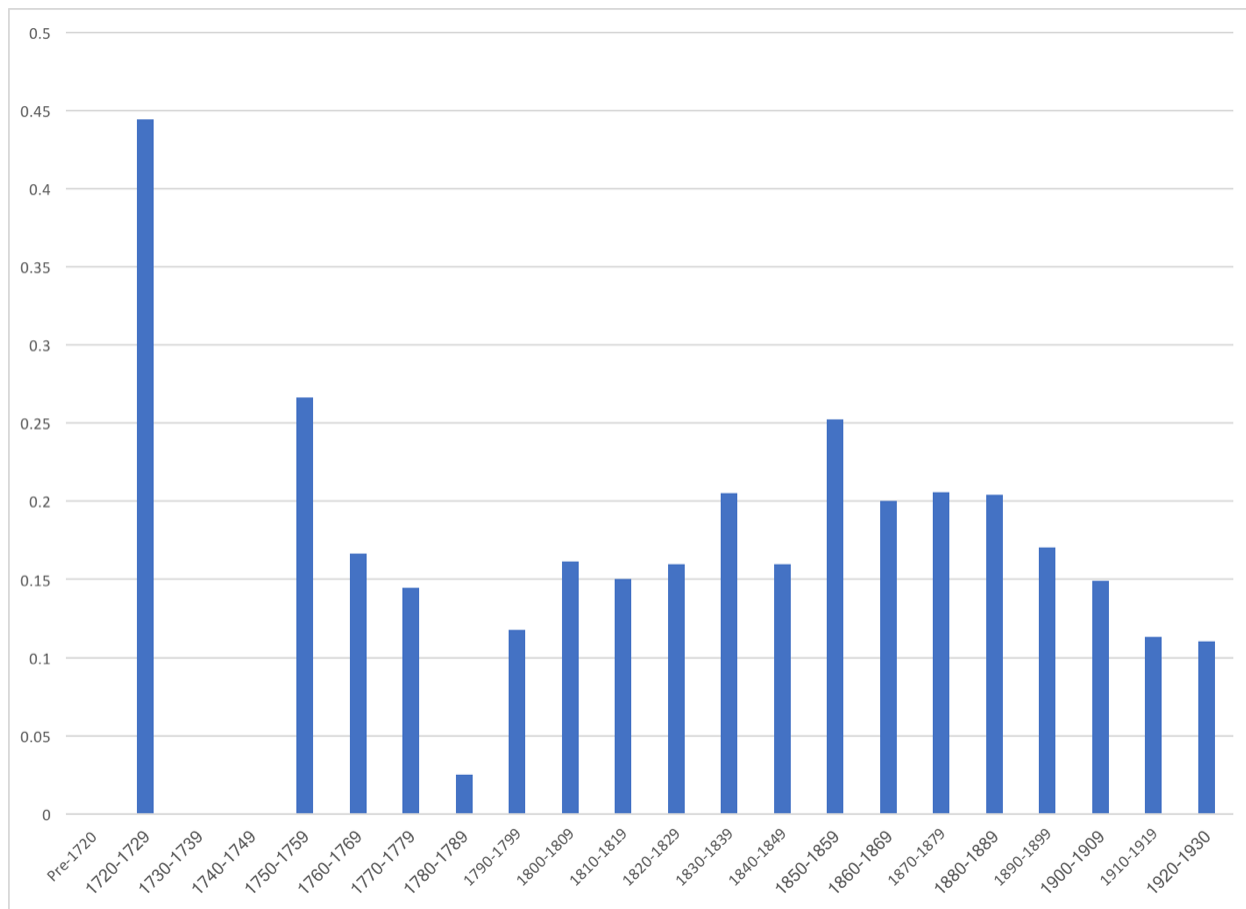


Figure 21 The hit rates for each decade in the PR section

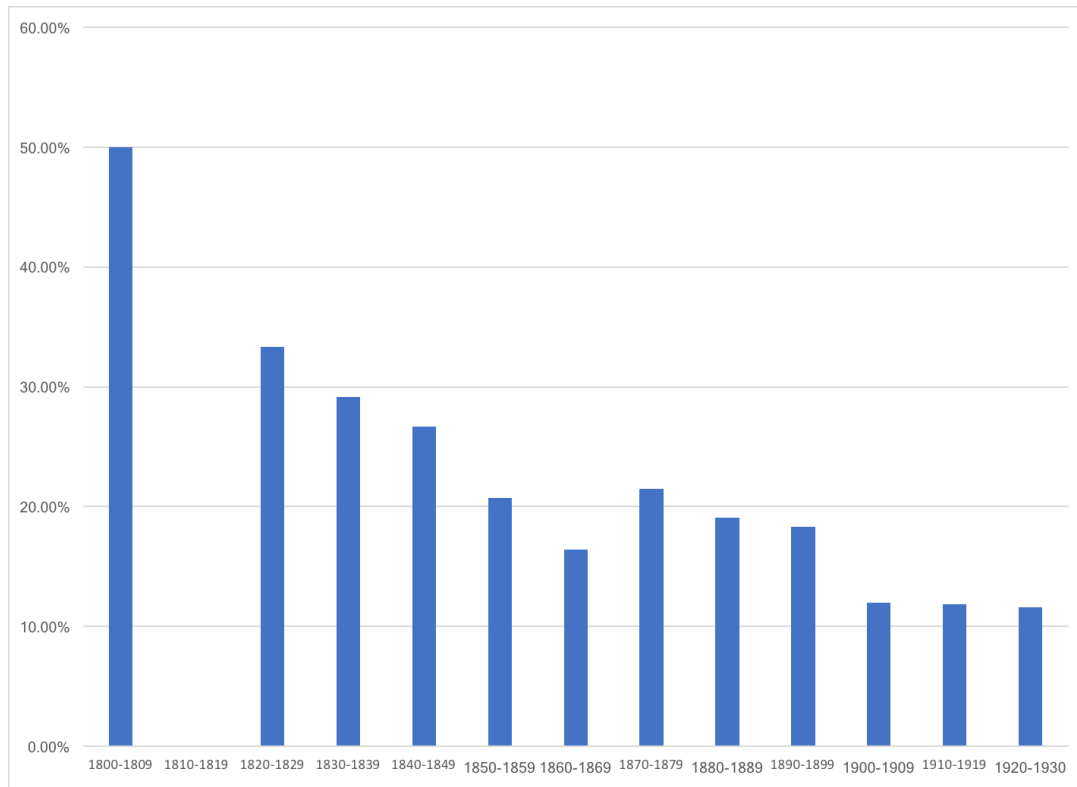


Figure 22 The hit rates for each decade in the PS section

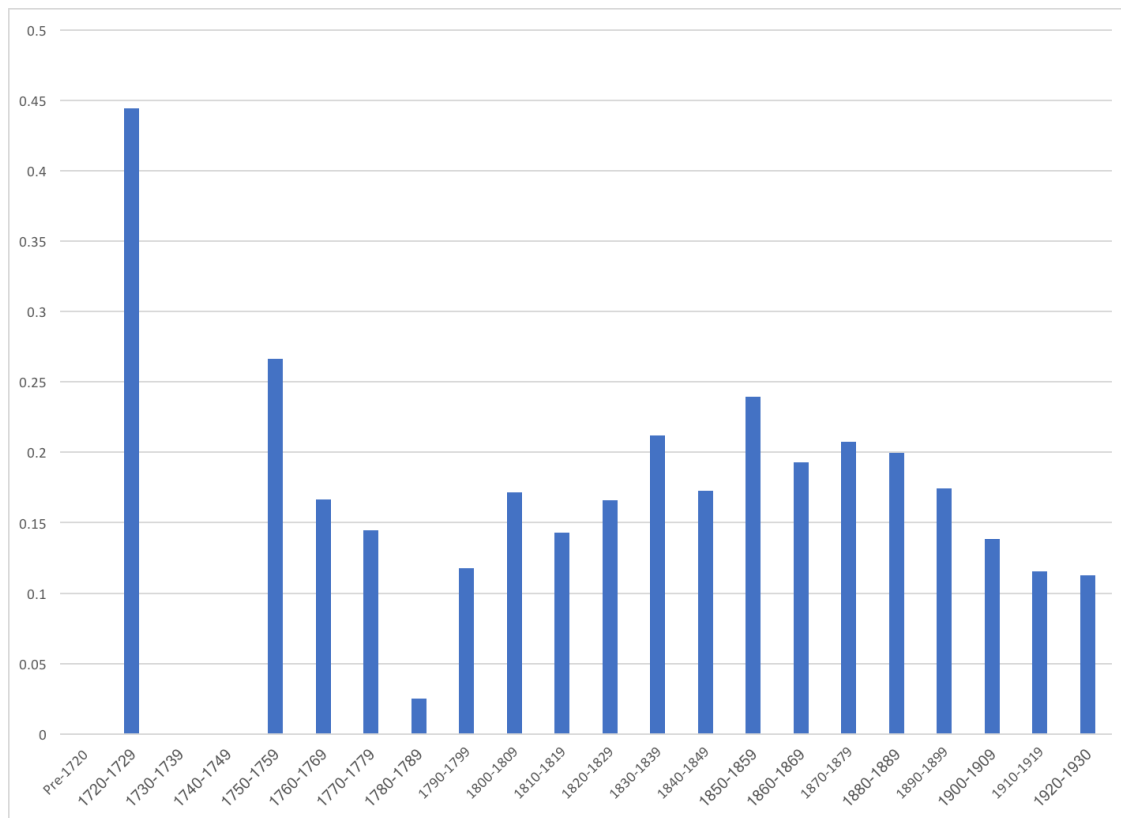


