

Evelina: A Life-Story of a Book, Told by Its Paratext

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Abstract

This thesis is a historical descriptive case study of a corpus of editions and reprints of Frances Burney's novel, *Evelina*, first published in 1778. The study seeks to describe the publication history of the novel and the evolution of its paratextual apparatus.

The study is conceptualised in the theoretical approach of the sociology of texts offered by McKenzie that has, at its core, the study of books as artefacts and historically mediated expressive forms, which reveal the complex interplay of the work of all the agents involved in their production. The study uses the theoretical model of the bio-bibliographical circuit conceived by Adams and Barker that puts emphasis on the book as a material artefact. The paratextual theory and the taxonomy of paratext, developed by Gérard Genette, constitute the central theoretical and analytical lens for the study. Paratext is defined by Genette as a set of elements, iconic, material, and textual, which makes the books physically present and enables a text to become a book.

The publication history of *Evelina* is studied in the context of world history, book history, and Burney's literary life. The evolution of its paratextual apparatus is explored from two angles. First, this evolution is considered as the reflection of cultural, technological, and aesthetical developments in the history of book printing, production, and distribution. Second, the evolution of paratext is also regarded as a means used by book's publishers to redefine the book's type and genre, when it was reintroduced on the market, in order to keep it relevant for new generations of readers, and ultimately, to influence and further the reception of the new editions among its purchasers and readers. The study of the paratextual history of *Evelina* is descriptive, qualitative, interpretive, historical, and humanistic. The methods of data collection, description, and analysis are qualitative and involve, among others, the examination of the books as an open observation, allowing inductive analysis. These methods were complemented by content analysis, through

coding of iconic paratext. A number of quantitative measurements were used for the description of the corpus of editions, and digital humanities methods and tools were applied for data visualisation and analysis.

This research sheds light on the publication history and evolution of the paratextual apparatus of the first novel by the first important English female novelist. It adds to the body of knowledge on the scope of Burney's literary oeuvre as it documents 68 previously unrecorded editions and reprints. This case study provides evidence that the paratextual apparatus of the book is a medium that evolved and changed in the last 240 years and demonstrates how paratext was used and manipulated by publishers to influence the perception of the book by its readers from the late 18th century to the present. This case study also contributes to the body of knowledge on the history of practices related to book production, distribution, reception, and use.

Résumé

La présente thèse, est une étude historique descriptive menée sur un corpus des éditions du roman de Frances Burney, *Evelina*, qui a été publié pour la première fois en 1778. Cette étude vise à explorer et décrire l'histoire de sa publication et l'évolution de son appareil paratextuel.

Cette étude a été conceptualisée avec l'approche théorique de la sociologie du texte, proposée par McKenzie, qui a pour fondement l'étude des livres en tant qu'artéfacts et en tant que des formes expressives historiques, qui relèvent l'interaction complexe du travail de tous les acteurs impliqués dans leur production. Cette étude utilise comme modèle théorique le circuit biobibliographique conçu par Adams et Barker qui met en valeur le livre en tant qu'artéfact matériel. La théorie paratextuelle et la taxonomie du paratexte, développées par Gérard Genette, constituent la perspective théorique et méthodologique de cette étude. Le paratexte est défini par Genette comme l'ensemble des éléments, iconiques, matériels et textuels, qui rend les livres présents physiquement et permet à un texte de devenir un livre,

L'histoire de la publication d'*Evelina* est étudiée dans le contexte de l'histoire mondiale, de l'histoire du livre et de la vie littéraire de Burney. L'évolution de son appareil paratextuel est explorée sous deux angles. D'abord, cette évolution est considérée comme le reflet des développements culturels, technologiques et esthétiques en histoire de l'imprimé, et de la production et de la circulation du livre. Ensuite, l'évolution du paratexte est regardée comme un moyen utilisé par les éditeurs pour redéfinir le type et le genre du livre, quand il était réintroduit sur le marché, afin de les garder attrayants pour les nouvelles générations des lecteurs ainsi que pour influencer et encourager la réception des nouvelles éditions par les acheteurs et lecteurs. Cette étude de l'histoire paratextuelle d'*Evelina* est descriptive, qualitative, historique, interprétative et humaniste. Les méthodes pour la collecte, description et analyse des données sont qualitatives et

impliquent l'examen des livres par l'observation ouverte permettant une analyse inductive. Ces méthodes ont été complétées par une analyse de contenu impliquant un processus de codage du paratexte iconique. Des estimations quantitatives ont été utilisées pour la description du corpus des éditions, tandis que des méthodes et outils issus des humanités numériques ont été employés pour la visualisation et l'analyse des données collectées.

Cette étude met en lumière l'histoire de la publication du premier roman de la première romancière anglaise d'importance notable ainsi que l'évolution de l'appareil paratextuel de ce roman. Elle enrichit substantiellement nos connaissances sur l'œuvre littéraire de Burney en dénombrant 68 éditions et réimpressions non inventoriées. Cette étude de cas fournit la preuve que l'appareil paratextuel du livre est un médium qui a évolué et changé au cours des 240 dernières années et démontre comment le paratexte a été utilisé et manipulé par les éditeurs pour influencer la perception de leurs livres par des lecteurs de la fin du XVIII^e siècle à nos jours. Cette étude de cas contribue également à l'ensemble de connaissances sur l'histoire de la production, de la circulation, de la réception et de l'utilisation du livre.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Frances Burney and her *Evelina*

Frances Burney (1752-1840)¹ was the most successful English female novelist of the 18th century, playwright, and an exceptional diarist. She was the daughter of a socially-ambitious musician, Dr. Charles Burney (1726-1814), who advanced through his social skills and his talents as a teacher and writer, from a modest position of a harpsichord tutor to become an established member of London's, literary, scientific, and artistic circles. With her writing, Burney gained her entrance into fashionable and literary society. Her preserved legacy comprises four novels, eight plays, three-volume biography of her father, and 25 published volumes of journals and letters that cover a period of more than 70 years.

Her first novel, *Evelina*, which she published anonymously in 1778, was a sensation, acclaimed critically, and read widely.² As the author of *Evelina*, Burney achieved widespread celebrity, especially among the upper echelons of intellectual society, while her book was generally seen as the one that made novels, previously a questionable genre, respectable to read and to write. *Evelina* earned Burney high praise from Dr. Johnson, Edmund Burke, and Hester Thrale, and ultimately a place in the leading intellectual circles of the day, which included the bluestocking group headed by women such as Elizabeth Montagu and Hannah More, and among the renowned figures who surrounded Johnson in the Literary Club. The initial success of *Evelina* was supported by Burney's carefully cultivated public persona that combined a conservative mode

¹ Biographical works about Burney used in this section include: Chisholm, *Fanny Burney*; Davenport, *Faithful Handmaid*; Dobson, *Fanny Burney (Madame D'Arblay)*; Doody, *Frances Burney*; Farr, *The World of Fanny Burney*; Harman, *Fanny Burney*; Hemlow, *The History of Fanny Burney*; Sabor, *The Cambridge Companion to Frances Burney*; Thaddeus, *Frances Burney*.

² An excellent synopsis of the novel can be found on the British Library website: Smith, *An introduction to Evelina*, accessed on April 20, 2020, <https://www.bl.uk/restoration-18th-century-literature/articles/an-introduction-to-evelina>.

of femininity, intellectual seriousness, careful selection of her acquaintances, and general emphasis of gentility and decorum, which allowed her to establish herself as a member of the literary society. More successes followed with the publication of *Cecilia* and *Camilla*. Burney's fame waned after the several decades of popularity, mostly due to John W. Croker's vicious criticism of her later works, *The Wanderer* and *Memoirs of Dr. Burney*.³

Burney was re-discovered in the late 19th century as an extraordinary diarist, whose journals and letter are regarded as a particularly rich source of information on Court life (she was a Keeper of the Robes to Queen Charlotte), the literary and intellectual circles of the 18th century, and broad societal and cultural changes that happened during her lifetime. Burney's reputation as a novelist was resuscitated in 1958 after the publication of her biography by Joyce Hemlow and especially with the rise and establishment of feminist studies in the 1970s - 1990s. Since then, Burney's novels, plays, journals, and correspondence have been a focus of numerous works that allowed feminist, literary, and cultural scholars to gain insights into the late 18th-century literature, culture, and especially into women's role in society.

1.2 Research Problem and Questions

Burney's legacy includes numerous editions of her novels published in the course of the last 240 years and more than 20 volumes of her journals and correspondence, which represent a wealth of data on the history of publishing, reading, and authorship. However, until very recently, little attention has been paid to it by researchers in the interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary field of book history, defined as "the historical study of the book in its economic, social and cultural

³ Croker, "Review of the Wanderer."; "Review of Memoirs of Doctor Burney."

contexts,”⁴ or the study of “how books shape society and how society shapes books.”⁵ More broadly, book history as a discipline is described as “a way of thinking about how people have given a material form to knowledge and stories,”⁶ and as “the history of how diverse people in different parts of the world, in different ways, for different reasons and with very different consequences have striven to store, circulate and retrieve knowledge and information.”⁷ The only work in book history based on Burney’s legacy is Catherine Parisian’s study on the publishing history of Burney’s second novel, *Cecilia*, which first constituted a Ph.D. project, later published in a book chapter and a monograph.⁸

Evelina, the first novel by Burney, as was found in the course of the present study, has never gone out of print in English and was translated into 11 other languages. It was published in 167 editions and reprints, including five in literary digests, and in three dramatic adaptations. In this study, an edition is defined as “A printed version of a given work that may be distinguished from other versions either by its published format (e.g. paperback edition, popular edition, abridged edition), or by its membership of a complete batch of copies printed from the same setting of type, usually at the same time and place.”⁹ The 240-year period of its publication history was a period when society and book publishing went through multiple transformative changes. This long period encompasses the French Revolution, the Regency, the Victorian era, the industrial revolution, the birth of middle-class, two world wars, several waves of feminism, and the onset of the information society. In book publishing, the period saw the professionalization of authorship,

⁴ Eliot, “History of the Book,” 49.

⁵ Rose, “History of the Book,” 2142.

⁶ Howsam, *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book*, 1.

⁷ Raven, *What Is the History of the Book?*, 2.

⁸ Rodriguez, “The Strange and Surprising Adventures of a Novel.”; Parisian, “Intersections in Book History, Bibliography, and Literary Interpretation.”; *Frances Burney's Cecilia*.

⁹ *The Oxford dictionary of literary terms*, s.v. “Edition.”

the novel-reading craze, the rise of women readers, the advent of the mass market for books, the invention and establishment of the literary series, and the reformulation of the literary canon. During 240 years of its publication history, material and textual features, such as title, author's name, prefaces, book format, illustrations, etc., surrounding the text of *Evelina* in physical books, were evolving and changing as more and more new editions were produced. The textual and material elements that surround the text "to make present, to ensure the text's presence in the world, its 'reception' and consumption in the form [...] of a book" were given a collective name of paratext by Gérard Genette.¹⁰ "The paratext is what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public."¹¹

Previous research in book history has demonstrated that books, as artefactual and physical objects, and their paratextual features are shaped by society, time, and individuals that produce them. They reflect both historical, cultural, and technological trends of the time of their creation, and choices made by publishers to present books to potential purchasers and readers. Thus, uncovering and describing the publication history of multiple editions and reprints of *Evelina* and the evolution of their paratextual features during this long 240-year period of profound technological and societal changes would produce a case study that would add to our knowledge of the history of material and textual elements of the physical book, publishing practices, and book history (especially of the British book history) of the period.

Consequently, the present study sought to address the following research problem: the insufficiency of knowledge regarding the evolution of the entirety of paratextual apparatus in the book during an extended period of time. The study of the case of one single text, *Evelina* by Burney, was designed to discover, describe and interpret the evolution of its paratextual features.

¹⁰ Genette, *Paratexts*, 1.

¹¹ Ibid.

To conduct the study, four research questions were identified:

RQ 1: When, by which publisher, in which language, and in which country was *Evelina* published and reprinted over the course of its publishing history?

RQ 2: How does the publication history of *Evelina* reflect and relate to the significant events, important periods, and pivotal moments in the book history, general history, or Burney's literary life?

RQ 3: How have separate paratextual features of *Evelina* evolved in the course of the novel's publication history and reflected cultural, technological, and aesthetical developments in the history of the book, general history of the period, or Burney's literary life?

RQ 4: How has the evolution of separate paratextual features of *Evelina* revealed publishers' efforts to present the book on the market, to market it to new audiences, and to keep it relevant for new generations of readers?

1.3 Structure & Organisation of the Present Thesis

This dissertation consists of six chapters, including this introductory Chapter 1 that presents the background of the study, and introduces the research problem and research questions. Chapter 2 situates it in its disciplinary, conceptual, and theoretical contexts. Chapter 3 presents a review of the previously published literature exploring similar research problems. Chapter 4 describes the methodology developed for this study, detailing the composition of the sample, methods of data collection and analysis, and the limitations of the used methodology. Chapter 5 describes and analyses the findings in relation to RQ 1 and RQ 2 and discusses them in light of the previous literature. Chapter 6 describes and analyses the findings in relation to RQ 3 and RQ 4 and discusses

them in light of the previous literature. Chapter 7 summarises the results of the study, identifies the limitations of the work, and discusses the avenues for future research.

The format of footnotes and bibliography in this thesis follows the 17th edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style*. As the thesis includes a bibliography, even the first reference uses a shortened form of citation: the author's name, the source title, and the page numbers if applicable.¹²

The photos and scans of book covers and illustrations included in the thesis were taken by the author.

¹² *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 17th ed., 14.29.

2. Conceptual Framework

The objective of this chapter is to define and discuss the disciplinary, theoretical, and conceptual context and framework of the present study.

2.1 Disciplinary Context: Book History, an Interdisciplinary & Multidisciplinary Inquiry

The present case study of the publication history of an early English novel in a historically mediated form of the physical book and of the evolution of its material features, grouped under the name of paratext, is positioned and carried out in the field of scholarly inquiry of book history. At present, a broad agreement is that the book history, or the history of the book, is not a separate academic discipline but a multidisciplinary practice or, as described by Michael Suarez, a “cluster of interdisciplinary practices”¹³ united and defined by their object of study, the book. It is seen as a complex of interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary inquiries¹⁴ conducted by “historians, literary scholars, sociologists [and] librarians.”¹⁵ Book history, according to Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose, two eminent book historians, is “the historical study of the book in its economic, social and cultural contexts”¹⁶ or the study of “how books shape society and how society shapes books.”¹⁷ Recently, two other prominent book historians offered their understanding of book history as a discipline that further broadened its scope. Leslie Howsam defined book history as “a way of thinking about how people have given a material form to knowledge and stories.”¹⁸ James Raven described it as “the history of how diverse people in different parts of the world, in different ways,

¹³ Suarez, “Historiographical Problems,” 170.

¹⁴ Ibid.; Walsh, “History of the Book.”

¹⁵ Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette*, 108.

¹⁶ Eliot, “History of the book,” 49.

¹⁷ Rose, “History of the Book,” 2142.

¹⁸ Howsam, *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book*, 1.

for different reasons and with very different consequences have striven to store, circulate and retrieve knowledge and information.”¹⁹

Book historians investigate two core research problems. The first is how “books make history” as the primary tools used to “transmit ideas, record memories, create narrative, exercise power, and distribute wealth,” ultimately influencing society. The second is how “books are made by history” and “shaped by economic, political, social, and cultural forces,” reflecting the society that produced them.²⁰ These research problems are addressed by studying “the creation, dissemination, uses, storage, and destruction of documents: [...] they focus on the social, economic, and cultural history of authorship, editing, scribal and print production, publishing, bookselling, literary property, libraries, censorship, literary criticism, literacy, and reading.”²¹ As it was underlined in the introduction to the first issue of *Book History* journal and subsequent studies, “book” is often a shorthand that denotes in the definition of book history a full range of objects created with the use of print or script “in any medium, including books, newspapers, periodicals, manuscripts, and ephemera.”²² Modern book history aims to be “the social history of the creation, diffusion, and reception of the written word”²³ even though its main focus is still on the printed book published in the codex format, which is most often focused on literary works as the most readily available and most frequently preserved sources.²⁴

The present research is contextualised in the multidisciplinary area of inquiry of book history for the following reasons. First, on the most general level, a study of the publication history of an individual text through the history of its material manifestations belongs to the field of book

¹⁹ Raven, *What Is the History of the Book?*, 2.

²⁰ Eliot and Rose, “Introduction,” 1.

²¹ Rose, “History of the Book,” 2142.

²² Greenspan and Rose, “An Introduction to Book History,” ix.

²³ Rose, “How to Do Things with Book History,” 461.

²⁴ Howsam, “What Is the Historiography of Books?”, 1097.

history because using the material books as the study object is one of the main research approaches of the discipline. Second, this research uses the books' paratext (illustrations, prefaces, forms of title and author name, titles pages, etc.) as the main sources of data, which again appropriately situates it in the disciplinary context of book history, where the physical books are at the same time study objects and one of the main sources of evidence. Third, this research uncovers how physical books reflect publishers' choices, used to further their editions among purchasers and readers, which aligns it with the first core research problem of book history: understanding how books are used to influence society and the readers of the studied period. Fourth, this research was focused on the study of material books as artefactual objects to uncover how they reflect historical, cultural, and technological trends of the time of their creation, which places it in the context of the second core research problems of book history: how books are being made by history and shaped by economic, political, social, and cultural forces.

2.1.1 Book History & Information Science

In the words of Suarez, book history is “an interdisciplinary endeavour that scholars may creatively undertake together”; it is not “a discipline that any of us can command, but rather a multidisciplinary practice.”²⁵ The multidisciplinary nature of the field emerged from several disciplines: literary studies, history, bibliography, and library science, when researchers belonging to those disciplines focused their inquiry on the book by studying its impact on social and cultural history and the way it reflected their development. This multidisciplinary nature of the book history has been discussed and underlined in the works of Darnton, Rose, Eliot, and Suarez, and in several

²⁵ Suarez, “Historiographical Problems,” 170.

review essays.²⁶ It is a telling fact emphasising the multidisciplinary character of the field that extensive articles defining the history of the book can be found in reference works not only for book history *per se* but also for a number of disciplines: library and information science, literary studies, and media studies.²⁷

One of the disciplines in the modern multidisciplinary research area of book history is information science, an interdisciplinary field “concerned with creation, management, and uses of information in all its forms” that emerged “from parallel developments in libraries and information science.”²⁸ The connections between information science and book history are multiple, manifold, and complex. First, they share focuses of inquiry as several areas of book history, such as the history of libraries, publishing, printing, bookselling, print culture, and literacy, historically and traditionally have been and still remain fields of interest to library and information scientists. Another important aspect in this strong and long-standing connection is the interest in the material book that library and information science shares with book history through the tradition of historical, descriptive, and analytical bibliographies, which have been research techniques and at the same time fields of inquiry for library and information scientists since a long time.²⁹ One example of this connection is the research, in which some information scientists engage, that explores the history of knowledge organisation and transmission through the analysis of typographic macrostructures and microstructures of the book as a medium “where knowledge has

²⁶ Aspray, “The Many Histories of Information.”; Clegg, “Review Essays - History of the Book?”; Darnton, “What Is the History of Books?”; Eliot and Rose, “Introduction.”; Rose, “How to Do Things with Book History.”; “History of the Book.”; Suarez, “Historiographical Problems.”

²⁷ Rose, “History of the Book.”; Walsh, “History of the Book.”; Zboray, Zboray, and Valdivia, “The History of the Book.”

²⁸ Leigh, “Library and Information Science,” 3287.

²⁹ Black, “Information History.”; Cortada, “Shaping Information History as an Intellectual Discipline.”; Feather, “The Book in History and the History of the Book.”; Jenisch, “The History of the Book.”; Raabe, “Library History and the History of Books.”; Rayward, “Information Revolutions, the Information Society.”; Rose, “How to Do Things with Book History.”; “Alternative Futures for Library History.”; “History of the Book.”

been stored and organised in the three-dimensional space.”³⁰ Finally and most importantly, according to information scientists, such as Alistair Black, James Cortada, and William Aspray, information history comprises and accommodates book history as one of its elements among a multitude of other components.³¹

2.2 Conceptual & Theoretical Framework of the Study

2.2.1 Theoretical Model: Bio-Biographical Circuit

The present study is contextualised in one of the two most widely accepted theoretical models mapping the field and conceptualising book history as a multifaceted cycle that encompasses the various social, political, and intellectual aspects of the life of the book. Having this theoretical model as an underlying foundation of the study sets the limits and the scope of the research project, while at the same time positions it within a holistic understanding of book history. Methodologically, this study is based on the examination of physical books, so it is contextualised in the bio-bibliographical circuit model proposed by Thomas Adams and Nicolas Barker in their essay *A New Model for the Study of the Book* that puts emphasis on the book as a material artefact, and on the processes that it goes through during various stages of its life-cycle.³²

The bio-bibliographical circuit was offered as an expansion and alternative to the earlier communication circuit model, offered by Robert Darnton.³³ The bio-bibliographical circuit underlines the importance of the material aspect of the book that “can exercise its power by its outward or inward appearance.”³⁴ It emphasises the book as a material artefact in its own right, as

³⁰ Delsaerdt, “From Légère Teinture to Central Place.”; “Designing the Space of Linguistic Knowledge.”

³¹ Black, “Information History.”; Aspray, “The Many Histories of Information.”; Cortada, “Shaping Information History as an Intellectual Discipline.”

³² Adams and Barker, “A New Model for the Study of the Book,” 14.

³³ Darnton, “What Is the History of Books?”, 68

³⁴ Adams and Barker, “A New Model for the Study of the Book,” 49.

having “profound influence on the history on the world”³⁵ over the human agent involved in its life, by placing the book in the centre of the model, while indirect forces influencing it are placed outside and not included in the cycle itself. The circuit is constituted of five “events” in the life of the book: publication, manufacture, distribution, reception, and survival, which are affected by four zones of influence: intellectual influence; political, legal, and religious influences; social behaviour and taste; and commercial pressures. It aims to represent a profound and lasting impact that the book as a text, which often outlives the time when it was conceived or written, has on the history of the world. By having a separate “event” for the survival of the book, the circuit takes into consideration any new editions, serialisations, and translations of the original text. This model underlines the importance of the material aspect of the book that “can exercise its power by its outward or inward appearance,”³⁶ and accounts for the irregularities in the book’s life-cycle, such as slow or delayed distributions of certain texts in various geographical locations.

The present study on the publication history of *Evelina* is focused on three events of the bio-bibliographical circuit: publication, manufacture, and survival, which were primarily studied within two zones of influence: social behaviour and taste, and commercial pressures. The events of “publishing” and “manufacturing” are the ones commanding particular attention because it is in the context of publishing of each particular edition that the majority of manufacturing decisions concerning the paratextual packaging of the book takes place. These two events are studied by examining publishers’ and authorial paratext. It must be underlined that it is the presence of the “survival event” and the closed circular form of the model with no beginning and no end in the cycle of the events in the life of the book, that makes it possible to treat every subsequent edition or translation as equally important individual books but at the same time as integral parts of the

³⁵ Ibid., 51.

³⁶ Ibid., 49.

life-cycle of the one and the same book. Recognising their own events of publication and manufacture for every edition or translation allows the study to pay the same attention to subsequent editions and formats as to the first edition. All three events, publication, manufacture, and survival (understood as the publication of other editions and reprints) of *Evelina*, are studied in the historical and cultural contexts of the time and countries of publication by examining how they were affected by all the zones of influence: chiefly by social behaviour and taste and commercial pressures, with occasional impact by intellectual and political, legal, and religious influences. These zones of social behaviour and taste and commercial pressures particularly affect the events of survival, publication, and manufacture when a decision to publish a new edition is made, prompting the marketing of the book to a particular social group, and defining the choice of physical features and the paratextual packaging of the edition.

The two other events of the model, distribution and reception, lie outside of the scope of this study. In the model, the event of distribution encompasses the wholesaling of books to retailers, selling of books to individuals and organisations, and circulation of books through the libraries and between individuals through private lending and gifts. The event of reception consists of the response elicited by the book by readers and critics. As it is demonstrated by the discovered indirect evidence, *Evelina* has been going through both events. The existence of multiple copies of *Evelina* in libraries found in the WorldCat and the offerings of newly printed and second-hand editions on Amazon and Abebooks platform are evidence of the distribution event. A multitude of editions, reprints, and translations made in the course of its publication history is indirect evidence of its popularity, as only books that would sell would be reprinted, and thus, of the event of reception. Therefore, *Evelina* followed the full circuit of the model and all its five events. However, the historical data related to the distribution and reception events, such as library

catalogues, booksellers and publishers' archives, and direct evidence of reading in diaries and letters has a notoriously low rate of survival and is difficult to access, being rarely available in digitised format.³⁷ The lack of availability of this type of data prevents the examination of the distribution and reception events of the publishing history of *Evelina* at an appropriate level of detail, depth, and breadth. Thus, for logistical and methodological reasons, it was decided to exclude these two events from the scope of the study.

2.2.2 Conceptual Approach of the “Sociology of Texts”

Adams and Barker's bio-bibliographical circuit is the theoretical expression of a well-established approach to book history, particularly common in the areas of the history of authorship, reading, and publishing. It can be defined as medium-centred and has, at its core, the study of books as artefacts, as surviving historical records. In this approach, physical books are understood as historically mediated expressive forms, the product of a complex interplay of the work of all the agents involved in their production, such as authors, publishers, printers, illustrators. In this approach, the book is studied through the relationship between the material medium and its content where each element of a material book - paper, format, binding, number of pages, etc., - conveys meaning and influences the perception of the book by the reader, and also inevitably carries in it numerous distinctive physical traits that make books lasting vestiges of their time.³⁸

The tradition of the medium-centred approach to the study of the book in a social context is traced to Donald F. McKenzie and his works on the sociology of texts.³⁹ McKenzie successfully

³⁷ The UK RED, the Reading Experience Database, contains some entries for *Evelina*, but due to the nature of the evidence, it is impossible to say if and to which extent they could be representative.

³⁸ Chartier, *The Order of Books; The Author's Hand and the Printer's Mind*; McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*; “What's Past Is Prologue.”

³⁹ McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*; “Typography and Meaning.”; “What's Past Is Prologue.”

demonstrated that the book should be understood as an expressive means with all its material and textual aspects contributing to and influencing its understanding and reception. He proposed that the book is not a product of solely authorial intentions but a complex interplay of the work of all the agents, publishers, printers, illustrators, etc., involved in its production. McKenzie argued that a text never exists in a pure verbal-only form but is embodied in historically mediated material forms of the book, which includes “architecture and the visual language of typography,”⁴⁰ and that the techniques of bibliography based on the material book should be used to understand books as expressive forms that exist through the complex relationship between the text and its material medium. He offered an approach to studying books as material evidence of the past by exploring bibliographical codes of printed texts as evidence of their social history of transmission, including production, circulation, and reception. In his study of the editions of William Congreve’s plays, McKenzie proved that seemingly insignificant formal changes, such as the change from quarto to octavo format, marginal indications of the names of characters, and presence of decorative elements produced a significant effect on the status and perception of the work.⁴¹ In his other work, *What’s Past Is Prologue: The Bibliographical Society and History of the Book*,⁴² he demonstrated, using the example of a blank book, the power of the non-linguistic signs in a book, showing that each element of a physical book: paper, format, binding, number of pages, etc., conveys meaning and influences the perception the work by the reader.

Other book historians, coming from the tradition of descriptive bibliography, have also drawn attention to the importance of the medium-centred approach to studying book history based on the exploration of physical features of books themselves. Following McKenzie’s ideas on the

⁴⁰ McKenzie, “Typography and Meaning,” 236.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² McKenzie, “What’s Past Is Prologue.”

sociology of texts as a natural expansion of traditional bibliography, they have insisted on conducting book history research by studying books as artefacts and physical embodiments of the texts that they carry.⁴³ They have advocated the notion that physical books are much more than physical containers or “passive conduits”⁴⁴ for the text, but rather objects that influence the way their contents are received and that reflect not only authorial and publishing intents but also inevitably carry in them a multitude of distinctive physical traits that make them historical artefacts.

It is not only book historians, coming from the tradition of bibliography, who have insisted on the importance of studying the book as a physical object. Roger Chartier has repeatedly emphasised the significance of the connection between the text and the book as a physical object, the text and its material form. He has argued that the materiality of the book is inseparable from the text. According to Chartier, authors write texts, but they “do not write books. Books are not written at all”⁴⁵ but manufactured by a multitude of artisans involved in the book-making process, each of whom leaves its indelible mark on the physical form of the final product. Thus, Chartier has underlined the primary importance of material books for book historians as the “technical visual and physical devices that organise the reading”⁴⁶ because “forms produce meaning, and that even a fixed text is invested with a new meaning [...] when the physical form, through which it is presented for interpretation, changes.”⁴⁷ Chartier argued that readers “are never confronted with

⁴³ Adams and Barker, “A New Model for the Study of the Book.”; Barker, “Reflections on the History of the Book.”; Colclough, “Readers: Books and Biography.”; Dane, *Out of Sorts; Blind Impressions*; Graham, Griffin, and O'Connell, *Readings on Audience and Textual Materiality*; Howard-Hill, “Why Bibliography Matters.”; Mak, *How the Page Matters*; Meulen, “How to Read Book History.”; “Bibliography and Other History.” Pearson, *Books as History*; Stoicheff and Taylor, *The Future of the Page*; Suarez, “Historiographical Problems.”; Tanselle, “Special Issue on the History of the Book and the Idea of Literature (Review).”; *Bibliographical Analysis; The History of Books as a Field of Study*.

⁴⁴ Pearson, *Books as History*, 22.

⁴⁵ Chartier, *The Order of Books*, 9.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, ix.

⁴⁷ Chartier, “The Practical Impact of Writing,” 48.

abstract or ideal texts detached from all materiality; they manipulate or perceive objects and forms, i.e. physical books that govern” and influence their perception and understanding of the texts.⁴⁸ If the book does not directly impose its sense on the text, it “commands the uses that can invest them and the appropriation to which they are susceptible.”⁴⁹ Thus, material books are testimonies of their conception by authors and no less by the publishers and printers, who gave a material form to the authorial intent (sometimes modifying and contradicting it).

The medium-centred approach of the “sociology of texts” to the study of book history, which uses techniques based on observation, note-taking, and in-depth analysis of the features displayed by individual physical books as expressive forms, is especially important and relevant in the areas of the history of reading, reception, and publishing. Similarly to previous book history research undertaken in these areas of inquiry, the study of the publishing history of *Evelina* is grounded in McKenzie’s approach of “sociology of texts” with the primacy of the focus given to the exploration of the book as an artefact, through the understanding of its bibliographical codes, signifiers, and material features.

2.2.3 Paratextual Theory by Gérard Genette

Focusing the proposed study on three of five events of the bio-bibliographical circuit model - publishing, manufacturing, and survival, with the latter interpreted as the beginning of a new cycle of publishing and manufacturing - puts it in the sphere of the theoretical framework of paratext developed by Gérard Genette.⁵⁰ Paratextual theory increasingly frequently constitutes or is a part

⁴⁸ Chartier, *The Order of Books*, 3.

⁴⁹ Ibid., viii.

⁵⁰ Genette, *Seuils; Paratexts*.

of the theoretical framework applied to book history studies, carried out through the examination of physical books as material artefacts. According to Genette:

“A literary work consists, entirely or essentially, of a text, defined (very minimally) as a more or less long sequence of verbal statements that are more or less endowed with significance. But this text is rarely presented in an unadorned state, unreinforced and unaccompanied by a certain number of verbal or other productions, such as an author's name, a title, a preface, illustrations. And although we do not always know whether these productions are to be regarded as belonging to the text, in any case, they surround it and extend it, precisely in order to *present* it, in the usual sense of this verb but also in the strongest sense: to *make present*, to ensure the text's presence in the world, its ‘reception’ and consumption in the form (nowadays, at least) of a book. These accompanying productions, which vary in extent and appearance, constitute [...] the work's *paratext*.”⁵¹

The elements that make the books physically present from the beginning of the books’ production had not had a collective name for several hundred years until Genette introduced the term *paratext*, first in his *Palimpsests* and then when he explored and developed the whole paratextual theoretical framework in *Seuils* (translated in English as *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*).⁵² The term has since firmly entered the scholarly vocabulary, first in the field of literary studies, and later that of book history.⁵³ Paratext is “a ‘vestibule’ that offers the world at large the possibility of either stepping inside or turning back.”⁵⁴ Paratext is everything in the book and around the book except the text itself. It enables a disembodied text to become a book. Paratext

⁵¹ Genette, *Paratexts*, 1.

⁵² Genette, *Palimpsests; Seuils; Paratexts*.

⁵³ Chartier, *The Author's Hand and the Printer's Mind*; Sherman, “On the Threshold.”

⁵⁴ Genette, *Paratexts*, 1-2.

encompasses *peritext*, the liminal devices found in the book, such as book covers, dust jackets, titles, subtitles, chapter titles (or their absence), epigraphs, forewords, notes, running titles, indexes, footnotes, etc., and *epitext*, i.e. diaries, book reviews, correspondence, interviews with the author, etc. However, a review of the literature in book history demonstrates that this distinction between epitext and peritext is rarely made, as the majority of researchers prefer the term “paratext” to refer to both epitext and peritext. The ensemble of elements included in paratextual apparatus is inconstant, with some disappearing in the course of book history, resurfing again, or appearing anew. Hence, the list of paratextual elements remains open-ended and is made more precise and complete with new scholarly output appearing in this area of inquiry.

Paratext can be textual, e.g. titles, prefaces, running heads, and non-textual (iconic and material), e.g. illustrations, colours, publication formats, type and material of binding, typefaces, etc. The functions of the paratextual elements can depend on the nature of the elements, with some of them fulfilling more than one role. According to Genette, paratext could serve to designate, identify, describe, provide connotative value, or tempt (a potential reader or purchaser of the book).⁵⁵ Paratext can be the expression of both authorial and editorial intents, which may be sometimes conflicting, and cultural practices of the time and place of publication that were meant intentionally or unintentionally to facilitate or influence the reception of the text of the book. It is important to underline that the influence is exercised whether or not the intention in the choice of paratext is known to the reading public, acknowledged, or even consciously observed. The question of whose intent is expressed in paratext is also fluid and depends on the time of its creation. William Sherman has pointed out that Genette’s study was based mostly on 19th-century French novels when the prominent role of the author in the circuit of book production was

⁵⁵ Ibid., 93.

recognised and accepted, and therefore, paratext was mostly the expression of authorial intent. However, in the case of earlier works, for which the authors sold their copyright at the publication of the first edition, losing any influence on publishing and manufacturing decisions of their book, the choice of paratext depended entirely on books' publishers.⁵⁶

2.2.3.1 Paratextual Theory & Book History

Genette, a literary theorist associated with the structuralist movement and one of the most prominent Proustian scholars, has never identified himself as a book historian. His study was synchronic, not diachronic. His goal was not to trace the history of each of the paratextual elements but to define and describe the apparatus accompanying the text and presenting it to the public in the form of the physical book. However, given that the specificity of the representation of a text is received from "technical and social conditions that govern the publication and appropriation,"⁵⁷ Chartier and Darnton pointed out the importance of paratextual theory for book history as an important methodological and theoretical approach to the studies of publishing and authorship and, especially, given the profound effect that the paratextual elements produce on the reception of the work by its readers, to the studies of reading and reception, undertaken through the examination of the material features of the book.⁵⁸

Scholarship that examined the elements of the material book identified by Genette as belonging to the paratextual apparatus was not lacking before the publication of his work. For example, a collection of studies on the influence of the physical elements of the book, such as

⁵⁶ Sherman, "On the Threshold."

⁵⁷ Chartier, "Paratext and Preliminaries," 136.

⁵⁸ Chartier, "The Order of Books Revisited."; "The Printing Revolution: A Reappraisal."; "Paratext and Preliminaries."; Darnton, "'What Is the History of Books?' Revisited."

covers, formats and specialised editions, on their readers, *Reading Books*,⁵⁹ was published in 1996, a year before the arrival of the *Seuils*’ English translation. However, Genette’s work provided a theoretical foundation, a framework, which brings together the whole corpus of scholarly output in book history, exploring the impact of physical features of the book, and the book’s materiality as an expression of the history of publishing and authorship.

It must be mentioned that information scientists, who do not work in the interdisciplinary field of book history have also appropriated the paratextual theory. As opposed to book history research that, as demonstrated below, most often paid attention to the elements of the publisher’s paratext, the information science studies drawing on the paratextual framework mostly focused on such elements as acknowledgments and dedications or the use of paratext in librarians’ cataloguing and classification practice.⁶⁰

As the number of studies in book history, building upon or drawing on Genette’s theory of paratext, testifies, it has been successfully appropriated by scholars belonging to this field of inquiry. On the one hand, material books are necessarily historically specific, being either constrained by the available technologies, existing typographical and printing conventions, and cultural and aesthetical developments of the time or sometimes produced as a challenge to them, so Genette’s taxonomy of paratext serves as a framework for studies of the physical aspects of the book, as a reflection of historical, technological, and cultural trends of the time. On the other hand, it makes possible to analyse how choices made in the environment of pre-existing shared and understood printing and typographical conventions by an agent or agents involved in the book life-

⁵⁹ Moylan and Stiles, *Reading Books*.

⁶⁰ These are examples of IS studies based on the theory of paratext but not related to book history: Andersen, “Materiality of Works.”; Cronin and Franks, “Trading Cultures.”; Desrochers and Pecoskie, “Inner Circles and Outer Reaches.”; Paling, “Thresholds of Access.”; “Classification, Rhetoric, and the Classificatory Horizon.”; Paul-Hus et al., “Beyond Funding.”; Pecoskie and Desrochers, “Hiding in Plain Sight.”; Rattan, “Acknowledgement Patterns.”; Salager-Meyer, Ariza, and Berbesí, “‘Backstage Solidarity’.”

cycle (authors, publishers, printers, purchasers, and sometimes readers) were meant and used to influence other agents of the cycle, the most often the readers and buyers. It is necessary to emphasise an existing distinction between readers and buyers. As Genette pointed out, “for a book, [...] the public is nominally an entity more far-flung than the sum of its readers because that entity includes, sometimes in a very active way, people who do not necessarily read the book (or at least not in its entirety) but who participate in its dissemination and therefore in its ‘reception.’”⁶¹

2.3 Theoretical Context: Conclusion

The present study on the publishing history of a book focused on multiple editions and reprints of the same novel, *Evelina*, and was built on the strong methodological and theoretical foundations long-employed by book historians. The approach of the sociology of texts conceptualised by McKenzie and grounded in the research methods of analytical and descriptive bibliography; the bio-bibliographical circuit model conceived by Adams and Barker with its emphasis on the material book; and the concept of connection between the text and the book as a physical object, offered by Chartier constituted the theoretical and methodological foundations for this medium-centred study in book history.

Genette’s paratextual theory was an especially necessary addition to the theoretical and methodological toolkit of this research. The paratextual theory was an important theoretical and methodological lens for studying the publication history of *Evelina* and the material features of the book to reveal technological, economic, and aesthetic processes, conventions, and developments of the studied period and the means used and manipulated by the agents of the book’s life-cycle (publishers) to exercise influence on other agents (readers and buyers). Basing this study of the

⁶¹ Genette, *Paratexts*, 74-75.

publishing history of Burney's *Evelina* on the theoretical and methodological foundations of the sociology of texts, bio-bibliographical circuit, and paratextual theory situates it within the corpus of the rich scholarly output in book history (reviewed in the following chapter) that explores the book's materiality as evidence of the history of publishing and authorship, and the impact of physical features of the book on readers. Consequently, this study not only allows us to discover and describe the publishing history of one particular novel but also contributes to the growth of knowledge in the area of scholarly inquiry in publishing practices of the past.

3. Literature Review: Previous Studies of Paratext in Book History

The object of this chapter is to review existing scholarly literature in the following areas of inquiry: studies in book history, especially publishing histories of individual novels, based on the theoretical framework of paratext or exploring the elements that constitute paratextual apparatus. The primacy is given to the sources covering primary research in book history that examined books' paratextual elements and to the studies focused on the publishing histories of individual novels. Given the disciplinary focus of the study, the literature based on the theoretical framework of paratexts in literary studies, feminist studies of Burney's legacy and studies exploring Burney's life are not included in the review.

3.1 Methods and Approaches

Studies in book history, which draw on paratextual theory, in addition to the textual paratextual elements defined and described by Genette explore a variety of non-textual paratextual elements. These elements range from abridgements and digests, notes, marginalia, publication data (publisher and place of publication), and running titles to printers' ornaments, typefaces, illustrations (both in text and on covers), and publication formats. These studies have deepened the understanding of the influence of paratext on historical and modern readers, and expanded and enlarged the listing of the paratextual apparatus, first offered by Genette in *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*.

Genette's initial paratextual theoretical framework did not pay much attention to, or as he put it "left out," translations of original texts and illustrations because he deemed them requiring a separate study, and impossible to describe in sufficient detail in his work, first outlining a

paratextual theory even though their “paratextual relevance [was] undeniable.”⁶² Also, even though the listing of the paratextual apparatus developed by Genette included the publisher’s paratext, he paid little attention to its description, especially to its non-textual elements.

However, the role of the publisher in the life-cycle of the book is impossible to overestimate. A publisher is an impetus, the force that decides which books will be published, and whether or not they should be reprinted, thus, shaping the literary market and exercising an important influence on which books will remain accessible to the general public and which will “fade into obscurity.”⁶³ Moreover, as Janine Barchas stated, much of the “modern paratext is placed ‘outside’ of the printed book-pages of the text, and nearly always by [...] hands” other than the author’s, i.e. by the hands of publishers and book designers. To them belongs the choice, often without or with only little input from the author, of the paratext to be given to a book: the format of the publication, cover design, promotional blurbs, etc. The lack of importance given to the publisher’s role in the paratextual framework by Genette is not surprising given that this role in the history of literature has been often neglected or even reviled, with the publisher seen as an “enemy rather than as facilitator or collaborator” of the author.⁶⁴ Book historians have expanded the paratextual framework, with the most important development being an in-depth exploration of the elements of the publisher’s paratext, such as formats of publication, series, typefaces, choices of paper, and bound-in advertisements; use of translated works in comparison with the original texts as study objects; and especially the examination of illustrations and imagery, both on covers and in-text, as paratextual elements.

⁶² Genette, *Paratexts*, 405.

⁶³ Lau, “Contextualising Book Covers and Their Changing Roles,” 11.

⁶⁴ McCleery, “The Return of the Publisher to Book History,” 161.

In book history studies drawing on paratextual theory, the main data collection and analysis methods are observation, note-taking, description, and interpretation in the historical context of the variations or characteristics, demonstrated by the paratextual apparatus. Typically for medium-centred research in book history, these studies have been mostly based on the purposive sample of a limited number of works, sometimes just on one title, studied in-depth to comprehend the meaning, intent, and possible impact of the examined paratextual elements in their historical context. Some researchers examined in detail just one paratextual element, such as printers' flowers, running titles, illustrations, or terminal paratexts,⁶⁵ while others, usually in monograph-length studies, explored several elements of the paratextual apparatus present in one or several editions of a specific book (see Section 3.2). The temporal range of book history studies that explore the use of paratext extends from the early modern England of the 16th century through the print revival age of the end of the 19th century with its emphasis on the aesthetical aspects of books, to the end of the 20th – beginning of the 21st century, the time of predominantly visually-oriented popular culture.⁶⁶

3.2 Previously Published Studies of Paratext in Book History

The majority of book history studies of paratext address the following research problems: how the book's whole paratextual apparatus or its separate elements can influence the readers' perception and the status and literary reputation of the work; and how the paratexts, both textual and non-textual, can act as a marketing device and can be used by the publishers to exercise an influence on readers and buyers. The paratextual elements that are the object of these studies include

⁶⁵ See for example the studies described in the various chapters of Smith and Wilson, *Renaissance Paratexts* and Matthews and Moody, *Judging a Book by Its Cover*.

⁶⁶ For example, Matthews and Moody, *Judging a Book by Its Cover*; Silva, "Marketing Good Taste."; Smith, "The Book as Material Instrument."

publisher series, publication format, bindings, decorative elements, typeface, choice of paper, and illustrations both on the cover and in text.

Alistar McCleery demonstrates in his study how the establishment of Joyce's *Ulysses* as a mainstream classic in the academy in the UK was a "deliberate result of the marketing of the 1969 paperback edition" and the mere fact of publication of the novel in the *Penguin Classics* series:⁶⁷ "Penguin Books in the United Kingdom deliberately transformed *Ulysses* into a classic institutionalized within higher education; its status was underpinned by the nature of the material book—its binding, cover, size, price, series, pagination guide, afterword, and its promotion and publicity."⁶⁸ Isabelle Olivero explores how paratext, both textual and material, was used to construct identities and promote publishers' series in 19th-century France.⁶⁹ Dan Mills discusses how a complex manipulating of publication format, with the omission of the author's name and the inclusion of the illustrations, allowed Henry Neville to disguise his political writings as a work belonging to the genre of literary utopias and ultimately kept him from "landing himself in custody."⁷⁰ Graham Falconer and Daniel Hack explore in their works based on *Balzac Illustré* and *Henry Esmond*,⁷¹ the use of lavishly illustrated and elaborate editions (in terms of format, typeface, and binding) as the means of positioning the author's text as a serious work that could merit such a luxurious enclosure or of giving to the author a certain cultural cachet associated with this type of refined or even rarified editions. Paul Tankard demonstrates how a re-publication of Johnson's *Rambler* in book format, after it had been first issued in serial parts, radically changed the reading experience for its "second audience" by giving them access to an added and different paratextual

⁶⁷ McCleery, "Changing Audiences," 131.

⁶⁸ McCleery, "The 1969 Edition of *Ulysses*," 58.

⁶⁹ Olivero, "Le paratexte et l'identité des collections littéraires, 1830-1860."

⁷⁰ Mills, "Henry Neville and the Isle of Pines," 187.

⁷¹ Falconer, "Le paratexte dans le texte."; Hack, *The Material Interests of the Victorian Novel*.

apparatus: tables of contents and indexes.⁷² Richard Hill studied the role of book illustrations in the manipulation of literary genres on the example of *Waverley Novels*.⁷³ Chris Louttit, who explored the little-studied *Household Edition* of Dicken's works published by Chapman and Hall, draws attention to how its paratext, quarto publication format, clear type, text in double column, wide margins, and new illustrations, was used to present this affordable edition not as "inexpensive, disposable entertainment" but as a book destined for "the small home libraries of the working classes and lower-middle-class," "for poor man's home when one shall read to many."⁷⁴ A recent collection of studies explored the paratext of medical books, analysing illustrations and annotations as "evidence of the circumstances of production, authorial and/or editorial intentions, and reader engagement and response" and considering paratext as a means to question and destabilise social and medical authority.⁷⁵

Several other book historians gave their attention to the distinctly Victorian and fascinating format of serialised novels,⁷⁶ that generated paratext unintended or conflicting with the text, widening the range of study objects analysed within the paratextual framework. Among other phenomena associated with the information-rich and content-rich serial format, they explored how the paratext surrounding the text of the novels in serial publications, such as advertisements, artwork, news, household advice, or literary criticism, paratext produced or sometimes even accidentally occurred without any authorial and not always with the editorial intention, could add to, alter, or contradict the meaning of the texts.

⁷² Tankard, "The Rambler's Second Audience."

⁷³ Hill, *Picturing Scotland through the Waverley Novels*.

⁷⁴ Louttit, "'A Favour on the Million'."

⁷⁵ Tweed and Scott, *Medical Paratexts from Medieval to Modern*, 6.

⁷⁶ Allen, "Boz Versus Dickens."; Delafield, "Text in Context."; Thornton, *Advertising, Subjectivity and the Nineteenth-Century Novel*; Tucker, *The Illustration of the Master*.

Translations represent particularly information-rich material for comparative studies of paratextuality, so several researchers expanded the range of application of Genette's framework by using translated works as study objects.⁷⁷ Through the comparison of translations with editions in the original language, "the mediating role that these paratextual elements perform in the transmission of a text from one culture to another"⁷⁸ was explored. It was to investigate how paratext can be used to reconfigure the status and reputation of the author in the culture of the language of translation or to give the work a different cultural heritage enabling it to appeal to a more diverse audience.

One of the most important methodological developments book history researchers have contributed to the paratextual framework has been an inclusion of the iconic paratext (illustrations and decorative elements) in the corpus of analysed elements, as a means to influence the book market and the literary canon or to redefine the place that studied works occupy there. Studies in book history explore illustrations, both in text and on covers, as a means of influence, promotion, and marketing, as decorative devices intended to embellish the books promising a prospective reader to add to the pleasure of reading and to enhance a reading experience, attracting a "sophisticated book buyer" and a member "of the new mass-market for books."⁷⁹ In these studies, the illustrations are viewed as elements of paratextual apparatus that present the texts on the book market, market the books to new audiences, or present the texts as a different literary genre, ultimately being a tool that persuades potential readers to receive a book in a certain light, to buy, or to read it.

⁷⁷ Armstrong, "Print, Paratext, and a Seventeenth Century Sammelband."; Bardají, Orero, and Esteva, *Translation Peripheries*; Batchelor, *Translation and Paratexts*; Hollander, Schmid, and Smelik, *Paratext and Megatext as Channels of Jewish and Christian Traditions*; Mak, *How the Page Matters*; Pellatt, *Text, Extratext, Metatext and Paratext in Translation*.

⁷⁸ Bardají, Orero, and Esteva, *Translation Peripheries*, 8.

⁷⁹ Buchanan-Brown, *Early Victorian Illustrated Books*, 10.

Janine Barchas, in her much-cited book *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, demonstrates how the “rambunctious materiality of eighteenth-century texts,”⁸⁰ by which she means advertisements, frontispieces, portraits, etc., affected the readers of these books. The study explores the presentation of the novel and of all its non-textual paratextual elements as a factor that affects and even is itself a part of the meaning of the text, with the form of the book merging with the texts’ historical and literary meanings. Barchas shows that the presentation of the novel and its graphic paratextual elements, such as indexes, punctuation, frontispieces, and illustrations were used not only to promote a particular individual novel and to persuade potential readers of the past to buy and to admire them but also to improve and to elevate the perception of novels as a genre among the reading public, who was skeptical about their merits at the time. For example, by comparing the author’s portraits from duodecimo and octavo editions of *Gulliver’s Travels*, Barchas demonstrates how the portraits could support the claims of a novel to truth, authority, and authenticity. Barchas’ study was one of the first works that clearly and convincingly demonstrated the importance of examining visual aspects of the books through the lens of paratextual theory to understand past practices of book reading and book production.

Book covers and their iconic, illustrative, paratext is an area of particular interest to book historians. In the last two centuries, the publishing industry transformed book covers and dust jackets from being simple protective devices to become marketing prime real estate, the paratext of which bears the main burden of selling books to their prospective readers, and often is the only location of visual elements in the book.⁸¹ An often-cited work and pioneering in its focus is a collection of case studies, edited by Nicole Matthews and Nickianne Moody,⁸² brought together

⁸⁰ Barchas, *Graphic Design*, 6.

⁸¹ Lau, “Contextualising Book Covers and Their Changing Roles.”; Matthews, “Introduction.”

⁸² Matthews and Moody, *Judging a Book by Its Cover*.

by an overarching theme of the influence book covers have on their audiences and the role of a book's materiality in its perception by prospective readers and buyers. This collection brings to the forefront a uniquely important role of book covers as marketing devices that tell the readers "of the kind of book they are about to read, giving an impression of its genre, its tone and the kind of audience it seeks."⁸³ The studies included in this collection highlight and explore books "as material objects, and most especially material objects with a visual dimension,"⁸⁴ the covers of which influence their audiences and shape "distribution, reception, and use of books."⁸⁵ It presents a wide panoply of focuses and study methods. For example, Alistair McCleery studies paperbacks' book covers in their historical context to understand their evolution and development as evidence of convergence of the publishing industries of the UK and the US in the 20th century.⁸⁶ Angus Phillips uses the marketing theory of positioning to explore how the choice of the textual and non-textual paratext on book covers' reflects the marketing strategies of particular publishers, based on examples of popular fiction, ranging from the Harry Potter books to Agatha Christie novels.⁸⁷ Other studies included in this collection show how book covers and their imagery were used in marketing strategies, influencing the views of cultural gatekeepers and opinion formers⁸⁸; shaping the responses of reading audiences by using images from film adaptations on book covers⁸⁹; or being key marketing devices targeting browsing customers in internet bookstores.⁹⁰

Matthews, in another study, based on the mid-twentieth century spy fiction, explores paratext as a catalyst for readers' response that can be manipulated by the book's producers,

⁸³ Matthews, "Introduction," xi.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, xvi.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, xvii.

⁸⁶ McCleery, "The Paperback Evolution."

⁸⁷ Phillips, "How Books Are Positioned in the Market."

⁸⁸ Webby, "Literary Prizes, Production Values and Cover Images."

⁸⁹ Mitchell, "'Now a Major Motion Picture'."

⁹⁰ Weedon, "In Real Life."

examines both components of the paratext: peritext, internal to the book, such as illustrated book covers, book jackets, and author photos, and also epitext, such as book reviews and letters from readers, book buyers, and librarians.⁹¹ By correlating book reviews and letters with the cover imagery of Helen MacInnes' novels, Matthews demonstrates that iconic and other visual paratexts shape the understanding of the novels by both ordinary readers and professional reviewers. Matthews's research reveals "a strong parallel between the visual marketing of these books and the way they were read."⁹² She shows how, at the time when the public was developing a taste for more brutal and graphic spy fiction than the one authored by MacInnes, a skilful visual repackaging by publishers of the subsequent editions of her novels permitted to redefine the books' genre from high adventure and high romance, as they were perceived in the 1940s, to travelogues. This study is important from a methodological point of view. It shows how, in the absence of publishers' archives that often and even routinely are not preserved, book historians can use, albeit with caution, the non-textual paratexts of the books as evidence to reconstruct, or at least to gain an insight into, marketing practices of publishers of the studied period. By grounding her study in the historical context in which MacInnes' novels were produced and read, Matthews also shows how a researcher can successfully avoid the danger of applying the reading of later cultural contexts to the books produced in earlier cultural and historical settings.

Other authors also explored how illustrative paratext of the book covers has been used to reshape the genre of the book to make it more attractive to a wide audience. Ian Brookes shows how a repackaging of Alan Sillitoe's *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* in a different cover iconic paratext made its first and second editions look "like two different books"⁹³ transforming a

⁹¹ Matthews, "Reading and the Visual Dimension of the Book."

⁹² Ibid., 69.

⁹³ Brookes, "'All the Rest Is Propaganda,'" 17.

“prestigious literary text” into “what appears to be a disreputable, cheap, and trashy form of fiction”⁹⁴ without changing a word in the text of the novel. Similarly, Carol O’Sullivan explored how different non-textual paratext in translated Italian crime novels was used to create a subtle shift in expectations with potential buyers. It emphasised “the Italianness of the setting” over the plot and made the book a mixture of a crime novel with a travel book, creating a tourist experience for their readers, thus, making it more appealing to the British audience.⁹⁵

Finally, several recent monograph-length studies on illustrations, while being more narrative, bibliographical, and descriptive in nature, were produced to draw a comprehensive picture of the illustrative history of a book,⁹⁶ a particular series,⁹⁷ or literature produced with the confines of a geographic region.⁹⁸ While not being specifically devoted to the use of images as marketing and promotional devices, they pay considerable attention to the topic of visual paratext as an element furthering and contributing to the success of the books they decorate.

To summarize, book history research has significantly contributed to the development of paratextual framework by applying it to diachronic studies, by extending it to new study objects, and by exploring in detail paratextual elements that were only briefly outlined or mentioned in Genette’s work. On the one hand, paratextual theory became an especially compelling theoretical framework for the study of the book based on its physical features, because paratext is what turns the text into a book, an object that can be produced, sold, and stored, while at the same time affecting how its textual content is read and interpreted. On the other hand, the paratextual framework acts as a unifying theoretical foundation for a growing corpus of individual studies of

⁹⁴ Ibid., 22.

⁹⁵ O’Sullivan, “Translation, Pseudotranslation and Paratext.”

⁹⁶ Jung, *James Thomson’s The Seasons*; Hill, *Robert Louis Stevenson and the Pictorial Text*.

⁹⁷ Jung, *The Publishing and Marketing of Illustrated Literature in Scotland*.

⁹⁸ Hill, *Picturing Scotland*.

books' physical features, bringing them together to produce a bigger picture and allowing researchers to detect and to highlight emerging trends, similarities, and tendencies that could have otherwise stay unnoticed.

3.2.1 Publication Histories of Individual Novels

Publication histories of individual books, and especially novels, constitute an expanding body of scholarly literature that focuses on printing and publishing history, including reception, distribution, and translation or adaptation into other media of individual literary works. Since 2007, several monograph-length studies covering the subject have been published, seven of them in the series *Ashgate Studies in Publishing History: Manuscript, Print, Digital*. Some of these works treat publication histories more in the light of cultural history studies and, thus, lie out of the scope of the present review. However, as four of them belong to or cross into the field of the inquiry of the material history of the book, and the methodological approaches employed in them are of significance for the present study, they are reviewed separately from other works in book history, based, drawing, or touching on paratextual theory, considered in the previous section.

The authors of *The Publishing History of Uncle Tom's Cabin, 1852-2002*, *Elizabeth Gaskell's Cranford: A Publishing History*, *Lewis Carroll's Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking Glass: A Publishing History*, and *Frances Burney's Cecilia: A Publishing History*⁹⁹ approach the subject from slightly different angles although they invariably and explicitly ground their research in the methodological tradition of McKenzie's "sociology of texts" with its focus on the study of the book as a material object. They are not, however, limited to that approach, as they add a multitude of other evidence sources, such as diaries, journals,

⁹⁹ Jaques and Giddens, *Lewis Carroll's Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and through the Looking Glass*; Parfait, *The Publishing History of Uncle Tom's Cabin*; Parisian, *Frances Burney's Cecilia*; Recchio, *Elizabeth Gaskell's Cranford*.

correspondence, book reviews, proofs, drafts, etc., to support their argument. In their explorations of the publishing histories of the studied novels, all four authors pay considerable attention the paratextual apparatus of the studied works, examining the paratext both extraneous to the books and making part of books or, as Genette defined them, the epitext and peritext even though some of them do not explicitly ground their studies in Genette's theory.

Claire Parfait studies the "long, intricate, and intriguing"¹⁰⁰ publishing history of *Uncle Tom Cabin* in the light of cultural and general American history and shows "how the paratext of its succeeding editions [...] speaks to the way America has read and re-read its own history over the past century and a half."¹⁰¹ She traces the publication history of the first and the copyrighted editions of the novel through the study of the correspondence between the author and the publishers and other primary materials discovered in the publishers' archives, such as coded telegrams of the period of the copyright dispute. Using examples of publishers' blurbs, illustrations, and prefaces in popular, scholarly, and serialised editions of the novel, Parfait relates the history of the presentation of the novel to the subsequent generations of American readers. She demonstrates how by varying the novel's illustrative and other non-textual paratext, publishers upheld and exploited its dual status as "a classic and a popular book"¹⁰² to market it to different reading audiences. Parfait examines the advertisements, illustrations, and packaging of the novel as material evidence that reflects changing interpretations of slavery and the Civil War, varying from the attempts to rewrite slavery as a benign institution in the late 19th century to the civil rights movements of the 1960s. In addition to illustrating her argument with numerous reproductions of the images, Parfait uses the tools of enumerative bibliography and includes in her work two thirty-

¹⁰⁰ Parfait, *The Publishing History of Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 2.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 150.

four-page appendices that describe the serialisation of the novel and list the American editions of the work from 1852 to 2007.

Thomas Recchio, in his work, *Elizabeth Gaskell's Cranford: A Publishing History*,¹⁰³ traces the history of the genesis of the novel from its serialized form in Dickens's *Household Words* in 1851-1853, into a book, following with a discussion of its school editions and dramatic adaptations. Recchio's discussion of school editions of *Cranford* as an instrument to reinforce an Anglo-Saxon American identity pertains more to cultural history and lies out of the scope of the present review. However, Recchio's understanding of paratext extended to include serial publications and illustrations omitted by Genette from his framework is of interest from a methodological point of view. Drawing on a number of previous studies of novel illustrations, he analyses how the non-textual paratext, the illustrations by George du Maurier in the 1864 edition of the work, redefined *Cranford's* genre from an auto-ethnographical collection of sketches into a novel by giving it coherence and "emphasizing plot over story and setting."¹⁰⁴

As opposed to Parfait and Recchio, who explicitly ground their analysis in Genette's theory, Zoe Jaques and Eugene Giddens, and Catherine Parisian,¹⁰⁵ do not make paratextual theory a part of the theoretical framework of their studies even though they explore and analyse the elements belonging to the paratextual apparatus. For this reason, even in the absence of explicit claims by the authors, these works can be seen as adding to the understanding of paratext in the context of book history. In the richly detailed publishing history of the *Alice* books, Jaques and Giddens unravel the complicated prepublication history of Carroll's works, basing their study on Carroll's letters, diaries, and, in particular, on the correspondence between Carroll and his lifelong

¹⁰³ Recchio, *Elizabeth Gaskell's Cranford*.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 83.

¹⁰⁵ Jaques and Giddens, *Lewis Carroll's Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and through the Looking Glass*; Parisian, *Frances Burney's Cecilia*.

publisher, Macmillan, while also considering the books' non-textual paratext, the illustrations. This study is an example of how the analysis of books' paratext can help to solve the mysteries of their publication history. By analysing the illustrative and material paratextual elements of the *Alice* books in conjunction with the correspondence between Carroll and Macmillan, the authors found an answer to a question that has been a subject of speculation and discussion of Carroll scholars. They revealed what caused Carroll to make a costly decision to recall the first printing of the first British edition of *Adventures in Wonderland*, and why this recalled printing was used for the first American edition. Their careful examination and comparison of both recalled and "official" first editions revealed that it was the quality of the paper that caused the inferior inking of Tenniel's illustrations, causing "the ink to seep through to the reverse of the sheets," blurring them.¹⁰⁶ They show that the quality of visual paratextual elements, and consequently the effect that it produces on the readers of the work, depends on each agent of the book life-cycle involved in the fashioning of non-textual paratext: the printer, the binder, and the publisher. Through the analysis and description of this unfortunate incident in the publishing history of the *Alice* books, Jaques and Giddens reveal the marketing practices of the time and the varying levels of readers' sophistication in Britain and the US, which led to an inferior quality printing, close to being pulped in Britain, to be deemed acceptable to become the first American edition of the work. Similarly to findings of other studies in book history, discussed above, Jaques and Giddens established that illustrations and other visual aspects of the *Alice* books had been consciously manipulated to market the works to various audiences; for example, *Nursery Alice* was specifically produced to appeal to younger readers. They also found that these manipulations resulted in the absence of

¹⁰⁶Jaques and Giddens, *Lewis Carroll's Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and through the Looking Glass*, 30.

fixity in the visual representation of Carroll's works that contributed to establishing them as timeless classics ever continuing to attract new generations of readers.

The study conducted by Parisian on the publication history of Burney's novel *Cecilia*, first undertaken as a Ph.D. project and later developed in a book chapter and a monograph,¹⁰⁷ is especially significant for the present review as it is the first and the only work exploring one of the novels of Frances Burney from the perspective of descriptive bibliography and book history, while all other published research on Burney's legacy has been undertaken within disciplinary domains of literary criticism or women's/ feminist studies. Her work is a "story of "Burney's novel as it makes it[s] way into the world from its initial inception and composition and through its printing, publishing, and circulation for over two centuries"¹⁰⁸ from its first edition in 1782 to the present *Oxford World's Classics* paperback. As opposed to the three other publishing histories reviewed above that make incursions into literary criticism and cultural or media studies, Parisian employs in her analysis the methods of a bibliographer and book historian. In addition to a meticulous bibliographical examination of a large number of surviving editions of *Cecilia*, she mines an extensive corpus of archival materials that include letters and journals, portions of the original manuscript, annotated page proofs, and legal records dealing with the novel's copyright, demonstrating how the methods of bibliography and book history can usefully inform one another. The methodology of her study "has been to begin with the books themselves to glean whatever evidence yield in order to recover the history of this book, and then to work outwards into journals, letters, newspapers, printing house records, and ancillary accounts."¹⁰⁹ Her main data collection and analytical method is the quasi-facsimile bibliographical descriptions of all studied physical

¹⁰⁷ Rodriguez, "The Strange and Surprising Adventures of a Novel"; Parisian, "Intersections in Book History, Bibliography, and Literary Interpretation"; *Frances Burney's Cecilia*.

¹⁰⁸ Parisian, *Frances Burney's Cecilia*, xix.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 191.

copies of *Cecilia*, which include detailed descriptions of publishers' bindings and illustrations. Besides, for her brief analysis of books' illustrations, Parisian uses the approach offered by Barchas, who first studied the influence of the visual paratext on the reception and interpretation of the work. The present study builds upon Parisian's research as it contributes to our knowledge of Burney's legacy from the point of view of books history. However, it differs significantly in its focus and methods. As opposed to the study of publishing history of *Cecilia*, the present research, in addition to describing the publication history of *Evelina*, traced the evolution and development of paratextual apparatus and its separate elements, such as title, name of the author, prefatorial matters, and more. Also, this study went beyond the methods of descriptive bibliography for data collection and analysis using content analysis techniques and digital humanities tools.

4. Methodology of the Study

4.1 Overview

This research was designed as a case study, which is “a type of historical research that sheds light on a phenomenon through an in-depth examination of a single case exemplar of a phenomenon.”¹¹⁰ Approaching this research as a case study, focused on a single text, *Evelina*, published in multiple editions in several European languages since the late 18th century to the present time, was essential to gain depth in answering the research questions. The methodology is rooted in the interpretivist paradigm in order to provide an in-depth and detailed description of the paratextual apparatus in *Evelina* as it was evolving responding to technological, cultural, and historical developments, and being the means used in different periods by publishers to introduce this book on the market and to keep it relevant for generations of readers. Conducting this research as a case study limited to a purposive sample of one novel allowed an interpretivist analysis of the gathered data, which is necessary to produce a detailed, data-rich, context- and time-specific description of the evolution of the phenomenon under scrutiny.

The interpretivist paradigm implies that the researcher is involved in the subjective interpretation of data as the goal is not to obtain objective or generalizable findings but detailed descriptions of patterns in data that are relevant to the specific study.¹¹¹ The overall approach to data collection and analysis in this study is defined as bibliographical, historical, and qualitative. The approach was bibliographical with regard to data sources: physical books and their surrogates, and online libraries, catalogues, and bibliographies, from which bibliographical data and data on paratextual features of each edition were extracted; and also in terms of presentation of the corpus

¹¹⁰ The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods, s.v. “Historical Research.”

¹¹¹ Newman, *Social Research Methods*, 87-94; Pickard, *Research Methods in Information*, 11-3; The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods, s.v. “Interpretive Research.”; Scotland, “Exploring the Philosophical Underpinnings of Research,” 11-2.

of published editions of *Evelina* as an enumerative bibliography (Appendix 1). Methods in this study are historical because it dealt with people, events, and artefacts from more or less distant past, but also and most importantly, because of the nature of the data. The data for this study was not generated or created as part of the research process but gathered from pre-existing artefactual sources, i.e. physical books, that at the moment of their creation were not meant to be used as a source of data.¹¹² It is also historical as all collected data was interpreted in various historical and cultural contexts. This study is qualitative since “historical research is essentially qualitative because of the interpretation that is inevitably involved.”¹¹³ Also, by its nature, paratext resists quantification and generalisation and calls for a descriptive and interpretive approach.

Qualitative research involves methods of data collection, description, and analysis that allow exploration and observation, with concepts emerging from the studied material. Thus, the analysis of the collected data was interpretive, with the researcher being the main instrument of the analysis and humanistic, grounded in prior readings, individual reflections, and historical perspective. The data collection and analytical methods used for this study were observation, note-taking, description, comparison, and interpretation of the observed variations, characteristics, similarities, differences, and patterns revealed by the paratextual elements. These methods were followed by another level of analysis, namely, content analysis through coding of iconic paratext. The instruments and methods for data collection and analysis were designed specifically for this study, which constitutes a methodological development.

The analysis and discussion of the results were conducted in the context of both publishing histories and general histories of the countries of publication to determine if any patterns, trends, similarities, and differences could be discovered depending on time, language, and country of

¹¹² Pickard, *Research Methods in Information*, 166-8.

¹¹³ Ibid, 167; The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods, s.v. “Interpretive Research.”

publication. The process of observation, gathering, analysis, and interpretation of data extracted from physical books treated as historical artefacts allowed for the discovery of trends and tendencies in the studied corpus. As it is typical in qualitative research, gathering, analysis, and interpretation of data happened, if not simultaneously but at least concurrently, when newly collected data was informing the analysis and offering more interpretations of already-collected data. The analysis was refined during the ongoing data collection process.

To answer the question of when, where, by which publisher, and in which language *Evelina* was published and reprinted over the course of its existence, its publication history is discussed in relation to published literature and historicised in the context of the world and European history, history of the book, and Burney's literary life, uncovering patterns and distribution of publication dates of specific editions, their correlation with other editions, Burney's life events, publishers' reputations and market focus, historical events, and aesthetic movements.

The overall description of the corpus of editions of *Evelina* and the account of paratextual features discovered with bibliographical and qualitative approaches were enhanced by the use of quantification, for example, to describe the total number of reprints of particular editions, the number of editions in a particular language, etc. Finally, some methods and tools used in digital humanities were applied as data reduction techniques for the visualisation, analysis, and description of the collected data.

The study of the publication history of *Evelina* was grounded in the tradition of McKenzie's "sociology of texts" that emphasises the exploration of the book as a material artefact. It was, however, not limited solely to the scrutiny of physical books, as it used other available sources of evidence, such as online catalogues, bibliographies, and archival materials. In the present study, the books themselves were the main source of analysed data. An important

methodological development offered by this study is that it examined the entire paratextual apparatus of the sample, as opposed to the previous research, reviewed above, that had mainly focused on one or selected paratextual elements. Also, while most previous research dealt with a limited number of study objects, the sample for the present study was comprised of 88 of 99 editions of the book (88% of total published) and their reprints, published in all languages, including 73 of 76 editions (more than 96%) published in the original language, English. The study drew conceptually on previous literature discussed in the literature review and took advantage of two previous important methodological developments of Genette's paratextual framework, which originated in book history studies: inclusion of translated editions in the sample and examination of iconic and material elements of paratextual apparatus, such as illustrations, decorative elements, book formats, type and quality of paper and binding, etc.

For a few editions for which no copy (physical or surrogate) was examined, the data was derived from secondary sources (catalogues, bibliographies, online libraries, etc.). This data was used only selectively, i.e. in the description of the corpus, but not in the qualitative study of paratextual elements. This methodological decision was made because the data from these secondary sources cannot be regarded as reliable and accurate with regard to paratextual features and even to the bibliographic details. Examples of discrepancies uncovered during this research project include but are not limited to the following: the form of the title not recorded as it is in the physical book but as a uniform or an abridged title; editions published anonymously not identified as such; exact form of the author's name wrongly recorded; pagination and format wrongly recorded or missing. The number of discrepancies was found to be especially high in bibliographic records created in the 1980s -1990s when libraries went through the conversion process from card catalogues to online, and for older editions not held in rare and special collections. Because of the

discrepancies between the form of paratextual elements found in the books themselves and in the secondary sources, the data derived from secondary sources, for which no copy was examined, was analysed with quantitative and digital humanities methods to uncover patterns of publication and reprinting of specific editions, their inclusion in the series, and the correlation of their appearances with other editions, Burney's life, or historical events. However, this data was not used not to analyse the evolution of separate elements of paratext. Lastly, to enable the discussion regarding the publishers who produced *Evelina* in the course of its history and of the series, in which the book was included, data was collected from secondary sources, such as bibliographies, archival descriptions, online catalogues, biographical dictionaries, book reviews, or critical works and is appropriately referenced in the Results & Discussion chapters.

To ensure the trustworthiness of the study, special attention was paid to credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability, the four criteria established by Lincoln and Guba.¹¹⁴ One of the main means for achieving credibility in qualitative research is the use of a well-established methodological approach, so the present study was undertaken using the methodological lens of paratextual theory, which has been extensively used in the studies tracing histories of particular paratextual elements in individual works or recreating publishing histories of individual books. To position the findings within an existing body of knowledge, the review of the previously published literature in the area of research, i.e. book history studies examining books' paratexts in relation to their publishing histories, was conducted and included in the present study. Also, special care was taken to present a true picture of the phenomenon under scrutiny through detailed, data-rich, and context-specific description.

¹¹⁴ Denzin and Lincoln, *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*; Leavy, *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research*; Lincoln and Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry*; Pickard, *Research Methods in Information*; Shenton, "Strategies for Ensuring Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research Projects."

The dependability, which in qualitative research is often understood as the possibility for future researchers to repeat the study, was ensured by keeping notes related to the contextual background of data and the evolution of the findings, by recording the impetus and rationale for all methodological decisions, and by a thorough account of the design of the study and any changes that were made to it during the research project. Both issues of credibility and dependability that are largely interconnected were addressed by the extensive use of primary sources of evidence, i.e. physical books themselves; by the nature of used evidence, which was as complete as permitted by the availability of preserved sources; by collecting and recording data systematically and thoroughly, by systematic and in-depth analysis of the collected data; and by the transparency of the offered interpretation.

Transferability in qualitative studies is different from the generalisability criteria applied to quantitative research. It “implies that the results of the research can be transferred to other contexts and situations beyond the scope of the study context,”¹¹⁵ making it possible for other researchers to make connections between the findings of the study and other contexts (for example, novels from other authors, male authors, different genres (e.g. poetry or travel books), or published in other regions). To allow other researchers’ judgements about the transferability of the findings, the data, the context, and the findings were described in detail and with maximum precision to create a rich picture. Finally, to achieve confirmability in the description of the results, it was ensured that the results are traced back to the data.

¹¹⁵ *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, s.v. “Transferability.”

4.2 Study Object & Sample

An ideal object of study to answer the research problem formulated above would be a single text that was published in multiple editions and languages throughout several centuries, from the hand-press period to the present period of digital publishing as this would ensure sufficient breadth of study. *Evelina* was chosen as the study object because it came very close to this ideal. First, the book was republished in multiple editions and reprints (as was discovered in the course of the present study, in 99 editions and 68 reprints (167 in total)), in several European languages from 1778 to the present. Second, the text of *Evelina* had never been significantly revised or altered by the author, except for correcting typographical errors and some stylistic irregularities between the first and the second editions, and typographical errors for the third edition.¹¹⁶ Therefore, any alterations in the paratext were not predefined by any changes in the textual content and can be attributed solely to the decisions of the books' publishers. Third, the author, Burney, sold the copyright before the publication of the first edition,¹¹⁷ so the changes and developments in the paratextual apparatus of all the editions, including the life-time editions, can be interpreted as being brought by the publishers, while excluding any authorial influence. The absence of authorial revisions and the relinquishment of copyright make it possible to regard and interpret the changes in the paratext of *Evelina* as the reflection of either general developments in the publishing history or conscious choices made by the publishers meant to influence and tempt potential readers and buyers while excluding the influence of both the book's text and the book's author on the development of its paratextual representation.

For the purpose of the present study, an edition is defined as "A printed version of a given work that may be distinguished from other versions either by its published format (e.g. paperback

¹¹⁶ See *Textual Notes* in Oxford/1968/Bloom and *Note on the Text* in Broadview/2000 and Oxford/2002/Jones.

¹¹⁷ Justice, "Burney and the Literary Marketplace," 150.

edition, popular edition, abridged edition), or by its membership of a complete batch of copies printed from the same setting of type, usually at the same time and place.”¹¹⁸ Therefore, a book published by a different publisher, included in a different series, or comprising significantly different illustrative or material paratext was considered a different edition, even if the text of the work did not have any revisions or additions. In this study, any reprint by the same publisher with no other changes in paratext except the publication date was not considered a separate edition but described as a reprint. This is in keeping with the approach adopted in the only published bibliography of Burney’s works by Joseph A. Grau. This approach should enable future researchers to use the results of the present study seamlessly with the previously existing bibliographic data.¹¹⁹

A special mention must be made here about the distinction of editions vs. reprints of *Evelina* produced by Lowndes, its first publisher, and Macmillan. Lowndes reissued Burney’s novel four times, in what he called four editions from 1788 to 1779. By contemporary bibliographic standards, if the second and the third of Lowndes’ editions could indeed be called editions, as the Lowndes/1799/3v/2nd presents significant textual differences, while in the Lowndes/1799/3v/3rd, were not only some typos and misprints corrected, but also the title was considerably altered, the Lowndes/1799/3v/4th would be considered a reprint. However, as it is an established custom to refer to all of them as editions, this present thesis is following the same practice, including all four in the number of editions. Macmillan published their first edition of *Evelina*, illustrated by Hugh Thomson in 1903 in the *Illustrated Pocket Classics* series. It was reprinted in the same series in 1904 and 1910 and in their *Cranford* series in 1920, 1925, and 1932. However, these series designations are found only in secondary sources, publishers’ catalogues

¹¹⁸ *The Oxford dictionary of literary terms*, s.v. “Edition.”

¹¹⁹ Grau, *Fanny Burney*.

(sometimes bound in the books), and were not confirmed by the data from the title pages, covers, etc., of the books themselves. Therefore, it was decided, in keeping with the approach adopted by Grau, to consider Macmillan/1920, Macmillan/1925, and Macmillan/1932 as reprints of Macmillan/1904.

The study was conducted on a purposeful sample of books produced as physical printed items. The sample included most of the editions of *Evelina* published in English in Europe, the United Kingdom, Ireland, and the United States from 1778 until 2014, and a sub-sample of translated editions published during the same period, that were obtainable with reasonable effort. The aim was to include as many English editions as feasible within logistical constraints and to examine at least one copy (if possible, a physical copy, if not, a digitised copy) of each edition and all or as many of each edition's reprints as were available. In total, the sample comprised 88 editions of *Evelina*: 73 English editions and 15 translated editions (10 French, one German, one Dutch, one Italian, one Russian and one Spanish) and their reprints (for a total of 156). Out of 88 editions, 37 were examined only in digitised copies, and 27 in both digitised and physical formats. As an effort was made to make the sample as inclusive as possible, at the end of the project, only a small fraction of all 76 published editions in English has not been examined. They are two earlier English editions held in a limited number of libraries, not within travelling distance, not obtainable through Inter-Library-Loan, and not in digital format; and one English edition included in the bibliography based on publisher's catalogues, of which no copy can be found (Tegg/1816). Of 23 translated editions, eight editions were not examined due to logistical constraints, such as obtainability of a copy or linguistic barriers (two French editions and one of each: Braille, Danish, Polish, Romanian, Spanish, and Swedish).

Only editions of *Evelina* that were first (or ever) published as physical printed items made part of the sample, including abridged versions, which were published as part of digests of English literature, such as *The English Novel before the Nineteenth Century: Excerpts from Representative Types*.¹²⁰ The decision to include editions of *Evelina* published in collections of digests and summaries in the sample was made for two reasons. First, the intention was to be consistent with the approach adopted by Grau in his bibliography of Burney's works, which includes one of them. Second, the inclusion of *Evelina* in these digests published in 1915, 1964, and 1995, is highly symptomatic of the changing status of Burney as a novelist and her rise to the position of a recognised English classic and thus, is of interest for the present study. Also, in keeping with Grau's approach, three dramatic adaptations of *Evelina*, published under different titles and authors' names were not included in the sample, but are mentioned throughout the study and described in a separate section.

This study aimed at the maximum exhaustiveness of the sample. The goal was to include as many editions as possible within logistical constraints and to examine at least one copy of each edition and reprint. The scope of this study precluded the inclusion of two categories of books produced in typed scripts: born-digital and print-on-demand editions, both full-text, and digests and summaries. These types of editions are usually not collected at research libraries, and consequently, they would be obtainable for examination only through private purchase. In addition, their bibliographic data is not consistently found in the WorldCat. Thus, their inclusion in the sample would have made the research project with its methodology unfeasible and would have required a different sampling approach, e.g. convenience sampling, which could have had a

¹²⁰ Hopkins and Hughes, *The English Novel before the Nineteenth Century*.

negative effect on the credibility of the findings. Another category of books was also purposely excluded from the sample for similar reasons: audiobooks.

In addition to *Evelina* that made part of the sample, the editions and reprints in all languages discovered through secondary sources, for which the data was not derived from the books themselves but only from secondary sources, were analysed with quantitative and digital humanities methods.

4.3 Data Collection & Analysis

4.3.1 Data Collection: General Process

Data collection and analysis were performed largely following the sequence outlined below. However, as it is typical in qualitative research, the processes of data collection and analysis were not linear. These processes were iterative and occurred concurrently throughout the entire study. Contextual readings informed data collection and analysis, and helped to pay attention to particular paratextual elements that required more detailed exploration. Repeated visual examination of books and note-taking informed the analysis and interpretation of collected data with themes emerging from the data. At the same time, the analysis through the lens of paratextual theory taking place concurrently with the data collection allowed for the refining of the data collection process, suggesting areas for deeper investigation and focusing choice of subjects for further readings.

The data collection and analysis steps that were used are the following:

1. Creation of the data collection instrument based on the results of the literature review;
2. Identification of all editions of *Evelina* using secondary sources: bibliographies, online catalogues, electronic libraries, and databases ;

3. Compilation of the list of all published editions in the data collection instrument, collecting bibliographic data from the secondary sources;
4. Identification of print copies that could be examined within the existing logistical constraints;
5. Search and download of all available electronic copies and save microfilm copies as PDF files;
6. Definition of the final composition of the sample (all available print and electronic copies);
7. Collection of data related to paratextual elements from the books that constitute the sample and recording in the data collection instrument;
8. Modification of the data collection instrument as needed during the process, taking notes of all modifications;
9. During data collection, writing of the preliminary unstructured descriptions of textual, material, and iconic paratexts, and any other observations;
10. Presentation of the publication history of *Evelina* in the historical context using timeline software to facilitate the analysis;
11. Use of quantitative analysis: frequency distribution by the number of editions per language, per decade, per country of publication, by the publisher, by inclusion in series, with a specific form of the title and form of the author's name, by the number of reprints, etc.;
12. Creation of a coding scheme for iconic paratexts based on the literature and preliminary descriptions
13. Application of coding methods to iconic paratexts to reduce images to textual expression;

14. Use of data visualisation software, analyse collected data on paratext to detect trends and correlations in its evolution and development;
15. Description, analysis, and discussion of the publication history of *Evelina* in the contexts of general and book history;
16. Analysis and description of the history of the evolution of paratextual elements in *Evelina* using paratextual theory as the theoretical lens.

4.3.1.1 Process of Identification of Editions and Reprints

The starting point of this research was to identify all existing editions of *Evelina*. The initial point of departure for this step in the research project was two bibliographies: the only bibliography of Burney's works by Grau published in 1981, and *The English novel, 1770-1829*.¹²¹ However, even a brief verification and checking of the list of copies of *Evelina* available at the Rare Books and Special Collections at McGill University (RBSC hereafter) against these two bibliographies revealed that they were incomplete. Exploratory searches in online library catalogues confirmed their shortcomings. Therefore, to identify all editions of *Evelina* publicly recorded at the moment of data collection, systematic bibliographic searches had to be conducted in the following electronic resources (see Appendix 2, Data Sources, for more information), and in digitised trade periodicals and publishers' catalogues (cited in footnotes throughout the thesis):

- Online catalogues: OCLC WorldCat, English Short-Title Catalogue (British Library), British Library catalogue, Bodleian Library catalogue, catalogue of Bibliothèque nationale de France, German National Library catalogue, Berlin State Library catalogue, Bavarian State Library catalogue

¹²¹ Garside, Raven, and Schöwerling, *The English Novel, 1770-1829*; Grau, *Fanny Burney*.

- Subscription-based electronic databases: Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Nineteenth Century Collections Online, America's Historical Imprints
- Free electronic libraries: Europeana Collections, Gallica, Internet Archive, Google Books, Google Play, HathiTrust
- Online book-selling platforms: Amazon and Abebooks.

Bibliographical data for all the editions identified in the sources above was noted in the data collection instrument, developed based on the listing of paratextual elements and their features identified by Genette. Early in the process of data collection, a convention for referring to editions and reprints was established: the last name of the publisher (or sometimes place of publication)/year/any other relevant information helpful for distinguishing this particular edition or reprint. For example, Lowndes/1794/2v/ill means an illustrated edition of *Evelina* published by Lowndes in two volumes in 1794. The obtained string effectively serves as a unique identifier distinguishing this particular edition from the ones published by other publishers, from those published by Lowndes in another year, or in the same year but in a different number of volumes or unillustrated. Another example is Dent/1903/Temple and Dent/1903 that refer to two editions of *Evelina* published by Dent in 1903, one of which was included in the *Temple Classics* series and the other was not. This naming convention was used throughout the present thesis to identify and refer to individual editions and reprints. The abbreviated book identifiers are also included in the enumerative bibliography (Appendix 1).

As the quality of the cataloguing records supplied to WorldCat by individual libraries varies, in case of doubt with regard to the veracity of the data in WorldCat, the information was double-checked in the catalogues of individual libraries and appropriate reference sources. Based

on the results of this verification, decisions were made about exclusion or inclusion in the bibliography and the sample of some editions listed in WorldCat. For example, WorldCat lists two editions of *Evelina*: Dove/1791 and Tauchnitz/1788 (both in only one copy).¹²² These editions could not have been published, as the publishing houses did not exist at the dates listed in the records, so they were not included in the sample, bibliography, and analysis. Another example was two editions listed in WorldCat as published by Dent in 1909 in Everyman's Library series: one of 512 pages and another of 378. However, according to the examination of physical copies of Dent's editions issued in this series and to the data derived from secondary sources, Dent began publishing *Evelina* as a 378-page volume only from 1927. It was supposed that the existence of the record of Dent's 1909 378-page editions could be due to an error in linking records in WorldCat or incorrectly done copy-cataloguing. Verification of the catalogues of individual libraries that were listed in WorldCat as having this particular edition confirmed that the book they indeed had was Dent/1929/Everyman's/Rhys/378-page edition, while Dent/1909/Everyman's/Rhys/378-page does not exist. Also, WorldCat lists two English editions published in 1854: one by Harrison and another by Appleton with the same physical characteristics (page count, size). When the local catalogue of the only library declaring holdings of Appleton edition was checked, the copy turned out to be lost. Therefore, in the absence of any positive evidence of its existence, the Appleton edition was excluded from the bibliography.

After the list of all published editions of *Evelina* and the locations of their copies was compiled, it was possible to determine the precise boundaries, limitations, and composition of the sample. As mentioned above, the scope of this study includes only books first (or only) published in print format. Physical copies of the books were examined whenever possible. The main source

¹²² OCLC numbers 613596893 and 257508857.

of print editions was RBSC at McGill University, which is particularly rich in the holdings of works of Frances Burney. The editions not available as print copies at RBSC were borrowed using McGill University Library's Inter-Library-Loan service or examined in the libraries that hold them within the limits of existing logistical constraints. In the case of unavailability of physical copies, microform reproductions or electronic surrogates retrieved from electronic databases and electronic libraries, available at McGill University through subscription or freely on the internet, were used as substitutes.

One of the goals and one of the research questions (RQ 1) of the present study was to create a record, as complete as possible, of all existing editions and reprints of *Evelina*. The editions for which there was no physical or fully scanned electronic copy available or obtainable, data (bibliographical and paratextual) that could possibly be derived from secondary sources was collected to be included in the bibliography (Appendix 1). As the effort was made to see at least one copy of each unique edition, the data derived from secondary sources was included in the bibliography only for a small fraction of all published editions: three English, two French, and one of each edition: Braille, Danish, Polish, Romanian, Spanish, and Swedish.