Figure 23 The hit rates for each decade in the PR and PS sections combined

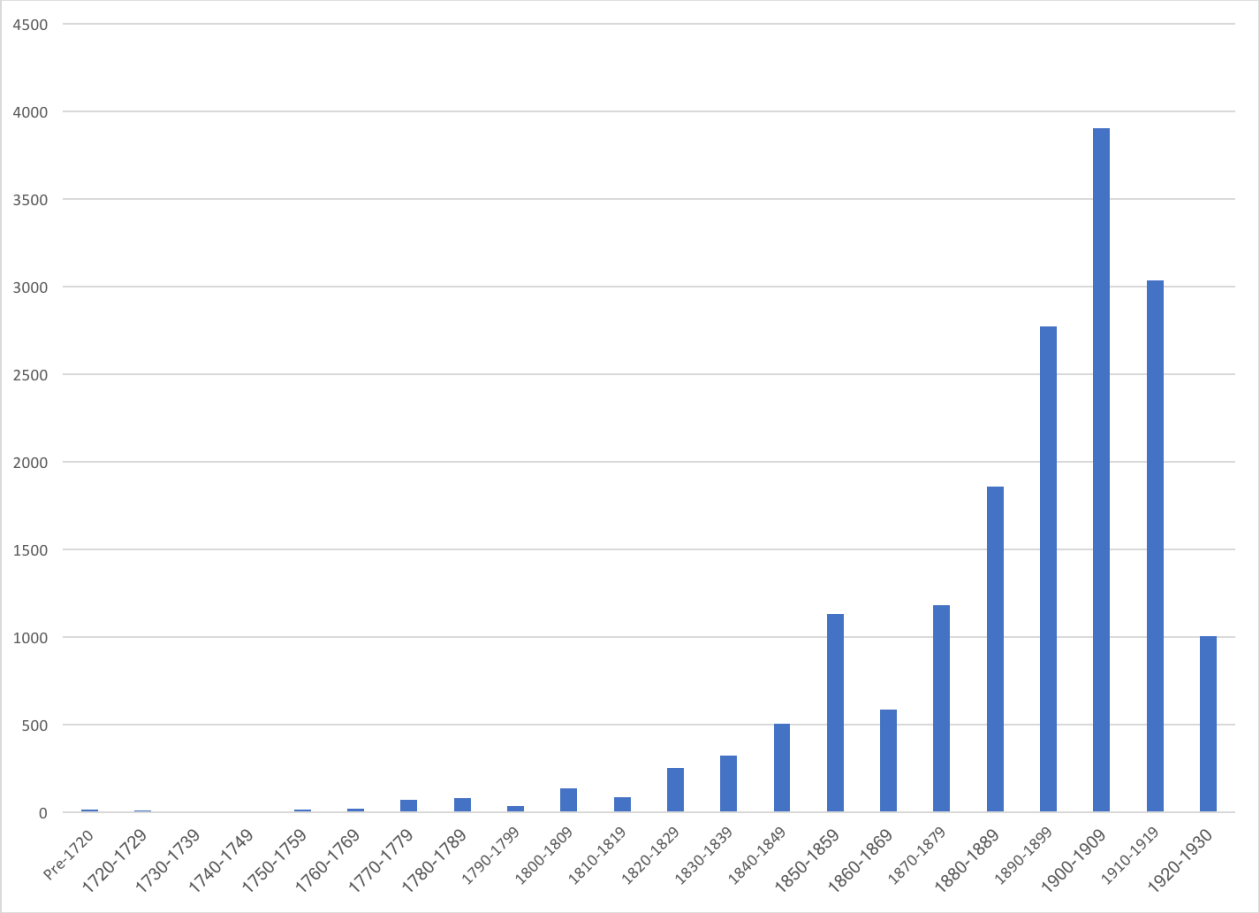


Figure 24 The distribution of books in the PR and PS sections in Alderman by date

$H_0: p_{\text{tennyson}} = p_{\text{overall}}$ $H_a: p_{\text{tennyson}} > p_{\text{overall}}$ $p - \text{value} = 5.552e - 16$	$H_0: p_{\text{tennyson}} = p_{\text{pr}}$ $H_a: p_{\text{tennyson}} > p_{\text{pr}}$ $p - \text{value} = 3.681e - 11$
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Figure 25 The p-test for the Tennyson books versus the overall hit rate for Alderman and the PR section. Both of these probability values are very small, indicating that it is unlikely the Tennyson hit rate was so much higher than the Alderman and PR section hit rates by chance.

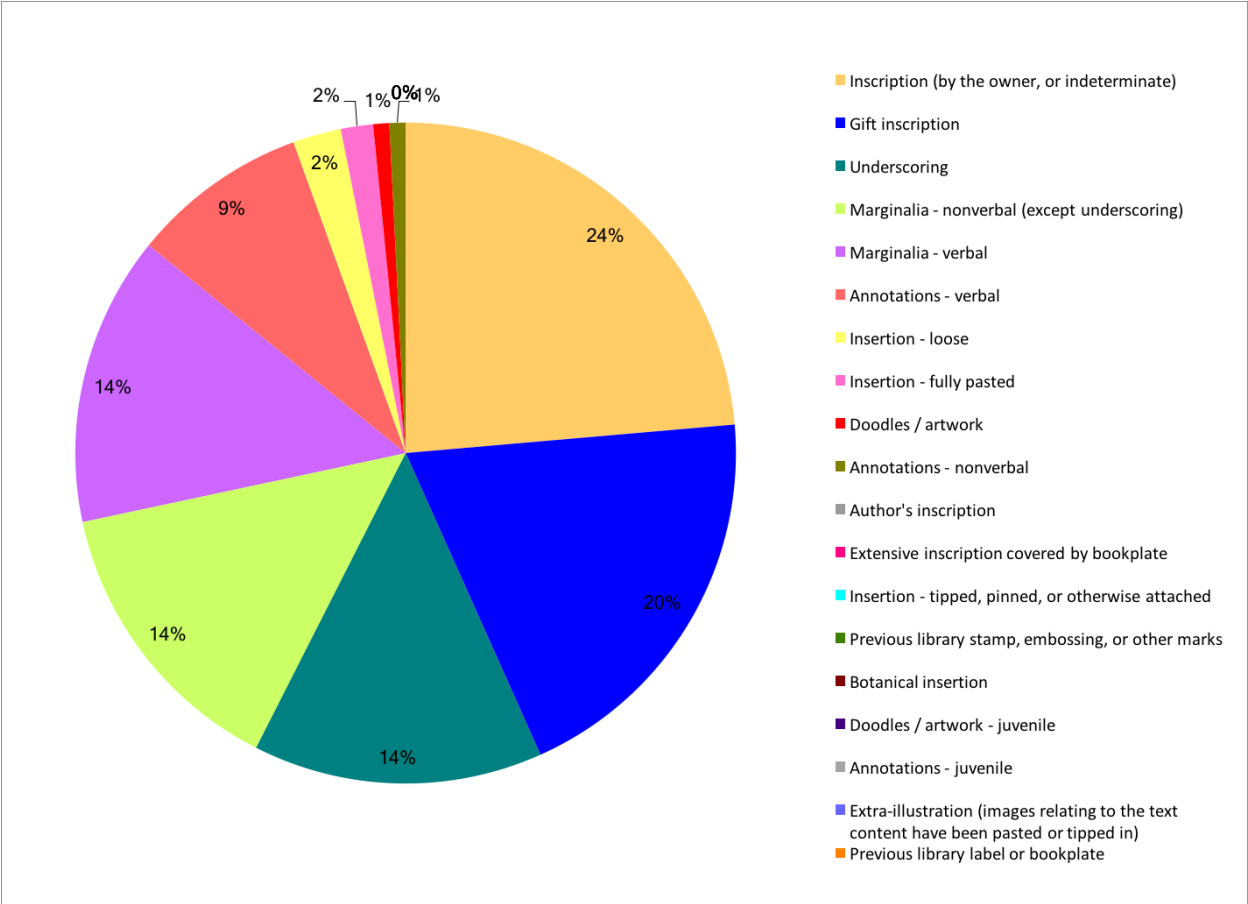


Figure 26 The intervention distribution for the Tennyson books. If viewing in black and white, the order of the labels match the sections beginning at “12 o’clock” on the circle and moving clockwise. They are ordered from most common to least common. All interventions including and after “Author’s inscription” were found 0 times.

$H_0: p_{shakespeare} = p_{overall}$ $H_a: p_{shakespeare} > p_{overall}$ $p - value = 2.104e - 08$	$H_0: p_{shakespeare} = p_{pr}$ $H_a: p_{shakespeare} > p_{pr}$ $p - value = 0.004794$
---	--

Figure 27 The p-test for the Shakespeare books versus the overall hit rate for Alderman and the PR section. Both of these probability values are very small, indicating that it is unlikely the Shakespeare hit rate was so much higher than the Alderman and PR section hit rates by chance.