The use of electronic and microfilm surrogates for data collection and analysis was particularly challenging, and this has been previously acknowledged by other researchers. The main difficulty was that “the digital surrogate cannot convey many of the physical or somatic dimensions of a textual artefact: the weight and feel of the book as an object, the texture of the binding, the thickness of the paper, or the depth of the impression of the letters on the page [...] which contribute to the social, economic, and aesthetic history of the book.”¹²³ In addition, scanned books do not give a researcher any feeling, sense, appreciation, or awareness of the format of the

¹²³ Houston, “Reading the Visual Page in the Digital Archive,” 39.

original. A page of a book published in-folio or as a sextodecimo has the same appearance as a PDF page on the computer screen, with all subtle differences of perception, meaning, and signals that the format sends to the reader being obfuscated for a researcher. Therefore, when electronic surrogates were examined, a conscious effort was made to extract the information on the format from the bibliographical description and to intellectually reconstruct the look and feel of the book as close to the original as possible. As it is impossible to get accurate measurements of the typeface size according to the conventions of descriptive bibliography from a scanned surrogate, this data was not collected, but instead, the overall look and feel of individual pages and quality of printing were observed. Another challenge was the quality and the completeness of the electronic files that are highly variable and dependent on the time of their production. For example, earlier scans are often blurry, mostly do not include covers or blanks, have margins of pages' images trimmed, and are produced in black and white, with background blached, which does not give any understanding of the quality, texture, and colour of the paper. Finally and regrettably, one important element of the book paratext, the book spine, which is often highly ornate and decorative and contains paratextual information, such as the abbreviated form of the title or author's name, publisher's logo, etc., is, for some reason, invariably omitted from all scanned copies regardless of their quality and time of the production. This is true for electronic reproductions, whether earlier ones or produced later, coming from mass-digitisation projects or selective digitisation, available through commercial databases and in freely accessible electronic libraries.

4.3.1.2 Recording Data in Data Collection Instrument

To collect and analyse the data on *Evelina* included in the sample consistently and systematically, a data collection instrument was developed based on the paratextual theoretical framework offered

by Genette (see Appendix 3, Data Collection Instrument). It is a list of paratextual elements, and their attributes and features to be recorded, described, and analysed. According to the conducted literature review, book history studies, undertaken in the context of paratextual theory, usually do not employ any specially constructed data collection instruments, with researchers describing and analysing paratextual elements while working with the books themselves. This could be attributed to the fact that most often, these studies focus on only a few and selected paratextual elements, limited time-frame, a few physical items, or a few editions. However, the breadth of the present study, which spans more than 240 years of the publication history and comprises paratextual elements present in 88 editions (and their 68 reprints), with the ensuing amount of data, warranted the use of an instrument that would facilitate sorting, viewing, and manipulating the data.

The data was collected and recorded in an Excel spreadsheet, where a row was allocated to each edition and reprint, while columns corresponded to paratextual elements. For several paratextual elements, data was collected as a verbatim transcription of the elements as they are present in the books: title, the form of the author name, edition, publication place, publication date, publisher, pagination, printer, publisher series, dedications, and intertitles. The data for other paratextual elements was gathered in the form of unstructured description: title page, verso of the title page, format, paper, typeface, cover, binding, spine, illustrations, ornaments, advertisements, editorial prefaces, notes, and blurbs on the back cover. The choice of Excel, a standard desktop software, for data collecting made it possible to take advantage of its built-in functions for data manipulation and analysis such as sorting, filtering, and pivot tables to represent graphically and visualise the results during preliminary analysis. It also permitted subsequent import of the data into digital humanities software for analysis and visualisation.

No paratextual elements included by Genette in his framework were initially excluded from the constructed data collection instrument. On the contrary, the list was enlarged and expanded with elements that emerged from the review of book history studies to include elements of publisher's paratext, such as images and illustrations (both in text and on covers), inclusion in publisher's series, bindings, decorations, typefaces, paper, bound-in advertisements, and book formats. This initially established data collection instrument, i.e. the preliminary list of paratextual elements and their attributes and features, was adapted and modified in the course of data collection. To keep track of all methodological decisions and make it possible to revert to a previous version, each time a modification to the Excel spread-sheet was made, it was saved as a new file with a different file name, and a note of the rationale for this methodological decision was made.

The modifications to the data collection instrument, made in the course of data collection, fall into four categories. The first modification involved discarding columns corresponding to paratextual elements not present in the study sample or present only sporadically and thus, not permitting any thorough and systematic analysis. Therefore, the columns to record epigraphs, blanks, inscriptions, and marginalia were discarded. The second modification consisted in adding several technical columns that were not part of the analysis, which facilitated easier sorting, manipulating, and analysis of the data or the retrieval of the copies of physical books and their surrogates. These technical columns were: edition year converted into Arabic numerals, unique book's identifier established according to the conventions described above (that permitted sorting and clustering editions with their subsequent reprints), column identifying each book as an edition or reprint, McGill Library call number, locations of examined copies, permalinks to e-books, and inclusion/exclusion of each book in the sample. The third modification was to add columns with

access and bibliographic information for inclusion into the final enumerative bibliography, such as references to bibliographies, information on the availability of e-books, and OCLC control numbers (accession numbers). OCLC numbers are unique identifiers recorded in the 035 MARC cataloguing field that serve to “match WorldCat records and link local records from local systems to WorldCat records.”¹²⁴ Linking local records to WorldCat records makes it possible for users to view the location of reported copies of each edition in reporting libraries contributing to WorldCat worldwide. As WorldCat is constantly updated with new information added by local libraries, a decision was made to include OCLC numbers instead of listing locations of the copies in the final enumerative bibliography of *Evelina*. This prevents the bibliography from becoming obsolete and gives its future users access to the up-to-date location information. The fourth modification was to add the columns for coding of iconic paratext: the form of illustrations, type of illustrations, scene or episode illustrated, time-period illustrated, and their overall theme and mood (see Appendix 4 for the coding scheme).

4.3.2 Data Analysis

The paratextual theory was the main theoretical lens and analytical framework for this study. The paratextual elements of each book were analysed and interpreted through the lens of this theory to reveal how they were used and designed to convey meaning and to influence the perception of the book by its readers. All bibliographical codes, physical features, and preliminary matters were analysed as material evidence of the past, as the evidence of their social history of transmission. This was done by looking closely at each book to see what information is conveyed by each paratextual element and by the apparatus as the whole, and especially, how it defined the audience

¹²⁴ OCLC, “035 Field and OCLC Control Numbers.”

of each edition. The books themselves were extensively and consistently used during the analysis, together with the data collected in the structured data collection instrument. The use of this instrument made it possible to perform quick sorting, and detect similarities and trends, which led to a more in-depth exploration of particular volumes or editions.

Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation lists each paratextual element and describes and analyses its functions in detail, so the work by Genette was used consistently as the point of reference during the analysis. Following Genette's example and the method he adopted to study each type of paratextual elements and used throughout his book, the approach here was to consider, describe, analyse, and interpret the features "that, in concert, allow us to define the status of a paratextual message."¹²⁵ The features are what Genette calls "paratext's spatial, temporal, substantial, pragmatic and functional" characteristics: where a paratextual element is located, when it appeared in the book, its nature (textual, iconic, material, factual, etc.), and the "functions that its message aims to fulfil (to do what?),"¹²⁶ with functional being the specific feature that most attention was devoted to during the analysis. However, the seminal work of Genette, *Paratexts*, in which the paratextual theory was formulated, only touched in passing upon the whole complex subject of illustration, even though he mentioned them when discussing covers, dust jackets, and other elements of publisher's paratext. Also, as mentioned above, *Paratexts* was not a historical study or a history of paratextuality, but a first comprehensive account and description of the whole paratextual apparatus. Therefore, it was necessary to find and develop methodological solutions to overcome these gaps.

The study of visual and iconic paratexts is widespread, as demonstrated by the review of the literature above. However, the methodology for the analysis of these types of paratexts usually

¹²⁵ Genette, *Paratexts*, 4.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

consisted of free description aimed at capturing their expressive content and their role in the text's interpretation and representation. One of the challenges encountered in this study was to develop a method to analyse and interpret paratexts that exist in different media: textual (prefaces, notes) and iconic (images, printer's decorations, etc.) in a consistent manner. To answer research questions and to uncover how publishers used paratext as the means to present and market new editions of *Evelina*, the analysis of iconic paratext was important as the type of images, choice of scenes to illustrate, the place of images in the text, and the number of illustrations, defined and decided by the publishers, constitute together an important marketing device.¹²⁷ To ensure consistency in the analysis of paratexts presented in different media (textual and non-textual), it was decided to complement the primary unstructured description of iconic paratext that was created during data collection with content analysis through coding.

In addition to interpretive analysis, measures of quantification were used for the general description of the corpus of the editions, namely frequency distributions of *Evelina* by the number of editions per language, per decade, per country of publication, by the publisher, by inclusion in series, with specific forms of paratext, e.g. title, author's name, etc. These uses of quantification are in keeping with the general trend in book history studies, where, as Alexis Weedon concluded, "measures of central tendency and dispersion, trends, fluctuations, and correlations" are among the most used.¹²⁸

Finally, the breadth of the time range of the study and the size of the studied sample made a compelling argument for the use of methodological solutions meant to facilitate and enhance the possibilities of data analysis through visualisation. Digital humanities visualisation tools are especially effective "when dealing with large corpora of data as they allow representing significant

¹²⁷ Hodnett, *Image and Text*.

¹²⁸ Weedon, "The Uses of Quantification," 37.

features of it more compactly and more efficiently.”¹²⁹ “Visualisations assist and facilitate the analysis as by nature they are “transformations [...] that tend to reduce the amount of information presented, but in service of drawing attention to some significant aspect.”¹³⁰ Similarly to coding, visualisation is a data reduction technique used to reduce the analysed data to a more manageable size and, at the same time, to see it in a visual format that can be easily understood. Therefore, it was decided to take advantage of recent developments in digital humanities and analyse paratextual characteristics of *Evelina* for co-occurrences and correlations of individual paratextual elements with dates of publication and with other paratextual elements by using digital humanities visualisation tools. This step allowed the detection of fluctuations and trends in the evolution and development of *Evelina*’s paratextual apparatus in time, and patterns in co-existence of individual forms of different paratextual elements.

4.3.2.1 Coding of Iconic Paratext

Content analysis through coding, which was “originally developed to interpret written and spoken texts,”¹³¹ has been a long-established approach and part of methodologies adopted in qualitative research in social sciences when applied to images that were produced as part of the culture and not specifically created for research purposes. However, the coding of images has not been extensively used in book history research undertaken in the theoretical and analytical framework of the paratextual theory. The review of the literature revealed only one study (of Caldecott Award Books), which used coding to investigate how iconic paratext contributed to the development of narratives in these books but, unfortunately, without reporting on the used methodology.¹³²

¹²⁹ Sinclair and Rockwell, “Text Analysis and Visualization, 276.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 81.

¹³² Martinez, Stier, and Falcon, “Judging a Book by Its Cover.”

To analyse the iconic paratext of *Evelina* in a systematic manner, it was decided to complement the unstructured free-language interpretive descriptions of images created during the data collection by coding (see Appendix 4 for Coding Scheme). Coding was used as a means to reduce visual data contained in the iconic paratext of *Evelina* (images, decorations, illustrations) to textual expressions in order to facilitate its analysis as an integral part of the paratextual apparatus of the books. The coding was done in two steps, using two different coding approaches: attribute coding and topical coding

According to the *Sage Handbook of Visual Research Methods*, the process of content analysis of visual materials “usually starts with examination of formal categories, such as picture size, picture position,” etc.¹³³ Thus, first, an attribute coding was performed to describe formal characteristics of iconic paratext and to log “essential information about the data.”¹³⁴ The attributes and categories below, with the exception of “Time-period,” were developed based on a review of the literature on coding techniques, visual method research in social sciences, and bibliography, book history, and the relationship between images and text. Even though no coding techniques were employed in the latter group of literature, it was useful for defining coding categories. The categories for the “Time-period” attribute resulted from the initial open coding, “the initial interpretive process by which raw research data are first systematically analyzed and categorized.”¹³⁵ All iconic paratext discovered in each edition of *Evelina* included in the sample was coded according to these categories. During the coding, if any new category was identified, the coding was repeated for the whole sample, until no new categories emerged from the data.

The following attribute coding categories were identified:

¹³³ Bock, Isermann, and Knieper, “Quantitative Content Analysis of the Visual,” 267.

¹³⁴ Saldaña, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*, 69.

¹³⁵ *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research*, s.v. “Coding: Open Coding.”

- Absence or presence of iconic paratext: coded in the data collection instrument as 1 or 0;
- Number of elements of iconic paratext in each book;
- Form of iconic paratext: whether the iconic paratext was a printer's ornament, illustrative frontispiece, portrait frontispiece, title page cameo, engraved title page, in-text illustration, cover art, cover portrait, portrait (cameo), in-text art, map, portrait, cover portrait (cameo);
- Type: factual, representing non-fictional characters or settings; decorative or ornamental, done in "pure decoration,"¹³⁶ which was more common in the 18th century; pictorial/illustrative "that is, illustrating the subject"¹³⁷ otherwise defined as "direct,"¹³⁸ that became wide-spread in Victorian novels¹³⁹; or symbolic/ allusive "suggesting the spirit" of the book;¹⁴⁰
- Time-period in which the action of illustration was placed: the period placement of the images in *Evelina* often does not correspond to the action of the novel that took place in the late 18th century. Three categories were defined as a result of the initial open coding: images with settings contemporary to 1778 that were first included in 1779 editions by Lowndes; images with settings contemporary to 1778; and images with settings contemporary to the time of publication of the edition. The time-period of the illustrations was deduced from the depicted furniture and fashions

¹³⁶ Thomson, *Aesthetic Tracts*, 23.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Luborsky, "Connections and Disconnections between Images and Texts," 74.

¹³⁹ Fowler, *The Mind of the Book*, 65.

¹⁴⁰ Thomson, *Aesthetic Tracts*, 23.

using appropriate reference sources ¹⁴¹ and analysed as an important indicator of how the novel was presented on the market.

The attribute coding was followed by the second step, the descriptive coding “also called topic coding” that summarises the topic of qualitative data “in a word or a short phrase.”¹⁴² This final interpretive category described the overall theme and sentiment (that can also be called expressive content, tone, or mood) transmitted by the iconic paratext. To perform the descriptive/topic coding, the process was approached with a “holistic, interpretive lens guided by intuitive inquiry.”¹⁴³ As it is recommended in the literature for coding of visual materials, first, “the researcher’s careful scrutiny of and reflection on images” generated “language-based data that accompany the visual data.”¹⁴⁴ In this research, the language-based data was generated as unstructured free-language interpretive descriptions of images found in each edition of *Evelina*. Afterwards, by repeated viewing examination of images and with the use of researcher-generated unstructured descriptions, the images were coded in the process of subjective, intuitive, flexible coding. “In flexible coding, the researcher is no longer supposed to be an objective, neutral observer who follows explicit rules to place unitized data into predefined categories. Instead, categories are induced from the data, and are reconceptualised, merged, partitioned, reorganised, and reconstructed throughout the coding process.”¹⁴⁵ During the descriptive/topic coding process, to assign the category defining the theme and expressive content of illustrative paratext, the images

¹⁴¹ These sources were used for dating of fashion in illustrations Cunnington, *English Women's Clothing in the Nineteenth Century*; Richman-Abdou, “Illustrated Timeline Presents Women’s Fashion Every Year from 1784-1970.”; “Fashion History Timeline.”; Holscher, Van den Beukel, and Van Roojen, *Fashion Design, 1800-1940*; World Furniture

¹⁴² Saldaña, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*, 88.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 57.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 52.

¹⁴⁵ *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods*, s.v. “Coding, Flexible.”

were approached “‘naively,’ that is to say not by steeping oneself in the literature but by direct observation,” allowing the images “to make the first impression.”¹⁴⁶ The labels for the categories were derived intuitively from the initial interpretive and subjective descriptions of images. Similarly to attribute coding, if any new category was identified, the coding was repeated for the whole sample, until no new categories emerged from the data.

4.3.2.2 Analysing through Data Visualisation

The publication history of *Evelina* spans from 1778 to the present, going from the late reign of George III into the post-modernist era. This breadth of time range and the size of the studied sample called for tools that would bring together, structure, and visualise information extracted from the sample in the historical context. Therefore, a timeline tool, Timeglider, was chosen to facilitate contextualisation and analysis by placing the publication history of *Evelina* in the context of the general history, history of literary and aesthetic movements, Burney’s life, and publication history of her other works (see Appendix 6). The choice of a specific timeline software was defined by the following reasons: capacity to present both point-in-time events and extended time-periods, ability to visually group and categorise events, ease and format of data import (CVS compatible), and the possibility for the timelines to be web-hosted on the software site. Timeglider makes it possible also to create multiple timelines and combine a view of two timelines avoiding overcrowding of data in one timeline while permitting viewing and juxtaposing its multiple aspects.

To facilitate the discussion of the publication history of *Evelina*, four timelines were built for this projects in Timeglider software and were used during the analysis and discussion: a

¹⁴⁶ Margolis and Zunjarwad, “Visual Research,” 616.

timeline is of all editions and reprints of *Evelina*; a timeline of dates and events in European history, history of aesthetic and literary movements, and Burney's literary and literary afterlife; a timeline of Burney's name forms in *Evelina*; and a timeline of the forms of the title (see Appendix 6 and the timelines on the Timeglider website).¹⁴⁷ Depending on a specific goal of analysis and discussion, any two of the four timelines were viewed simultaneously, for example, to explore the evolution of the form of Burney's name in relation to the historical context the *Name* timeline and the timeline of dates and events were viewed.

Data that was input in the timelines belonged to the categories below. The choice of categories was defined by the end-goal of the analysis, which was to situate editions of *Evelina* and forms of their paratextual elements within the contexts and against the backgrounds of Burney's life, Burney's literary life, general history, and history of literary and aesthetic movements, while also detecting co-occurrences and correlations of the presence of individual paratextual elements with the dates of publications. The historical and bibliographic data (see Appendix 6) entered in the timeline was derived from contextual readings and the literature review, while the data on the editions of *Evelina* was drawn from the data collection instrument and the bibliography compiled in the course of this study (see Appendix 1). The editions and reprints of *Evelina* were presented on the timeline by a shortened form of their unique identifiers developed for this study. The forms of author's name and the forms of the title of *Evelina* were also shortened and normalised for input, to avoid overcrowding of data on the timeline while permitting for viewing of condensed periods. To allow for easier detection of trends and tendencies, different categories of data and data entries in the same category but with different characteristics were

¹⁴⁷ Timeline data and screenshots can be found in the Appendix 6. Publicly accessible copies of the timelines viewed in sets of two can be found here: *Editions & Events*, <https://timeglider.com/p/e6fdd4b3304a75da>; *Name & Title*, <https://timeglider.com/p/af9b01ee3207eff1>; *Title & Events*, <https://timeglider.com/p/d51de90f52c99006>; *Name & Events*: <https://timeglider.com/p/129b00f85072e7f5>.

visually distinguished. For example, different icons (star vs. infinity symbol) were used for editions and reprints, while English-language books and translations were distinguished by colour.

1. Point-in-time *Evelina*'s events:

- English editions
- English reprints
- Non-English editions
- Non-English reprints
- Form of title
- Form of author's name

2. Time-periods:

- Burney's life periods
- Historical periods in English and European history
- Major literary & aesthetic movements

3. Point-in-time background events:

- Burney's life events
- First editions of Burney's other works
- Reviews on the first publication of Burney's works
- Major biographical & critical works on Burney
- Major events in English and European history

Historic Timelines (Oxford Reference) was the information source used for entries for historical and cultural events and periods.¹⁴⁸ Entries for Burney's life-events, publications,

¹⁴⁸ "Historical Timelines." *Oxford Reference*.

biographies, and general critical works and criticism of *Evelina* (see Appendix 6) came from *Oxford Bibliographies*, the Grau bibliography, *The Cambridge Companion to Frances Burney*, and bibliographies at various editions of *Evelina*: Penguin/1994, Bedford/1997, Norton/1998/Critical, Broadview/2000, Oxford/1998/Bloom, and Oxford/2008/Jones.¹⁴⁹ Entries for editions and reprints of *Evelina* were based on the bibliography composed as part of the present thesis (Appendix 1). Due to the overabundance of critical materials, to avoid overcrowding of the timeline and, thus, to facilitate the analysis and description of the general trends and tendencies, only monograph-length critical and biographical works were included in the timeline. The software used for the creation of the timeline, Timeglider, requires entering day, month, and year for the date of each event. Since this level of granularity was not needed for the analysis, and it is difficult or even impossible to establish the exact day and month of publication of each book, it was decided to enter all the events as happening on the 1st of January of the respective year. If more than one edition of *Evelina* was published in the given year, they were distributed throughout the subsequent months (February, March, etc.).

Two other tools for data visualisation, RAW and Palladio,¹⁵⁰ were used in the analysis to facilitate the understanding of co-occurrences and correlations of individual paratextual elements with dates of publication and with other paratextual elements, and to detect tendencies and trends in the evolution and development of *Evelina*'s paratextual apparatus. When it was necessary to determine which data visualisation tool from an array of those available to use, the choice was defined by the following considerations. The tools must be easy to master, allow for easy data import, i.e. to be CVS compatible, and offer a variety of visualisation options. However, as

¹⁴⁹ Grau, *Fanny Burney*; Sabor, "Frances Burney," *Oxford Bibliographies*; *The Cambridge Companion to Frances Burney*.

¹⁵⁰ Gephi was also tried as data visualisation tool but was not used for final analysis as it required significant investment of time and effort to format the data to make it Gephi-compatible, without bringing significant insights.

opposed to Excel, which also permits visualising data by building graphs and charts to illustrate better findings, the tools that were sought should be designed to allow the researcher to freely explore the data in order to identify patterns, recognise trends, and see outliers. Palladio makes it possible to adjust data dynamically in order to visualise its components for comparison, enabling the researcher to look for insights and explore correlations, while RAW differentiates correlations using colour, size, and labels, making it possible to explore and compare multiple different data dimensions of studied objects.

In the present study, digital humanities tools were utilised to find correlations between paratextual elements such as dates of publication, language, publishers, the form of author's name, the form of the title, forms of dedications and prefaces, and the results of coding of illustrative and material paratext. These correlations helped to identify trends in the evolutions of the various paratextual elements detecting patterns in their use that produce different types of editions targeting specific audiences. For the input in Timeglider, RAW, and Palladio, forms of dates of publication, publishers' names, author's name, title, forms of dedications and prefaces, were shortened and normalised to avoid overcrowding.

4.4 Limitations of the Methodology

The main limitations of the methodology used in this research are typical for qualitative studies. They are largely defined by the same reasons as its strengths: the interpretive nature of the analysis, the descriptive character of the case study, the purposive sample format, and the particularities of the method of data analysis. Personal interpretation of collected data and evidence, and the subjective nature of the analysis with the researcher being the main instrument of the analysis, are typical for historical case studies, so they cannot be prevented. The descriptive character of the

case study and the use of a limited-size purposive sample have not produced a general picture of any trends nor explained some general tendencies in the evolution of paratext of the British publications in general. Hence, the results of the study cannot be generalizable to the entire corpus of imprints produced for the last two centuries in the course of the history of the book. This lack of generalizability for broader contexts, however, is an expected limitation of case studies.

Instead, this study aimed to ensure the transferability of the findings to other contexts. To achieve the transferability, the process of data collection, the collected data, and the context of the study were described in detail and with the maximum precision in order to create a rich picture that would allow other researchers to judge if a connection could be made between the results of this study and another but similar context. This study is context-specific and time-specific being based on a book authored by an early English female novelist and mostly published in European countries (mainly in Britain, but with some French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Russian editions) and situated in the context of available publishing technologies, existing typographical and printing conventions, and cultural, historical, and aesthetical developments of the time. This could prevent the findings from being transferable to other study objects: other book genres, novels published by male authors, or novels published in other time-periods.

The transferability of the findings of this study has other limitations, defined by a Euro-centric and West-centric focus of the research. The Euro-centricity is due to the nature of the used primary sources of evidence, physical books published in Western Europe and North America, and by the context of the European book and publishing history and general history of the Western world in the 18th – 21st centuries. The book history in Asia, for example, has developed in the environment of different technologies, dissimilar typographical and printing conventions, and other cultural, historical, and aesthetical contexts. Therefore, it will be, most probably, difficult for

a researcher in the book history of an Asian country to make a connection between the findings of this study conducted in such a different context.

Finally, it is essential for appreciating the study to possess some specialised knowledge regarding digital humanities and data visualisation tools. This creates in itself a limitation as readers who do not have such knowledge may not understand the methodology of data analysis thoroughly. However, this limitation can be easily overcome, as there are numerous tutorials, handbooks, and courses that could help readers to gain a command of these tools.

5. Results & Discussion: *Evelina*'s Publication History

In this Chapter, the findings are described, analysed, and discussed in the light of the previous literature and put in historical context to provide answers to Research Questions 1 and 2.

RQ 1: When, by which publisher, in which language, and in which country was *Evelina* published and reprinted over the course of its publishing history?

RQ 2: How does the publication history of *Evelina* reflect and relate to the events and pivotal moments in the book history, general history of the period, or Burney's literary life?

To facilitate the discussion of the publication history of *Evelina*, two timelines built for this project in Timeglider software were consistently used during the analysis and discussion. The first timeline is of all editions and reprints of *Evelina* and the second one is of dates and events in European history, history of aesthetic and literary movements, and Burney's literary and literary afterlife (see Appendix 6 and Timeglider website).¹⁵¹

5.1 Discovering *Evelina*: Newly Found Editions and Reprints

Until the present study, the most comprehensive bibliography of Burney's works available was published by Grau in 1981. It includes *Evelinas* published up until the 1970 reprint by Oxford University Press, with an introduction by Edward A. Bloom. Exploratory searches in online library catalogues proved that the bibliography is far from being complete, with many missing editions and reprints published before 1981. This justified a need to carry out an exhaustive search to discover all editions and reprints of *Evelina* published up to 2014 (see section 4.3.1.1 for the description of the process and Appendix 2: Data Sources: Bibliographies, Catalogues, Electronic Libraries, and Databases for the list of searched resources). Further research confirmed that

¹⁵¹ Timeline data, screenshots, and links to publicly accessible copies of timelines can be found in the Appendix 6.

multiple editions and reprints of *Evelina* are missing from Grau's bibliography, and a number of those present are listed erroneously with reprints wrongly attributed to particular editions, editions listed as reprints, and reprints as editions.

Grau's bibliography was published in the pre-internet era when access to bibliographical information from multiple sources was infinitely more limited, and the probability of making errors was high. Grau probably did not have a chance to examine all the editions himself and relied heavily on available published enumerative bibliographies, which could have led to errors and inaccuracies. An exhaustive bibliographic search for *Evelina* produced some interesting findings, helped to address errors regarding the attribution of editions and reprints and, most importantly, to uncover editions and reprints hereto unknown to the wide research community. The knowledge of the existence of these editions enriches and changes our understanding of the publication history of this novel by presenting a full picture of its reach to the reading public in Britain and abroad.

5.1.1 Correcting Inaccuracies in Grau: Editions vs. Reprints

Grau recorded two editions and six reprints, whose existence is more than dubious, and listed several reprints under wrong editions. His bibliography lists a 1789 Berlin edition of *Evelina* translated by W.H. Bromel, and an 1805 reprint. However, no library in WorldCat catalogue declares any holdings of these two *Evelinas*. They are also not present in the catalogues of the largest German libraries, e.g. the German National Library, the Berlin State Library, or the Bavarian State Library. However, in 1789, there was a German edition of *Cecilia*, translated by Bromel, and published under the title *Emilia Beverlyi*, which is listed in WorldCat, held in several libraries worldwide, and is freely available online as a digitised copy. An examination of the electronic copy allowed the rejection of the supposition that *Evelina* could have been issued as part

of the set together with *Cecilia*. In the absence of any positive evidence of the existence of Bromel/1789 and Bromel/1805, both were excluded from the bibliography and analysis.

Another edition, whose existence is doubtful, is listed in Grau as Dove 18- -. The rationale that Grau provided for listing it separately from the edition published by Dove in the 1840s (according to Grau in 1843) is that there was an inscription that indicated “publication prior to 1831.”¹⁵² However, the data in WorldCat is not convincing with regard to the existence of Dove/18- -. According to their local catalogues, all the libraries that show the holdings of 1800s edition in WorldCat (00s is a cataloguing convention for an unconfirmed date) are have the 1840s edition in their collections. The local catalogues of individual libraries declaring holdings of this edition were double-checked. It was discovered that their records for the 1800s edition showed the same pagination (ix, 426 p.) as Dove/1840 (St-Andrews University, Queen’s University, and McMaster University libraries), and there were no copies at all in one case (University of British Columbia Library). Therefore, due to the lack of positive evidence confirming the existence of any edition by Dove other than Dove/1840, the Dove/18-- edition was excluded from the sample, bibliography, and analysis.

Several other relatively modern reprints listed in Grau’s bibliography were not reported in any of the libraries. For example, there is a 1908 reprint of Dent/1893 listed under I.A.40. There was no single library reporting its existence in the WorldCat, while more than 200 libraries list in their holdings Dent/1909/Everyman’s/Rhys, published in the *Everyman’s Library* series. Thus, Dent/1908 was excluded from the bibliography, sample, and analysis, while a 1909 reprint was included. The other reprints, excluded from the sample, bibliography, and analysis, due to the

¹⁵² Grau, *Fanny Burney*, I.A.4.

impossibility to confirm their existence, are the following, Harper/185--, Derby & Jackson/1858, Macmillan/1935, and Dent/1961/Everyman's/Gibbs.

There are also errors in the bibliography in attributing reprints to particular editions (see the bibliography in Appendix 1). One Lowndes edition, a very unusual one with regard to its paratextual packaging, was particularly inaccurately reported by Grau, with its scope unknown until the present study. Lowndes/1791/2v/ill is a two-volume book that in addition to the frontispiece plates commissioned for the 1779 editions features a title page with almost no white space, embellished with illustrative cameos vignettes and a mixture of several types of fonts (see more about this edition in sections 5.2.2.1 and 6.3.1.2 below). Lowndes/1791/2v/ill is different from I.A.5, Lowndes' three-volume *Evelina* published in 1783, under which Grau listed it, with different make-up and illustrations, so it should have been listed in the bibliography as I.A.12a together with Lowndes/1794/2v/ill. Another reprint of Lowndes/1791/2v/ill (Lowndes/1801/2v/ill) was put under Grau I.A.18, another Lowndes' two-volume edition, unillustrated and plain. In total, only one of the four reprints of this edition was listed as a separate entry in Grau's bibliography, two other reprints were attributed to wrong editions, while Lowndes/1805/2v/ill was not included at all.

The other examples of erroneous attributions are: an 1852 reprint of Harper's stereotype edition listed as a separate edition under Grau I.A.32, which should be included as a reprint under I.A.26; a reprint of the 1874 yellowback published by Ward & Lock listed as a separate edition in the bibliography under I.A.37, which should be put under I.A.35; and the Dent/1927/Everyman's/Rhys/378-page and all its subsequent reprints, reset on 378 instead of xvi and 512 pages, listed under I.A.47 as reprints, which should be entered under a separate edition.

5.1.2 Newly Discovered *Evelina*

The exhaustive search conducted for *Evelina* produced some additional findings. One of them is the extent and variety of editions produced by the publishing house of Lowndes. In addition to Lowndes/1791/2v/ill (attributed in Grau to wrong editions), as discussed above, it was discovered that three out of seven Lowndes' editions of *Evelina* and one reprint of Lowndes/1791/2v/ill, which is Lowndes/1805/2v/ill, are not listed in the bibliography. One of the newly discovered editions is Lowndes/1784/2v/vign published in 1784, as another new edition by father and son, T. & W. Lowndes. This was the first non-pirated *Evelina* to appear in two volumes, printed without plates and decorated only with two small woodblock vignettes. T. & W. Lowndes probably sought to capitalise on the popularity of the newly published *Cecilia* as they point out the same authorship of *Evelina* and *Cecilia* in an advertisement printed at the back of each volume. In 1814, William Lowndes produced, together with Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, two different editions of *Evelina* not recorded in the bibliography: Lowndes & others/1814 and Lowndes & others/1814/small print. One was published in duodecimo on plain quality paper as many other editions of *Evelina*, while the other is an attractive, light, well-printed trigesimo-secundo (32° or 32mo) printed on the thin good-quality paper in a tiny, sharp, clear, and legible font. These two editions are the only ones produced by Lowndes, where the author is identified by her name in the book. The name is not printed on the title page, but the books contain an "account of the author," an extract from the preface to *Evelina* included in the *British Novelists* series, with the name used as a title for this preface. It is worth noting that the publisher chose to title his biographical preface as "Madame D'Arblay," while it was "Miss Burney" in the *Novelists*.

Another and fascinating finding is the number and the dates of publication of the Irish reprints of *Evelina*. Until now, only one Dublin-printed book, published in 1793 (Grau I.A.12),

had been identified in the bibliographies. This study revealed the existence of six much earlier and some later instances of this particular version of the novel, Dublin/1779, Dublin/1780, Dublin/1784, Dublin/1785, Dublin/1793, and Dublin/1800, and the fact that they were reprints of the same edition was confirmed through bibliographic examination. Another *Evelina*, published in 1794 (Booksellers [Dublin?]/1794) despite misleading title page data, also has all the signs of being a pirated edition and could have been conceivably produced by Irish booksellers, for whom the pirating of English editions was a considerable part of the business model at the time.

In addition, the extent of publishing of derived works based on *Evelina*, such as digests, excerpts, and summaries of the novel was uncovered. Six of them were published in total, while only two editions were mentioned in Grau: *The English Novel before the Nineteenth Century: Excerpts from Representative Types*, published by Ginn in 1915 and the last reprint of Warner's digest, *Warner Library* published in 1917. Earlier editions of Warner's digest that contain excerpts from *Evelina* (Warner/1896/digest, Warner/1902/digest, and Warner/1902/digest/deluxe), and were discovered, and also a summary of *Evelina* published in 1964 in *Masterplots English Fiction Series: 337 Plots in Story Form from the Best English Fiction* by Salem Press.

Lastly, this study identified the extent of publication of *Evelina* in translated editions: six additional French editions (five were not in Grau and one published after Grau), and eight editions in Braille, Dutch, Danish, Italian, Polish, Romanian, and Spanish were found.¹⁵³ Among the 24 translated *Evelinas*, only ten were listed in the Grau bibliography (six French editions and one French reprint, one German edition, one Dutch, and one Russian), while ten editions were omitted (and four more appeared after the date of publication of Grau's bibliography).

¹⁵³ Braille is not a language but a writing system for visually impaired people. However, the term "to translate" is used for conversion into Braille, see for example: "Braille Translators" in *American Foundation for the Blind*, accessed on April 20, 2020, <https://www.afb.org/blindness-and-low-vision/using-technology/assistive-technology-products/braille-translators>

Table 1: Editions & Reprints re. Grau Bibliography

	Language	In Grau	Not in Grau	After Grau	Total
1	English	89	39	15	143
2	French	7	5	1	13
3	German	1			1
4	Dutch	1			1
5	Spanish		1	1	2
6	Braille		1		1
7	Danish		1		1
8	Italian			1	1
9	Polish		1		1
10	Romanian			1	1
11	Russian	1			1
12	Swedish		1		1
	Total	99	49	19	169

One of the translations that was not mentioned in Grau's bibliography (not included in the totals above) is of particular interest because it belongs to the category of what could be defined as derived works based on *Evelina*. Grau mentions one German and one English dramatic adaptation of *Evelina*: Schroeder, Friedrich Ludewig. *Victorine, oder Wohlthun trägt Zinsen. Ein Lustspiel in vier Aufzügen* (1786) and White, William Charles. *The Poor Lodger: A Comedy, in Five Acts as Performed at the Boston Theatre* (1811). However, the bibliography does not contain another such dramatization published in Dutch in 1806 as *Victorine: Tooneelspel*, which could be

translated as *Victorine: A Theater Play*, a translation by M.G. Engelman of Schröder’s German adaptation of *Evelina*.

5.1.3 Discovering *Evelina*: Totals

The total number of discovered *Evelinas* is 167 (in addition to three dramatic adaptations). This number includes all the editions with their reprints, excluding print-on-demand and born-digital editions, present in the WorldCat catalogue when the data was collected. Among them, 99 *Evelinas* (57 unique editions and 42 reprints) and two dramatic adaptations, in German and English, were listed in Grau’s bibliography. A total of 68 *Evelinas* that were not listed were discovered (42 editions and 26 reprints). Also, one dramatic adaptation in Dutch was found. Forty-nine of 68 (“Not in Grau”) fall within the time range of the bibliography, i.e. were published before 1981, while 19 (“After Grau”) were published later (see Table 2 for the breakdown). It must be underlined as the bibliography contains errors and omissions discussed above, the Grau totals provided in the present sections were not taken directly from the bibliography but were corrected to correspond to the newly collected data. For example, the editions whose existence could not be confirmed and the reprints that were erroneously listed were not taken into account in calculating “In Grau” totals.

Table 2: Editions & Reprints vs. Grau Bibliography

	In Grau	Not in Grau	After Grau
Unique editions	57	28	14
Reprints	42	21	5
Total	99	49	19

5.2 240 Years of Publication History¹⁵⁴

5.2.1 Overview in Dates and Numbers

Evelina has been and remains by far the most widely published of four Burney's novels, never going out of print in English over the course of its 240-year presence on the book market. Book publishing is a commercial enterprise, and, with few exceptions, books are published to be sold for profit. If a book was republished in a significant number of editions and reprints, it does not necessarily provide direct evidence that this particular book was widely read or popular with its readers, but it most certainly indicates that it was widely sold and bought. As Patten pointed out, based on the example of Dickens, "a bewildering variety of editions" of a book would be published, each of them would be "designed to attract its own class of customers, to work on its special segment of the market."¹⁵⁵ Similarly, the multitude of different editions of *Evelina*, produced by different publishers, each of them working for their own market niche, is an indication of its wide reach to different strata of society and different classes of customers with different levels of wealth and education.

Among the 167 *Evelinas*, published in various languages since 1778, 99 were new editions, and 68 were reprints. Interestingly, the majority of the 99 editions, precisely 72, were never reprinted, while 13 were reprinted only once. The only translated reprint was published in French by Changuion and falls into this one-time-only reprint category. In English, there were 143 *Evelinas* in total published in England, Scotland, Ireland, on the continent, or in America, with the

¹⁵⁴ In writing this sub-chapter, the following sources were used extensively. They are referenced in the text only for direct quotes. "British Book Trade Index."; Dzwonkoski, *American Literary Publishing Houses, 1638-1899*; *American Literary Publishing Houses, 1900-1980*; Rose and Anderson, *British Literary Publishing Houses, 1881-1965*; Anderson and Rose, *British Literary Publishing Houses, 1820-1880*; Bracken and Silver, *The British Literary Book Trade, 1475-1700*; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹⁵⁵ Patten, *Charles Dickens and His Publishers*, 326.

number of reprints smaller than the number of new editions (76 vs. 67). Among the 76 English editions, 51 were never reprinted, ten reprinted only once, and three reprinted twice.

Multiple reprints of an edition are an indubitable testimony of both the sustained commercial success of the book but also and more importantly, of the good fit of a particular edition with a particular segment of the book market of the time. The frequent reprinting of several editions of *Evelina* produced at the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century indicates their publisher's success in finding their reader audience and market niche unequivocally. The variety of these often-reprinted editions is also an indication of the diversification of the book market and reading public: six reprints by Macmillan, in gift-book bindings and richly illustrated with 75 plates by Hugh Thomson; seven plain-looking reprints by Bell destined for educational markets; and 19 (3 editions and 16 reprints) published by Dent in the democratic and affordable *Everyman's Library*. The number of reprints of the Dublin edition of *Evelina* is also of interest as it demonstrates the existence of a healthy market for cheaper editions of popular works at the end of the 18th century. An interesting iteration of *Evelina*, published by Warner, merits a special mention not only because of the number of reprints (four) but also because of its format. It is an excerpt, a letter from the novel, included in several editions of Warner's literary digests. The first three editions of this multi-volume compilation were published in 1896 and 1902 (31-volume Teacher's Edition and 46-volume Memorial Edition de Luxe) under a rather ambitious title *Library of the World's Best Literature, Ancient and Modern*, while the last one came out in 1917 under a more modest title of the *Warner Library*.

Table 3: English *Evelina* by Publisher, Reprinted More than Twice

Edition's ID	Years	Editions	Reprints	Total
Lowndes/2v/ill	1791, 1794, 1801, 1805	1	3	4
Walther	1788, 1805, 1818, 1826	1	3	4
Warner (digest)	1896, 1902, 1902, 1917	1	3	4
Bell/Bohn's Popular Library	1913, 1919, 1927, 1931	1	3	4
Dent (no series)	1893, 1894, 1899, 1901, 1903	1	4	5
Oxford/Bloom	1968, 1970, 1982, 1991, 1998	1	4	5
Dublin	1779, 1780, 1784, 1785, 1793, 1800	1	5	6
Macmillan	1903, 1904, 1910, 1920, 1925, 1932	1	5	6
Bell/Bohn's Novelist's Library	1881, 1883, 1890, 1892, 1898, 1904, 1907	1	6	7
Dent/Everyman's Library	1909, 1911, 1914, 1917, 1920, 1925, 1927, 1929, 1931, 1935, 1938, 1941, 1946, 1950, 1951, 1958, 1960, 1964, 1967	3	16	19

Evelina was steadily published in English, with a total of 76 English editions and 67 reprints (plus one dramatic adaptation White, William Charles. *The Poor Lodger: A Comedy, in Five Acts* (1811)), never being out of print, with at least one *Evelina* (the 1970s and 1980s) and up to 14 (the 1900s) published per decade. A significant number, 13 editions and eight reprints (21 in total), were published in English during the three last decades of the 18th century (from 1778 until the end of the century) when the novel was at the height of its popularity. Among these 21 English-language *Evelinas*, four are early American, two Irish, one that according to the bibliographic evidence is most probably Irish, and one English-language continental edition. These numbers demonstrate an early and fast spread of novel's fame among the Anglophone reading public, not only within but also beyond English borders.

Table 4: English-language Editions & Reprints by Decade

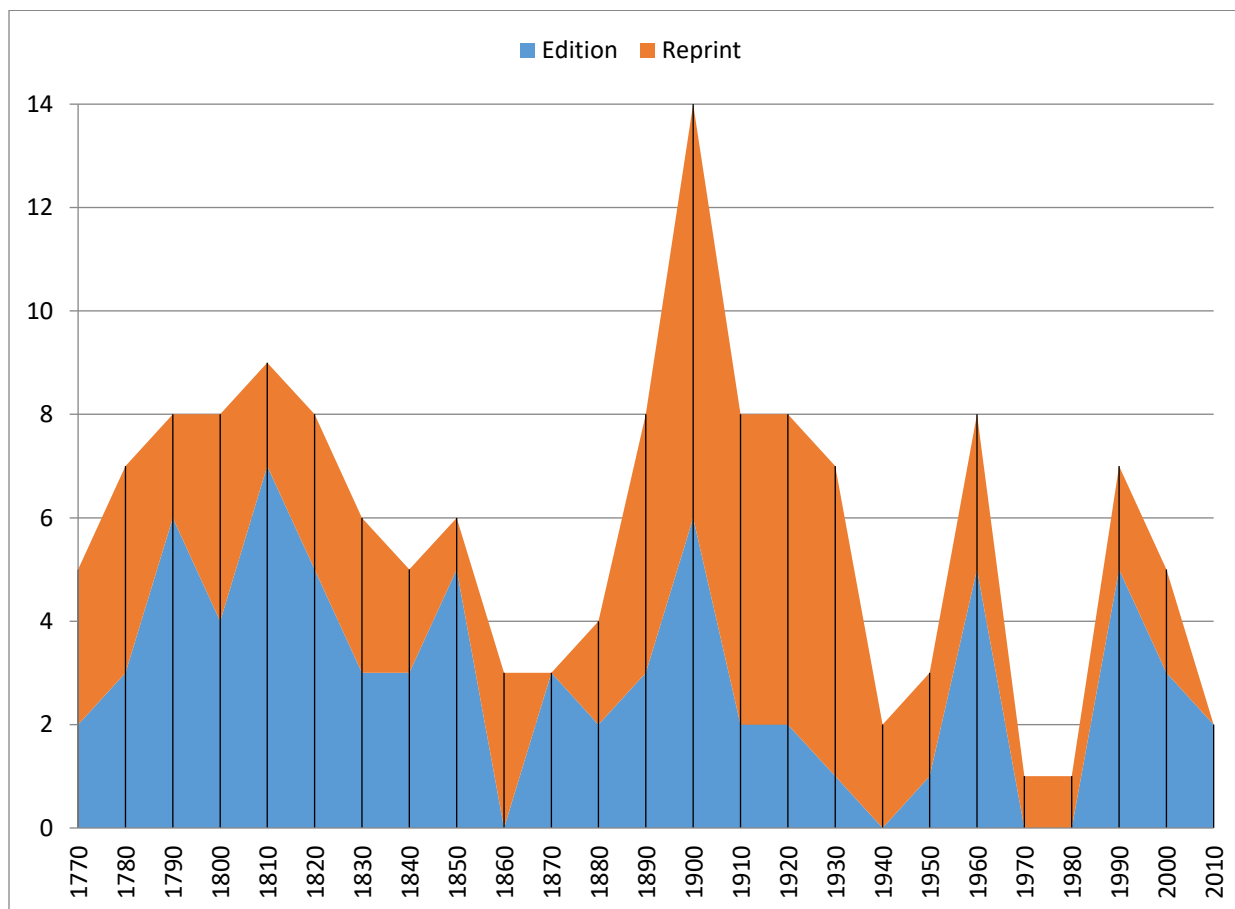
Decade	Editions	Reprints	Total
1770s	4	1	5
1780s	3	4	7
1790s	6	2	8
1800s	4	4	8
1810s	7	2	9
1820s	5	3	8
1830s	3	0	3
1840s	3	2	5
1850s	5	1	6
1860s	0	3	3

1870s	3	0	3
1880s	2	2	4
1890s	3	5	8
1900s	6	8	14
1910s	2	6	8
1920s	2	6	8
1930s	1	6	7
1940s	0	2	2
1950s	1	2	3
1960s	5	3	8
1970s	0	1	1
1980s	0	1	1
1990s	5	2	7
2000s	3	2	5
2010s	2	0	2
Total	75	68	143

In some decades, the number of reprints and editions can be an indication of the overall state of the market for literature. Interestingly, the publication numbers for *Evelina* do not mirror a marked slump in the total number of published novels in the early 19th century (see Table 4 and Figure 1 for the numbers by decade), with eight editions and reprints published in the 1800s and 1820s, and nine in the 1810s. This can be attributed to the continuing wave of the book's popularity that began in 1778 and continued into the first decades of the 19th century. On the other hand, the

large publication numbers in the 1890s, 1900s, and 1910s are a good reflection of the decades of prosperity and greater accessibility of books in the late-Victorian and Edwardian era. These numbers illustrate both increased access to disposable income and leisure time, and the process of books becoming cheaper and more accessible as a commodity due to progress and technological innovations in printing and publishing practices, with resulting large production numbers for an increased readership that by that time included the lower segment of the middle and working classes.¹⁵⁶

Figure 1: English-language Editions & Reprints by Decade



¹⁵⁶ Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, 85-119.

Interestingly, while the 20th and 19th centuries show comparable numbers of total editions and reprints published, the split between the numbers demonstrates opposite trends, with more editions than reprints published in the 19th century as opposed to the 20th century. The trend reversed only in the last two decades of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st. This can be attributed to two causes. The first cause is not specific to Burney or *Evelina* but reflects the general course of book history. During the 20th century, a consolidation of the book publishing business took place, with small publishers going out of business or merging with others, and large conglomerates and groups emerging from stiff competition.¹⁵⁷ A smaller number of bigger publishers on the novel-producing market resulted in the decline in the number of new editions prepared and a rise in the number of reprints. The second cause is specific to Burney, who became renowned and appreciated as a significant writer worthy of attention at the end of the 20th century, with an increase in the number of produced new editions of *Evelina* as a result.

Table 5: English-language Editions & Reprints by Century

	18 th century	19 th century	20 th century	21 st century
Unique editions	14	35	23	4
Reprints	7	21	37	2
Total	21	56	60	6

While the majority (143) of the 167 editions and reprints of *Evelina* were published in the language of the original edition, there have been 24 translated editions & reprints in 10 languages and one in the Braille writing system. It must be mentioned that 23 of 24 translated *Evelinas* are

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 143.

original editions, and the only reprint is the edition by Changuion issued in 1780. The majority of these translations (18) were published at the height of Burney's fame in the 18th - early 19th century (in French, German, Dutch, Swedish, Russian, and Danish), while the Polish edition followed closely in 1830. During this period of the highest popularity, two foreign dramatic adaptations were also produced, in German in 1786 and in Dutch in 1806 (not included in the totals below).

After a wave of translation in the 18th century, *Evelina* has never been so actively published outside of the Anglophone realm, with only a few other editions coming in the mid-19th (Polish and French), early 20th (Spanish), and late 20th – early 21st centuries (Romanian, French, Italian, and Spanish). The Romanian and Italian translations coincide with Burney's rediscovery in the late 20th century. One *Evelina* in the translated group stands out. In 1926, the first only edition of *Evelina* in Braille was published in Melbourne by *Braille Writers' Association of Victoria*, Australia's first Braille library, now part of the *Vision Australia*. The *Association* was founded by Tilly Aston and Mary Blakely to provide access to books for visually impaired people in Australia in 1894.¹⁵⁸ At present, WorldCat lists 658 titles published under the imprint of the association, that range from novels by Alexandre Dumas to compilations of speeches by Stanley Baldwin, former Prime Minister of the UK.

Table 6: Editions & Reprints in Languages other than English by Date

Date	Number	Language
1779	2	French, German
1780	2	1 French, 1 Dutch
1784	3	French

¹⁵⁸ "Australian Braille Honour Roll."

1786	1	French
1789	2	1 French, 1 Swedish
1795	1	French
1797	1	French
1798	3	2 French, 1 Russian
1805	1	Danish
1830	1	Polish
1843	1	French
1926	1	Braille
1934	1	Spanish
1983	1	Romanian
1991	1	French
2001	1	Italian
2013	1	Spanish

5.2.2 Beginnings: Published Wide and Often

By the time of the publication of *Evelina* at the end of the 18th century, “the development of sophisticated distribution networks, the subsequent growth of provincial markets, the marked expansions of reading publics, the establishment of advertising as an industry, and the evolution of authorship as a profession all contributed to even greater commercialisation of the book than the lengthy period following the invention of printing had witnessed.”¹⁵⁹ Among other important literary and publishing developments is the rise of the novel that was to become in the last quarter

¹⁵⁹ Shevlin, “‘To Reconcile Book and Title,’” 44.

of the 18th century and for “more than a hundred years thereafter [...] one of the most economically important products of the book trade and the publishing industry.”¹⁶⁰ Novels were swiftly becoming a market force in the literary world and the most widespread type of text to be read for leisure. However, at the time of the publication of *Evelina* and as Burney’s interactions with her publisher perfectly illustrate, the novels have not yet become a gainful genre for their authors, especially for women’s novelists, who “were frequently hoping to produce anything but the novels, which were not the most profitable form of publication.”¹⁶¹

Despite the firm establishment of the novel on the book market since the mid-18th century, it was still thought of as an immoral and, at best, a worldly genre. A wide-cited admonition against novels by popular moralist and preacher James Fordyce characterises novels as publications that “carry on their very forehead the mark of the beast” and “convey no instruction” “painting scenes of pleasure and passion” with descriptions “often loose and luscious in a high degree.”¹⁶² Fordyce’s *Sermons* were published first in 1766 and were reprinted multiple times in the 18th century and until the early 1900s. It is not accidental that Mr. Collins, who professed never to read novels, chooses to read the *Sermons* instead of a novel to the Bennett sisters in *Pride and Prejudice*. The *Sermons* moralising became obsolete and almost an epitome of priggishness by the early 19th century. Still, at the time of the appearance of *Evelina*, they were widely available and held their place in the esteem of conservative publishers and readers, as suggested by their frequent reprinting.

It must be acknowledged that with regard to the novels written in the mid-18th century, the *Sermons* were not as mistaken as could be imagined. In 1710, the *Copyright Act* established the

¹⁶⁰ Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, 61.

¹⁶¹ Schellenberg, “Putting Women in Their Place,” 243.

¹⁶² Fordyce, *Sermons to Young Women*, 149.

period of protection for works already in copyright as 21 years, and for new works as 14 years, renewable once for another 14 years. The passing of this act and the House of Lords' decision of 1774 that led to the establishment of the fixed-term copyright had a profound influence on the publishing industry, the book market, and the literary world. One of the far-reaching implications was that the publishers could no longer rely on a steady stream of income from reprinting old and proven favourites and steady sellers, and had to seek a new source of profits - new texts, often by new authors, which could be protected for 28 years as potential revenue-generating sources. The need for new works to be published to ensure the revenue stream created an opportunity for authors, and as the number of new works grew, the reading public became accustomed and began to expect a constant supply of new texts and, especially, new novels to read. Thus, a majority of the mid- and end of the 18th century's English novels were produced for purely commercial motives to satisfy the constant demand for new texts and as a disposable one-time-use commodity to be read once and quickly forgotten. As John Feather succinctly describes that period of the novel's history: many were "(perhaps, fortunately) anonymous, and many are (perhaps mercifully) no longer extant."¹⁶³ The publication of *Evelina* marked the beginning of the end of this disreputable phase in the novel's history as a genre since it "legitimised the novel as an aesthetically and morally acceptable form."¹⁶⁴

5.2.2.1 *Evelina* by Lowndes, its First Publisher

In the fast-developing book market of the late 18th century, Burney's book, published under the title *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*, made its own entrance in 1778. It was published by Thomas Lowndes (1719 – 1784), a bookseller, founder and owner of a large

¹⁶³ Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, 60.

¹⁶⁴ Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain*, 127.

commercial circulating library, and a publisher-printer, whose business and the copyright for the first Burney's novel was later inherited by his son, William Lowndes, who entered in the enterprise at some point before his father's death.¹⁶⁵ Thomas Lowndes was not a first-rank publisher, with whom the most famous and fashionable authors would work and whose name alone would be an advertisement and sign of quality for the author and the book. He was not a disreputable one either. As several other publishers did, he founded a circulating library to support his publishing and book-selling business. The circulating library allowed him to diversify his business model since it was an additional outlet for getting his products to the readers and gave him another insight into the tastes of the public through lending books in addition to selling them. Consequently, not all the copies of *Evelina* published by Lowndes would have been sold to the readers. Some of them would have been printed to supplement the stock of his other commercial venture, his circulating library. According to estimates for late-18th century successful printer-bookseller-library-owners, up to two-fifths of their published output would be destined to supply their own circulating libraries.¹⁶⁶ Therefore, his editions of *Evelina* quite conceivably could have ended up on the shelves not only of *Bell's* and *Reading Libraries*, as is known from Burney's diaries, but also have been lent by Lowndes, since his circulating library was one of the largest in London.¹⁶⁷

Lowndes, a shrewd businessman, with a good knowledge of the tastes of the contemporary reading public, took an initial risk of publishing the novel of a new and anonymous author, who remained anonymous even to him until after the publication. Trusting his commercial instincts and agreeing to publish *Evelina*, Lowndes made one of the biggest coups in his career. He bought the copyright for the novel for a rather meagre 30 guineas (20 initially and 10 for the 1779 reprints)

¹⁶⁵ *British Book Trade Index*, s.v. "Lowndes, Thomas."

¹⁶⁶ Raven, *The Business of Books*, 124.

¹⁶⁷ Schürer, "Four Catalogues of the Lowndes Circulating Library."

from the young and inexperienced author, who was acting through the intermediary of her brother, Charles Burney. Both Frances Burney, who was just taking her first steps on the literary market, and her brother, not a talented negotiator, as his later assistance with the sale of her other works has shown,¹⁶⁸ were not a match for the sharp businessman, who was described even in the laudatory *Literary Anecdotes* as a “strong-minded uneducated man; rough in his manners.”¹⁶⁹ Burney was not impressed by her interactions with Lowndes as he is widely believed to be the inspiration for Mr. Briggs, one of Cecilia’s guardians, in Burney’s second novel bearing the same name, a bookseller and an uncouth vulgar miser, whose English is one of the most incorrect in the novel.

After the success of his first edition of *Evelina* in 1778, Thomas Lowndes printed three others in the following year. In Lowndes/1779/3rd, he introduced an altered form of the title, *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady’s Entrance into the World*, which later became the most often used form. Publication numbers for 1788 – 1779 (the first edition and its three subsequent reprints) are quite spectacular, amounting to 2,500 – 2,800 copies, giving a good understanding of the wide initial popularity of *Evelina*, the scale of its reprinting, and consequently of Lowndes’ profits. In total, Lowndes and his son published 15 editions and reprints of *Evelina*, successfully taking full advantage of the purchase of the copyright for the novel on the English market.

Another testimony to the market success of *Evelina* is the decision by Lowndes to issue its 1779 editions with illustrations, a costly endeavour at the time. It was widely believed before this study that the plates were issued only for his fourth *Evelina*, Lowndes/1779/3v/4th. However, in a letter to Burney, Lowndes stated that the plates were already commissioned for the third printing (Lowndes/1779/3v/3rd).¹⁷⁰ Moreover, McGill Library’s RBSC has in its possession a copy of the

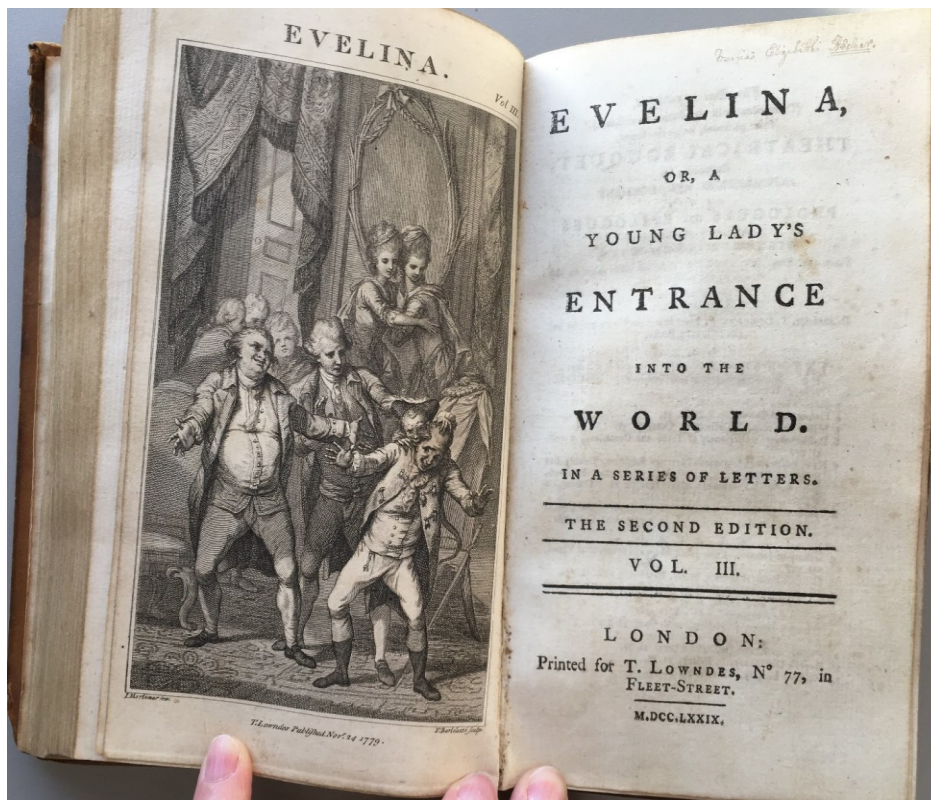
¹⁶⁸ For Burney’s dealings with publishers and her family help and interference with negotiations see: Justice, “Burney and the Literary Marketplace,” 150, 157, 159.

¹⁶⁹ Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, 646.

¹⁷⁰ Burney, Barrett, and Dobson, *Diary & Letters of Madame D’Arblay*, 482.

second edition, Lowndes/1779/3v/2nd, that also includes all three plates. These facts alter the publication history of the novel, indicating that Lowndes was so sure of its continued commercial success that he possibly began the third printing and commissioned frontispiece plates at the cost of 73 pounds, a substantive sum for the time (and much more substantive than what was paid to Burney herself) when his second printing had not been yet sold out. This would explain how the plates commissioned for Lowndes/1779/3v/3rd could have been bound with the sheets of Lowndes/1779/3v/2nd (see section 6.3.1.1 for more on the illustrations to the Lowndes *Evelina*).

Image 1: Illustration in v. 3 of Lowndes/1779/3v/2nd



After the publications of *Cecilia* in 1782, Lowndes wrote a letter to Burney's father complaining about her choice of a different publisher for her second novel. He received a reply from Burney herself that could at best be called polite but firm, where she asserted her

independence of any obligation to any bookseller and her right to choose and change them.¹⁷¹ This perceived slight did not deter T. & W. Lowndes from issuing a “new edition” of *Evelina* in 1783, Lowndes/1783/3v/new, capitalising on the fame of the author that received a new spur from the success of *Cecilia*. Lowndes/1783/3v/new was essentially quite similar in terms of paratextual packaging to his previous 3-volume edition. T. & W. Lowndes reprinted Lowndes/1783/3v/new in the next year, 1784, including in both books the same plates commissioned in 1779.

In 1784, another “new edition” of *Evelina*, Lowndes/1784/2v/vign (not listed in Grau), was issued with the name of both Thomas and William Lowndes. It was the first legally printed *Evelina* in two volumes. It did not contain the 1779 plates and was decorated only with two small woodblock vignettes: an estate home with a lake and trees; and a rural landscape with a windmill, an estate house in the background, a lake and two sailboats. Both vignettes were inserted at the top of the page before the first letter of each volume. In this edition, Lowndes openly used the renown of *Cecilia* to market *Evelina*, by printing at the last page of each volume: “Lately published by the same author *Cecilia: Or, Memoirs of an Heiress*. In five volumes.” As *Cecilia* was published by Payne and Cadell, T. & W. Lowndes, who probably did not wish to further the fortunes of their competitors, did not indicate in the marketing message, who published the new novel, how much it costs, or where to buy it, using the information about *Cecilia* only to promote their own product.

After the death of Thomas Lowndes in 1784, William Lowndes kept reprinting the ever-popular *Evelina*, for which he still had the copyright, continuing to get returns on the investment made by his father in 1778. In 1791 he published another two-volume *Evelina*, Lowndes/1791/2v/ill, that was later reprinted three times, in 1794, 1801, and in 1805. In Grau’s bibliography, two reprints of Lowndes/1791/2v/ill were misattributed to other editions and one not

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

listed (see section 5.1.1 above for the discussion of misattributed reprints). Lowndes/1791/2v/ill deserves particular attention because of its rather curious paratextual packaging. At the end of the 18th century, typical title pages were restrained and purely typographical.¹⁷² In contrast, the title page of Lowndes/1791/2v/ill could only be described as busy as it is not only engraved with cameos but is also embellished by a variety of fonts. The mixture of roman, gothic, and italic fonts in capitals, small capitals, and lower case letters, all large in size, leaves hardly any white space on the page and makes it resemble a printer's sampler (see Image 2 below). This busy title page is surrounded by the clashing illustrative matter. Newly commissioned illustrative cameo vignettes, with sentimental scenes and characters in contemporary settings that reflect new tastes in both reading matter and fashion,¹⁷³ face dated original plates from Lowndes/1779/3v/2nd, with their pre-revolutionary fashion and a picture of a classical ruin (the latter was in vogue in the early-mid 18th century).¹⁷⁴ It is difficult to explain why William Lowndes made these decisions for the first *Evelina* that he published without his father. As it was noted before, retaining original plates from Lowndes/1779/3v/2nd undermined and conflicted with his attempt to modernise the edition.¹⁷⁵ Instead of modernising the book or keeping it in line with the original look and feel, it created a clash of illustrations and fonts, with sentimental cameos opposing Augustan-taste plates. One can only suppose that their inclusion could be due to William Lowndes' determination to get his money's worth of the expensive prints commissioned for 73 pounds by his father.

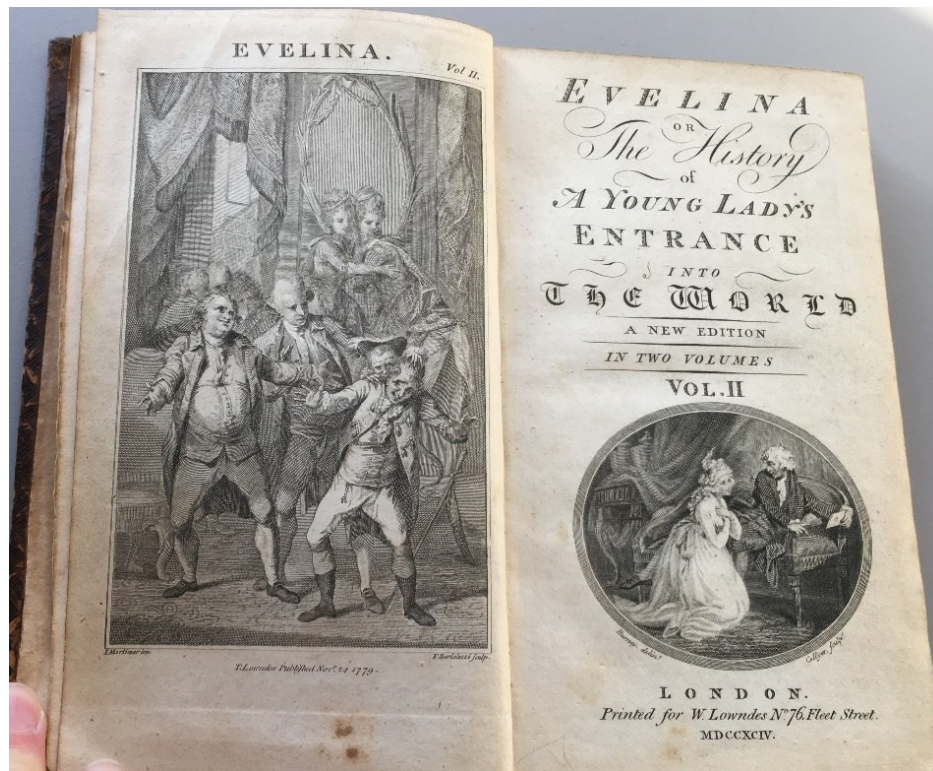
¹⁷² Fowler, *The Mind of the Book*, 64.

¹⁷³ Doerksen, "Framing the Narrative," 481-83.

¹⁷⁴ Fowler, *The Mind of the Book*, 165-67

¹⁷⁵ Doerksen, "Framing the Narrative," 479.

Image 2: Frontispiece and Title Page in v.2 of Lowndes/1791/2v/ill



The illustrative matter of this edition was a subject of a discussion in a book chapter by Teri Doerksen. The author argued that, in this edition of *Evelina*, the emphasis shifted from satire to sensibility, as the highly satirical illustration of Evelina extracting Madame Duval from the ditch was no longer reprinted.¹⁷⁶ However, this does not correspond to reality, as the plate with Madame Duval was not replaced by the vignettes. Lowndes/1791/2v/ill includes all three plates, the one with Madame Duval is simply bound in not as a frontispiece, but before page 174 of v.1. All three plates were subsequently reprinted in Lowndes/1794/2v/ill and Lowndes/1801/2v/ill and were meant to be in Lowndes/1805/2v/ill, according to the instruction to the binder found in the book. This material evidence proves that the omission of the plate with Madame Duval in the copy examined by Doerksen could have been accidental, not meant to shift the narrative of this edition,

¹⁷⁶ Doerksen, "Framing the Narrative," 479.

undermining her argument and emphasising again the necessity for book historians to examine more than one copy of studied books in order to arrive at such broad conclusions. This is especially important for pre-industrial earlier editions, more prone to accidental loss of illustrations, and plates cut out to be sold as separate prints or lost during rebinding.

In 1808, three years after the last reprint of the exuberant Lowndes/1791/2v/ill was produced, William Lowndes produced an edition of *Evelina*, Lowndes/1808/2v, of an opposite look and feel, reprinted again in 1810. It is a plain, unadorned two-volume set, with no illustrations and a restrained title page, not expensive to produce and perfect for inclusion in a circulating library or purchase by readers with limited means. By then, three continental publishers (Walther, Parsons & Galignani, and Barrois) and one Scottish (Cupar-Fife) had already been producing *Evelina* in similar plain packaging for three years. W. Lowndes, who no longer had the advantage of the copyright protection, had to catch up with the offers on the market, to keep his share of the profits of the still well-selling novel and to capture some of the demand for plain editions generated by circulating libraries and less wealthy readers. The main point of interest in this edition is the title. It is in Lowndes/1808/2v that he introduces for the first time another modified form of the novel's title: *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's **Introduction** to the World*, soon picked up by other publishers.

The publishing house of Lowndes, at the time directed by the son of Thomas Lowndes, William, made three last appearances in the novel's publication history in the first decades of the 19th century. Lowndes was one of 37 publishing houses that produced *Evelina* included in the canon-setting series, the *British Novelists*, in 1810 (reprinted in 1820). Lastly, W. Lowndes published his last two editions of the novel, in collaboration with the publishing house of Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown in 1814 (Lowndes & others/1814, and Lowndes &

others/1814/small print). The 1814 editions are the only ones from Lowndes' output that include publisher-supplied prefaces and have Burney's authorship formally acknowledged if not on the title page but in the title of the biographical preface as belonging to "Madame D'Arblay."

5.2.2.2 Early Foreign-language Editions & Reprints

The initial period of highest ever frequency of appearance of new editions and reprints of *Evelina* lasted from 1778 into the Napoleonic Wars. The resounding success of the novel provoked a tidal wave of editions and reprints not only in England, where they were produced by the copyright-holder Lowndes but also beyond its borders. The novel's fame spread into foreign and other English-speaking markets where it did not have copyright protection and could be freely re-edited, translated, and reprinted by other publishers. Within only two years following Lowndes/1778/3v/1st, *Evelina* was published in French, German, and Dutch. The majority of translated editions of *Evelina* (15 editions in Danish, Dutch, French, German, Russian, and Swedish, one French reprint by Changuion, and two dramatic adaptations in German and Dutch) appeared in the period of its initial and highest popularity, curiously corresponding almost exactly to the 28-year period of Lowndes' copyright ownership that lasted until 1806.

Even though at the end of the 18th century the French readership had not yet got the Anglomania that reigned there during the Second Empire, a healthy market for translations of English novels had existed since the mid-18th century, when translations of Richardson, Fielding, Defoe, Stern, and Swift were published, which made certain French authors complain of the English invasion on the market.¹⁷⁷ Burney's works enjoyed wide popularity among French readers. French translations of her first three novels appeared in the years immediately following their

¹⁷⁷ Trunel, *Les éditions françaises de Jane Austen*, 35.

publication in the original language: *Evelina* in 1779, *Cecilia* in 1783, *Camilla* in 1797, and the *Wanderer*, translated as *La femme errante, ou les embarras d'une femme*, in 1815. It was also in French that the first editions of Burney's collected works appeared. They were published as *Oeuvres de Miss Burney* in Geneva by Barde and under the imprint of "Les libraires associés" (imprint varies) in 1784 (*Evelina* and *Cecilia*); by "Libraires qui vendent des nouveautés" (location indicated as "À Londres et se trouve à Paris") in 1786 (*Evelina* and *Cecilia*); and by Maradan in Paris in 1797 - 1798 (*Evelina*, *Cecilia*, and *Camilla*).

Similarly to many other books translated or originally published in that period, the first editions of *Evelina* in French translation appeared or were declared on their title pages to appear outside of the borders of France. This was due to a combination of political and economic factors affecting the market for French-language publications before the Revolution of 1789 that have been explored and discussed in detail in previous research.¹⁷⁸ To summarise, the process that ultimately led to the reorganisation of the book business in France began in 1777, still under *Ancien Régime*, when the system of *privilèges* held by publishers-booksellers was restricted to ten years and effectively gradually eliminated. However, the system of censorship remained in place until the French Revolution. Thus, by the end of the *Ancien Régime*, instead of going through the process of seeking approval for their product, French publishers and booksellers were increasingly often circumventing the system to sell books, even of a non-subversive nature, that did not have a *privilège* (permission of a censor) in France. These books were published abroad by their associates, published in France under a false imprint, or imported from their foreign counterparts. In addition to being easier and safer, publishing outside of France for the French market was

¹⁷⁸ Armbruster, *Publishing and Readership in Revolutionary France and America*; Darnton, *A Literary Tour De France*; Darnton and Roche, *Revolution in Print*; Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1810*; Martin, Chartier, and Vivet, *Le livre triomphant, 1660-1830*; Moureau, *Les presses grises*.

economically advantageous. Paper, even after transportation fees factored into the cost, being the main expenditure for book-publishing at the time, was of better quality and cheaper abroad because of the lighter tax burden. In addition, labour was also less expensive abroad.

In perfect accord with the trends above, French editions of *Evelina* were published in Amsterdam, Geneva, Bouillon, and Maastricht from 1779 to 1789. French editions were printed in Paris only after the revolution. If Barde/1784/French, Libraires associés/1784/French, and Roux/1789/French explicitly declare Genève and Maastricht as their publication locations, the situation is more ambiguous with the other editions. The first edition of *Evelina* in French, and the only one ever reprinted (Changuion/1779/French and Changuion/1780/French), was published by D. J. Changuion. Changuion was a French publisher who worked in Amsterdam and a leading figure in the Dutch international book trade according to *Almanach de la librairie*.¹⁷⁹ Changuion's *Evelina*, being published abroad, does not have a mention of *privilège*. Instead, its title page features a formula of the publication place "À Paris, & se trouve à Amsterdam" that was often a sign of a book that received a *permission tacite* (tacit permission)¹⁸⁰ to be published or sold in France. Tacit permissions were a response of the authorities to the situation in French book publishing in the mid-18th century, when French publishers, stifled by censorship, were losing ground to their competitors from abroad. The *permission tacite*, which meant that the book was examined and tolerated without actually being approved, was devised with several goals in mind: to allow production or sale of publications that would not have received a *privilège* but were inoffensive enough, which would make it easier for publishers to compete with foreign imports without going underground, and to keep a certain control of what was published and sold, and by

¹⁷⁹ Cited in Martin, Chartier, and Vivet, *Le livre triomphant*, , 1660-1830, 2: 307.

¹⁸⁰ Weil, "Réimpressions et contrefaçons à la fin du XVIII^e siècle," para 14; Moureau, *Les presses grises*, 8.

whom.¹⁸¹ This type of permission was not expressed in any official printed text, but it became understood that the presence of the ambiguous formula of the publication place as found in Changuion/1779/French and Changuion/1780/French, “À Paris, & se trouve à Amsterdam,” meant the presence of a tacit permission.

Other ambiguous place indications are present in two other French-language editions published without *privilèges*: in Libraires/1786/French (“À Londres et se trouve à Paris”) and in Bouillon/1784/French (“À Bouillon et à Paris à la Société Typographique et chez les Libraires qui vendent les nouveautés”). Despite their similarity in form, in substance, they indicate different publishing practices. According to previous research, the formula “À Londres et se trouve à Paris” is most often a false imprint for books produced in France. In Libraires/1786/French this possibility of the imprint being false is corroborated by the bibliographic evidence: the use of roman numerals, preferred by French publishers as opposed to the Arabic numerals that were generally favoured by their English counterparts; and the absence of catch-words on each page that are instead printed according to the French custom only at the end of the quires.¹⁸² The situation is different with Bouillon/1784/French. During the period leading to the French Revolution, the Duchy of Bouillon was an important centre of Enlightenment publications produced by refugee publishers, editors, and authors, who fled the persecution of French royal censors.¹⁸³ As opposed to Libraires/1786/French, Bouillon/1784/French was most probably indeed printed in Bouillon as it features the imprint typical for books issued in that jurisdiction: the one of *La Société Typographique*.

¹⁸¹ Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime*, 174; Murphy, *Richard Cantillon*, 300-02; Weil, “L'anonymat du libraire-éditeur à la fin du XVIIIe siècle.”; Darnton and Roche, *Revolution in Print*, 57.

¹⁸² Mitchell, “Quotation Marks, National Compositorial Habits and False Imprints.”

¹⁸³ Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime*; Darnton and Roche, *Revolution in Print: The Press in France, 1775-1800*; Martin, Chartier, and Vivet, *Le livre triomphant, 1660-1830*, 2, 334; Weil, “Réimpressions et contrefaçons à la fin du XVIIIe siècle.”

Evelina has another interesting connection to Bouillon. Its other French edition, this time printed in Paris, Leprieur/1795/French, has a preface signed by Rousseau de Toulouse. Pierre Rousseau (1716 – 1785), was a journalist and editor, born in Toulouse, who worked in Paris, before going into voluntary exiles in Liege, Brussels, and finally in Bouillon. He is best known for his *Journal encyclopédique* that he created as a corollary to *L'Encyclopédie*.¹⁸⁴ As it was customary for translators to write the prefaces to the books that they had translated, in Leprieur/1795/French, this signature implies that the esteemed journalist was the translator of the edition. Leprieur proudly declared his book on the title page being “nouvellement traduit & rédigé avec beaucoup de soin d’après l’anglois” (newly translated from English and edited with a lot of care) and lauded the merits of its translation and editorial work that according to the preface, made the book infinitely more pleasing when reduced it to two thirds. The attribution to Rousseau of Leprieur/1795/French is rather dubious because, by the time its publication, Pierre Rousseau had been dead for ten years. In addition, his authorship was not acknowledged in the earlier French *Evelina* that features the same translation variant: Bouillon/1784/French, printed in his lifetime, or in the Libraires/1786/French. Also, Rousseau is not known for having been engaged in the translation of fiction, so the attribution of this translation of *Evelina* remains uncertain. The publisher could have had a dual motivation to use this attribution, whether true or false, in the book printed in the year immediately following the Reign of Terror. The name of a revolutionary-minded journalist could have been used as both good advertisement and some insurance against persecution should the book have seemed unpatriotic to ardent revolutionaries.

The authorship of early French translations remains generally uncertain. Of the 11 *Evelinas* published in French in the 18th century, ten were examined. In addition to three editions that

¹⁸⁴ Jacques Wagner, “Pierre Rousseau.”

contain the text “nouvellement traduit & rédigé avec beaucoup de soin d’après l’anglois” (ostensibly by Rousseau) discussed above; the other seven books feature another translation of uncertain authorship: the BnF attributes it to Henri Renfner, and Grau assigns the authorship to Griffet de la Beaume.¹⁸⁵

Image 3: Frontispiece and Title Page of Leprieur/1795/French



Other traces of the revolutionary time are also found in French four editions of *Evelina* (Leprieur/1795/French, Maradan/1797/French, Imbert/1798/3v/French, Imbert/1798/2v/French). They feature a testimony of this tumultuous period on their title pages: the publication year is written in the new format conceived by Fabre D’Eglantine, who was charged with the creation of new time (calendar) and space (metric measurements) systems for French people that would break

¹⁸⁵ Changuion/1779/French, Changuion/1780/French, Barde/1784/French, Roux/1789/French, Maradan/1797/French, Imbert/1798/2v/French, and Imbert/1798/3v/French

with the traditional ones, associated with the power of the monarchy and the Church.¹⁸⁶ As opposed to the metric system, the Republican calendar was short-lived, falling out of use in 1805, with its traces only preserved in the periodical press and books of the time, such as *Evelina* published in “L’an IV de la République française” by Leprieur.

Three of these editions, Leprieur/1795/French, Imbert/1798/2v/French, and Imbert/1798/3v/French, are illustrated with full-page frontispieces, *gravures en petit*, i.e. engravings etched not to be sold separately but to be bound in duodecimo or more often octodecimo volumes of novels that became extremely fashionable since 1760. The craze had been derided by Jacques Cazotte in *Le Diable amoureux* (1772) that included six schematics “barbarously etched plates,” mocking typical book illustrations of the time.¹⁸⁷ Interestingly, the plates to volume two in these editions of *Evelina*, published 20 years later, depicting a gallant scene between the heroine and rakish Sir Clement Willoughby in the garden under a pergola, are still designed according to one of the patterns ridiculed by Cazotte.¹⁸⁸ In contrast to illustrations included in Lowndes/1779/2nd, where the characters are subject to violence (bedraggled Madame Duval in panier dress helped out of the ditch by Evelina and dandyish and bewigged Mr. Lovel being bitten by a monkey), the illustrations in Leprieur/1795/French, Imbert/1798/2v/French, and Imbert/1798/3v/French are in perfect accord with the nascent taste of the time for romantic novels. They highlight the most sentiment-laden and passion-filled scenes from the novel: Evelina taking the pistol from her illegitimate brother to prevent him committing suicide; Evelina with her suitor, Sir Clement, in the garden; and Evelina recognised by her father. Two of these illustrations are

¹⁸⁶ Bouloiseau, *La République jacobine*.

¹⁸⁷ Griffiths, *Prints for Books*, 99.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 101.

depicting the same scenes as the cameo vignettes in Lowndes/1791/2v/ill and its reprints: Evelina removing the pistol from Mr. Macartney and Evelina meeting her father.

Image 4: Illustration from *Le diable amoureux*¹⁸⁹



The illustrations in French *Evelina* also bear indirect signs of the revolutionary years. Publishers who commissioned the illustrations or the engravers who produced them chose to have characters dressed in *Directoire*-style clothes, contemporary to the time of their publication, but not to the action in the novel. Dressing characters in a more contemporary fashion than the action in the book is a well-used tactic that helps to bring the work closer to the audience and makes it seem more relevant to later readers. In the case of these three editions of *Evelina*, while the tactic above could also apply, the motivation behind the decision was probably more complicated. In the

¹⁸⁹ Cazotte, *Le Diable amoureux*, 102.

post-revolutionary France, the fashion contemporary to the time of action in Burney's novel with high hair-dos and lavish panier-skirts was firmly associated with the hated extravagant regime of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette, and their dissolute court of powdered aristocrats. If Leprieur/1795/French, Imbert/1798/2v/French, and Imbert/1798/3v/French, published immediately after the very pinnacle of the revolutionary Terror and during the time of political unrest that followed, had been illustrated with engravings true to the time of action of the novel (1778), it could have had grave consequences for their publishers and booksellers.

The revolution profoundly disturbed not only the political regime in France but also the book-publishing industry as it brought freedom of the press and associated legal chaos. Between 1789 and 1793, book piracy was rampant, and as no system of copyright protection replaced the abolished *privilèges*, publishers were driven to bankruptcy in numbers. The proper system for the protection of copyright and a legal deposit was gradually established in the years that followed 1793, but the flow of piracies was not immediately stemmed and continued to flourish until the 1800s.¹⁹⁰ In 1798, there were two *Evelinas* published: one in three volumes, Imbert/1798/3v/French, with clear attribution to Imbert (Jean-Baptist Imbert), one of the new publishers that appeared after the revolution and associated with an older publishing house of François-Jean Baudouin.¹⁹¹ The second set in two volumes, Imbert/1798/2v/French, has several features suggesting that it was an unauthorised reprint: the publisher's name in v.1 is printed unclearly, and v.2 has another imprint: "A Paris: Chez Bleuet jeune," i.e. Pierre Bleuet who was for some time associated with Pierre Didot *l'aîné*.¹⁹² The whole set is also declared to be a part of the *Oeuvres de Miss Burney* even though Imbert is not known for having published Burney's

¹⁹⁰ Hesse, "The Dilemmas of Republican Publishing, 1793-1799."

¹⁹¹ *Data BnF*, s.v. "Jean-Baptiste Imbert (Imprimeur-Libraire, 17.-18)."; Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1810*, 12.

¹⁹² *Data BnF*, s.v. "Pierre-François Bleuet (Libraire, 176.-18..)."

collected works. This collective title could possibly indicate an attempt to pose this unauthorised reprint as belonging to the edition of Burney's works by Maradan produced at the same time (1797 – 1798).

Lastly, *Evelina* inspired two imitations in French. One was *Clémentine, ou l'Évelina française*, an epistolary novel that imitates *Evelina* in the form, including a dedication in verse, written by Anne Marie De Beaufort D'Hautpoul (1763 - 1837), an author and socialite who survived the revolution to become an editor of manuals and literary compilations for youth and especially for girls. The second imitation was *Évelina, ou Aventures d'une jeune anglaise*, written by René Marcé, has no resemblance to Burney's novel besides the name and the nationality of the protagonist.¹⁹³

The unique German (Schwickertschen/1779/German) edition of *Evelina* appeared in 1779, the year of its loud success in England. German readers apparently were less taken with the first Burney novel than the second one, as *Evelina* was published only once in that language, while Parisian recorded seven German editions of *Cecilia*.¹⁹⁴ Schwickertschen/1779/German is a plain two-volume book in paper-covered boards, printed in blackletter, with generic classical ornaments on the title page of the first volume. Similarly to the 1784 edition of *Cecilia*, it was published in Leipzig and translated by C.F. Weisse (Grau spelling, Parisian gives Weiss). There is no indication in the book if it was translated directly from English or derived from the French translation, a common practice in the 18th century for German and Russian translations of English works.

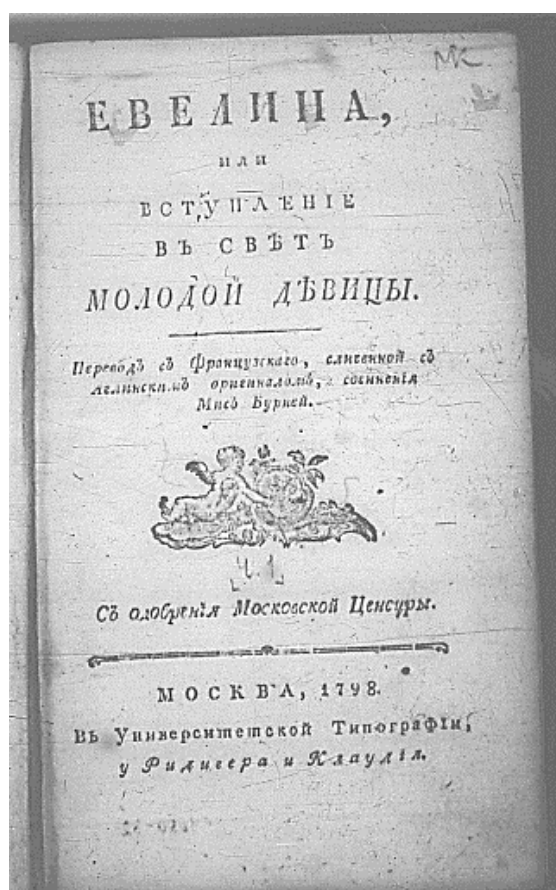
The Russian edition of *Evelina* was also published in the 18th century, Moscow/1798/Russian, by Ridiger and Klaudii. Ridiger and Klaudii were successful publishers and editors with a good flair for literary works, who managed the publishing house of the Moscow

¹⁹³ De Beaufort D'Hautpoul, *Clémentine, ou l'Evelina française*; Marcé, *Evelina, ou aventures d'une jeune anglaise*.

¹⁹⁴ Parisian, *Frances Burney's Cecilia*, 76.

University from 1794 to 1802. During this period, they significantly improved the quality of production and printing. During their tenure, in addition to the newspaper *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* produced under the auspices of the University, they edited and published a literary periodical *Priyatnoye i Poleznoye Preprovozhdeniye Vremeni* (it can be translated as *The Pleasant and Useful Pastime*), where they printed works of the most fashionable and popular poets and writers.¹⁹⁵

Image 5: Title Page of Russian *Evelina*



Ridiger and Klaudii published *Evelina* in 1798, capitalising not only on Burney's general fame but also on the simultaneous publication of the multi-volume *Cecilia*, published in 1794 – 1804 by Zelennikov.¹⁹⁶ Similarly to the Russian edition of *Cecilia*, *Evelina* was translated into

¹⁹⁵ Кузнецов and Минаева, *Газетный мир Московского Университета*.

¹⁹⁶ Parisian, *Frances Burney's Cecilia*, 194.

Russian from French and was only “checked with the original” by Luka Tatischev, a minor author, translator, and a secretary to the Russian Collegium of Foreign Affairs. It is important to mention that Tatischev’s name is not found on the title page or anywhere else in the book, so the authorship of the translation and preface is attributed to him only based on secondary sources.¹⁹⁷

The 18th century’s German, French, and Russian editions of *Evelina* are examples of typical publishing practices regarding translations of foreign works at that time that reserved little respect for the integrity of the authorial text.¹⁹⁸ They also illustrate well the status of the authors, who, until the 19th century, generally were subordinate to the will and whims of publishers and had no control over the life of their work after it had been first published. The publishers of the French editions not only corrected Burney, making cuts and abridgements to the text, but even proudly acknowledged it in the preface (see section 6.2.1.1 on the omissions of Burney’s paratext and 6.2.2 on the publisher-supplied paratext). In the same vein, the German publisher Schwickertschen did not mention the source text for the translation, while the Russian Ridiger and Klaudii did not hide the fact that the source-text text for their translation was an unnamed French edition of unknown quality (both French books and translators were much more widely available in Russia at the time, where French was the main language of the Court and aristocracy¹⁹⁹).