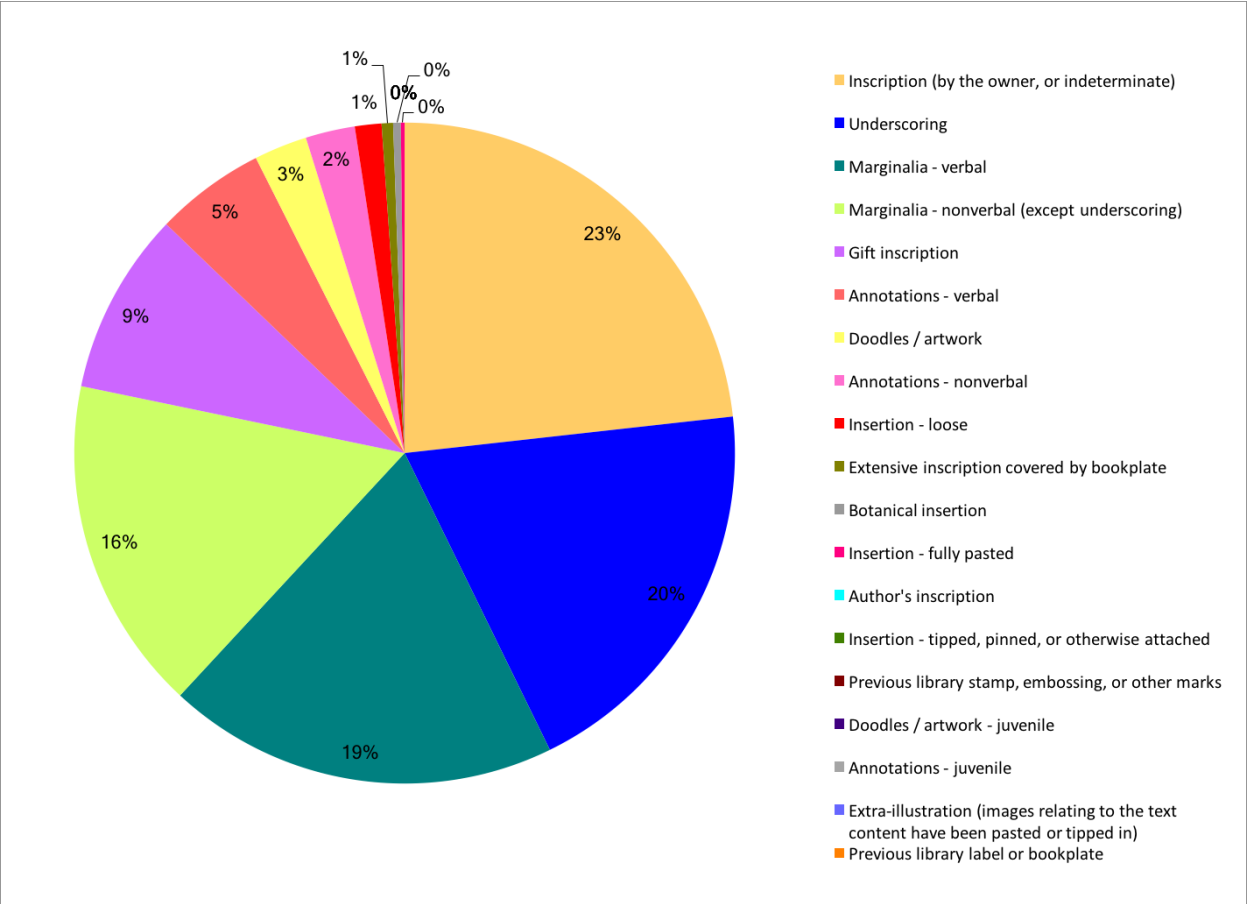