5.2.2.3 Reprinting & Pirating in English

It was discovered in the course of the present study that Burney’s novel began its journey on the Irish soil much earlier than it was recorded in Grau. It was in the second year of its life, in 1779

¹⁹⁷ “Authority Record for Luka Tatischev,” Russian National Library, accessed on April 20th, 2020, <http://webservices.nlr.ru/semweb/?method=afnlr&query=NLR10%3A%3ARU%5CNLR%5CAUTH%5C770158041>; Grau, *Fanny Burney*; Кочеткова and Панченко, *Словарь русских писателей XVIII века*, 222.

¹⁹⁸ Streeter, *The Eighteenth Century English Novel in French Translation*.

¹⁹⁹ Offord et al., *French and Russian in Imperial Russia*.

(Dublin/1779) when it was “Printed for Messrs. Price, Corcoran, R. Cross, Fitzsimons, W. Whitestone, Chamberlaine, Williams, J. Hoey, Colles, E. Cross, Burnet, Walker, Jenkin, Beatty, Exshaw, White, and Perrin.” The appearance of the Irish editions of *Evelina* is an unequivocal testimony of the novel’s fame. Despite the fact that the Irish publishers had been “conducting a brisk trade in reprints of London novels” since 1750,²⁰⁰ only popular books that would sell well, and fiction and poetry far less often than other genres, would have had the ‘honour’ of being reprinted or pirated to be legally sold on Irish and American markets, or illegally in England at a much lower price than their English counterparts.²⁰¹ The success and demand for *Evelina* were such that Irish publishers continued to take full advantage of the lucrative reprint market until the *Act of Union* came into force in 1801, followed by a *Copyright Act* of 1801 extending British copyright rules and regulations to Ireland that signalled the end of the Irish trade in cheap reprints.²⁰² They also capitalised on Burney’s growing popularity and renown as these *Evelinas* were published when *Cecilia* and *Camilla* made their much-anticipated appearances, and Burney’s fame was at its height. Five reprints of Dublin/1779 followed rapidly in 1780, 1784, 1785, 1793, and 1800, while another one, most likely also an Irish edition, Booksellers [Dublin]/1794, with the misleading and non-descriptive imprint “Printed for the booksellers: London,” an unmistakable sign of a pirated book destined for a lower-end of the English book market, made its appearance in 1794.

Dublin/1785 and Booksellers [Dublin?]/1794 deserve some particular discussion, being perfect examples of reprints produced in Ireland to be sold illegally in England, where Lowndes held the copyright for *Evelina* until 1806 (Dublin/1785 without doubt and Booksellers

²⁰⁰ Suarez, “Publishing Contemporary English Literature, 1695–1774,” 665.

²⁰¹ Rezek, *London and the Making of Provincial Literature*, 28-30; Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, 62-63.

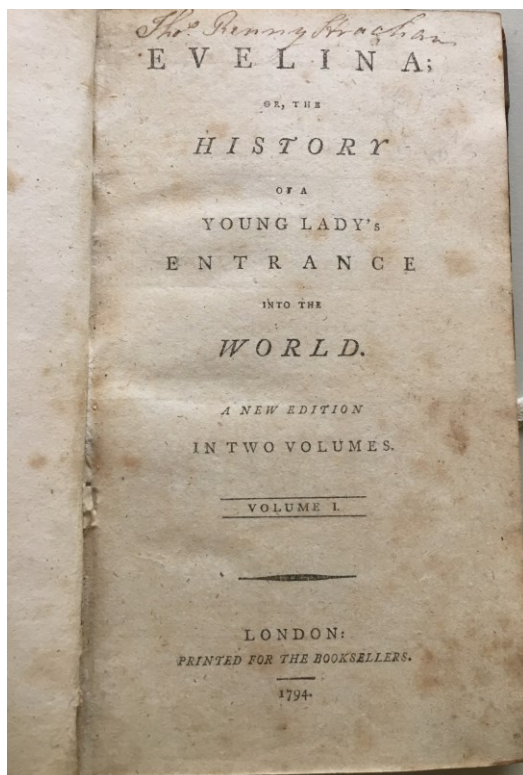
²⁰² An overview of the Irish book trade in the second half of the 18th century is offered in Cole, *Irish Booksellers and English Writers, 1740-1800*.

[Dublin?]/1794 most probably). If Dublin/1779, Dublin/1780, Dublin/1784, Dublin/1793, and Dublin/1800 could have been destined for the Irish or American markets, where they could be sold in all legality, Dublin/1785 is an undoubtedly pirated edition. The title page of this book misleadingly states, “London: Printed and Sold by Booksellers,” while this is a reprint of Dublin/1784, with a cancel title page. Interestingly, the title page indicates also that it is the second edition. The first edition, to which Dublin/1784 refers, could be another hereto non-located Irish reprint. Alternatively, Dublin/1784 could have been presented as the second edition that followed one of the authorised “New Editions” published in two previous years: Lowndes/1783/3v/new ed., Lowndes/1784/3v/new ed., or Lowndes/1784/2v/vign. Another *Evelina* (Booksellers [Dublin?]/1794) is most probably another Irish reprint and, without any doubt, a pirated edition. Similarly to Dublin/1785, the title page declares that it was a new edition, printed and sold by booksellers in London, which was not even remotely possible. At the time, Lowndes was in the full possession of *Evelina* copyright, busily bringing on the market his own multiple editions and reprints and capitalising on his monopoly and popularity of both the novel and its author. Bibliographic examination of the Booksellers [Dublin?]/1794 demonstrates that it is a reprint of the Lowndes/2v/vign with a different title page. The only significant difference between them is that in the pirated reprint, two vignettes that precede the text of the novel in each volume of the Lowndes/2v/vign were not reproduced in the Booksellers [Dublin?]/1794. The absence of these illustrations, which would have required expenses associated with the execution of woodblocks, and the low quality of paper and printing of this edition are in line with typical characteristics of pirated editions, which were generally made as cheaply as possible.

The Dublin-printed editions of *Evelina* are excellent examples of the low production quality of typical Irish reprints, which, together with the absence of payment for the copyright,

allowed them to be sold more cheaply than authorised editions. They are printed on poor-quality paper that has turned almost brown by now, without illustrations or any other adornments, set in close type with much less leading and narrower margins while also foregoing authorial paratexts as superfluous niceties to save on paper costs. The look of Dublin/1779, Dublin/1780, Dublin/1784, Dublin/1785, Dublin/1793, Booksellers [Dublin?]/1794, and Dublin/1800 is quite similar to other reprints of popular English novels produced in Ireland before 1801. They are not illustrated, as reprinting of the frontispiece plates would have added considerably to their price. The font is much smaller, less sharp, and closer set than in the Lowndes editions, the paper is thick, rather rough, and sometimes even contains visible wood particles (Dublin/1784). They are printed in two volumes, enabling the customers, who would have had to bind two volumes instead of three, to save not only on the book itself but also on the binding.

Image 6: Title Page of Booksellers [Dublin?]/1794



The resetting of the text to make it a two instead of the three-volume book also resulted in changing the numbering of the letters. In Lowndes' three-volume editions published in 1779, the numbering of letters that constitute Burney's epistolary novel restarts at the Letter I in each volume. It also restarts at the Letter I at the beginning of each volume in two-volume Dublin/1779 (and in the subsequent reprints of this edition). Consequently, all the letters after the Letter XXXI of v.1 in Dublin/1779 are numbered differently from their numbering in the Lowndes' *Evelina* published in the same year. In 1779, this renumbering would have produced some confusion in discussion between readers of authorised and pirated editions if they tried to refer to the content of the letters by their numbering in conversations or correspondence.

Other paratextual features of Dublin/1779, Dublin/1780, Dublin/1784, Dublin/1785, Dublin/1793, and Dublin/1800 also show some curious particularities that we do not find in the Lowndes' *Evelina* published at the same time, and from which the Irish books were reprinted. All six kept the original title of the novel, *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*, without alterations or additions, while Lowndes added *Published In a Series of Letters* to the title of his second reprint (Lowndes/1779/3v/2nd), and changed the title of his subsequent books to *Evelina: Or, **the History** of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. Other important paratextual elements that Genette calls the prefatorial situation of communication, in this case, the preface and dedication are also different in authorised and Irish editions. Only in Dublin/1779, Burney's authorial dedication in prose *To the Authors of the Monthly and Critical Reviews* and preface *In the Republic of Letters* were printed together with her verse dedication of the novel to her father. In all five subsequent reprints, the preface and dedication were omitted, most likely for the sake of the economy. Paper was an expensive commodity, so savings on six pages on a print run of, for example, 500 copies were not inconsequential. Another probable motivation for the omission of

the preface and dedication as these reprints were destined for less discerning readership, could have been the publishers' desire to lighten the text. Omitting the prefaces would make the book look less highbrow and would not to frighten away any readers, who sought easy entertainment, and them to plunge themselves immediately in the excitement of the action of the novel without lengthy textual intermissions (see the section 6.2 for the detailed discussion of the prefaces).

Scotland was another place where cheap reprints of London-published books were reproduced legally, before the *Copyright Act* of 1710 came in force, and illegally after that. However, by the time *Evelina* was published in 1778, the practice of issuing Scottish pirated reprints was far less spread. The only Scottish *Evelina*, a plain two-volume edition, was published near the end of the copyright protection period (enjoyed by Lowndes until 1806) when the danger of legal challenge was less probable, in 1804 under the imprint "Cupar-Fife Printed by R. Tullis, for John Fairbairn, and Archibald Constable."

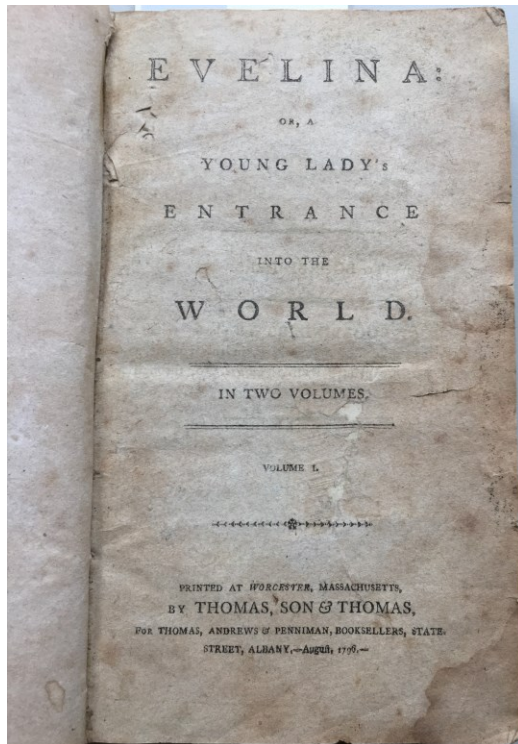
During the first decade-and-a-half of its success, *Evelina* was imported into another English-speaking market, the newly formed United States,²⁰³ with its first local editions published only in 1792 (two editions), 1796, 1797, and 1812. In the independent US, English copyright laws were not applicable (literary property remained a source of bitter contention between countries until the passage of the *Chase Act* by Congress in 1891²⁰⁴), and publishers were able to produce local editions of popular works for the readership that could not afford costly imports from England. In the late 18th – early 19th century, well-made and well-printed editions imported from England were a luxury affordable only to few. Less pecunious and more patriotically-minded US buyers sought less attractive but cheaper domestic products.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ According to advertisements in booksellers catalogues: Parisian, *Frances Burney's Cecilia*, 74-75.

²⁰⁴ Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, 136.

²⁰⁵ Rezek, *London and the Making of Provincial Literature*; Green, "The Book Trades in the New Nation."

Image 7: Title Page of Thomas/1796/Early American



Jones/1792/Early American, Johnson/1792/Early American, Thomas/1796/Early American, Mott/1797/Early American, and Fessenden/1812/Early American are typical examples of the modest-looking books produced at the dawn of the local publishing in the US. They are set in smaller type to fit into two volumes, printed on bad quality paper, with no ornaments or illustrations. Most of them come from the centres of American publishing set up in the late colonial period: Philadelphia, Worcester (MA), and New York. The latest was produced in Brattleborough, Vermont, which was to become a centre of reprint publishing and especially of Bible production in the early 19th century,²⁰⁶ by William Fessenden, publisher of the best-selling *American Spelling Book* by Noah Webster.²⁰⁷ The publication in the US from 1792 until 1812 of five editions of Burney's fashionable novel is a sign and a testimony to the existence of a robust trans-Atlantic

²⁰⁶ Amory, "The New England Book Trade, 1713-1790."; Green, "The Book Trades in the New Nation."

²⁰⁷ "A Partial History of Brattleboro Printing and Publishing," *The Brattleboro Reformer*, accessed April 29, 2020, <https://www.reformer.com/stories/a-partial-history-of-brattleboro-printing-and-publishing,559729>.

cultural exchange and a common cultural space, an Anglophone literary field, already well established by the late 18th century in Britain, Europe, and the American colonies.

The last category of English-language *Evelina* published outside of England was produced by European continental publishers, supplying local markets with newest books or reprints of older popular works. Similarly to American publishers, they had an advantage over their London counterparts, as English copyright protection had not yet been extended to Europe, so their products could have been sold in a more accessible price range. They also had another advantage in terms of accessibility, as they were able to provide English-language publications for English-speaking travellers, residents, and students during times when trade with England was obstructed by wars and conflicts. Three continental *Evelinas* out of the total eight, Parsons & Galignani/1805/continental, Walther/1805/continental, and Barrois/1808/continental, were published during the Napoleonic Wars when continental publications were the only freely available source of English books and periodical press.

In total, there were eight editions and reprints produced in English on the continent beginning with C. and F. Walther in 1788 to Tauchnitz in 1850. A testimony to the enduring popularity of the novel is the fact that the most successful continental publishers of English books with the widest distribution networks issued *Evelina*: Giovanni Antonio Galignani, who with his English wife Anne Parsons, established an English bookshop and a circulating library in Paris, founded a widely popular English-language newspaper, *Galignani's Messenger*, and was the first publisher specialising and making a living publishing English works in English on the continent²⁰⁸; Baudry, Galignani's main competitor, "celebrated for its publication of [...] the *Collection of Ancient and Modern British Novels and Romances*"²⁰⁹; and finally, Tauchnitz, the precursor of

²⁰⁸ *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, s.v. "Galignani, Giovanni Antonio."

²⁰⁹ Devonshire, *The English Novel in France, 1830-1870*, 56; *Data BnF*, s.v. "Louis-Claude Baudry (1793?-1853)."

modern paperbacks with their Albatross series,²¹⁰ whose close to 6,000 titles issued between 1841 and 1939²¹¹ were “the cherished companions of English-speaking travellers in central Europe and the royal road for foreign students to the treasures of English and American literature.”²¹²

5.2.2.4 Coming on Stage

Three publications, one in English and two in other languages, that appeared during the period of the initial wide popularity of *Evelina* are of a certain interest because they belong to the category of what could be called derived works. They are dramatic adaptations more or less faithfully following the plot of the novel. The first work appeared in German: Schroeder, Friedrich Ludewig. *Victorine, oder Wohlthun trägt Zinsen. Ein Lustspiel in vier Aufzügen* (1786), which could be translated in English as *Victorine: Or, Doing Good Brings Dividends*. The second was in Dutch: *Victorine: Tooneelspel*, which could be translated as *Victorine: A Theater Play* (1806); and the last work was an English play by William Charles White, *The Poor Lodger: A Comedy, in Five Acts as Performed at the Boston Theatre* (1811). *Victorine* was published in 1786, five years after the publication of German translation of *Evelina* by C.F. Weiss. It was dramatized by Friedrich Ludwig Schröder, German actor, playwright, theatrical manager, and translator, who also played the male lead role in the play. The plot of *Victorine* is similar to its parent novel; however, the characters and scenes are quite different, as Schröder selected the fragments of *Evelina* that would work well on the German stage of the time, ultimately trying to please his local public.²¹³ The Dutch dramatization came out in the year following the publication by Jan Doll of the final volume

²¹⁰ McCleery, “The Paperback Evolution.”

²¹¹ Rota, *Apart from the Text*, 227; Todd and Bowden, *Tauchnitz International Editions in English, 1841-1955*.

²¹² Steinberg and Warde, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, 249.

²¹³ For a discussion on the changes in the plot and characters in *Victorine* as compared to *Evelina* see: Hansen, “Victorine.”

of *Evelina* translated in Dutch (Doll/1780-1785/Dutch). The Dutch *Victorine* was not a new work based on the translated Dutch *Evelina*, but a translation by M.G. Engelman from Schröder's German *Victorine*. The *Poor Lodger* strays further than its foreign counterparts do from the initial plot. It keeps the general premise of the plot based on the life of an acknowledged daughter of a nobleman but conflates the characters of the poor lodger, Mr. Macartney, and the abandoning father, Sir John Belmont, into the one of Sir Charles Barrymore, poor and penitent, but regaining his fortune at an opportune moment. Interestingly, both German and Dutch adaptations do not mention Burney's name or *Evelina* as the title of the source-work on their title pages, while the *Poor Lodger*, the latest of the three, written and performed at the tail end of the first wave of its popularity mentions the title *Evelina* (but not the name Burney) in the preface. The *Poor Lodger* was written and performed for an American audience, which at the time considering the delayed development of the theatre in antebellum America, had much fewer sources of theatrical entertainment,²¹⁴ and probably would not have been adverse to a comedy based on the plot of a novel published more than 30 years before.

5.2.3 At the Mass-market for Books

In the 19th century, the publishing landscape in general, and for *Evelina* in particular, was defined by increasing literacy levels and the industrialisation of book production with the consequent decrease of its cost. The institution of the fixed-term period of protection for new works opened a way for legally reproducing any popular works after the expiration of their initial copyright and made it possible for relatively new works to be sold more widely and cheaply, reaching new segments of the book market. In the 19th century, legislation supporting the education of the poor,

²¹⁴ Rubin and Solorzano, *The World Encyclopedia of Contemporary Theatre: Americas*, 394-395.

including laws that made primary schooling compulsory, introduced in 1880, contributed to making literacy nearly universal. Despite the duration of a typical workday lasting for up to 14 hours, reading for pleasure became more widespread, with the increase of both general wealth and availability of leisure time among lower classes. The growing demand for the reading matter forced book producers to seek technical innovations that could make book production faster and cheaper, which in its turn stimulated new demand. If at the end of the 18th century, book production was still a manual process that had not significantly changed since the introduction of print, by the second half of the 19th century, a continuing stream of innovations, such as the mechanisation of papermaking and bookbinding and introduction of steam-powered presses and stereotyping, had turned the process into an industrial one furthering the development of the mass-market for books.²¹⁵

5.2.3.1 Canon-making *British Novelists*

A high point in the publication history of *Evelina* was its inclusion in the “canon-making enterprise”²¹⁶ of the *British Novelists* series in 1810. The series was produced by 37 publishing houses, many of which were in their turn products of mergers of several enterprises. Interestingly, Lowndes, the first publisher of *Evelina*, was also part of this group. The *British Novelists* was not the earliest collection “gathering together of representative works of prose fiction.”²¹⁷ *Novelist’s Magazine*, published in 1780–1789, that included 60 novels in 23 volumes was its predecessor. However, it is the *British Novelists*, supplied with “extensive analytical commentary in an introductory essay to volume 1 entitled ‘On the Origin and Progress of Novel-Writing,’ as well as

²¹⁵ Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, 85-120; Weedon, *Victorian Publishing*, 32-58; Eliot, “From Few and Expensive to Many and Cheap.”; Banham, “The Industrialization of the Book 1800–1970.”

²¹⁶ McCarthy and Kraft, *Anna Letitia Barbauld*, 12.

²¹⁷ Toner, “Anna Barbauld on Fictional Form in the *British Novelists* (1810),” 172.

a preface, biographical and critical, to the work of each novelist” by Anna Letitia Barbauld, that “has been recognized as formative in establishing the novelistic canon.”²¹⁸ Barbauld was a poet, now considered one of the founders of Romanticism, an innovative writer for children, a famous essayist, and an influential literary critic and editor. Before the *British Novelists*, she edited six volumes of Samuel Richardson’s correspondence, wrote his first biography as a 212-page essay, and edited a literary anthology addressed to a female audience, *The Female Speaker*. The *British Novelists*, which “when advertised in the *Athenaeum* in 1807 [...], was presented explicitly as a guide to the choosing of novels,”²¹⁹ came at the exact time of widening literacy and access to books, when new readers, often belonging to classes anxious to elevate their social and educational status through reading, were seeking guidance in their reading choices. The series, selected and prefaced by an essayist known for her high moral principles, whose goal was to choose “the most approved novels,” gave the readers the necessary and authoritative assistance and a stamp of acceptability and approval for the writers, producing at the same time a form of a sanctioned perception of their legacy.

Inclusion in the *British Novelists* came at an opportune moment in the publication history of *Evelina* when the initial wave of popularity of the novel was coming to its end. It was rekindled by the appearance of Burney’s other two novels, *Cecilia* (1782) and *Camilla* (1796), which received (especially *Cecilia*) critical and public acclaim. The publication of these new novels and their popularity brought a new upsurge of editions and reprints of *Evelina*, sometimes marketed in the publishers’ paratext as a novel by “the author of” *Cecilia* or *Camilla*. However, by 1810, the excitement surrounding her works subsided, while Burney’s own involuntary exile in France for almost ten years shut her out of the London literary scene and made her seem a figure of the past.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 171.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

The inclusion of *Evelina* in the series became a means of extending the novel's longevity in the public eye. Its publication in 1810 was also timely as it claimed a place for *Evelina* in the literary canon, as the novel that observantly and vividly depicts manners and society while inculcating high standards and moral principles, before Hazlitt and Croker's venomous reviews of *The Wanderer* and Burney's subsequent works were published. The inclusion of *Evelina* in the influential series gave the novel a new boost and made sure that it did not join the ranks of forgotten works of the past century, paving the way for its future reprints.

5.2.3.2 Books for All Tastes and Wallets

Evelina exemplifies the trends of books becoming accessible to increasing numbers of people, from more diverse social and economic backgrounds, now able to read and afford to buy or borrow books from circulating or subscription libraries, and of the diversification of the book market with different kinds of editions being produced for different strata of the reading public. After Lowndes' copyright had expired, and after the publication of the *British Novelists*, *Evelina* was produced in a multitude of various editions by different publishers aimed at readers with varying levels of wealth and education. They ranged from expensive editions printed on high-quality paper and embellished with hand-coloured illustrations (Mason/1821/ill and Jones/1822/ill) and well-produced books, illustrated, printed on good-quality paper aimed at different segments of middle-class readership (e.g. Chiswick/1822, Rivington et al./1824, Dove/1843, Allman/1851, Harrison/1854) to the editions printed from stereotype plates and sometimes on low-quality machine-made paper issued for less affluent audiences (e.g. Pratt/1842, Harper/1832/stereotype, Derby & Jackson/1857/stereotype, Harper/1878/Franklin Library).

5.2.3.2.1 Regency-Time *Evelina*

Mason/1821/ill and Jones/1822/ill are the editions that stand apart and in stark contrast to all other *Evelina* produced up to the present. Published at the height of the Regency era, when the Prince Regent had just become King George IV, they are paratextually modelled after the “rambling” texts on London life, popular during this period when the entertainment scene in the capital was characterised by extravagance, debauchery, gambling, and heavy drinking. Rambling texts of the early decades of the 19th century were published as a sort of illustrated guidebooks to the city, focused on popular pastimes and places that could attract male pleasure seekers.²²⁰ Mason/1821/ill and Jones/1822/ill are nearly identical except for their titles and the title pages. The question remains open whether an Edward Mason was involved in the production of the Mason/1821/ill, or it was issued by Jones & Co. under a false imprint. Jones/1822/ill could be a direct reprint of Mason/1821/ill, of which it would have replicated the setup, including the anomalies in pagination (pages 41 - 48 repeated in paging). However, and which is the most probable according to all bibliographic evidence, it is the same text-block supplied with a new title page and imprint information. Both books feature the same set of seven hand-coloured plates by a popular caricaturist, William Heath (1794/5–1840), five with the imprint “Jones & Co. Warwick Square, London, 1822” (one plate undated) with three plates signed W. Heath and matching page numbers printed at the bottom (except for the plate matching p. 68). The fact that these identical illustrations, included in several examined copies of both Mason/1821/ill and Jones/1822/ill, all have the imprint and the date of the later edition corroborates the explanation of Mason/1821/ill being published by Jones and Co. under a false imprint.

²²⁰ Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*.

Additional corroborative evidence of Mason/1821/ill being published by Jones and Co. under a false imprint is the fact Jones & Co. (also working under the imprints of Sherwood, Neely and Jones; Sherwood, Jones and Co.; and Jones and Co.²²¹) was a publisher who did not shy away from dubious business practices and left a mark in book history with the type of books that their *Evelina* was made to resemble. Jones and Co. was a publisher-printer establishment not of the best repute that flourished in London from 1822-1850. The firm was known for being embroiled in several controversies regarding their publishing practices, ranging from issuing pirated and unauthorised editions and books eliciting moral controversy, rambling texts (highly popular during the Regency), and libertine literature. It published without authorisation *Wat Tyler* in 1817, an early radical drama written by Robert Southey, much to Southey's dismay and embarrassment, who by that time, was a Poet Laureate and turned conservative. The publishing house also produced an unauthorised reprint of *The Vampire* by Polidori with a false attribution to Byron (following a similar publication in the *New Monthly Magazine*). Jones and Co. was also involved in the production of *Laon and Cythna*, one of Percy Bysshe Shelley's most celebrated and controversial works, condemned at the time for promoting atheism, sedition, promiscuity, and incest.²²² Lastly, the firm produced under its own imprint books of an erotic and pornographic nature, several of which could be found in Ashbee and other catalogues.²²³

However, Jones and Co.'s most known contribution to the history of the book was the publication of several books on London life written by Pierce Egan (1772–1849), a sporting journalist and popular writer. Egan was a typical representative of the Regency era, best known

²²¹ OCLC, "Sherwood, Neely, and Jones."

²²² O'Neill, Howe, and Callaghan, *The Oxford Handbook of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 88-90; Viets, "The London Editions of Polidori's 'The Vampyre'."

²²³ Ashbee, *Catena Librorum Tacendorum*; Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English, 1800–1930*; Stuart Bennett Rare Books and Manuscripts, *English Libertine Literature, 1652-1843*.

for his writings on such popular and, at best, frivolous subjects as boxing and amorous affairs, with his serial publication *Boxiana, or, Sketches of Ancient and Modern Pugilism* (1813 – 1829) and a book on the relationship between the Prince Regent and Mary Robinson, *The Mistress of Royalty, or, The Loves of Florizel and Perdita* (1814).²²⁴ His collaboration with Jones and Co. began in 1820 with the publication of *The Life in London: Or, the Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorn, esq., and His Elegant Friend, Corinthian Tom, Accompanied by Bob Logic, the Oxonian, in their Rambles and Sprees through the Metropolis*, illustrated with some 30 engravings by George Cruikshank (1792–1878) and his brother Robert Cruikshank (1789-1856).

Image 8: Illustrated Title Page of *Life in London*



²²⁴ Brailsford, "Egan."

The Life in London tells the story of three young men: the wealthy orphaned Corinthian Tom, his country cousin, Jerry Hawthorn, and Bob Logic, an Oxford student, who ramble through London, i.e. lead a debauched life, visiting taverns, gin shops, theatres, brothels, gaming places, and boxing events. It was first issued as a serial and published in a book format in 1821, was written in a journalistic style with the heavy use of contemporary slang, and was the origin of the expression “Tom and Jerry” that at the time, meant drinking, fighting, and causing trouble. It became extremely successful in England and America but was criticised for the encouragement of vice and as such was not a text to be read, seen, or associated with respectable women.²²⁵ The immense success of Egan’s book led to the publication of a plethora of imitations and openly plagiaristic works. Jones and Co. published the best known of the imitative works, *The Real Life in London: Or the Rambles and Adventures of Bob Tallyho, Esq. and His Cousin, the Hon. Tom Dashall, through the Metropolis: Exhibiting A Living Picture of Fashionable Characters, Manners, and Amusements in High and Low Life* in 1821-1822.

During the same years, Jones and Co. produced their edition of *Evelina* with a closely resembling look and feel, making Burney’s novel a female counterpart to the *Life in London* and the *Real Life in London*. This required the repackaging of the novel, known as the first book in the genre acceptable for women to read and already a part of the literary canon, into a paratext that suggested more modern and light content. Both Mason/1821/ill and Jones/1822/ill omit Burney’s dedications and authorial preface, the rhetoric and style of which could have felt old-fashioned to the contemporary readers, reprinting instead (without the dates) two abridged reviews contemporary with the 1778 - 1779 editions. The dates of the reviews are omitted most probably to make them appear more modern to less informed readers. In addition to an illustrated title page,

²²⁵ Farina, “Flash Romanticism.”; Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*; Dart, “‘Flash Style’.”

the publisher added to the books six hand-coloured illustrations, closely resembling in style to those in the *Life in London* depicting the settings and fashion contemporary not to the plot of the novel but to the dates of publication of the book, highlighting the attractions of the Regency London, balls, theatres and shopping. Half of them illustrate three major scenes of aggression in the novel, between the captain and Madame Duval or Mr. Lovel, suggesting a much more violent content of the book than it is in reality.

Image 9: Illustrated Title Page of Jones/1822/ill

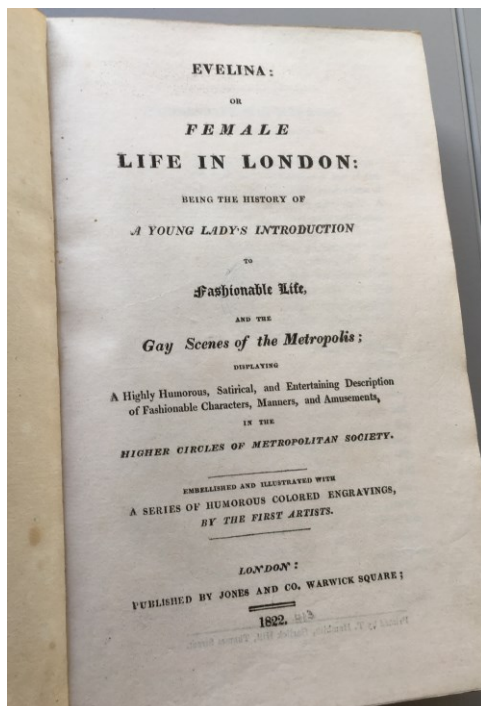


Image 10: Illustrations from Mason/1821/ill and Jones/1822/ill



Lastly, in Mason/1821/ill (whether it was produced by Mason or by Jones under a false imprint remains a question), the original title was kept, and Burney's name was on the title page; thus, the novel was reintroduced as a rambling book only through its visual repackaging. In Jones/1822/ill, however, the publisher chose to change the title completely to *Evelina: Or Female Life in London: Being the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to Fashionable Life, and the Gay Scenes of the Metropolis, Displaying a Highly Humorous, Satirical, and Entertaining Description of Fashionable Characters, Manners, and Amusements, in the Higher Circles of Metropolitan Society Embellished and Illustrated with a Series of Humorous Colored Engravings, by the First Artists*, directly associating the book with *The Life in London*.

Image 11: Title Page of Jones/1822/ill



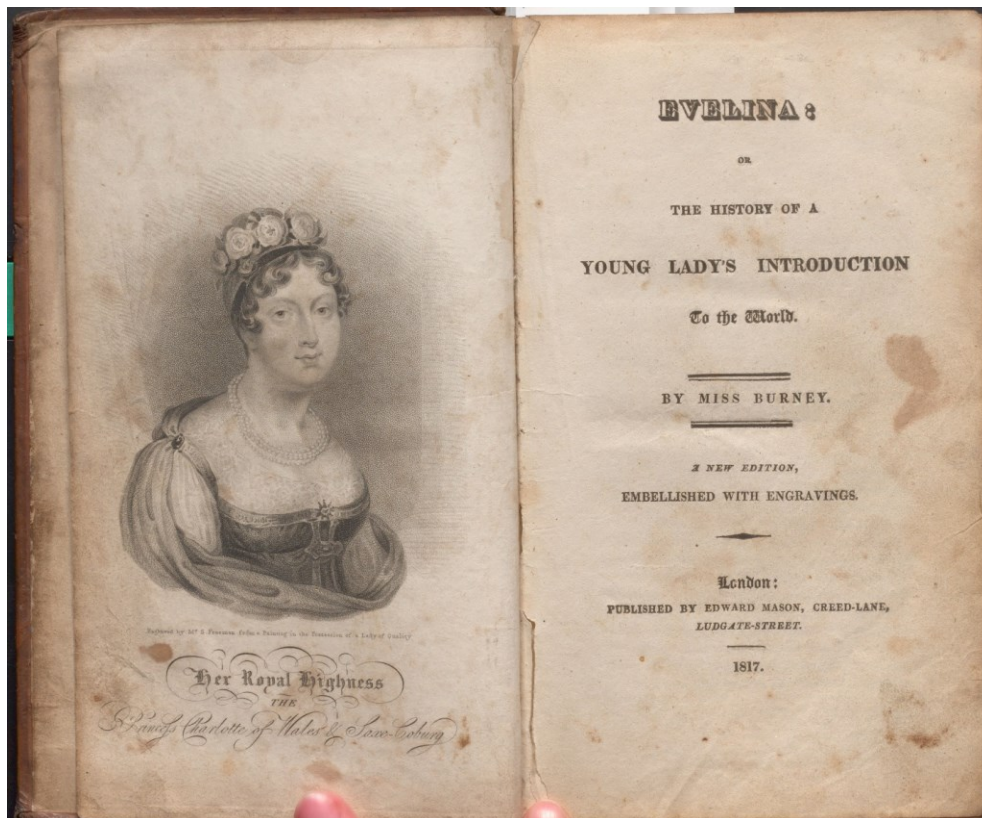
Some remaining notion of decorum probably explains why the publisher did not dare to put Burney's name on the title pages next to the title above, so Jones/1822/ill was the last edition

issued (one would say, fortunately) anonymously. It is not known if Burney, who had just lost her beloved husband, Alexandre D'Arblay (1817), and had her less-than-studious son, Alex, ordained (1819), was aware of this publication. For a person as sensitive to respectability and propriety as she was, it would have been a heavy blow to know that her first novel was repackaged to resemble a notorious rambling book and issued under a completely changed title by a publisher with a dubious reputation.

The involvement of someone named Edward Mason in the production of Mason/1821/ill is an open question, as nothing is known of the existence of a London bookseller, printer, or a publisher with this combination of the first and last names active in the beginning of the 19th century (even the most comprehensive *British Book Trade Index* does not list any). Curiously, the name is found on the title page of another earlier and completely different edition of *Evelina*, Mason/1817. It is a scarce edition of low quality, printed on bad paper but embellished with six plates (five extremely poorly executed engravings illustrating the plot of the novel and a frontispiece portrait of Princess Charlotte). The only similarity of Mason/1817 with Mason/1821/ill and Jones/1822/ill is the tactic chosen by the publisher to lighten the tone of the edition, as it also omits Burney's dedications and authorial preface and reprints instead (without the dates) the two abridged reviews contemporary with the publication of first editions. In this edition of *Evelina*, the portrait of Princess Charlotte performs a time-honoured function: visually linking the book with the royal person and conveying some of her nobility to the book. This method is a long-standing tradition in book and manuscript-making. For example, the French translation of the *Controversia de nobilitate* printed by Antoine Verard in 1497 includes a pictorial title page depicting Verard in the act of presenting his book to the royal patron Charles VIII. The presence of this scene, fictional as it is, "valorizes the codex as a kind of relic, and furthermore bestows

social status and prestige upon Verard.”²²⁶ Mason/1817 has never been reprinted, so it is impossible to determine if this promotional tactic was successful or not. Princess Charlotte died in November 1817, and it could be that her untimely death, caused by child-birth complications precluded a reprint of the edition. Besides, using the portrait of a highly popular daughter of the Prince Regent was probably not enough to convey some of her nobility to a book that was otherwise badly made.

Image 12: Frontispiece, Title Page, and Illustrations of Mason/1817



²²⁶ Mak, *How the Page Matters*, 35.

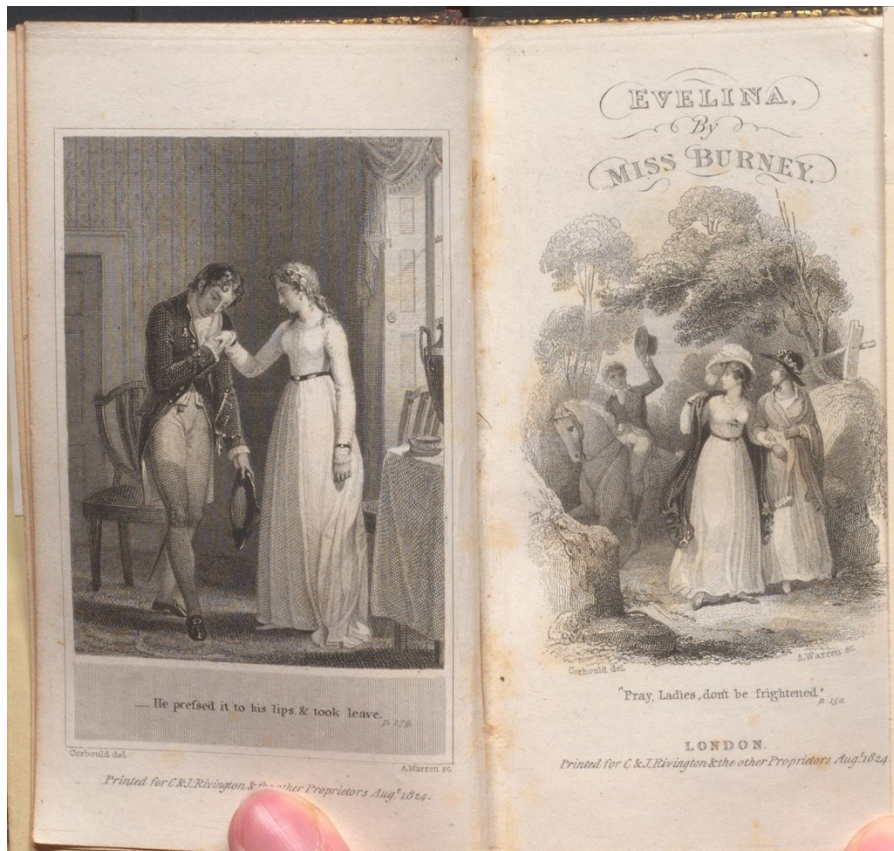


5.2.3.2.2 For the Nascent Middle-class

The Rivington et al./1824 was published by C. and J. Rivington and 15 other publishing houses, the vast majority of which were also involved in the production of Rivington/1810/British Novelists and Rivington/1820/British Novelists. Rivington was a reputable firm founded in 1711, specialised in theological, educational, and quality literary publishing. Similarly to *Evelina* included in the *British Novelists* series, the Rivington et al./1824 was aimed at upper-middle-class readers, as testified by the quality of printing, paper, and two well-executed steel engravings bound in (an engraved frontispiece and added engraved title page). The engravings with characters dressed in accordance with the contemporary fashion depict an emotional explanation between Evelina and Lord Orville on the subject of her walk in a dubious company in Marybone Garden as a thoroughly appropriate gallant scene, and an encounter in the garden between Evelina, Miss

Mirvan and Sir Clement, a dangerous rake, as a decorous walk in the shrubbery. Judging by the high quality of contemporary bindings and the gilded edges of the two examined copies, the buyers and owners of these *Evelina* indeed belonged to affluent classes.

Image 13: Frontispiece and Title Page of Rivington et al./1824



The illustrative matter from the Rivington et al./1824 was reprinted some 30 years later by Thomas Allman. Allman was an old-style family publishing business founded in the late 18th century by Thomas Allman, who was succeeded by his sons Thomas and Joseph. Initially, they had no particular specialisation, producing works of philosophy, geography, and literature.²²⁷ T. & J. Allman also famously commissioned Mary Hays to write a book in defence of Queen

²²⁷ Norton and Norton, "A Response to Our Colleagues."

Caroline, the estranged wife of King George IV, “as a writer familiar with issues of the wronged woman and experienced in writing female biography, [...] *Memoirs of Queens Illustrious and Celebrated*, published in the summer of 1821.”²²⁸ In the 1850s, after moving to 42 Holborn Hill, London, the firm branched out into educational publishing and producing books marketed as “school prizes in attractive bindings.”²²⁹ Allman/1851, handsomely printed with an engraved frontispiece and added illustrative title page (reproducing the engravings from Rivington et al./1824), is a perfect example of a book that could have been purchased as a gift for students or young female relatives.

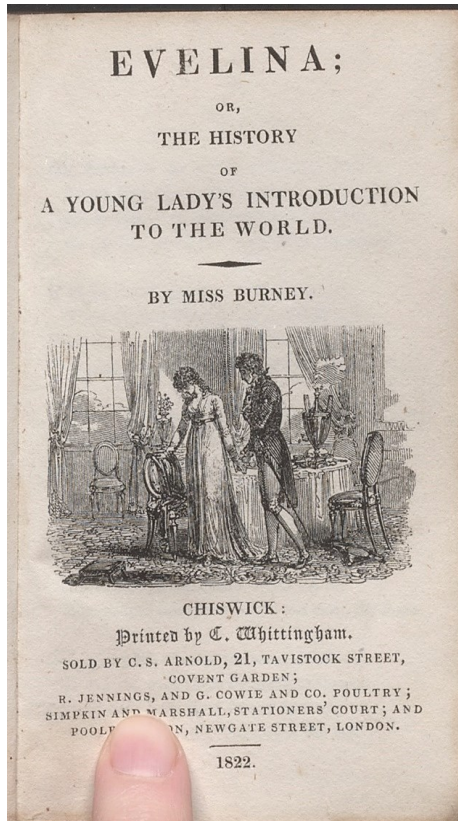
Two other *Evelinas*, also aimed at the growing middle-class, though less expensive than the ones discussed above, Chiswick/1822 and Dove/1843, are small and good quality books published by Charles Whittingham and John Fowler Dove. The examined copy of the Chiswick/1822 did not contain any series statement, but according to the secondary sources, it was issued in the series known as *Novel's Library*, *Novelists Library*, and *Pocket Novelists*. Chiswick Press was the imprint of Charles Whittingham (1767–1840) that later, under the direction of his nephew, became known for an “exceptionally high standard of production and was a major beneficial influence on the early 19th-century British book printing.”²³⁰ However, even this early product of their press, Chiswick/1822, is typical of Whittingham’s output, known by its quality superior to his competitors. It is set in clear-cut type printed on a quality paper, and features two vignettes on the title pages, illustrating two sentimental scenes from the novel: the first scene is a romantic tête-à-tête between Evelina and Lord Orville; and the second is her rescue, as a damsel in distress, from a group of harassing men by the same virtuous lord.

²²⁸ Murray, “Mary Hays and the Forms of Life,” 61.

²²⁹ “In Memoriam Mr. Thomas J. Allman,” 35.

²³⁰ Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, 105.

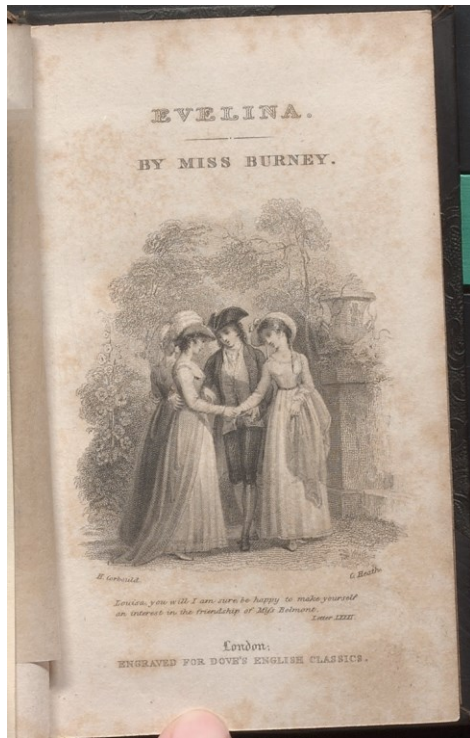
Image 14: Title Page of Chiswick/1822



Dove's books, similarly to Allman's, were advertised as suitable to be "kept in elegant bindings, for presents, etc."²³¹ Their *Evelina* published in the English Classics series is indeed a well-made book, small, well printed, on reasonably good paper, which its mid-19th century owner had (as instructed in the advertisements) bound in blind-embossed leather. It is decorated with two steel engravings: a frontispiece and illustrated title page, presenting a sentimental explanation between Lord Orville, his sister, and Evelina, whom he introduces as his future wife, and a scene at the ball between coquettish Evelina, Lord Orville, and Sir Clement.

²³¹ "Dove's English Classics," 752.

Image 15: Title Page of Dove/1843



Both Chiswick/1822 and Dove/1843 are out-of-copyright reprints aimed at the growing middle class, who had leisure time to read and a desire to educate themselves in the canonic English literature, but who could not afford to buy the editions of the quality of Rivington et al./1824 or the ones included in the *British Novelists*. As Parisian demonstrated on the example of *Cecilia* also printed in the same series by these publishers but in later volumes, these two editions, well-produced but moderately priced (e.g. 6s for Dove books), were still out of reach for working-class readers. Instead, they would have been targeting another growing category of customers, the middle class,²³² for whom the *British Novelists'* *Evelina* with their price tag of “of 12 guineas for the [50-volume] set, or 50s. per volume”²³³ would be unaffordable.

²³² Parisian, *Frances Burney's Cecilia*, 34-36.

²³³ Johnson, “‘Let Me Make the Novels of a Country’,” 166.

5.2.3.2.3 Accessible & Cheap Editions

The majority of accessible and mass-market editions and reprints of *Evelina* were produced during and after a pivotal event in Burney's literary afterlife, the appearance of the first edition of the *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay*, edited by her niece.²³⁴ The publication of seven volumes of Burney's diaries over the period of four years, 1842 – 1846, widely acclaimed by critics for their vivid account of historical events, reawakened interest in Burney's work, solidified her place in literary history, and also provided favourable market conditions for the publishers to reedit and reprint *Evelina*.

However, before discussing these later accessible editions, some details in relation to Burney and Thomas Tegg must be mentioned. Tegg was notorious for his highly sloppy publishing practices, poor quality of printing, and for instructing printers to cut the texts of books to the available amount of paper.²³⁵ He was able to make a fortune on buying and reselling with new title pages remainders of print runs from other publishers, publishing chapbooks and other sensation fiction, and producing extremely cheap reprints of standard and popular out-of-copyright works. It is possible to conclude from secondary sources that he published *Evelina* at least twice: in 1816 in 24mo and in 1835 in 12mo, but as his publishing output was destined to be consumed and discarded, little of it is preserved for the posterity. Tegg/1816 is recorded in the February 1816 issue of the *Tegg's Catalogue of Cheap Books*,²³⁶ but no copies of this edition of *Evelina* can be found in any library in WorldCat, so it not known if any survived. Tegg/1835 exists in two copies

²³⁴ For example, Pratt/1842, Dove/1843, Pratt/1845, Harrison/1854, Harper/1855/pocket, Derby & Jackson/1857/stereotype, Derby & Jackson/1860/stereotype, Derby & Jackson/1861/stereotype, Harper/1873, Harper/1878/Franklin Library, Ward, Lock & Tyler/1874/yellowback and Ward, Lock & Tyler/1882/yellowback.

²³⁵ Altick, *The English Common Reader*, 285; Barnes and Barnes, "Reassessing the Reputation of Thomas Tegg, London Publisher, 1776-1846."; "Tegg, Thomas (1776–1846), Publisher."

²³⁶ Tegg, *Tegg's Catalogue of Cheap Books*, 7.

in Universitätsbibliothek, Augsburg, Germany and, possibly, as there is no indication of the publisher in the cataloguing record, also in the Trinity College Library, Dublin.²³⁷

In addition to Frances Burney, Tegg had another connection to the Burney family. Sarah Harriet Burney, Burney's half-sister, apparently served as an editor for his *Miniature Novelists* book series and *Miniature Novelist's Magazine* that published sensational novels designed for the lower segment of the book market.²³⁸ While the statement "Edited by Miss Burney" on the title pages was technically correct, it could have been put intentionally to suggest an incorrect name attribution and consequently giving false legitimacy to the publications of dubious quality. "By Miss Burney" was far more likely to mean for prospective buyers that they were edited by Frances Burney, a famous novelist with an unblemished reputation, rather than by her little-known sister Sarah Harriet. The series and the magazine began publication in 1809 when Burney was in involuntary exile in France, and it is not known if she was aware of their existence, or if they ever came up in family discussions. Sarah Harriet's involvement with publications of suspect quality would probably have been seen as a relatively minor transgression after her questionable relationship with her half-brother James Burney.

A technical development favourable to the appearance of a large number of affordable reprints of *Evelina* was the wide implementation of the latest printing technology, stereotyping, that made book production significantly cheaper. Stereotyping, or printing not from an assembled forme of type but from a metal plate cast from an impression in a *papier-mâché* or plaster mould, offered significant economic advantages to publishers and became standard practice by 1840, especially for works with fixed text that did not go through textual revisions, such as the Bible and

²³⁷ None of them could have been examined for logistical reasons. The request for information from the Trinity has not been answered at the time of final submission of the thesis.

²³⁸ Burney and Clark, *The Letters of Sarah Harriet Burney*, lx; Kelly, "The Popular Novel, 1790–1820," 516.

cheap reprints.²³⁹ *Evelina*, with its fixed text and steady demand on the market, was well suited to be produced in stereotype editions.

The earliest discovered stereotype edition of *Evelina* was printed in 1832 in two volumes by Harper & Brothers in New York. Harper, the leading book publisher in the US for most of the 19th century, who specialised in the production of reading matter for a democratic readership, reprinted their stereotype *Evelina* targeting a less affluent market twice again, in 1841, 1845, and 1852. They also produced three other editions: in their accessible series *Pocket Editions of Select Novels* (1855), without series in one volume in 1873, and finally in the cheap *Franklin Square Library* in 1878. The publication in the *Franklin Square Library* was the closest *Evelina* ever came to the serialised format. The books in the series were not issued in parts but as pamphlets (29 cm high), several of which could be bound in one volume. They were printed on the cheapest newspaper-quality paper to be sold at a loss for 15 cents per volume to undercut competition from other publishers reprinting titles from Harper's book-list.²⁴⁰ As stereotyping became a more and more standard printing technique, Derby & Jackson, another publisher targeting a popular readership followed suit, printing their own stereotype editions of *Evelina* in 1857 (reprinted in 1860 and 1861).

Of the accessible editions published in England, the ones produced by Harrison and Sons and John Slater Pratt are of particular interest because of the place their producers occupy in the history of publishing. *Evelina* produced by Harrison and Sons in 1854 and 1861 are mass-market books unremarkable by themselves, most probably, printed from stereotype plates, a standard technology by that time. Their main interest for the publication history of the novel lies in the fact of their production by Thomas Richard Harrison, who belonged to the family of printers,

²³⁹ Dooley, *Author and Printer in Victorian England*, 55-59.

²⁴⁰ Wadsworth, *In the Company of Books*; Exman, *The House of Harper*.

publishers, and booksellers active in the business for more than two centuries (1739-1971). The Harrisons were government printers and at one time a bookseller to the Queen, as Harrison/1861 testifies, and became stamp, banknote, and passport printers for the UK government and colonies in 1881, continuing in the business until the takeover of the company in the late 20th century. The publication and reprint of *Evelina* is an interesting example of a brief aberration from Harrison's main line of business, as even before fully engaging in stamp printing, they mostly specialised in printing official and fact-based publications, among which were the *London Gazette* and famous *Burke's Peerage*.²⁴¹

Pratt was a provincial publisher who, at the time of dominance of London publishers, took successfully advantage of opportunities offered by the expanding popular market, demand for very affordable reading material, and newly available means of production. He published cheap reading materials, mostly novels of classic, gothic, and sensational types, sold to provincial and colonial new literates from working classes for as little as 6d.²⁴² Pratt/1842 and Pratt/1845 are typical examples of his modest output, produces on a steam press, possibly from stereotype plates (as he is known from the sales records of his house to have owned them). These editions were also printed on low-grade machine-produced paper (judging by the significant degree of browning it has suffered to the present), which by that time had almost completely replaced the hand-made product (by the 1830s more than two-thirds of paper made in England was machine-produced, rising to 90% by 1850²⁴³). Interestingly, while Pratt/1842 is decorated with the same generic frontispiece portrait of an unknown fashionably dressed and coiffed young girl that was later used for their

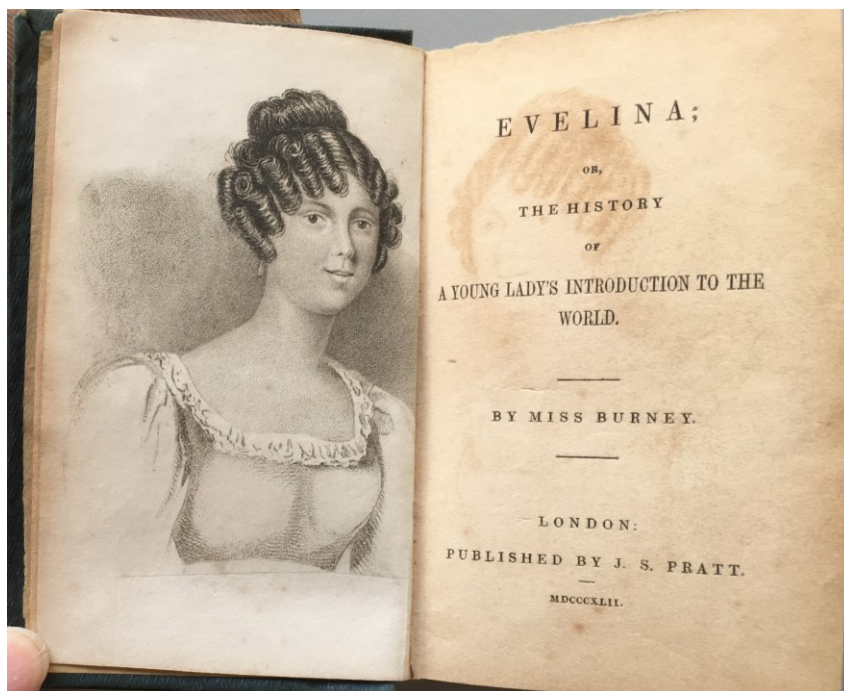
²⁴¹ "Harrison and Sons," Grace's Guide to British Industrial History; Morgan, "Harrison & Sons Ltd."; "Harrison and Sons Limited, Printers." The National Archives.

²⁴² For the history of the J.S. Pratt company: Chase, "'Stokesley Books'."

²⁴³ McKittrick, "Changes in the Look of the Book," 93.

Cecilia published in 1844,²⁴⁴ the publisher invested in commissioning a plot-specific illustration for Pratt/1845: Evelina preventing the suicide of her illegitimate half-brother Macartney. However, judging by the low quality of the engraving, where characters wearing distorted facial expressions are frozen in unnatural poses, the investment could not have been a large one. Pratt/1842 and Pratt/1845 are small cloth-bound volumes, only 13 cm high. This format was produced to provide affordable reading to the masses, a position from which it would be displaced by the advent of serial publishing and yellowbacks in the mid-19th century.

Image 16: Pratt/1842



Yellowback was a “nickname given the particular type of cheap edition evolved about the middle of last century for display and sale on railway bookstalls”²⁴⁵ that were designed to catch

²⁴⁴ Parisian, *Frances Burney's Cecilia*, 152.

²⁴⁵ Sadleir, “Yellow-Backs,” 127.

the attention of a busy train passenger. The format offered hurried buyers a “remarkable source of entertainment at an exceptionally reasonable price.”²⁴⁶ With each book affordably priced at two shillings, yellowback series provided the public, seeking a light reading, with new titles and all-time favourites, predominantly fiction. The most comprehensive bibliography of yellowbacks to date lists two *Evelina* published by Ward, Lock & Tyler in 1874 and 1882 (or 1881, as the book is dated based on the advertisements with no date on the title page).²⁴⁷ Ward & Lock (at one time also partnered with Tyler) specialised, similarly to other newly founded (mid- to late 19th century) publishing houses, in issuing “their fiction titles predominantly in cheap uniform series of yellowbacks or paperback volume aimed at the railway traveller.”²⁴⁸ In the conditions of an abundance of new fiction (albeit of varying quality), the inclusion of a classical title, such as *Evelina*, in a yellowback series is a sign of the continuous appeal of the book on the market. Publication of *Evelina*, known for its respectability, in their series *Select Library of Fiction* also complied with the focus of the firm aspiring to “wholesomeness in publishing” (it became especially pronounced when George Lock, Jr., known as Earnest, became Chairman of the board).²⁴⁹ *Evelina* does not belong to the golden age of yellowbacks, which lasted from 1855 to 1870, according to Sadleir. From the 1870s, this type of books entered the period of “troublesaving uniformity” with the quality of production generally deteriorating.²⁵⁰ However, even in this period of decline, the output of Ward, Lock & Co. was still characterised by their better quality. Ward, Lock & Tyler/1874/yellowback and Ward, Lock & Tyler/1882/yellowback exemplify well the type of publication being issued in boards covered with a bright-coloured glazed yellow paper

²⁴⁶ Rota, *Apart from the Text*, 221.

²⁴⁷ Topp, *Victorian Yellowbacks & Paperbacks, 1849-1905*.

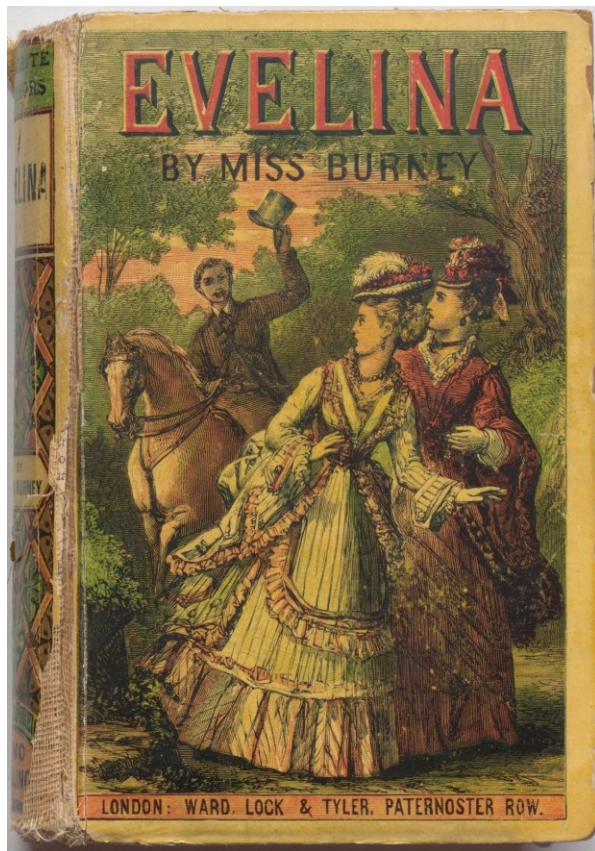
²⁴⁸ Law and Patten, “The Serial Revolution,” 164.

²⁴⁹ Anderson and Rose, *British Literary Publishing Houses, 1820-1880*, 326.

²⁵⁰ Sadleir, “Yellow-Backs,” 143-44.

(that gave origin to the name but could also have been sometimes pink, green, or blue) with a bright two-tone picture in red and green on the front cover and advertisements on the back one.

Image 17: Ward, Lock & Tyler/1882/yellowback



Several particularities make the yellowback *Evelina* especially interesting. It is the first-ever edition of Burney's novel published with a cover illustration. Readers would have to wait until the second half of the 20th century to see this practice to resurface again and to become the norm for *Evelina* (except for a brief intermission of the gilt-stamped covers in Macmillan/1903 and Macmillan/1904 where images were more of a symbolic nature). As typical for yellowbacks, Ward, Lock & Tyler/1874/yellowback and Ward, Lock & Tyler/1882/yellowback feature advertisements for consumer products. As it was demonstrated in previous literature, in serialised

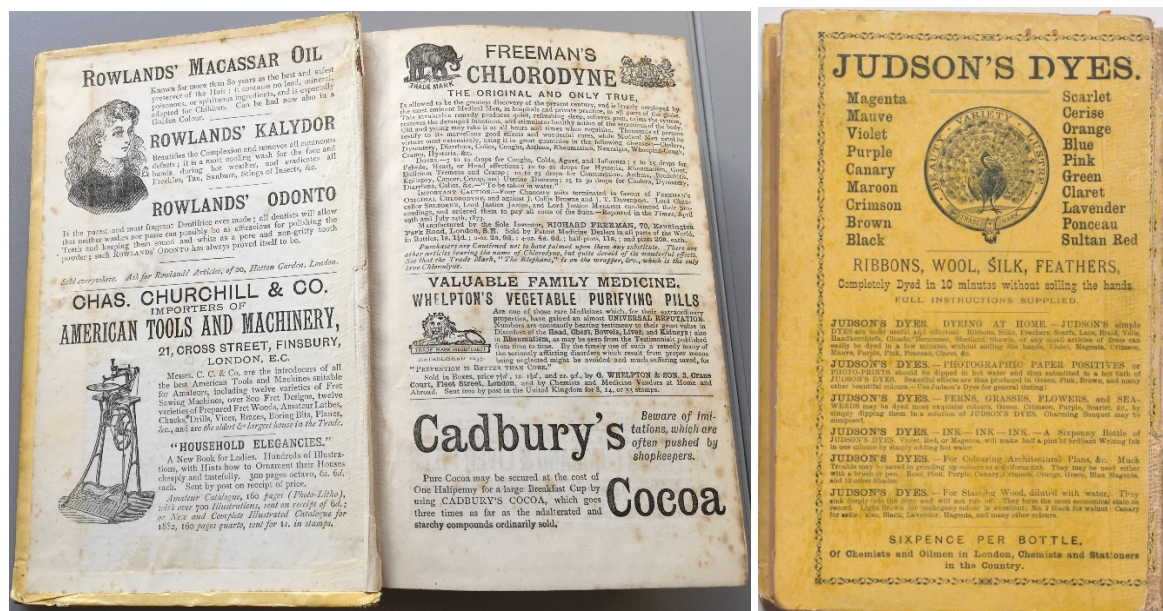
publications, the choice and selection of advertisement could often contradict, clash, and interrupt the reading of the literary part of the serial.²⁵¹ In some particularly bold advertisements, the merchants used the literary text for promoting their products and services. For example, the advertisements for the tailors Moses and Son's in the serialised *Bleak House* referred directly to the content of the book, while Lever's adds for Swan Soap promised Jane Austen's novels as give-away prizes.²⁵² The advertisements in yellowback *Evelina* do relate directly to the text of Burney's novel, but as in other cases,²⁵³ they could be seen to some extent to be a reflection of the target audience for the book. The choice of objects for promotion in these *Evelinas* relates well to the life-style of middle-class suburb-dwellers, who were the most probable buyers of the book sold at railway stalls: medicine: "Freeman's chlorodyne," "Whelpton's vegetable purifying pills"; food: "Cadbury's cocoa"; and garden supplies: seeds, trees, shrubs, cocoa-nut fiber (for mulching). However, the most prevalent among them are the advertisements targeting a female audience that indirectly signal the intended audience for the book: cosmetics "Macassar oil," "Rowlands' kalydor" (wash for the face); "American tools and machinery" illustrated with a picture, not of a drill or vice, but a sewing machine; cooking ingredients and kitchen remedies: "Goodall's Baking Powder" that "makes delicious puddings without eggs, pastry without butter," "Goodall's Quinine Wine" that "restores delicate individual to health," and a full back-cover add for fabric dyes "Judson's dyes" in 19 colours for dying different items of women's dress: "ribbons, wool, silk, feathers" "without soiling the hands."

²⁵¹ Thornton, *Advertising, Subjectivity and the Nineteenth-Century Novel*, 63-119.

²⁵² Ibid, 88; Barchas, "Sense, Sensibility, and Soap."

²⁵³ Thornton, *Advertising, Subjectivity and the Nineteenth-Century Novel*, 69.

Image 18: Advertisements in Ward, Lock & Tyler/1882/yellowback



Another point of interest is the illustration on the front cover that depicts the encounter in the garden between Evelina, Maria Mirvan, and Sir Clement. The reader is not confronted with an 18th-century's scene between a rake and two girls in high hair-dos. Similarly to illustrations in Rivington et al./1824 and Allman/1851, it is shown as a decorous 19th-century garden walk with the characters dressed according to the contemporary (in this case the late 1870s) fashion. Evelina and Miss Mirvan are wearing elaborated walking dresses with bustles, while Sir Clement looks a quite tame Victorian gentleman, wearing a pleasant expression, in a starched collar, tie, jacket, and waistcoat, politely holding his top-hat in his hand. This demonstrates a conscious effort by the publisher to bring the action of the story closer to the late-Victorian readers and buyers. Captivating as *Evelina* is, busy railway passengers, who were looking at the bookstalls for some light reading to help them bear the boredom of the journey, might have passed over a book if it had been clearly identified by its visual paratext as an 18th-century classical novel. However, the modern cover illustration would have provided a reassurance that this book would supply their purchasers with the usual dose of entertainment expected from this type of publication. In Ward, Lock &

Tyler/1874/yellowback and Ward, Lock & Tyler/1882/yellowback, the publishers did what no other English publishers had dared before or would dare after to do. They altered the text of the novel by omitting its last letter. This omission cannot be attributed to the lack of space, as the bottom third of the last page and its verso are left blank. While it is impossible to establish the exact motive, it could be supposed that the publisher might have considered an unsatisfactory ending for romance-novel-savvy Victorian customers, the last letter, where Evelina anticipates finding herself in the arms “of the best of men”, who is not her paragon of virtue of a new husband, Lord Orville, but her elderly guardian, Reverend Villars.

Lastly, as a side note to the publication history of the novel, it has to be mentioned that not *Evelina* itself, but a pastiche of it or a book echoing its title made its way into the much suppressed, but extensively produced Victorian genre of libertine literature. Ashbee lists in his privately printed bibliography a book, *Evelina: Amours & Adventures of a Lady of Fashion. Written by herself*, as first published before 1840 and later reprinted with the title proper changed to *Eveline* by Charles Roberts in c.1840 in two volumes, in c.1843 by Anthony Dyer (pseudonym of Anthony Edward Dyer White), and in an expanded edition in 1904 by Charles Carrington. It is also mentioned in the bibliographic work by Mendes, listed under a slightly different title, as *Evelina: or, Amours, Intrigues, and Adventures of a Lady of Fashion*, in an antiquarian bookseller’s catalogue,²⁵⁴ and was translated into French in 1891 as *Eveline: Aventures et intrigues d’une jeune miss du grand monde*.

²⁵⁴ Ashbee, *Catena Librorum Tacendorum*; Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English 1800–1930*; Stuart Bennett, *English Libertine Literature, 1652–1843*.

5.2.4 Entering the Literary Canon

5.2.4.1 Published in Literary Series²⁵⁵

Several of the editions of *Evelina* (discussed and described above) that were published in the early to mid-19th century exemplify the phenomenon that began to develop in the late 18th century and became a predominant force in book publishing in the late 19th century, namely the literary series. The exponential growth of literacy rates and the resulting need for accessible and quality reading materials combined with technological innovations in book production gave publishers recourse to economies of scale achieved through selling large numbers of cheap or reasonably priced books combined into thematic series. The series was a commodity that offered to their buyers not only books but also an authoritative guarantee of quality and the type of product they contained. This reassurance was necessary for most categories of Victorian readers anxious for the educational and elevating value in their reading matter but especially for newcomers to the book market from the lower middle and working class, who began building home libraries in their households in the mid- to late 19th century.

The diversification of the book market that began in the first half of the 19th century when publishers catered their editions to different strata of reader audience with varying levels of income and education also influenced the development of series publishing. From the early period of series' existence, books were issued in series ranging from well-made and expensive, destined for the shelves of upper echelons of society, to humble and affordable. The *British Novelists*, printed in 1810 and 1820, are an example of an early upscale series, out of reach for readers below the middle segment of the middle class, and canon making in its aim. These series established for the first time which books would be considered modern classics, i.e. the “group of texts the literate

²⁵⁵ An excellent and well-cited online source on the late 19th – 20th century book series used in this section: Krygier, “A Series of Series: 20th-Century Publishers Book Series.”

portion of the population is presumed to be acquainted with,” which “in turn make up the institution the ‘Canon,’ or that body of knowledge which is generally believed to comprise the materials of significant value in a standard education.”²⁵⁶ The other early series aimed at popular readership produced by Constable, Brougham, Bentley, Pickering, Tegg, Whittingham, etc. were among the first to demonstrate that there was also an emerging market for more affordably priced fiction published in this format that offered their customers some reassurance of quality and authority.²⁵⁷

Evelina made its way in both categories of the early series, published in the expensive *British Novelists* and by the democratic Whittingham in his series with varying titles: *Novel’s Library*, *Novelists Library*, and *Pocket Novelists*. Since its publication in the Whittingham’s series in 1822 and until 1881, the number of editions of *Evelina* issued in the series grew steadily, following the general trend of the development of book history. During this period of the mid- to late 19th century, it was issued twice in series published in England: Dove/1843 in the middle-class-aimed *English Classics* and Ward, Lock & Tyler/1874/yellowback in the democratic *Library of Favourite Authors*.

It was also published as part of literary series on the continent, destined for English-speaking travellers, Europe-dwellers, and students of the language: Baudry/1838/continental in the *Collection of Ancient and Modern British Novels and Romances*; and Tauchnitz/1850/continental in the *Collection of British Authors*; and in affordable series in the United States: Harper/1855/pocket in the *Pocket Editions of Select Novels*, and Harper/1878/Franklin Library in the ultra-affordable *Franklin Square Library*. The only translated edition of Burney’s novel produced during this period was also published in the series: Glücksberg/1830/Polish in *Obrazy*

²⁵⁶ Ezell, “Making a Classic,” 3.

²⁵⁷ Altick, “From Aldine to Everyman.”

Domowego Pozycia. Zbiór Romansów z Najlepszych Autorów Tłumaczony (can be translated as *The Scenes of Home Living. Collection of Novels Translated from the Best Authors*). Inclusion of *Evelina* in these and later series, targeting various segments of readership in different countries, plays an important role in the novel's publication and transmission history, ensuring its constant presence in the range of easily available reading matter. The series acted for Burney's novel as "a perennial home for the survivor advanced to the canon" and "as national and an international agent of intellectual and cultural exchange" that "more widely harkened" the book.²⁵⁸

The late 1870s – early 1880s marked a watershed moment in the publication history of *Evelina*. In 1881, the first edition of the novel, with an introduction, an epilogue to the introduction, and notes by Annie Raine Ellis, was published by George Bell & Sons, a reputable publisher, mostly specialising in producing books for the educational market, and classics and books for children. It was published in the series *Bohn's Novelist's Library*, "marketed for public libraries and private bookshelves of students."²⁵⁹ Ellis, the editor of the edition, herself a minor writer, has much more significance for posterity as the first Burney scholar, who edited for Bell the first annotated *Evelina* (1881) and *Cecilia* (1882), and the here-to-unpublished *Early Diary of Frances Burney* (1889).²⁶⁰ Bell's edition of *Evelina* was the first one published with thorough and modern introductory materials after a long period since the reprint of Rivington/1820/British Novelists. Peter Sabor demonstrated that Ellis' preface to Bell/1881/Bohn's Novelist's together with Austin Dobson's preface to 1903 Macmillan edition of *Evelina* and Burney's biography by Dobson, published in the series *English Men of Letters*,²⁶¹ made pioneering contributions to the field of

²⁵⁸ Spiers, "Introduction," 10-11.

²⁵⁹ Parisian, *Frances Burney's Cecilia*, 44.

²⁶⁰ See more about A.R. Ellis and A. Dobson and their contributions to Burney studies in Sabor, "Annie Raine Ellis, Austin Dobson, and the Rise of Burney Studies."

²⁶¹ Alongside with biographies of four other women authors: Jane Austen, Maria Edgeworth, Elizabeth Gaskell, and George Eliot.

Burney studies. They were the first modern critical pieces that recognised her as “an author worthy of sustained attention [...] [and] illuminated her achievement as both novelist and journal-writer at a time when little notice was being taken of her writings.”²⁶²

However, it must be pointed out that the contributions of Ellis and Dobson became highly significant not only because of their up-to-date and well-written content but also because of the number of times they were offered to the public, having been published and reprinted in highly successful series. Bell and Macmillan’s *Evelinas* were two of the three editions most widely available in the late 19th – first half of the 20th century. Since the 1880s and for the next 50 years, the offerings of *Evelina* on the book market were largely dominated by three publishers: George Bell & Sons, J.M. Dent, and Macmillan, with their hold staying largely undisturbed by the appearance of the first scholarly edition produced by the Clarendon Press, Oxford/1930/MacKinnon, and a handful of other editions. Thus, not only the editorial contributions themselves to Bell and Macmillan’s *Evelinas* but also their frequent republication by successful publishers and wide availability in popular series had a significant impact on the publication trajectory of *Evelina* and Burney’s literary life in general. The series produced their typical effect on both the book and its author relaunching their “careers” while remodelling the old as new.²⁶³

The late 1870s – early 1880s are an important moment in the publication history of *Evelina* and most interesting for the present discussion also because, after the appearance of Ward, Lock & Tyler/1874/yellowback, *Evelina* was almost exclusively published in series. There were 30 editions and 39 reprints included in various series in English, and five editions in other languages (French, Italian, Romanian, and Spanish), with only three editions issued without a formally

²⁶² Sabor, “Annie Raine Ellis, Austin Dobson, and the Rise of Burney Studies,” 26.

²⁶³ Spiers, “Introduction,” 11.

defined series: Dent/1893 (and its reprints of 1894, 1899, 1901, and 1903), Braille/1926, and Oxford/1930/MacKinnon. However, Dent/1893 was part of an informal collection of 18th and 19th-century classics issued by this publisher, though without an official unifying imprint or title, but in uniformly designed books that shared the same subject focus, overall structure, illustrators, and editors (the usual characteristics of series publications). Braille/1926 was a book published in Melbourne by *Braille Writers' Association of Victoria*, Australia's first Braille library, destined for visually-impaired people, that can also be considered if not a series in the strict bibliographic sense, but a collection targeting a particular segment of the audience. Lastly, if Oxford/1930/MacKinnon was published without a formal series designation, its reprint issued in 1938 was included in the *Oxford Bookshelf* series.

This nearly exclusive publication of *Evelina* in book series illustrates two phenomena: one related to the general history of the book and the second one specific to the novel's own publication history. While books were occasionally published in series in the late 18th century, from the last quarter of the 19th century, the number of series proliferated. It was the process, "by which competing publishers have sought to occupy greatly varied niche-spaces, in response to changing opportunities"²⁶⁴ on the book market that was getting more competitive and had to serve and satisfy different strata of readers. At the time of the dominance of the literary series, "as the contents of books catered to a wider range of interests and tastes, their makeup, too – illustrations, covers, print, paper – appealed to different tastes, age groups, and pocketbooks."²⁶⁵ *Evelina* was included in the series, ranging from the most affordable and democratic, such as Ward, Lock & Co.'s *Library of Favourite Authors* and Dent's *Everyman's Library*, to relatively expensive (Macmillan's *Illustrated Pocket Classics*) or scholarly (*Oxford Bookshelf* or *World's Classics*).

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 3.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 4.

This illustrates that in the context of mass access to reading and of a growing number of competitors, to survive and be successful, publishers had to produce series that differed from each other by their contents, the titles included, and their paratextual presentation in order to sell their products, in this case, their own editions of *Evelina*, to specific targeted audiences.

The popularity of individual books included in the series is sometimes seen as a self-perpetuating phenomenon. It has been demonstrated that series, as compilations intentionally produced, with books to be included in them selected by their publishers, act as gatekeepers. Thus, the fact of being published or not in some popular and widely available series influences “which books were widely and consistently available and likely to be read.”²⁶⁶ However, not all books published in a series were necessarily reprinted again in the same series, included in the rebranded series issued by the same publisher under a different name, or taken to be published by other publishers in their own series. Two of Burney’s novels, *Evelina* and *Cecilia*, are good examples of this phenomenon. If both *Cecilia* and *Evelina* were included in Bell’s *Bohn’s Novelist’s Library* and issued by Dent in the *Temple Classics*, only *Evelina* was published in the subsequent *Bohn’s Popular Library*, Dent’s *Everyman’s Library*, and Macmillan’s *Illustrated Pocket Classics*. This, and the overall significant number of editions of *Evelina* with their multiple reprints (35 editions and 39 reprints) from 1874 to the present, included in various popular and successful series, mostly aimed at different strata of middle-class readers, are a testimony to the popularity and consolidating reputation of *Evelina* as a classic and novel worth reading, becoming familiar with, or simply having in a home library for readers aspiring to some educational status.

The Bohn’s Novelist’s Library, where Bell first published their *Evelina*, was one of several series that Bell developed after they, in partnership with Daldy, bought copyrights, stereotype

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 11-12.

plates, and stock of more than 600 books constituting the popular and well-respected *Bohn Libraries* series in 1864 and added to them more than a hundred other titles, including *Evelina*. *Bohn Libraries* were known for their modestly priced good literature, and “in Victorian times they were valued as highly [...] as the *Everyman* and *World’s Classics* editions would be in the 20th century.”²⁶⁷ Henry Bohn, who had created his *Libraries* with public domain classic favourites and some modern works, following several advantageous copyright purchases, was not involved in the publication of the *Bohn’s Novelist’s Library* nor had he ever published *Evelina* himself. However, using Bohn’s name in the title of the Bell series was a shrewd business tactic that contributed to the long-standing success of both the series and of *Evelina* in it.

Evelina was a successful addition to the Bell suite of popular classics as it was reprinted six times in the plain-looking *Bohn’s Novelist’s Library* until 1907, to move in 1913 to their subsequent and more elaborately executed series, *Bohn’s Popular Library*, published in 1914-1932, where it was to be issued four times in the course of its existence. *Evelina* was also printed once in 1904 in the better-designed, but short-lived, *York Library*, published between 1904 and 1909, to make a total of 12 editions and reprints produced from 1881 to 1931 by Bell. Bell/1904/York Library is a small attractive volume made with more attention to design than its predecessors, which is typical for the turn of the century books. It was printed by Chiswick Press, known for their high-quality work, bound in dark-green or dark-blue cloth with an elegant vine pattern stamped in gilt (according to Parisian possibly designed by Alicia Cordelia Morse),²⁶⁸ featuring Arts and Crafts decorative end-papers, and an ornamental title page enclosed in a double-opening rococo-style frame.

²⁶⁷ Altick, *The English Common Reader*, 286.

²⁶⁸ Parisian, *Frances Burney’s Cecilia*, 48.

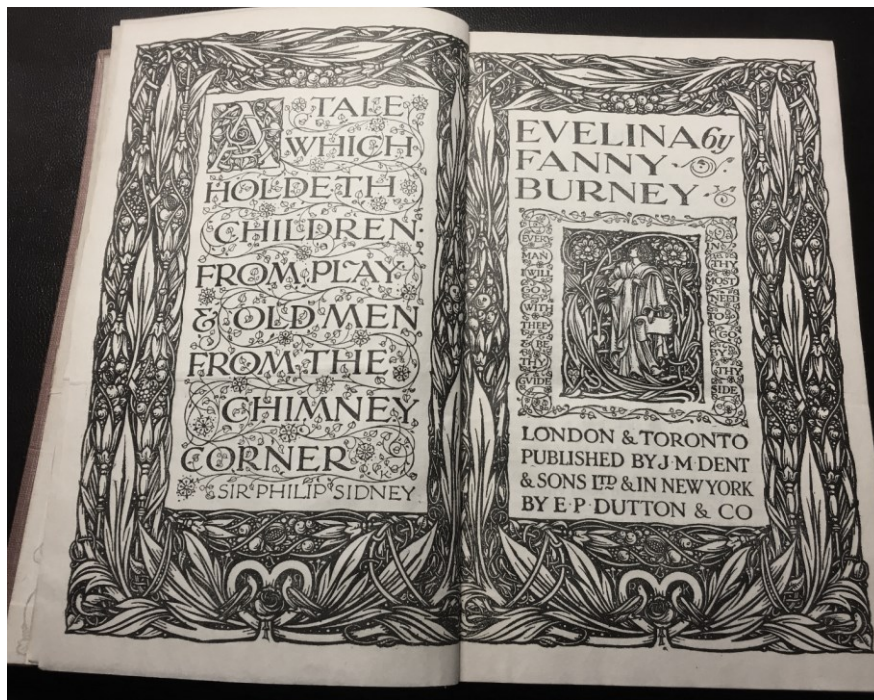
The *Bohn's Popular Library* included a selection from Bell's older series and at its launch consisted of 60 volumes to grow to almost a hundred volumes at the end of its life. Bell/1913/*Bohn's Popular Library* and its reprints are not only well-prefaced and introduced, as they all feature Ellis' prefatory paratext, but also are visually attractive volumes (in fact, quite more attractive than their predecessor, Bell/1881/*Bohn's Novelist's Library* and its reprints). The edition and reprints of *Evelina* in this series are well-printed books, bound in cloth with gilt decorations on the spine, an embossed publisher's symbol, bell, on the front, and Arts and Crafts floral border frames surrounding the title page and verso of the front flyleaf that has the note about the series and the novel. According to an announcement in the *Spectator*, the books in the series were sold at one shilling each, so this more substantively *Evelina* was priced as the one issued in the Dent's *Everyman's Library*.²⁶⁹

Joseph Malaby Dent produced the largest number of editions and reprints of *Evelina* ever with a total of 25 (5 editions and 20 reprints) from 1893 to 1967. Before introducing it in his now-iconic *Everyman's Library* series, where it was published in three editions and 16 reprints, Dent published his first *Evelina* outside of a series in 1893, which was subsequently reprinted four times until 1903, and once in an elegant edition in the *Temple Classics* series (see section 5.2.4.2 for the discussion of Dent/1893 and Dent/1903/ *Temple Classics*). Dent was, as his predecessors in affordable series publishing, for example, Nicolas David and John Cassell, a self-made man. An archetypical Victorian autodidact of provincial working-class origins who loved literature, he apprenticed to a printer before switching to bookbinding. He set up his own binding business, which brought him some acclaim for the taste and quality of his work, before he began his publishing career intending to bring affordable and well-made editions of classics to people, who

²⁶⁹ "Bohn's Popular Library," 575.

similar to him had little means and opportunities for formal education. After the success of his earlier *Temple Shakespeare* and *Temple Classics* series, in 1906, he began his lifetime project of publishing a series, *Everyman's Library*, of classical literature where each well-made book would cost a shilling, unprecedented in its breadth and quality of design. The series, which sold 20 million books by 1926 and reached its projected 1000-volume mark in 1956, reflected Dent's personal taste in both its content, typical for an autodidact and sometimes seen as conservative, mostly consisting of the established canon of British, American, European, and classical literature, and in its appearance, being well-designed and made of good-quality materials.²⁷⁰

Image 19: Title Pages of *Everyman's*/1909



²⁷⁰ Altick, "From Aldine to Everyman."; Seymour, *A Guide to Collecting Everyman's Library; A Printing History of Everyman's Library 1906-1982*; "Great Books by the Millions."

Evelina was first published in the *Everyman's Library* in 1909 under the number 352 with a short introduction by Dent's indefatigable editor Ernst Rhys to become a staple of the series issued in it 19 times in total, which is less often than *Pride and Prejudice* (33 times) but more frequent than *Mansfield Park* (18 times). *Evelina* came out, as other books in the series, published in a portable and light volume, designed to be carried around and not to take up much space on the small shelves of working-class homes. *Evelina* went through all the design iterations of the *Everyman's Library* series. It was first published in a 512-page volume printed on a thin but good-quality paper in crisp and legible type, bound in glossy cloth with a full gilt spine with embossed floral ornament, with decorative endpapers, ornate frontispiece, and title page reminiscent of William Morris, designed by Reginald Knowles. Knowles' distinctive design elements were retained when a new edition was issued on 378 pages in 1927, also bound in glossy cloth material but with a redesigned spine with a much more modest floral gilt cartouche, often called by collectors of the series "a shield." They were replaced for *Evelina* and the whole series by typeset title pages with small abstract wood-engraved ornaments designed by Eric Ravilious in 1935.

Interestingly, despite rationing of paper and widespread lack of bookbinding supplies during both World Wars, Dent published reprints of *Evelina* in the *Everyman's* series in 1917 and 1941. The decision to issue yet another *Evelina* at times when reprints of classical works were rare might be explained by the fact that the novel and its 18th century's settings, as far removed from the horrors of wars, could for a little cost to the publisher respond to the need for escapist reading sought in wartimes.²⁷¹ The last edition in the series came out in 1958, with a new introduction by their new editor who replaced Rhys, Lewis Gibbs (pseudonym of J.W. Cove). Dent/1958/Everyman's/Gibbs was the plainest in appearance, with a modest dolphin-and-anchor

²⁷¹ Halsey, "'Something Light to Take My Mind off the War'," 84.

publisher's symbol on the title page and bound in a dull lower-quality cloth as the *Everyman's Library* series had been redesigned for the last time.²⁷² Dent/1958/Everyman's/Gibbs was reprinted in a rather odd edition of *Evelina* (by arrangement with Dent & Sons, Ltd.) in 1968, published by Heron Books in the *Heron Books Collection* with illustrations by Robin Jacques (better known for his illustrations of fairy-tales, fantasy, and children's books) and bound with some ill-executed pretence to elegance in a glaringly fake-leather binding with bright fake gold ornaments.

Another *Evelina*, among the most often reprinted and available on the market, richly illustrated with 75 plates by Hugh Thomson, was first published by Macmillan & Co. in 1903 in the *Illustrated Pocket Classics*. It moved in 1920 to their popular illustrated gift-book *Cranford* series, so-called after their highly successful edition of Gaskell's novel and a staple of Christmas markets, also illustrated by Thompson and reprinted by Macmillan and other publishers more than 40 times (discussed in detail below in section 5.2.4.2).²⁷³ As testified by multiple reprints of their editions and nearly complete dominance of the market, Bell, Macmillan, and Dent undoubtedly made especially good choices by issuing *Evelina* in these series with their respective paratextual packaging and targeting their specific readers' audiences who ranged from students and public library users (Bell), working-class readers building their home libraries (Dent), to middle-class buyers seeking visually attractive books (Macmillan).

The editions of *Evelina* produced by Bell (in the *Bohn's Popular Library* and *York Library*), Dent, Macmillan, and Newnes are also of interest because they are the first to have the name or emblem, or both, of their publishers on the book spines. It is at the time of their appearance in the last decade of the 19th – early 20th century that this became a standard feature of book design,

²⁷² "The Amenities of Everyman's Library Collecting."; Anderson, "Collecting Everyman's Library."

²⁷³ Recchio, *Elizabeth Gaskell's Cranford*, 95, 247-49.

to serve as a brand image that would guide the choice of the buyers in the bookshops, as because of the proliferation of print at the time, customers often would only see the spines of the books on their packed shelves.

During the period when the market for *Evelina* was dominated by Bell, Macmillan, and Dent on the market for *Evelina*, other publishers tried to have their share of profits from the book and its steady popularity by including its editions in their own series, which, continuing the general trend, ranged from cheap to mid-range and educational. Two publishing houses specialised in cheap reprints of classics issued *Evelina* in their affordable series: Cassell/1888 in the *Cassell's Red Library* and Burt/1905 in the *Home Library*. Both are humble volumes of mediocre quality typical for their publishers (by that time, Cassell's business was in decline, while Burt's production is known for the use of old stereotype plates cheaply bought that produced bad quality printing) with the price tags of two (or one) shillings and one dollar that lower-middle-class customers in England and the US could afford.²⁷⁴

Two other US publishers of *Evelina*, Century Co. and Gregg Publishing Company left their marks on the history of the book not by publishing literary series. However, the market for reprint classics was so lucrative that Century Co. and Gregg also briefly ventured into it with their series that included *Evelina* among other well-known titles. Century Co. is the best known for their *Century Illustrated Magazine*. In, in 1884 – 1888, they published in this magazine a famous and highly popular collection of firsthand-remembrance articles on the history of the American Civil War that doubled the magazine's circulation (to reach 250,000) and brought the company 1 million USD.²⁷⁵ *Evelina* was published in 1906 and reprinted in 1907 in their short-lived *English Comédie*

²⁷⁴ Cassell/1888 price source: Low, *The English Catalogue of Books Published*. Burt/1905 has price per volume indicated in the catalogue bound at the end of the book.

²⁷⁵ "Century Company Records."