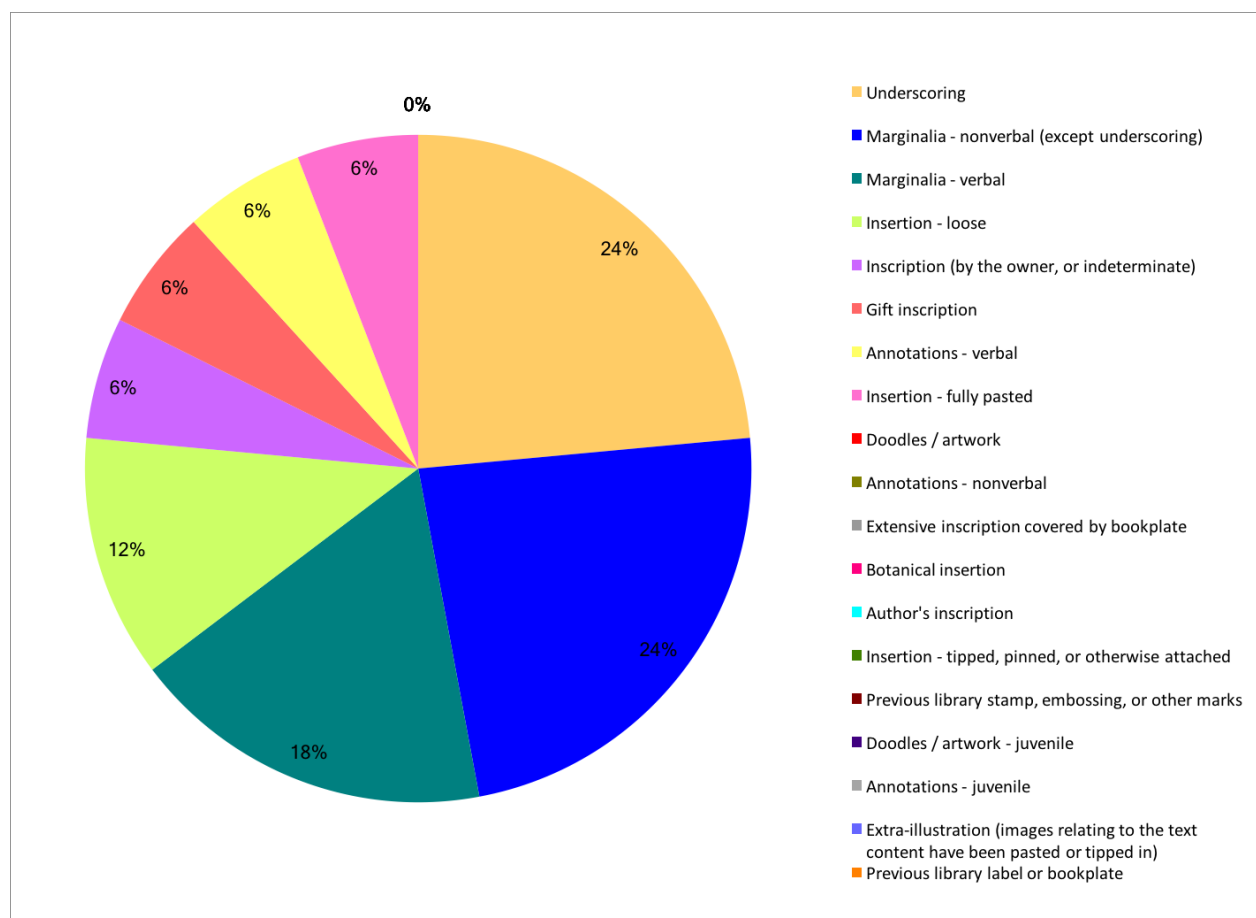


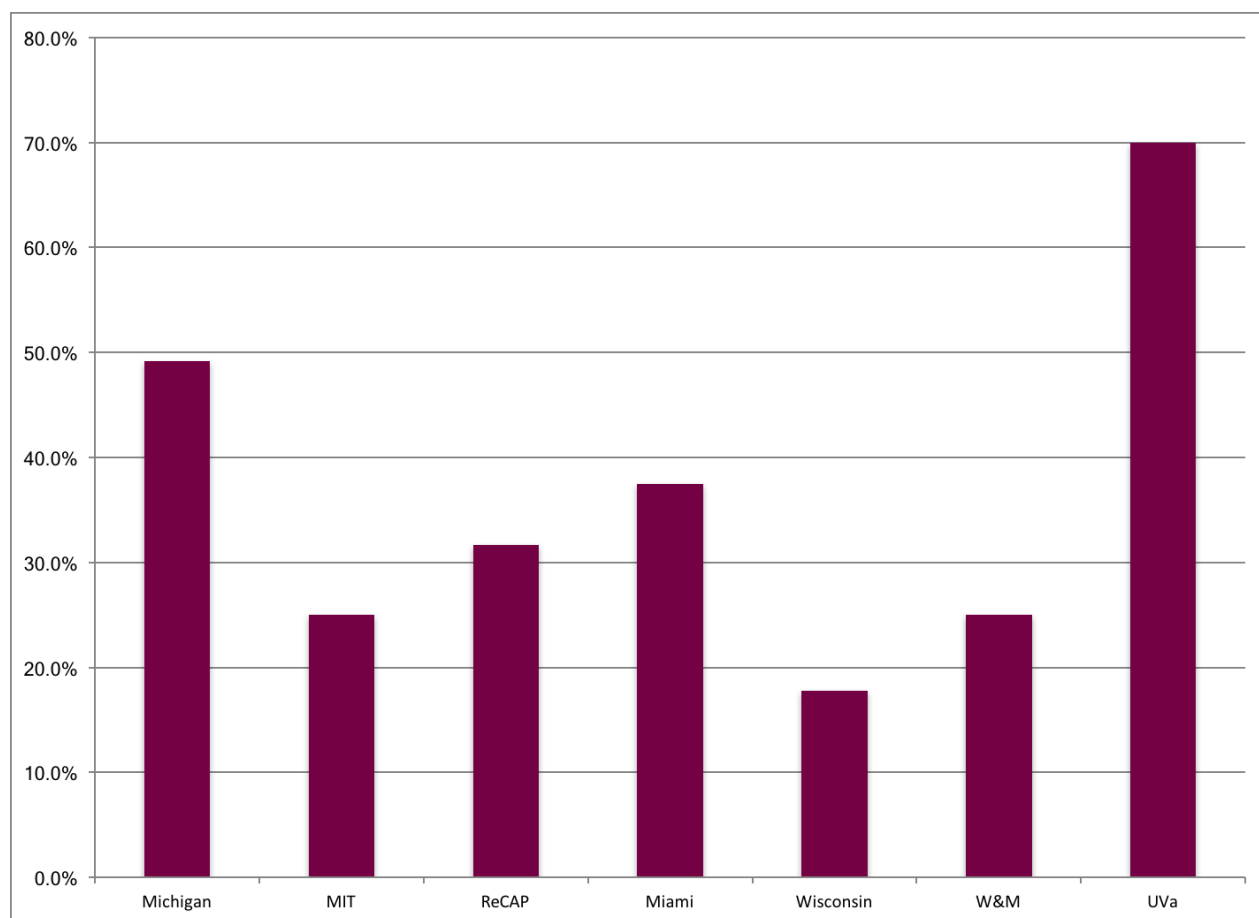
Figure 28 The intervention distribution for the Shakespeare books. If viewing in black and white, the order of the labels match the sections beginning at “12 o’clock” on the circle and moving clockwise. They are ordered from most common to least common. All interventions including and after “Author’s inscription” were found 0 times.

$H_0: p_{whittier} = p_{overall}$ $H_a: p_{whittier} > p_{overall}$ $p - value = 0.1505$	$H_0: p_{whittier} = p_{ps}$ $H_a: p_{whittier} > p_{ps}$ $p - value = 0.4881$
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Figure 29 The p-test for the Whittier books versus the overall hit rate for Alderman and the PS section. Both of these probability values are greater than 0.01, indicating that it is likely the Whittier hit rate was higher than the Alderman and PS section hit rates by chance.



*Figure 30* The intervention distribution for the Whittier books. If viewing in black and white, the order of the labels match the sections beginning at “12 o’clock” on the circle and moving clockwise. They are ordered from most common to least common. All interventions including and after “Doodles / artwork” were found 0 times.



*Figure 31* The hit rates for books by Felicia Hemans and Thomas Moore for six academic libraries and the University of Virginia. From left to right: The University of Michigan, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, The Research Collections and Preservation Consortium (ReCAP), The University of Miami, The University of Wisconsin, The College of William and Mary, and The University of Virginia.



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[accountid=14678](http://proxy.its.virginia.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/95491712?accountid=14678).
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