Humaine (1902-1907) series, designed for a more affluent segment of the US readers audience as compared to Burt's or Harper's editions. It was an illustrated collection of "masterpieces of English novelists" rather ambitiously declared to be "analogous" to the *Comédie Humaine* series by Honoré de Balzac. *Evelina*, by that time, had an established reputation for the truthfulness of the account of life and manners and was a good fit for the series, where writings of various English authors were meant to portray the "manners and morals" of English society "from the time of Addison to the present day." Similarly to other books in the series, Burney's novel was published in the uniform series cloth binding with a gilt-lettered leather spine label and featured a set of illustrations. Interestingly, Century Co/1906 and Century Co/1907 replicated several paratextual features of the elegantly, if not to say lavishly, produced Macmillan/1903: 11 of 75 illustrations by Hugh Thomson and the lists of chapters and illustrations.

John Robert Gregg was an educator, publisher, and an inventor of one of the most popular shorthand systems in the US, Gregg Shorthand, promoted and used as an alternative to Pitman Shorthand. Gregg founded his own publishing company mostly to issue educational and promotional materials on his shorthand system, but he was occasionally branching out into other areas.²⁷⁶ *Evelina* was published in his ambitious but even more short-lived *Living Literature* (1919-1920) series, founded to publish "fine examples of the art of letters" of mostly modern but also of the 19th and 18th centuries' authors. Gregg/1920 is interestingly the first edition of *Evelina* to include a range of paratext that is commonly found in annotated scholarly editions. It features a 16-page biographical preface, ten pages of *Notes* mostly of biographical or geographical nature, and a *Chronology* establishing Burney's place among novelists, starting from what the editor possibly considered the first English novel, *Le Morte Darthur* by Sir Thomas Malory published in

²⁷⁶ "John Robert Gregg Collection."

1485. The prominent place given to the academic degree (Ph.D.) of the series' editor-in-chief on the title page clearly signals the intent of serving the educational market or at least the audience of self-educating readers seeking literary texts of good editorial quality, complying with the general educational focus of the publisher.

While the market for *Evelina* was dominated by the production of Bell, Dent, and Macmillan, other interesting iterations of Burney's work were also published. If in the early 19th century, *Evelina* was dramatized, in the late 19th – first half of the 20th centuries, it was abridged. First, an excerpt, a letter from the novel accompanied by a biographical introduction (and two excerpts from *Cecilia* and the *Diaries*), was included in the 31 v. literary digest, *Library of the World's Best Literature, Ancient and Modern* by Warner. The first three editions of this multi-volume compilation were published in 1896 and in 1902 (31-volume Teacher's Edition and 46-volume Memorial Edition de Luxe) under a rather ambitious title *Library of the World's Best Literature, Ancient and Modern*, while the last one came out in 1917 under the more modest title of the *Warner Library*. There were two other inclusions of *Evelina* in publications issued in the digest format: *The English Novel before the Nineteenth Century: Excerpts from Representative Types*, published by Ginn in 1915, which reproduced excerpts from eight letters from *Evelina* related to her experiences in London, as an example of the epistolary style; and a summary of the novel published in *Masterplots English Fiction Series: 337 Plots in Story Form from the Best English Fiction* by Salem Press in 1964. While not particularly useful for reading the novel, the inclusion of *Evelina* in these digest compilations is another sign of the rising and recognised status of the novel and its author as one of the "best" and "representative."

5.2.4.2 Appealing to Aesthetic Senses: *Fin de siècle Evelina*

The last decades of the 19th century opened a new era in book history: after the years of production of low-quality books, aesthetic aspects became the focus of attention of their manufacturers. Several factors explain this change. On the one hand, the technological developments of the 19th century that made the process of book production easier and cheaper did not necessarily bring corresponding aesthetic progress. Books became cheaper to make and were produced on an industrial scale to satisfy the demands of mass readership, which led to deteriorating quality in their manufacture and design. According to Ruari McLean, “ordinary book production deteriorated during the seventies and eighties because of new possibilities in cheapness of methods.”²⁷⁷ On the other hand, the designers and proponents of the Aestheticism, Arts and Crafts, and Art Nouveau movements rebelled against increasing ugliness of the industrial age, its mass-produced commodities, and poorly designed machine-made everyday objects. This duality led to the emergence of the revival of printing movement with its multiplication of fine-press printing of exquisitely illustrated books and refined hand-binding and book decorating practices. Since the 1880s, a number of printers and designers (e.g. William Morris, Charles Ricketts, and Charles Guillot), and binders (e.g. T.J. Cobden-Sanderson and Marius Michel) emerged, whose pioneering work in private presses, though destined for narrow circles of collectors and connoisseurs, had a profound influence on the development of books’ design, bringing its importance to the attention of commercial publishers and raising the quality of industrial publishing, including for the products the targeting mass-market.²⁷⁸ *Evelina* has never been produced by these private presses of *fin de siècle*. However, the beneficial influence of their work on the book publishing practices of the time

²⁷⁷ McLean, *Victorian Book Design*, 230.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.; Lewis, *The 20th Century Book*; Peterson, *The Kelmscott Press*; Silverman, *The New Bibliopolis*; Thomson, “Aesthetic Issues in Book Cover Design 1880–1910.”; *Aesthetic Tracts*.

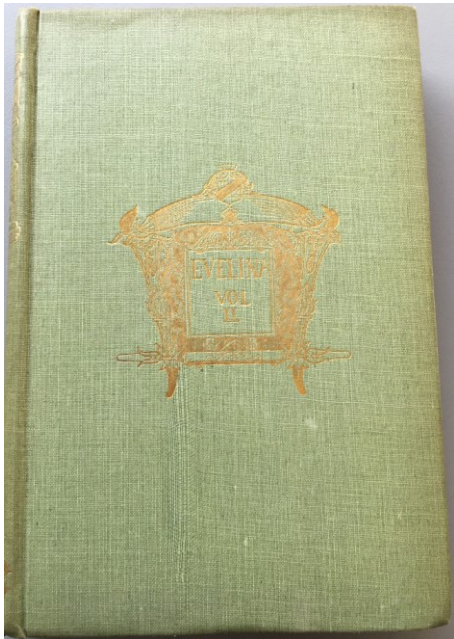
is evident in the design of several late 19th – early 20th editions of Burney's novel by Dent, Newnes, and Macmillan that reflect the newly awakened interest to make-up and aesthetical aspects of the book as a physical object.

The well-designed and beautifully illustrated editions of *Evelina* of the *fin de siècle* were published as part of series (formal or informal) that included the titles that could be characterized as good sellers, popular with reading public but safe in terms of their content. Dent, Newnes, and Macmillan's decision to include *Evelina* in their series could be attributed to several factors. The first is the potential for illustration as this novel lends itself to nostalgic pictorial interpretation, being a good fit to be published at the time of heightened awareness towards books' aesthetic appeal revived by Art Nouveau and Arts and Crafts, and late Victorian and Edwardian nostalgia for idealized and genteel pre-industrial society. The second factor was probably the publishers' desire to capitalize on the rising recognition of Burney's merits as a novelist and get their share of profits from the novel that Bell had been steadily republishing and selling since 1881.

Dent, a printer apprentice who turned successful bookbinder and later a thriving publisher, brought into the publishing business the awareness of the aesthetical aspects of the book and the influence of new artistic movements. In the late 1880s, he began publishing literary classics in well-bound and well-decorated books printed in an attractive clear type in small runs, or even in limited editions on handmade paper, first without series and, beginning in 1896, under the *Temple Classics* imprint. Before his highly successful *Evelina* was issued in the *Everyman's Library* (discussed in the section above), Dent published two other editions of the novel: Dent/1893 and Dent/1903/Temple Classics. Dent/1893 was part of an informal series (without an imprint) of 18th and 19th-century classical novels issued in uniformly designed and bound volumes, which included, among others, ten volumes of the works of Jane Austen, a milestone edition, the first to

have a serious editorial discussion of the novel's text, and Burney's *Cecilia*. It is worth noting that despite their similarity of design, this edition of *Evelina*, reprinted in 1894, 1899, 1901, and 1903, has proven itself far more popular than *Cecilia*, which has not been reissued since its first publication.²⁷⁹ Similarly to *Cecilia* and Austen's novels, *Evelina* was introduced by Reginald Brimley Johnson (see section 6.2.2.2) and illustrated by William Cubitt Cooke (1866–1951), a watercolourist, draughtsman, printmaker, friend of Arthur Rackham, whose illustrated books he sometimes coloured,²⁸⁰ and a member of the Langham Sketching Club, a place that “incorporated a rare and distinguished breed – the black and white illustrator.”²⁸¹

Image 20: Cover of Dent/1893



²⁷⁹ Parisian, *Frances Burney's Cecilia*, 30.

²⁸⁰ An example is this rare edition: Harriet Martineau, Arthur Rackham, and W. Cubitt Cooke. *Feats on the Fiord*. (London: Dent, 1914). Accessed on April 20th, 2020, <https://www.davidbrassrarebooks.com/pages/books/01804/arthur-rackham-harriet-martineau-w-cubitt-cooke/feats-on-the-fiord>.

²⁸¹ “Langham Sketch Club.”

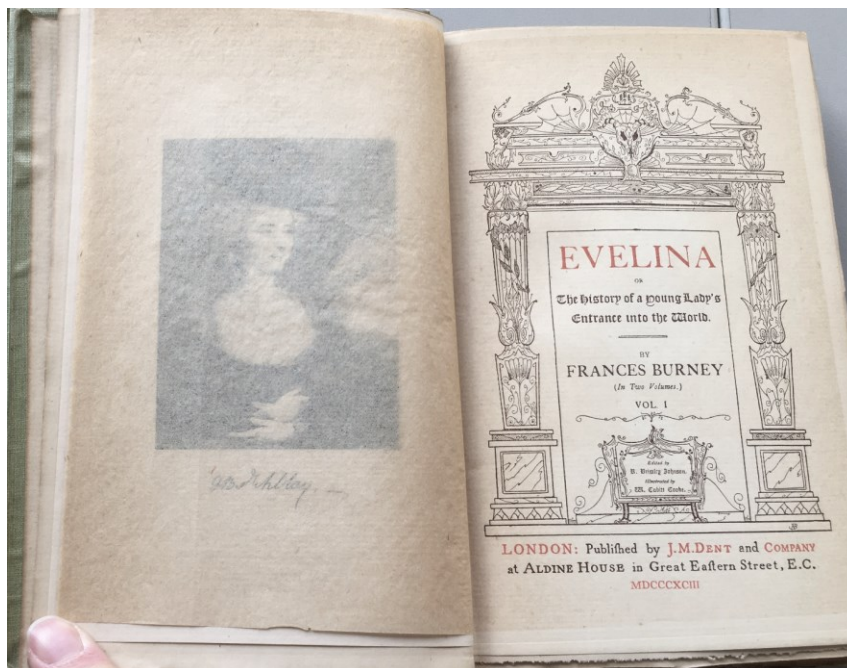
Dent/1893 bears several traits commonly present in deluxe editions that were introduced by publishers as a response to the increasing affordability of mass-market books and cheap railway editions to offer something of better quality and aesthetic value to more affluent customers. It is comprised of two light, slim, elegant volumes, made to be aesthetically pleasing rather than practical, bound in light-green smooth and thin cloth, with gilt lettering and cover decoration, and ornamental head- and tail-pieces placed before and after the elements of prefatory matter and the main text. It is printed in small, crisp, clear, and delicate roman type, with gothic blackletter used for chapters' numbers, reminiscent of the re-discovery and fascination for Gothic revival and pre-Raphaelite art. Dent/1893 was printed in two variants: uncut on large hand-made paper and issued in the limited number of copies (200 copies) that appealed to an aesthetically-inclined but also wealthier audience, and in a smaller size on machine-made paper of good quality with a gilded top edge and two other edges deckled. Another paratextual element in Dent/1893 comparable to deluxe editions is the frontispiece illustration to the first volume: Burney's portrait in Vandyke gown by her cousin Edward Burney, to which is added a facsimile of her signature underneath, a common feature of deluxe editions.²⁸²

The other visual elements of Dent/1893 also contribute to the creation of the book's sophisticated look. The title page of Dent/1893 was printed in red and black in roman and gothic decorative letters within an ornamental border, an elegant arch with leaves, swirls, and female figures, classical in its general outline, but verging on rococo in its meticulously detailed decorative elements, executed in the airy drawing. Its gilt cover element (a pen and ink drawing) was, with the alteration of the book title, also used for Dent's editions of *Cecilia* and Madame de Staël's *Corinna*. Both the title page and the cover decoration were designed by one of the pioneers

²⁸² Leuschner, "'Utterly, Insurmountably, Unsaleable,'" 25-26.

of line-drawing illustration, and a significant figure of Aestheticism, Aubrey Beardsley.²⁸³ Dent was the first publisher to employ Beardsley as an illustrator. Besides these lesser-known designs for *Evelina*, Beardsley produced for Dent the illustrations and decorative elements for a highly ambitious edition of Thomas Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur* (1893)²⁸⁴ printed in the new technique of the photo-engraved line-block.²⁸⁵

Image 21: Title page of Dent/1893



Also, Dent/1893 was the first edition of *Evelina* to have in-text illustrations since Mason/1821/ill and Jones/1822/ill. In addition to Burney's portrait in Vandyke gown, the book is illustrated with six wash drawings by Cooke, who also illustrated Dent's *Cecilia* and their novels

²⁸³ The original of the drawing for the cover was sold at Sotheby's in June 1987 from archives of J.M. Dent; later, it was in the collection of the scholar and collector Mark Samuels Lasner, to be sold by in 2012 at the New York Antiquarian Book Fair: Kelmscott Bookshop, *Artists' Books, Private Press, 19th Century Literature*.

²⁸⁴ Frankel, "Aubrey Beardsley 'Embroiders' the Literary Text"; Hodnett, *Five Centuries of English Book Illustration*, 191-92.

²⁸⁵ Wakeman, *Victorian Book Illustration*, 147-50.

of Austen. The images do not depict any scenes of crude humour, practical jokes, or public embarrassment of the heroine, instead, they show in some misty settings, the characters in gallant and romantic scenes, with graceful poses, dressed in late 18th century fashions. The illustrations, sepia photogravure reproductions, were printed as separate plates, each with its own protective tissue, another common sign of expensive editions, targeting the public with more sophisticated tastes, which contribute to the general image of refinement produced by the binding and title page of the book.

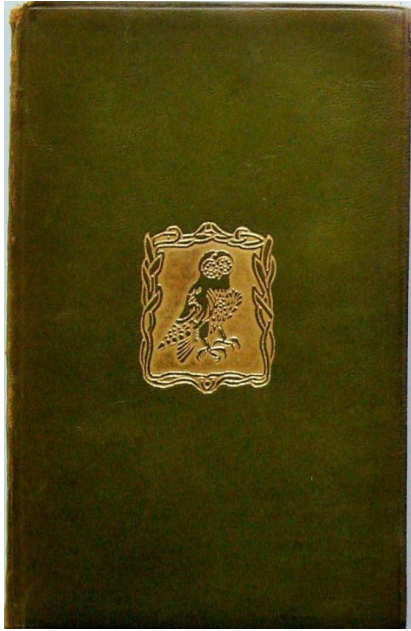
Image 22: Illustration in Dent/1893



In 1903, when the last reprint of Dent/1893 appeared, Dent published another *Evelina* in his series *Temple Classics*, a precursor to *Everyman's Library*, focused on the accepted classical literature. Dent/1903/Temple is two slim and small elegant volumes, with covers soft to touch,

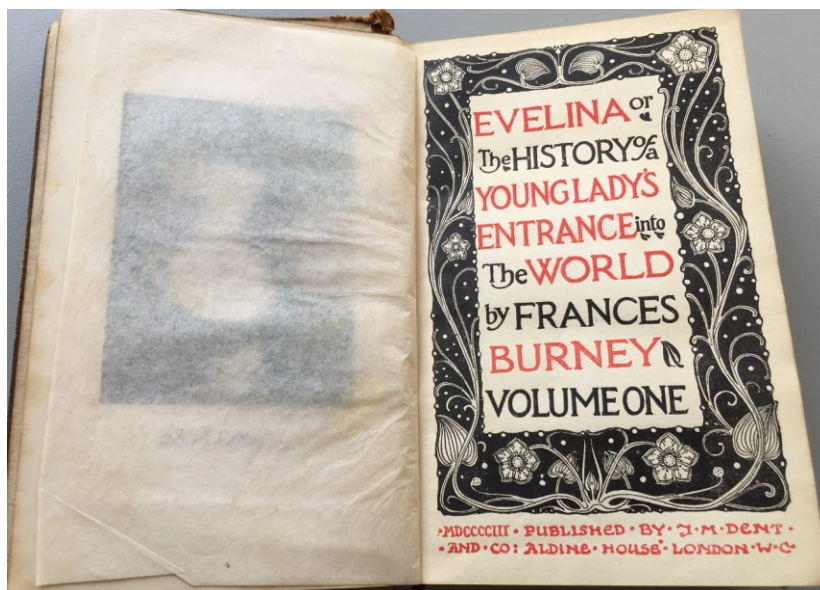
bound in dull green leatherette with gilt ornaments on the spine and a gilt owl in the middle of the front cover.

Image 23: Cover of Dent/1903/Temple



The text in Dent/1903/Temple is printed on exceedingly thin but strong and smooth paper in small, clear, and beautiful roman type and blackletter that is used (also in Dent/1893) for chapters' numbers, with the title page in red and black ink enclosed within an ornamental border in the Art Nouveau style. All books in the series feature a faux bookplate on the front pastedown in light green colour. In Dent/1903/Temple, it is a tombstone with wreath and the inscription "Frances Burney Born 1752 Died 1840 First Edition Published 1778." Dent/1903/Temple also reproduces two illustrations from Dent/1893 (both protected by tissues): Burney's portrait by Edward Burney as a frontispiece to v.1 and Evelina's return to the house of her guardian as a frontispiece to v.2.

Image 24: Frontispiece and Title Page of Dent/1903/Temple



Five years after the publication of Dent/1893, when it was still in print, another edition of *Evelina*, the only one by the publisher, Newnes, was released with illustrations by Arthur Rackham. One of the main points of interest of Newnes/1898 is that it is not a typical example of

the output of either the publisher or the illustrator. George Newnes (1851–1910) left his mark in the book history, but not by publishing books. Newnes, who is now considered a father of modern magazine publishing and popular journalism, built his enterprise (in his own words) to give “wholesome and harmless entertainment to crowds of hard-working people, craving for a little fun and amusement.”²⁸⁶ In 1881, Newnes launched his first magazine *Tit-Bits*, which “was to be the matrix of twentieth-century popular journalism” and a foundation of Newnes’ fortune. The magazine was “made up entirely of entertaining and interesting anecdotes” targeting a lower-middle-class audience.²⁸⁷ His best-known publication was *The Strand Magazine* that first published Conan Doyle’s Sherlock Holmes series and other popular authors, such as H.G. Wells, P.G. Wodehouse, Rudyard Kipling, and Agatha Christie. His book publishing activities were mostly limited to cheap series of how-to books, popular contemporary literature and classics, most of which were produced in the early 20th century. *Evelina* appeared in his *New Library* series of classic favourites (e.g. *North and South* by Elizabeth Gaskell) that had never been fully planned or developed judging by the limited number of titles included in it (seven).

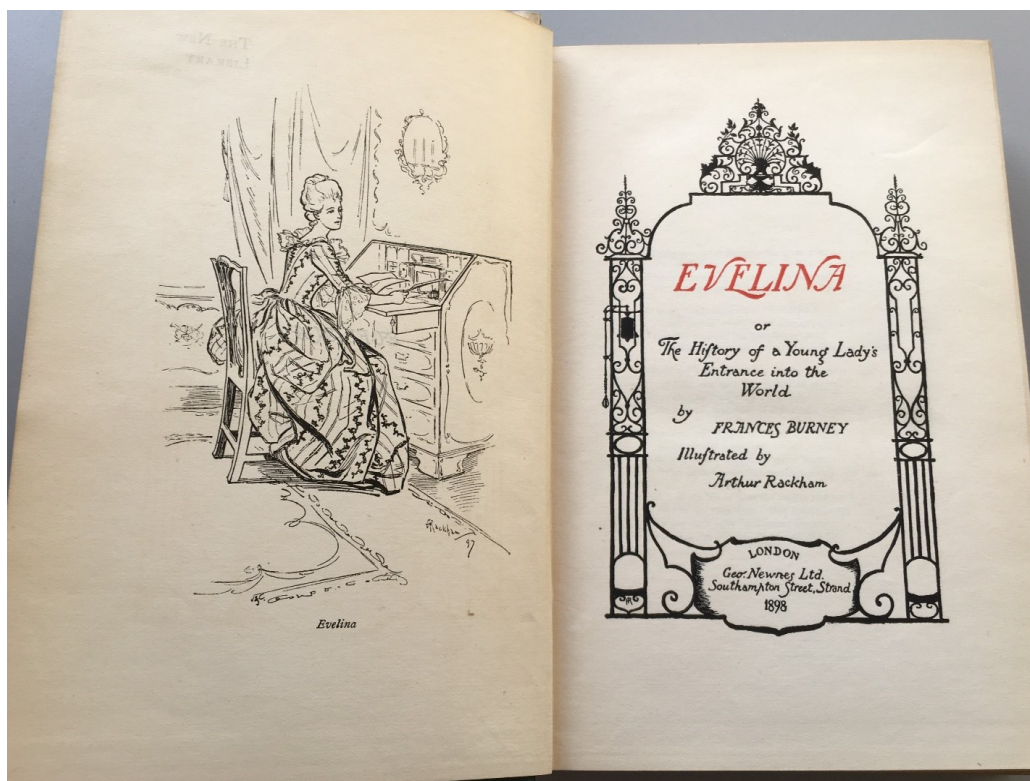
As limited as it was, the *New Library* was home to an edition of *Evelina* that may not be as remarkable as Dent/1893, Dent/1903/Temple, or Macmillan/1903, but as a book published for mass-readership, it confirms the trend of increasing attention to the visual make-up and design of the book. The book that middle-class customers could have purchased for 2s. 6d. was embellished with 16 early black-and-white line drawings by Arthur Rackham. Rackham was to become one the most popular and prolific illustrators of the Golden Age of English book illustration, best known for his three-tone coloured illustrations in children’s stories (e.g. *Grimm’s Fairy Tales* (1900), *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (1906), and *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* (1907)).

²⁸⁶ Rose and Anderson, *British Literary Publishing Houses, 1881-1965*, 226.

²⁸⁷ Morris, “Newnes, Sir George.”

His otherworldly and ethereal images in “sinuous pen line, softened with muted watercolours,”²⁸⁸ full of fairies, hobgoblins, and gnarled trees had a significant and lasting influence on fantasy book illustration. His illustrations in Newnes/1898 belong to the beginning of his career (his first illustrated book *To the Other Side* was published only five years earlier, in 1893) when his style had not yet acquired its later fluidity in the drawing of movements.

Image 25: Frontispiece and Title Page of Newnes/1898



Rackham’s illustrations to *Evelina* are drawn in thick pen often with massed areas of black in the background, which were to develop into the technique that he mastered in his later books: use of silhouettes, which until Rackham, was considered to have limited use for book

²⁸⁸ Vadeboncoeur, “Arthur Rackham.”

illustration.²⁸⁹ In Newnes/1898, the elegant and nostalgic characters in the illustrations are dressed according to the time of the action in the novel and are depicted with grace and gentle humour. The illustrations are not typical of Rackham's usual style but are somewhat reminiscent of Hugh Thomson's work and his Cranford style of book illustrations. It is worth noting that Newnes, with his usual business flair, considered the name of Rackham, though far from the pinnacle of his fame, an enticement important enough for buyers to be put not only on the title page but also on the pictorial dark-green cloth cover, decorated with heart-shaped black wreath and rules.

The edition of *Evelina* by Newnes was a modest expression of a distinct trend in book publishing and design of the turn of the century. By the end of the first decade of the 20th century, Art Nouveau and Arts and Crafts movements had lost most of their ground in book design, while at the same time, since the last decade of the 19th century, nostalgic ornaments and illustrations in the styles of Directoire and Louis XVI were becoming popular.²⁹⁰ During this period, the books, bound in highly decorative, so-called "green-and-gold" covers, and illustrated in the commercially successful style of book illustration called Thomson's or Cranford, gained popularity. They continued the tradition of heavily illustrated and lavishly bound Victorian gift-books, with their distinctive look, feel, and content, which had thrived since the mid-19th century.²⁹¹ Being expensive items, they were often published to be bought as Christmas gifts, though the "principal criterion was not seasonal content but rather material features of ornamental bindings and wood-engraved illustration" bound "in brilliant reds, blues, and greens picked out with gilt."²⁹² Their contents were non-controversial: safe classics, poetry, travel, or popular science with their main

²⁸⁹ Cockrell, "Rackham, Arthur."; Hamilton, *Arthur Rackham: A Biography*; *Arthur Rackham: A Life with Illustration*; "Rackham, Arthur."

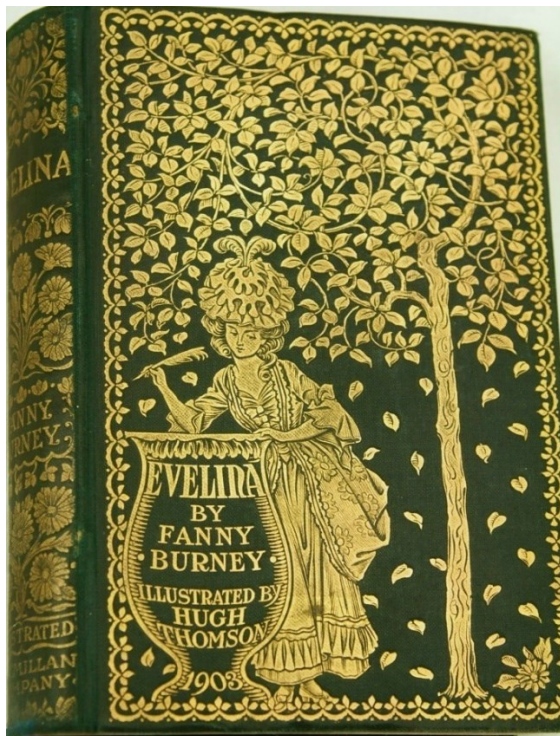
²⁹⁰ Lewis, *The 20th Century Book*, 47.

²⁹¹ Moore, "Books for Christmas, 1822–1860."

²⁹² Kooistra, *Poetry, Pictures, and Popular Publishing*, 2.

“feature [that] might be identified as ‘pictureability,’”²⁹³ or potential for illustration. It has been demonstrated that the Victorian gift-book of the mid-19th century was “designed for the drawing-room, the physical and spiritual centre of the Victorian home”, while “in its ornate architecture, it symbolically represents the middle-class home itself, and its most cherished values.”²⁹⁴

Image 26: Cover of Macmillan/1903



A new wave of lavishly illustrated and decoratively bound gift-books came during the *fin de siècle* with its nostalgia for idealized and genteel pre-industrial society. They are best exemplified by the books published by Macmillan and illustrated by Hugh Thomson and his imitators. As Muir pointed out, the causes of the popularity of these books, published, decorated, and illustrated in Thomson’s Cranford style, are “as significant of Victorian escapism as the Morris

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 5.

movement. Thomson arrived on the scene just when the consciousness of the squalor and shoddiness of the mechanical age awakened a nostalgia of ‘good old days’ when life was simply more decorative.”²⁹⁵ Macmillan, a publishing company with an initially strong religious and educational focus, had made since 1850 successful forays and later some significant advances (they were the ones who published the *Alice* books) into fiction-publishing, and had an unerring business flair for solid books that would last. Macmillan’s decision to work with the autodidact illustrator Hugh Thomson was to bring a lasting recognition to Thomson and a commercially successful line of publishing for more than 30 years to Macmillan.

Thomson was one of the pioneers (the other one, and as different as it is possible in their style, was Beardsley) of the technique of commercial line-block pen-and-ink illustration, publishing his work in this form since 1886 in Macmillan’s *English Illustrated Magazine*.²⁹⁶ His first successes in book illustrations came with *Coaching Ways and Coaching Days* (1888) published with his 214 illustrations and *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1890) “sprinkled with 214 vignette illustrations,” that sold out all 5,000 copies in first three weeks of December.²⁹⁷ The success was solidified with the publication of *Cranford* (1891), which enjoyed immense popularity reprinted with his illustrations 16 times by Macmillan and more than 40 times by other publishers. Thomson’s illustrations to *Cranford* were so popular that they gave the name to the book series published by Macmillan and to the style of book illustration.²⁹⁸ By the time Thomson set to the task of illustrating Jane Austen, in the same characteristic manner that came to be known as the Cranford school, the appearance of his new books became “an event in the art world as well as in

²⁹⁵ Muir, *Victorian Illustrated Books*, 199.

²⁹⁶ Wakeman, *Victorian Book Illustration*, 149-50.

²⁹⁷ Recchio, *Elizabeth Gaskell’s Cranford*, 95, 247.

²⁹⁸ Balston, “English Book Illustrations, 1880-1900,” 172-90; Fitzpatrick, “Thomson, Hugh (1860–1920).”; Hammond, “Hugh Thomson 1860-1920.”; Hodnett, *Five Centuries of English Book Illustration*, 218-20; Spielmann and Jerrold, *Hugh Thomson, His Art, His Letters, His Humour and His Charm*.

publishing.”²⁹⁹ In 1895, *Pride and Prejudice*, with his 160 ornamental line drawings, initials, and a drawn title page, was published by George Allen in the famous Peacock edition, so-called because of peacock-themed endpapers, title page, and lavish gilt-embossed cover, to be followed by collected works of Austen produced by Thomson’s usual publisher Macmillan in 1896 – 1897. Interestingly, it is in this edition of *Pride and Prejudice* that literary critic George Saintsbury coined the term Janeites (in his spelling Janites”).³⁰⁰ The most popular and most frequently reprinted illustrations of the novel, Thomson’s pen-and-ink drawings, with their gentle humour and attention to period details, were compared given their long-lasting influence on generations of readers of *Pride and Prejudice* to the one by Colin Firth on the modern audience.³⁰¹

Thomson’s drawings in *Pride and Prejudice*, *Cranford*, and *Evelina* are of “unprecedented charm” full of gentle humour, humanising but not caricaturing the subjects, with their open style, benign outlook, and good-natured realism, illustrating “gentle English classics” (that mirrored his own gentle nature) and the “society of the past that was remote enough to seem serene and near enough to be remembered.”³⁰² They were a good fit for readers harkening back to the unspoiled and simple life of a bygone era. According to Austin Dobson, for whom Thomson illustrated a book of poetry, “there is nothing in his work of elemental strife, - of social problem, - of passion torn to tatters.”³⁰³ Thomson’s illustrations of “charming male and female figures in the most attractive old-world attire” in genteel interiors, often described as charming and delightful, present to the readers the past through the “softening gaze of retrospect,”³⁰⁴ and with an unusual degree of attention to, and veracity in, detail. When working on a book set in a particular period, Thomson

²⁹⁹ Hodnett, *Five Centuries of English Book Illustration*, 218.

³⁰⁰ Carroll and Wiltshire, “Jane Austen, Illustrated,” 68.

³⁰¹ Looser, *The Making of Jane Austen*.

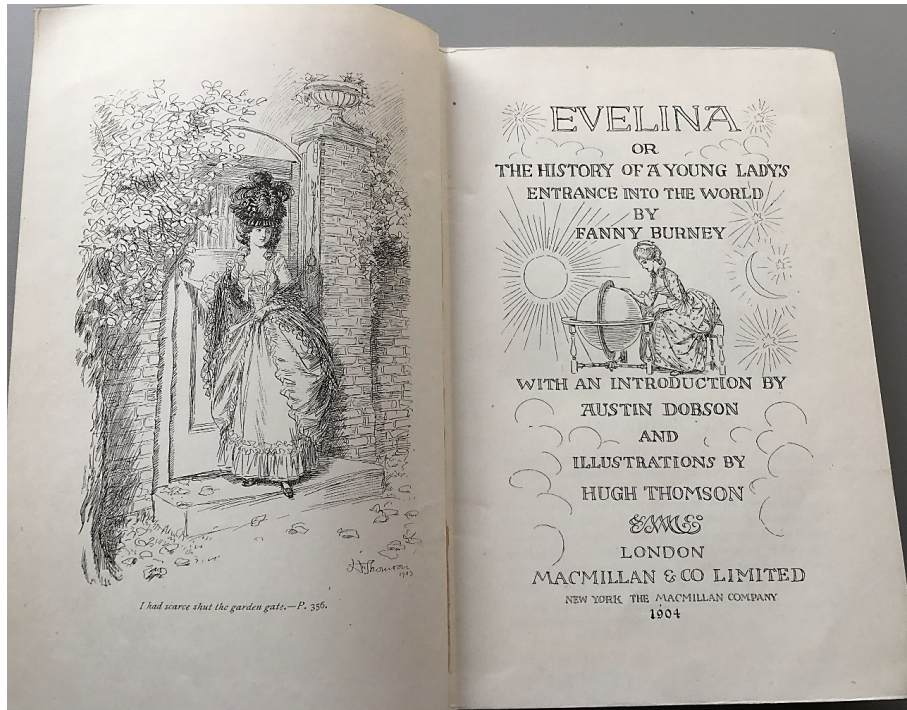
³⁰² Hodnett, *Five Centuries of English Book Illustration*, 218.

³⁰³ Dobson, *De Libris: Prose & Verse*, 111.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 111-12.

would spend “many days in the British Museum or the Victoria and Albert Museum in South Kensington, examining details of costume and furniture, old prints and architectural records, and taking meticulous notes.”³⁰⁵

Image 27: Frontispiece and Title Page of Macmillan/1904



Evelina, with its potential for illustrations of the 18th century’s manners, belles, fops, fashions, and interiors, as was noted before, “was most congenial to Thomson’s nature and stimulated the most satisfactory illustrations.”³⁰⁶ Macmillan published this last edition of Burney’s novel with an increased focus on its design and decorative aspects in 1903. Macmillan/1903 was richly illustrated with 75 plates by Hugh Thomson and issued in the *Illustrated Pocket Classics* described in the advertisement bound-in Macmillan/1904 as a series of “dainty gift-books”. It was

³⁰⁵ Hammond, “Hugh Thomson 1860-1920,” 133.

³⁰⁶ Hodnett, *Five Centuries of English Book Illustration*, 219.

to be reprinted five times in 1904, 1910, 1920, 1925 and 1932, moving in 1920 into the highly popular illustrated and lavishly decorated *Cranford* series. Macmillan/1903 and its first reprints, handsomely presented in jewel-colour covers and spine fully covered in embossed gilt tooling (a girl figure in the late-18th century clothes under a densely foliated tree) and three gilt edges, with delicate and graceful pen-and-ink drawings sprinkled through the text, are in their look, a recreation of the classic Victorian gift-books produced from the late 1830s to 1870s: “increasingly rococo books bound in bright-coloured cloth and blocked not only with lettering, but also with pictures or designs symbolical of the character of the text within, and even with actual reproduction of small illustrations chosen from the book itself.”³⁰⁷

Image 28: Illustrations to Macmillan/1903



³⁰⁷ Sadleir, *The Evolution of Publishers' Binding Styles: 1770-1900*, 53.



In Macmillan/1903, Thomson's distinct style of illustration perfectly satisfies the Edwardian escapism and nostalgia of the pre-industrialised time, and the taste of the time for the line, detail, and period atmosphere. Its refined and elegant ladies and noblemen, and even less refined characters, all drawn with gentle humour, and with Thomson's usual attention to detail and knowledge of 18th-century settings, furniture, and costumes. Thomson's fluid and graceful illustrations that show elegant characters in decorous settings and behaviours represent, interpret, and decorate this edition of *Evelina*, filling it with picturesque sophistication, distinction, and the gracefulness of an idealised 18th century. The disturbing episodes of the novel with low passions, crude humour, and physical aggression threatening female or less vigorous male characters, or situations that caused Evelina any public embarrassment, are either not shown or presented through the lens of softening mild humour. Thus, the horrifying scene of the monkey biting the unfortunate

fop Mr. Lovel becomes a picture of Evelina and Miss Mirvan standing in pretty half-coquettish fright on chairs, and the Captain laughing heartily and good-humouredly with a tame and smartly-dressed monkey sitting quietly beside him (quite the opposite to the evil monster from Mortimer's illustration).

Macmillan's edition of *Evelina* was the third most often reprinted (published six times) of all English editions. The last of the reprints, less lavishly decorated on the outside, still with 75 illustrations, was published in 1932, during the Great Depression, filling possibly the same escapist need that drew late Victorian and Edwardian readers to the works with Thomson's illustrations. Thomson's illustrations can also be found in *Evelinas* produced by other publishers. After two successful Macmillan editions, 11 of 75 Thomson's illustrations from Macmillan/1903 were reprinted by Century Co. in their *Evelina* published in the short-lived series *English Comédie Humaine* (Century Co/1906 and Century Co/1907). For the reprint of illustrations, no notice of obtained permission or other explanation is found in the books. This borrowing could be either a late act of piracy by American publishers or, if a more generous point of view is taken, a result of a collaboration that could have been born out of the failed negotiations on the possible merger of two companies, briefly considered in the late 1880s.³⁰⁸ Lastly, similarly to the illustrations for *Pride and Prejudice*, Thomson's drawings for *Evelina* have not lost their appeal to reading public until now. In 2013, Asturias d'Epoca published the second translation of *Evelina* in Spanish that faithfully reproduced all the illustrations (and even their position in the text) from Macmillan/1903. In addition, this study found at least one Kindle and one Kobo e-book editions and a couple of print-on-demand *Evelinas* (by Createspace and Girlbooks) that used Thomson's work for their illustrative matter.

³⁰⁸ James, *Macmillan*.

5.2.4.3 Elevated among the “Classics”

As discussed above, the offerings of *Evelina* on the English-speaking market from the 1880s until the 1940s were dominated by three publishers: Bell, Dent, and Macmillan. However, in the 1930s, another and highly significant edition of *Evelina* saw the light, published by Clarendon Press, a division of the Oxford University Press specialised in scholarly publications, reprinted in the series *Oxford Bookshelf* in 1938. After Gregg’s early attempt at the genre of an annotated edition, Oxford/1930/Mackinnon was the first scholarly edition of the novel produced by a prestigious university press. Edited by Sir Frank D. Mackinnon, a former judge, it is a weighty and informative contextual edition. It features a plethora of appendices and historical notes on the places, customs, manners, etc. of the 18th century, and 11 illustrations, most of which depict various London attractions of the period mentioned in the novel (Vauxhall, The Rotunda, Interior of the Little Theatre, and The South Parade at Bath) or 18th-century pastimes and fashions (Gentleman Driving a Phaeton and a Portrait of Lady Clifton with a, then fashionable, high hair-do). However, it does not include Burney’s biography, her portrait, or a substantial amount of what Genette calls the prefatorial state of communication (prefaces, introductions, or postfaces) on the book or its author. Mackinnon’s edition was modelled after the magisterial edition of Jane Austen works by Robert W. Chapman published in 1923, as it is acknowledged in the preface. However, in contrast to Chapman’s editorial work, Mackinnon had not conducted any examinations of textual variants of *Evelina*, because he believed “it was not worth doing.”³⁰⁹ On the contrary, the editor oddly and patronisingly underlines the unworthiness of both from the literary point of view and ascribes the main value of the novel to its merits as of a historic document: “interest of the book lies not in the

³⁰⁹Mackinnon, “Preface” in Oxford/1930/Mackinnon, 3.

story, and the drawing of character, but in the picture, it affords of contemporary life and manners.”³¹⁰

After Macmillan published Dobson’s biography of Burney in the influential series *English Men of Letters* in 1903 and a new edition of *Diary and Letters of Madame D’Arblay (1778-1840)* also edited and introduced by Dobson, interest in Burney’s life and work grew, with more than ten works published up to the 1940s: popular, juvenile, or aspiring to more scholarly status, mostly of biographical nature or featuring selections from Burney’s diaries. This trend to emphasise Burney’s life and her biographical works, and a contextual rather than critical nature of the first Oxford edition of *Evelina*, is consistent with how Burney’s contributions to literature were perceived at the time: as being mainly of historical and evidential value. Thus, the publisher’s choice to package and present Oxford/1930/Mackinnon as a contextual edition, providing a historical account of the 18th century, was a natural response to the pre-existing expectations of readers and the needs of the educational market. Still, for *Evelina* to be produced by the Clarendon Press of OUP, with all its scholarly connotations of the name, was, despite some of the peculiarities of the edition, an unmistakable signal of the book’s changing and elevated status of the book in the ranks of classics.

From the 1930s into the 1960s, all published *Evelinas* were destined for the popular market. There was an edition in the Dent’s *Everyman’s Library* steadily in print throughout the period (1941, 1946, 1950, 1951, 1958, 1960, and 1967), and three others: Doubleday/1960, Norton/1965, and Heron/1968. Meanwhile, the interest in Burney’s life and work did not wane, with more biographical works published, and two new selections from her diaries, including the one in the *Everyman’s Library* series (reprinted six times from 1940 to 1971), to culminate in the pioneering

³¹⁰ Ibid.

works of Burney's scholarship, her biography based on extensive research in unpublished manuscripts, the *History of Fanny Burney* (1958), and a new 12-volume edition of the *Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney* by Joyce Hemlow. Lastly, the rise and establishment of feminist studies in the 1970s - 1990s led to her recognition as an important early woman novelist.

For *Evelina*, the tide turned in 1968, when a new annotated edition with *Introduction, Note on the Text, Select Bibliography*, and *A Chronology of Frances Burney* was published by Oxford University Press in their *Oxford English Novels* series. Publication of an annotated edition is a highly significant stage in the history of any book. A book must already have a reputation of being a work worthy of inclusion to be published with an academic commentary in a scholarly annotated edition by a reputable publisher such as Oxford in one of their series. On the other hand, as such series are de facto "indexes [...] of a social hierarchy of writers and audiences and of the social universes (and quality, or qualities) they represent,"³¹¹ the publication becomes a sign of approval and a clear indication of a work admitted into the literary canon. Ultimately, besides the inherent value that these editions have for students and educators, it is the best recommendation, which has a direct influence on its future circulation and distribution, for the book to do well on the educational market. As Alistair McCleery demonstrated on the example of Penguin's *Ulysses*, "greater status, as well as a clear pitch for the student market, could also be gained through the use of a suitable academic commentary to lend the edition a scholarly imprimatur."³¹² Edited and annotated by Edward A. Bloom, Oxford/1968/Bloom is a scholarly critical edition that contains for the first time extensive textual notes and provides a serious discussion on both *Evelina* and Burney's place in the English literature. This edition treats the novel as a literary text, not as a

³¹¹ Olivero, "The Paperback Revolution in France, 1850–1950," 11.

³¹² McCleery, "The 1969 Edition of *Ulysses*," 67.

historical curiosity or a guidebook to the 18th century's customs and manners. It clearly signals the books' transition to a higher status in the literary canon.

The edition by Bloom was the only one available on the market in the 1970s and 1980s until the newly awakened interest in Burney as a novelist and writer and numerous works of literary, critical, and biographical scholarship (especially written from the feminist perspective) that followed, brought *Evelina* back to both popular and academic book markets with 14 editions and reprints (ranging from popular to academic and annotated) issued from 1991 until 2014. It was initially published in the *Oxford English Novels* series, reprinted in the *Oxford Paperbacks* in 1970, to move into the *Oxford World's Classics* in 1982, where it has stayed through its 1991 and 1998 reprints and a new edition, Oxford/2002/Jones, and 2008 reprint. This transition was the beginning of a general trend. As pointed out by Genette, in modern literary publishing, the inclusion of a work in a specific series became a means available to a publisher to identify a particular book as belonging to a specific genre or as a certain type of work.³¹³ After *Evelina* moved into the *Oxford World's Classics*, it was nearly exclusively published in English in a series that contained "classic" in its title (10 editions and reprints). These series were either intended for the academic and educational audiences (*Oxford World's Classics* and *Penguin Classics*) or for various segments of the popular market (*Bantam Classics* (by Doubleday publishing), *Signet Classic* (an imprint of Penguin), *Modern Library Classics* (Random House), and *Large Print Classics* (WF Howes Ltd, a UK large-print and audiobook publisher)).

The only *Evelina* among English popular-market editions that did not include the word "classic" in the name of the series was published in *Penguin's English Library*. However, even if it does not have the word "classic" in its name, the classic status of the works is declared in the

³¹³ Genette, *Paratexts*, 22-23.

stated goal of the series meant to publish English classics as beautiful and elegant books. A similar tendency is seen in two 21st century translations, Fazi/2001/Italian and Asturias d'Epoca/2013/Spanish, published in the series that do not have the word “classics” in the series name but declare it in their goal and scope.

As to the Bedford/1997, Norton/1998/Critical, and Broadview/2000 as already discussed above, the publication of a literary work in a series of annotated academic editions, such as *Bedford Cultural Editions*, *Norton Critical Editions*, and *Broadview Literary Texts* with their plethora of introductions, prefaces, appendices, notes, chronologies, bibliographies, excerpts from contemporary conduct books, reprinted reviews, and criticism that runs up to more than 200 pages not only supplies a critical commentary and historical context for the students and educators of *Evelina* but also by virtue of their weightiness and authority attributes high value to the work, which had been deemed worthy of such attention and, thus, confirms and solidifies its position in the ranks of classics.³¹⁴ To conclude, by the second decade of the 21st century, the consistent inclusion of *Evelina* in series identified as “classics,” published for different types of markets, whether directly named as such, or with such a focus implied and universally understood, is a clear indication of the status of the book has now achieved. It became a classic belonging to the Pantheon of English Literature, which can be steadily published and reprinted with the certainty of finding readers and bringing stable profits to publishers.

5.2.5 240 Years of Publication History: A Summary

The publication history of *Evelina* lasted for more than 240 years, with the novel never going out of print in the original language and is a vivid testimony of the general course of book history for

³¹⁴ Ibid., 270.

that period and, especially, of the British book history, illustrating most of its important or even pivotal developments. The only notable exception from the general trend is the prolonged absence of editorial prefaces in English editions of the novel (from 1820 to 1860), which is contrary to the general tendency in the 19th century's book publishing when appending a preface to a book was almost requisite. The publication numbers of Burney's novel during this period testify to the enduring popularity of the book but also to the rise of the novel to become a dominant published literary form by the end of the 1820s. *Evelina* marks the transition of the novel into a respectable genre after the novel-reading panic of the mid-18th century and illustrates a slow pace of development of international copyright protection, being translated, pirated, and reprinted without the permission of the rights holder in Ireland, America, and on the continent. Published in a range of editions in English of varying quality, from extravagant Regency-time editions to cheap editions and series aimed at working classes and lower segments of the middle class, *Evelina* exemplifies the diversification of the book market, and the technological progress in printing and publishing and the subsequent rise of affordability of the book in the 19th century. Its *fin de siècle* editions reveal the changing tastes of the reading public and technical and aesthetic developments in book design that marked the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century. The variety of modern popular and scholarly editions included in various literary series illustrates the dominance of series publishing, a consequence of the increased diversification and competition on the book market in modern times. Lastly, its annotated and scholarly editions published in various series of “classics” mark the rise of Burney's own status as the author, confirm the reformulation and enlargement of literary canon at the second half of the 20th century, and exemplify a development of a strong market for educational books.

6. Results & Discussion: Paratextual Elements and their Evolution

This chapter provides answers to Research Questions 3 and 4:

RQ 3: How have separate paratextual features of *Evelina* evolved in the course of the novel's publication history and reflected cultural, technological, and aesthetical developments in the history of the book, general history of the period, or Burney's literary life?

RQ 4: How has the evolution of separate paratextual features of *Evelina* revealed publishers' efforts to present the book on the market, to market it to new audiences, and to keep it relevant for new generations of readers?

To facilitate the discussion of the evolution of the title and author's name forms in *Evelina*, three timelines built for this projects in Timeglider software were used during the analysis and discussion: the timeline is of the form of Burney's name in all editions and reprints of *Evelina*; the timeline of the title form in all editions and reprints of *Evelina*; and the timeline of dates and events in European history, history of aesthetic and literary movements, and Burney's literary and literary afterlife (see Appendix 6 and the Timeglider website).³¹⁵

Chapter 6 traces the history of the development of particular paratextual elements of *Evelina* and their mutual interactions in the course of the novel's publishing history. As discussed in the previous chapter, the publication history of *Evelina* has lasted for more than 240 years, during which society, book publishing industry, and Burney's reputation as a writer went through multiple transformative changes. This long period encompasses the French Revolution, the Regency era, the Victorian time, the industrial revolution, the birth of middle-class, two world wars, several waves of feminism, and the development of the information society. In book publishing, the period saw the professionalization of authorship, the novel-reading craze, the rise

³¹⁵ Timeline data, screenshots, and links to publicly accessible copies of timelines can be found in the Appendix 6.

of women readers, the advent of the mass market for books, the invention and establishment of the literary series, and the reformulation of the literary canon. At the same time, Burney's literary reputation went from that of a fashionable writer and modern sensation to a relatively insignificant status, to rise again and to be acknowledged in the ranks of classics. The paratext of *Evelina* obviously could not react or respond to all of these transformations. However, the influence of many of them can be detected in the evolution of both separate paratextual elements and the paratextual apparatus of the book as a whole.

The findings are discussed in relation to previous literature and historicised in the context of the book history and Burney's literary life. The evolution of each distinct element is traced, then the interaction between these elements and the resulting paratextual packaging of different types of editions are described and analysed in the last section. Only paratextual elements consistently present in the book throughout a significant period of time or displaying significant variations are analysed and discussed in separate sections or sub-sections; others are mentioned in the subsections for the paratext of the same type or kind: textual, material, or belonging to a certain fixed place in the book (i.e. title page).

It must be noted that the analysis and discussion include paratextual elements found in all examined editions and their reprints, British, American, Irish, continental English, and published in any foreign language. Including all the reprints and not only first editions by each publisher made it possible to trace and see the trends of when the usage of certain elements ceased and overlapped and not only when they began. It was equally important to include editions and their reprints published in all countries and languages even though the vast majority of *Evelinas* was published in English and Britain. This prevented creating an artificial categorisation by country of publication and made it possible to illustrate general trends with regard to paratext in Burney's

novel in the common cultural space that was already established by the late 18th century in Britain, Europe, and the American colonies. Barriers erected between countries for the protection of trade interests or as a safeguard against hostile influence could not stop the flow of the main cultural commodity of the time, books, which circulated with travellers and smugglers. Because of frequent and easier travel, and despite wars, or partially due to them, books were read far beyond the countries, where they had been published; thus, not categorising the trends by country of publication allowed to see paratext as it was found in books by their readers and not only as it was published. However, the difference in usage of specific forms of paratext by language and country of publication is examined in the appropriate sections.

6.1 Title Page and Its Key Elements

This section describes and discusses the evolution of the form of the title page in *Evelina* and especially of its key elements: author's name and book's title. The title page is "a separate page containing the title of the book, and not containing any of the text [...It] usually occurs at or very near the beginning of the physical book and it relates to the whole book."³¹⁶ The importance of the title page for marketing and promoting the book to its readers and buyers has been paramount since its inception. "By heralding the book's market value and availability, it also identified the book as a commercial object."³¹⁷ This commercial object was to be bought or read depending on, to a large degree, whether all the parts of the title page were successful in attracting prospective readers and buyers. Until the early 19th century, books were often either sold in sheets or protected by simple paper wrappers. Their title pages were one of the most significant visual marketing devices, giving way to covers and dust jackets only later in history. "Title pages led the way in appropriating the

³¹⁶ Smith, *The Title-Page, Its Early Development, 1460-1510*, 15.

³¹⁷ Shevlin, "'To Reconcile Book and Title, and Make 'Em Kin to One Another'," 46.

visual as a marketing tool. Frequently it was the visual aspects of title pages that initially tempted potential readers and buyers to examine a work.”³¹⁸

The title page of *Evelina* has been altered and changed through more than 240 years of its publication history by scores of publishers, printers, editors, and later, book designers. The form and content of the title page were modified to correspond to new publishing conventions and reflected the technological advances of its time, fulfilling its marketing or, as Genette calls it, tempting function. The title pages of *Evelina* have almost always stayed modern-looking for their contemporary public as the changes that they went through were not striking or unusual. The form of the title pages did not demonstrate significant variations that would have gone against the general trend; rather, it could serve as an illustration of the history of this paratextual element.

After the flamboyant early title pages of the 16th and 17th centuries, in the second half of the 18th century, title pages became more subdued in their design and title form, and standardised in structure. Most of the 18th – early 19th-century title pages of *Evelina* (except one curious edition of Lowndes and its reprints, Lowndes/1791/2v/ill, see section 5.2.2.1) are typographical. This is quite in accordance with the established custom as “[s]tandard eighteen-century title-page design was typographical [...]. Any illustration was moved to a frontispiece facing the title page.”³¹⁹ Title pages of *Evelina* became illustrated with scenes from the novel in the 19th century, in Whittingham/1822, Dove/1843, Allman/1851, etc. This move follows the trend of book history as “[t]he nineteenth-century book brought a strong counter-movement in book design. Instead of an austere simple page of plain typography, there came a return to decorative, illustrated, even narrative paratexts.”³²⁰ As *Evelina* progressed through the 240 years of its publishing history, its

³¹⁸ Ibid., 49.

³¹⁹ Fowler, *The Mind of the Book*, 64.

³²⁰ Ibid.

title pages complied with established structure and included the usual elements, with some of them, such as title (mostly, but not always with subtitle) or publisher's information, always present. Other elements, such as the name of the author, became a more standard feature of the title page later, as *Evelina* remained nominally anonymous in most of the earlier editions, following Burney's wishes, and as it was customary for novels in the 18th century.

To these usual elements, a statement on the edition (usually "new") or supplementary materials included in a particular book was often added. The statement about the newness of the particular edition of *Evelina* is frequently encountered in the 18th – early 19th century. The publishers of *Evelina*, when exploiting the attraction of anything new for the reading public, followed a practice common since the 16th century.

"Novelty held a special attraction for book buyers [...], but new texts carried more risk for the publisher than the titles already proven to be good sellers. Canny bookseller-publishers, therefore, adopted a publishing strategy that would benefit from the commercial safety of proven sellers while simultaneously exploiting the cachet of the 'new'. They could maximise the sales potential of a book by reprinting an already market-tested text but repackaging it with new and improved ingredients, often provided by the text's original author. Such enlargements were never left unpublicised on the title page."³²¹

The first publisher, Lowndes, is especially prone to calling his editions of *Evelina* "new." Six editions (and five their reprints) by Lowndes were called new in one way or another. Lowndes was by far not alone in exploiting the attraction of newness. Other editions and reprints, e.g. Bouillon/1784/French, Libraires/1786/French, Leprieur/1795/French, Booksellers [Dublin]/1784,

³²¹ Olson, "'Newly Amended and Much Enlarged'," 618.

Edinburgh/1804, Barrois/1808/continental, Newman/1815, Mason/1817, Mason/1821/ill, etc., bear some variation of “this is a new edition” on their title pages. This practice continued as late as 1861, in *Evelina* published by Harrison as a “New edition complete in one volume.” When announcing their editions as new, often, publishers did not commission or make any changes to the text, as did Lowndes and other earlier publishers of *Evelina*, but simply added a variation of the statement “new edition” on the title page. Later came the practice of publicised additional materials. With the development and maturing of literary publishing practices in the late 19th – 20 century and the value of the work of literary editors becoming more recognised, the title page of *Evelina* began to include information about the editors and additional materials contained in the book (biographical information, prefaces, appendices, notes, etc.), underlining the enhanced value of the editions and the quality of its textual and paratextual content.

Through its publishing history, the structure of the title page of *Evelina*, with regard to the weight given to its various elements, followed the most usual arrangement with “name usually printed modestly [...] and generally less conspicuously than the title.”³²² From the whole title, it is the title proper, *Evelina*, which is invariably emphasised by size and different font, while the subtitle, when present, is printed more modestly, paving the way for the latter to be dropped altogether in some popular editions (see section 6.1.2.4). These two most important elements of the title page, the name of the author and the title of the book, have not stayed constant, displaying significant variations and fluidity in their forms, as described and discussed in detail in following subsections.

³²² Genette, *Paratexts*, 38.

6.1.1 Author's Name

The present section discusses trends and possible reasons for changes in the form of Burney's name found in *Evelina* in the context of her personal and literary life and in the context of general and literary history. It is important to underline for the discussion of the evolution of the form of all *Evelina*'s paratextual elements that the publisher-author relationship in the late 18th – early 19th centuries was very different in comparison to what it is now. With some notable exceptions, authors, who were mostly selling their copyright outright with the first editions, did not have much influence on the presentation and paratextual packaging of their works once (or even when) they were first published. Burney, who sold the copyright to Lowndes, is a perfect example of this practice and its consequences for the evolution of the paratext of the book.

When *Evelina* was first published, it was issued anonymously; the publisher, Lowndes, was himself unaware of the identity of the author. The story of the anonymous and secretive publication of the first edition was described in detail in Burney's diaries and letters and is well known. In short, Burney, who served as her father's amanuensis, and whose handwriting was known in the literary world, wrote the manuscript in feigned hand to avoid her writing being recognised by publishers. She also made it appear more angular and masculine in form as opposed to her usual more rounded and fluid cursive.³²³ She refused to reveal her name and identity even to her publisher, thus missed the opportunity to publish with more prestigious James Dodsley, and forced her to settle upon Thomas Lowndes. Lowndes was still an acceptable publisher, whose name would not taint a work that he published, but he was the owner of a circulating library, the destination of much of his output, which, thus, was not of the highest literary or intellectual claim. To add to the mysteriousness of the proceedings, Burney's brother Charles, who delivered the

³²³ Havens and Sabor, "Editing *Evelina*."

manuscript to the publisher, did it in the dark of evening disguised in a heavy cloak and hat. The secret was gradually revealed to a widening circle of family, relatives, friends, acquaintances of Burney, and admirers of *Evelina*, to eventually be exposed to the general public in a satire by George Huddesford.

A fair amount of attention has been paid in multiple sources to the pains taken by Burney to conceal and keep secret her identity as the author, and to its subsequent triumphal revelation. Burney's motivation, personal reasons, and the societal forces behind the disguise have been described and discussed in several canonical Burney studies, with her supposed intentions for her anonymity in the first edition of *Evelina* coming into focus more recently.³²⁴ However, the form of the author's name as found in *Evelina* (or any other text by Burney) has never been previously studied, discussed, or paid attention to in sufficient detail, save for a paragraph in the study by Parisian.³²⁵ Parisian also provides full bibliographic descriptions of examined copies of *Cecilia* that includes the forms of Burney's name.

This emphasis on the name of the author in the first edition of her book and the lack of attention to the subsequent history of this important paratextual element could be seen as an unconscious following by literary and book history studies of the pattern set by both textual criticism and bibliography, with their symptomatic fixations on first editions and authoritative texts. Similarly, regarding the use of her name in general, there was a vigorous argument in the literature for calling Burney by her full given name, Frances, as opposed to the diminutive, girlish, and infantilising nickname Fanny.³²⁶ Until now, the more or less general and vague assumption has been that, after the revelation of her identity, Burney was known and "figured as 'the author

³²⁴ Vareschi, "Motive, Intention, Anonymity, and *Evelina*."

³²⁵ Parisian, *Frances Burney's Cecilia*, 48.

³²⁶ See for example Doody, *Frances Burney*.

of *Evelina*' (distinct from her public identity as 'Madame D'Arblay'),"³²⁷ morphing somehow into Fanny Burney and later into Frances Burney. The examination of multiple editions of *Evelina* shows a much more complex and nuanced picture.

First, it must be stressed that Burney, who sold the copyright to her novel to Lowndes in 1778, had the possibility to influence the form of acknowledgement of her authorship or of other paratextual elements only in the first edition of *Evelina*, and some general moral rights (not understood in the legal sense of the term) to do so for its subsequent editions. Yet, she had no influence whatsoever on how her name or other paratextual elements appeared in any of the subsequent editions of the novel by any other publisher. Once published, *Evelina* and all its paratextual elements, the name of the author among them, became a commodity to be modified and adapted to sell the book efficiently. Thus, the choice of a particular form of Burney's name in all subsequent editions of *Evelina* was purely due to publishers' decisions and not influenced by the author.

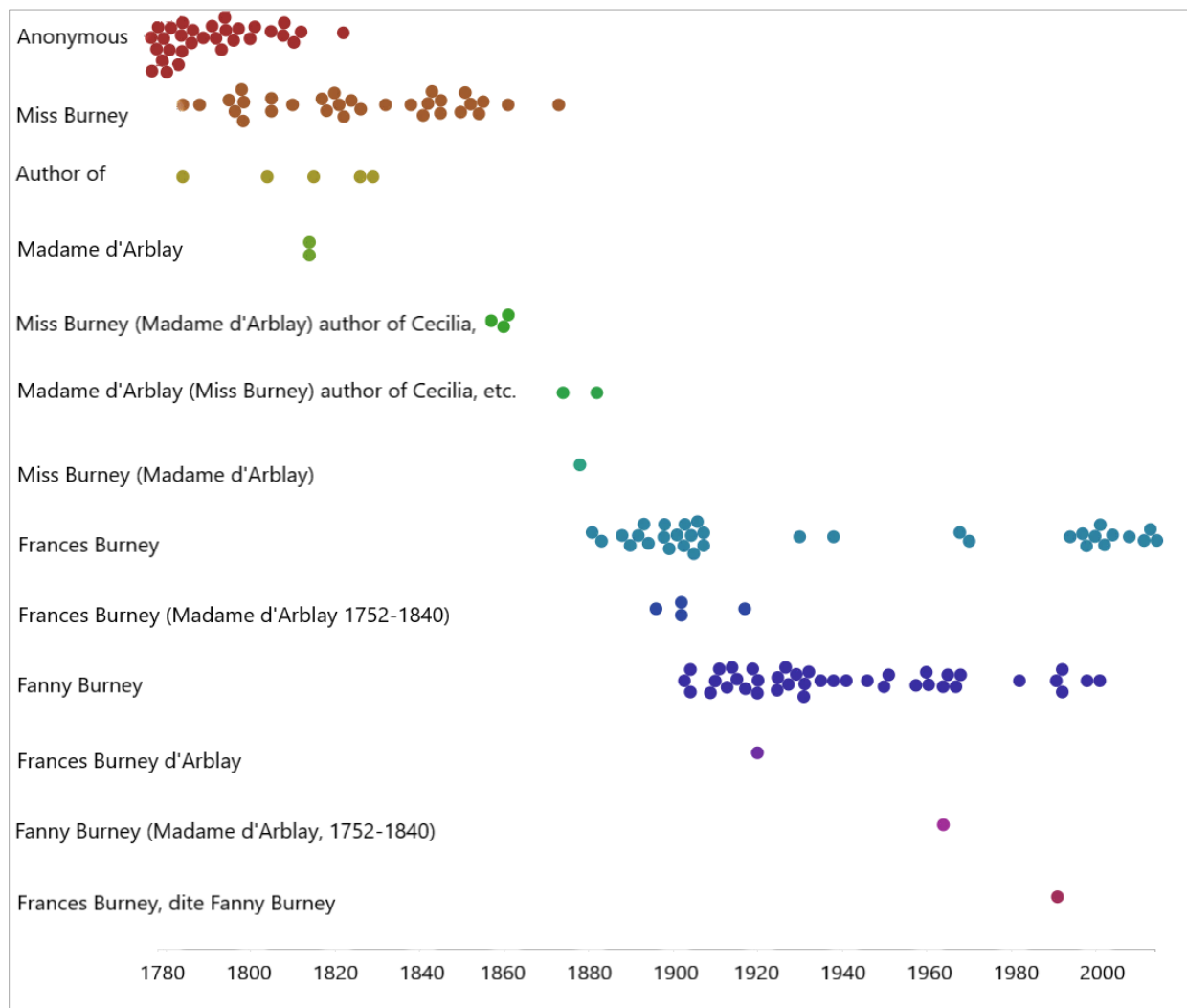
The graph below (Figure 2) shows in the form of scatterplot the distribution of name forms in the editions and reprints of *Evelina* from 1788 to the present. It allows the observation of the beginning and the end of usage of each name form, the time when their use was overlapping, and the "outliers," forms of the author's name the usage of which did not persist, did not become what Mark Rose called "a kind of brand name, a recognisable sign that the cultural commodity will be of a certain kind and quality."³²⁸ Figure 2 includes Burney's name forms found in all examined editions and their reprints, British, American, Irish, continental English, and published in any foreign language, in order to trace and see the trends of when the usage of certain forms of Burney's

³²⁷ Rogers, "Nameless Names," 244.

³²⁸ Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright*, 1-2.

name began, ceased, and overlapped in the common cultural space in Britain, Europe, and the American colonies.

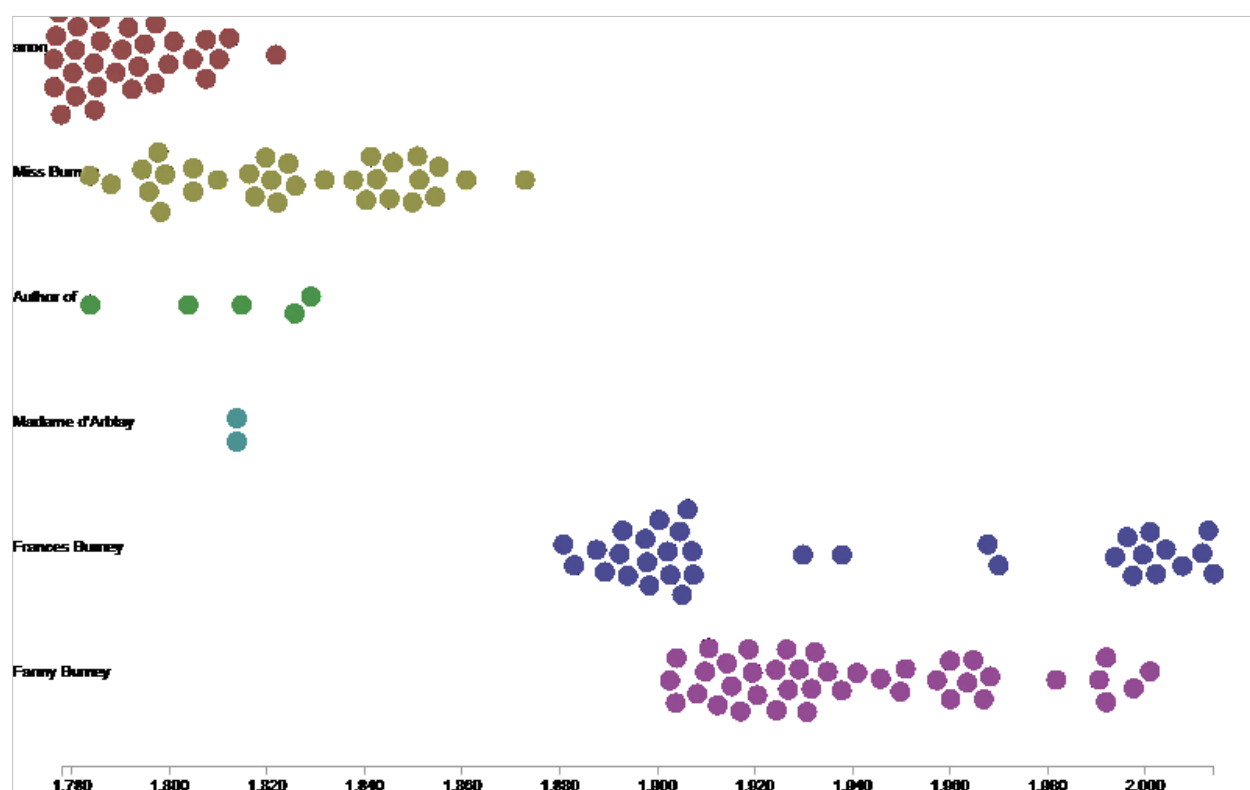
Figure 2: Distribution of Name Forms by Decade



As Figure 2 demonstrates, there are four most commonly used forms of Burney's name (in chronological order of the first appearance in print): anonymous, "Miss Burney," "Frances Burney," and "Fanny Burney." A distant fifth is the "Author of" referring to one or several Burney's works, followed by "Madame D'Arblay," the latter most often used in combination with one or two of the above (12 instances) than on its own (only two). The studied sample of 88 editions

and their reprints (156 in total) shows the almost equal distribution between three of the four most prevalent name forms: 32 *Evelinas* were anonymously published, 31 with “Miss Burney” as the author (and four more where “Miss Burney” was the first part of the compound name), and 33 under “Frances Burney” (with six more in compound names as their first part). Forty were issued under “Fanny Burney” (plus one, where “Fanny Burney” was the first part of the compound name); while nine remaining name forms were “Author of...” and “Madame D’Arblay.”

Figure 3: Distribution of Name Forms by Decade (No Compound Names)



The four most used names fall into two distinctive groups, as seen in Figure 3. There are noticeable overlaps in time-periods of usage between “anonymous” and “Miss Burney,” which was mostly used until the end of the Victorian period, and between modern forms “Frances Burney” and “Fanny Burney,” while there is no overlap between the two groups. The overlap and

division into two groups between four prevalent name forms become even more noticeable when compound names that combine two or several designations are eliminated to reduce noise in the data (Figure 3). “Miss Burney” and “Madame D’Arblay” are firmly supplanted by “Frances Burney” and “Fanny Burney” in the 1880s, illustrating a general shift from the perception of female authors as a separate class of writers, underlined by honorifics, towards their inclusion in the general literary landscape.

6.1.1.1 Anonymous

The dramatic and complicated story of the anonymous publication of the first edition of *Evelina* was far from being exceptional or unusual at the time. Publishing a novel anonymously complied with the general pattern, as more than 70% of novels published between 1770 and 1829 were published with no author’s name.³²⁹ This percentage was not constant, but fluctuated widely, falling from 80% in the 1770s - 1780s to 62% in the 1790s and less than 50% in the 1800s to rise again to 80% during the 1820s.³³⁰ Therefore, the fact of publishing at least the first edition of the work anonymously was far less extraordinary than it might have seemed when the case of *Evelina* is looked at on its own, separately from the general course of book history. However, the perpetuation or not of Burney’s anonymity in *Evelina* and the difference in the approaches to disclosing her name adopted by the publishers of British and continental editions are of considerable interest. In total, from 1778 to 1822, there were 32 editions and reprints of *Evelina* published anonymously with the author not identified anywhere in the book. Eight of them were published on the continent: five French and one in Dutch, German, and English.

³²⁹ Garside, Raven, and Schöwerling, *The English Novel, 1770-1829*, 43.

³³⁰ Raven, “Anonymous Novel in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1830.”

After publishing the first edition of *Evelina* anonymously in 1778, Lowndes stayed true to their initial agreement and kept Burney's name off the title pages in his subsequent editions of *Evelina* even when Burney's authorship became an open secret. Even when disappointed by not being chosen as the publisher for Burney's second novel, Lowndes only used a reference to *Cecilia* but not Burney's name to promote and further a reprint of his own product. He identified her as the author of *Cecilia* in the advertisement bound-in at the back of Lowndes/1784/2v/vign. It is only in the last two editions, published by the son of Thomas Lowndes, William, with Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown in 1814, that Burney's name in one of its forms appeared, but even then not on the title page. Her married name "Madame D'Arblay" was used as the title for the editorial preface, while title pages indicated the presence of "some account of the author."

British publishers showed a healthy degree of respect to Burney's wishes by keeping her name off the title pages of numerous *Evelinas* until 1817. She was only named as the "Author of Cecilia and Camilla" in Edinburgh/1804 and as the "Author of Cecilia, Camilla, and The Wanderer" in Newman/1815. She was identified as "Miss Burney" in the editorial preface to the novel published in *The British Novelists* collection in 1810, but, similarly to the Lowndes' 1814 editions, her name did not appear on the title page. Burney was known to be anxious to keep her name out of print. When continuing to keep this open secret and printing *Evelina* without explicitly naming the author, novel's publishers had acted as their later colleagues, who complied with the authors' wishes and kept using pseudonyms Currer Bell (Charlotte Brontë) and George Eliot (Mary Ann Evans) after their identities were unveiled, until at least the death of Brontë and forever for Evans.³³¹

³³¹ Jung, "Critical Names Matter."

6.1.1.2 By the “Author of...”

The “Author of” formula used to designate the author of *Evelina*, though not as often met as the four other forms, deserves some attention. The use of this formula is nothing uncommon, as it was often employed before *Evelina*, for example by Charlotte Lennox and after by Walther Scott, Jane Austen, or Thomas Hardy. This “designation appears occasionally in the late 16th and early 17th century, is then used with greater frequency in the late 17th century and is common practice in the 18th and 19th centuries.”³³² “The phrase ‘by the author of’ refers us not so much to a situated person as to a previous performance and acts as a kind of advertisement,”³³³ As Genette pointed out, the formula “author of” “is a statement of identity precisely between two anonymities, explicitly putting at the service of a new book the success of a previous one and, above all, managing to constitute an authorial entity without having recourse to any name, authentic or fictive.”³³⁴

In the case of *Evelina*, Genette’s principle of putting an earlier book at the service of a new one, was used in reverse. The appearance and success of the later Burney novels, *Cecilia*, *Camilla*, and *The Wanderer*, were put at the service of promoting her earlier work, *Evelina*. In *Evelina*, “Author of” is used to promote new editions of Burney’s first book using the titles of her newer novels. This demonstrates that Genette’s principle above should be understood in relation to the book as an object (physical in this case) and not only to the book as a text. By using the “Author of” formula, publishers of *Evelina* were targeting and attracting the attention of an audience who could have read Burney’s newer works that had just appeared (e.g. Edinburgh/1804 or Newman/1815 and its reprints); or in some cases, a less sophisticated audience, who could have read or heard about Burney’s other works but might have been unfamiliar with *Evelina* (e.g. Derby

³³² Griffin, “Introduction,” 9.

³³³ Griffin, “Anonymity and Authorship,” 880.

³³⁴ Genette, *Paratexts*, 45.

& Jackson/1857/stereotype and Ward, Lock & Tyler/1874/yellowback and their reprints). Interestingly, democratic editions published by Derby & Jackson and Ward, Lock & Tyler have on the title pages a combination of three denominations for Burney: her maiden name, her married name, and the “Author of” possibly not trusting any prior knowledge of their potential readers (see the discussion of their naming practices below).

6.1.1.3 Miss Burney

Lowndes, and early American and Irish publishers who printed editions of *Evelina* for local trade or, in the case of Irish editions, to be smuggled into England while the copyright still belonged to Lowndes, kept their publications formally anonymous. In contrast, preserving Burney’s anonymity in print was a different issue on the continent. In the same year, 1784, when Burney was first modestly identified in Lowndes/1784/2v/vign as the author of *Cecilia*, her anonymity was directly breached in a continental edition when her name appeared on a title page of *Evelina* for the first time. It was a French translation, Barde/1784/French, published in Geneva and attributed to “Miss Burney.” Other foreign (mostly French) and continental English editions continued the trend, with only four of them printing *Evelina* anonymously after 1784: Bouillon/1797/French, Libraires/1786/French, Roux/1789/French, and Barrois/1808/continental. The rest boldly identified the author of *Evelina* as “Miss Burney” on their title pages: Walther/1788/continental, Leprieur/1795/French, Maradan/1797/French, Imbert/1798/2v/French, Imbert/1798/3v/French, Moscow/1798/Russian, Parsons& Galignani/1805/continental, and Walther/1805/continental.

The motives of the foreign publishers to forego Burney’s anonymity are not difficult or complicated to discern. By 1784, the fame of Burney had spread widely, so even if potential buyers had not read any of her two novels published by that time, they could have heard of her name. The

publishers had all the motivation to put the name on the title page to attract attention. As Genette succinctly put it: “when someone who is already famous [...] the name then is no longer a straightforward statement of identity (‘The author’s name is So-and-So’); it is, instead, the way to put an identity, or rather a ‘personality,’ as the media call it, at the service of the book: ‘This book is the work of the illustrious So-and-So.’”³³⁵

In England, she was first identified as “Miss Burney” in the title of the preface to *Evelina*, edited by Barbauld and published by Rivington in *The British Novelists* collection in 1810. However, her name did not appear on the title page. Only in 1817, a British publisher, Mason, followed suit of the continental counterparts, breaking the unspoken “no name on the title page” rule on British soil by putting “Miss Burney” on the title page of his *Evelina*, when it had already appeared there in the continental editions for 33 years. After 1817, only one *Evelina* was issued anonymously, Jones/1822/ill., and it is quite fortunate that it was exactly this one. Burney’s sensitivity would have been severely affected if her name had appeared in an edition that exemplified the frivolous Regency, could be at best described as worldly, and was entitled *Evelina: Or Female Life in London: Being the History of a Young Lady’s Introduction to Fashionable Life, and the Gay Scenes of the Metropolis, Displaying a Highly Humorous, Satirical, and Entertaining Description of Fashionable Characters, Manners, and Amusements, in the Higher Circles of Metropolitan Society Embellished and Illustrated with a Series of Humorous Colored Engravings, by the First Artists*.

Since “Miss Burney” became an established feature on the title page of *Evelina*, it reigned supreme through early Victorian times until 1878. During this time, “Madame D’Arblay,” “Author of,” or a combination of all or any two of the three, were interloping only infrequently. In total,

³³⁵ Genette, *Paratexts*, 40.

there were 31 editions and reprints issued in all languages with the name designation “Miss Burney,” with 21 of them printed after 1817 when this name form became prevalent in all countries where *Evelina* was produced, and in six more, “Miss Burney” was part of a compound designation. Significantly, most of these books (29) were produced after “Miss Burney” was not any longer a correct form of name to call the author of *Evelina*, who married Alexandre D’Arblay in 1793, becoming Countess, Madame, or Mrs. D’Arblay. After her marriage, Burney herself showed a preference for a compound form of her name signing the dedication to *Camilla* as “F. D’Arblay” and to *The Wanderer* as “F.B. D’Arblay.” Publishers did not imitate her example, preferring a form of her name “Miss Burney” loaded with implied meanings. The choice of “Miss Burney” by the publishers is a designation that not only underlined her femininity but also suggested an unmarried, maiden marital status of the author and possibly a younger age. According to Genette:

“the indirect effects of onymity [the actual use of the name of the author] are not entirely limited to cases of previous fame. The name of a wholly unknown person may indicate, beyond the logicians’ purely ‘strict designation,’ various other features of the author’s identity: often the author’s sex (which may have crucial thematic relevance), and sometimes the author’s nationality or social class.”³³⁶

“Miss” in “Miss Burney” put into prominence the gender of the author, highlighting feminine authorship and a feminised authorial image. The use of the feminine honorific would have served a dual purpose: to appeal to the female audience by emphasising shared femininity and bringing the author closer to her women readers, and to suggest to readers of all genders a commonly presumed better understanding of subjects, deemed more successfully addressed by

³³⁶ Ibid.

women authors. Since the 18th century, novels written by women, because of their ‘insider knowledge,’ have been assumed to be more accurate and realistic in detail about equipages, fashion, and sentimental matters. “Miss” in “Miss Burney” served as an advertisement indicating, as did the novels “by a lady,” a book for and about women, a novel “of courtship, of sentimental entanglement, of virtuous suffering in love.”³³⁷

In addition, it must be emphasised that despite all the gender-based inequalities and discrimination of the past, female authorship and its special appeal and knowledge was perceived as having a commercial value. Books by women authors had sold well since the beginning of the age of the novel, as was convincingly shown by Margaret Ezell who studied the functions of the phrase “By a Lady” as the designator of an author in early modern books.³³⁸ Similarly, Mrs. Gaskell’s interactions with her publishers who advised her in 1848 to publish *Mary Barton* under a woman’s name, as women’s novel could be more popular,³³⁹ indicated that feminine authorship kept being advantageous into much later Victorian times. Therefore, “Miss” in “Miss Burney” could be seen as a recourse by the publishers to a tried and sure method to further sales of the book.

Lastly, even though, in the 19th century, novels were no longer widely seen as a seditious genre, a certain reserve and reticence lingered, especially concerning novel-reading by young unmarried women. Attribution of a novel to a “Miss,” a presumably young, or in any case virginal, woman, despite all her supposed understanding of sentimental matters, might also imply a certain purity of content. This would ensure that the book would likely be allowed into the hands of young women, whose innocence was to be protected, and thus, could be sold to a wider audience. The implied chaste undertones of “Miss” in the maiden honorific “Miss Burney,” were successfully

³³⁷ Mullan, *Anonymity*, 57.

³³⁸ Ezell, “‘By a Lady’.”

³³⁹ Mullan, *Anonymity*, 76.

reinforced by and interacted with “Burney” in it. Burney’s public persona, with her known femininity and carefully projected decorous conformity with a conventional image of the woman, supported all the implication of “Miss,” making “Miss Burney” an even more fitting author for the novel appealing to and destined for the female audience of delicate Victorian ladies.

6.1.1.4 Madame D’Arblay

As mentioned above, “Miss Burney” was sometimes alternated with the designation of the author in *Evelina* that properly reflected her marital status. In fact, “Madame D’Arblay” was used not in combination with any other designation in only two 1814 editions by Lowndes and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, where her married name “Madame D’Arblay” became the title of a biographical editorial preface. Possible reasons why in 1814 the publishers would choose this form of her name over “Miss Burney,” already used in Rivington/1810/British Novelists, could be that, at the time, Madame D’Arblay was a minor societal event. She had recently returned from a ten-year-long involuntary exile in France, and was a well-known author, with her wit, lively spirit, and stories of war, who had witnessed the events surrounding the battle of Waterloo, who as the wife of a French count, frequented French aristocracy while in France, and as a former Keeper of the Robes, was received at the Court while in England. The desire of publishers to capitalise on the name recognition would be quite natural.

Afterwards, “Madame D’Arblay” appeared only in combination with some other form of her name. It was combined with “Miss Burney” and “Author of” in Derby & Jackson/1857/stereotype and its 1860 and 1861 reprints to produce “Miss Burney (Madame D’Arblay) author of Cecilia, etc.”, while in yellowback produced by Ward, Lock & Tyler in 1874 and reprinted in 1882, it became “Madame D’Arblay (Miss Burney) author of Cecilia, etc.” Both

books, the stereotype edition by Derby & Jackson with its badly executed reproduction of Burney's portrait as a frontispiece and the yellowback, by their nature, were not destined for the most affluent or discerning readers. Evidently, publishers targeting these types of audiences were resolved not to take any chances with their readers and the possible limits of their knowledge; therefore, they included in the name form all three designations that had been used for the author of *Evelina*. They possibly hoped that at least one designation would be recognised and would attract the attention of potential buyers, some of whom might have known the title of *Cecilia* while others might have been familiar with the most often used name form "Miss Burney," and others yet could have known the name "Madame D'Arblay" from the widely acclaimed *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay*. Interestingly, in these name forms, two of the three designations change places. Derby & Jackson put "Miss Burney," which was a prevalent form of Burney's name in the editions of *Evelina* until the 1870s, first, probably counting more on the name-recognition factor. Conversely, Ward, Lock & Tyler opted to put first the more foreign-sounding "Madame D'Arblay," which, even if not recognised or known as the author of *Diaries* by hurried buyers of yellowbacks, could have given a slight French tinge to the novel, thus hinting at some possible excitement in the content. Ward, Lock & Tyler/1882/yellowback was the last *Evelina* where "Miss Burney" was present at all in the name of the author (a part of the name in this case and not listed the first among the three).

"Madame D'Arblay" as the author of *Evelina* is encountered several times afterwards, now in combination with Frances or Fanny Burney. Only once it is seen again on the title page of the full novel, Gregg/1920, as Frances Burney D'Arblay. In other cases, the designation Frances Burney (Madame D'Arblay, 1752-1840) or Fanny Burney (Madame D'Arblay, 1752-1840) introduces excerpts or summaries of *Evelina*, published in digests: the former in four editions and

reprints of *Warner Library* (1896, 1902, 1902 deluxe, and 1917), and the latter in the 1964 edition of *Masterplots English Fiction Series* by Salem Press.

6.1.1.5 Frances or Fanny?

“Miss Burney” as the author of *Evelina*, with its maiden-ish undertones, was unequivocally replaced by her full name “Frances Burney” in 1881 when George Bell & Sons published their first edition of the novel in the *Bohn’s Novelist’s Library*. In this *Evelina*, with an introduction, an epilogue to the introduction, and notes by Ellis, Burney was first called by a name that did not imply any marital status (true or otherwise), “Frances Burney.” For 20 years, “Frances Burney” became the name of the author of *Evelina*. From 1883 until 1903, there were 12 more *Evelinas* published, all with “Frances Burney” as the author’s designation, while in three more, included in *Warner Library* digests, this literary name “Frances Burney” was combined with her legal name and birthdates as “Frances Burney (Madame D’Arblay, 1752-1840).” It is also worth noting that in the *Dictionary of the National Biography* (1885) “Burney, Frances” was cross-referenced to “Arblay, Madame d,” indicating that readers of the time would look for her biography under this particular name.³⁴⁰

The dubious honour of introducing Burney’s diminutive and domestic form of the given name “Fanny” as the name of the author of *Evelina* belongs to Macmillan and their editor Austin Dobson. Two name forms co-existed in the 1900s as five more *Evelinas* were published under “Frances Burney,” but by 1909 with the publication of Dent’s *Everyman’s Library* edition, “Fanny” definitely won. The prevalence of “Fanny” on the title pages of *Evelina* in the first half of the 20th century could be explained by several factors, first of which is the name-recognition.

³⁴⁰ Stephen and Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography*, (1885-1906), 459.

“Fanny Burney” was the form of Burney’s name featuring prominently on the title page of her biography by Austin Dobson published in the prestigious series *English Men of Letters* (it was followed by Madame D’Arblay in much smaller font and in parenthesis). Another factor could be that, as opposed to “Frances,” homonymous to the masculine name “Francis,” “Fanny” clearly indicates feminine authorship, continuing the positive gendering of the novel as it had been done before with “Miss Burney”. Since 1909, and for the next 60 years until 1968, “Fanny Burney” reigned supreme as the author of *Evelina* (35 editions and reprints in total published during that time) with only four occasional relapses into “Frances”: two in the hands of imminently formal Oxford editors in 1930 and 1938, and one by Gregg, published under the slightly old-fashioned compound name “Frances Burney D’Arblay,” and one in the last reprint of *Warner Library* digest in 1917.

From 1968, the tide began to turn, with “Fanny Burney” being gradually ousted by the returning “Frances.” From 1968 until the beginning of the 1990s, there were only four *Evelinas* published in English, one by Heron Book still with “Fanny Burney” and three by Oxford University Press edited by Edward A. Bloom. Oxford/1968/Bloom and Oxford/1970/Bloom featured “Frances Burney” on their title pages, but Oxford/1982/Bloom strangely relapsed into “Fanny” (the use continued in Oxford/1991/Bloom and Oxford/1998/Bloom).

Since the vigorous discussion in the 1980s – early 1990s on the proper given name form to use for Burney, only seven *Evelinas* were issued with “Fanny Burney” on the title page. A new French translation by Florence Vercaemer, published by José Corti, took a compromising approach. It seeks to take advantage of the name recognition and to comply with the general trend to use Burney’s full name with “Frances Burney, dite Fanny Burney” (this could be translated as Frances Burney, a.k.a Fanny Burney). The other books where “Fanny Burney” is seen are: two

editions targeting the popular market by publishers that belong to the Penguin group (Bantam/1992 and Signet/1992), the first translation to Italian (Fazi/2001/Italian), and, surprisingly, three Oxford/Bloom reprints. The decision by Oxford University Press to issue in the 1980s - 1990s reprints of their annotated edition of *Evelina* under the name form “Fanny Burney” at a time when the academic community reached a nearly universal agreement that it was not an appropriate way to name its author is rather curious. It is difficult to understand considering that they had been steadfastly using “Frances Burney” for almost half a century (Oxford/1930/MacKinnon, Oxford/1938/MacKinnon, Oxford/1968/Bloom, Oxford/1970/Bloom). It is impossible to find an explanation for this decision without actually speaking to the editor(s) of the press. As it was done in 1982 and repeated twice in 1991 and 1998, it cannot be attributed to a mistake caused by a temporary lapse of attention. As demonstrated above, “Fanny Burney” had been marketed for a very long time, so it had all the conditions necessary for “more likely to stick in mind and use of the public, ‘to grow rigid.’”³⁴¹ A kind explanation would be that this rigidity of the name usage was the cause of the unexpected surfacing of “Fanny” on the title page of Oxford books and not some sales-oriented ploy that made the publisher prefers “Fanny” to “Frances” to market the book. Whatever was the cause for this appearance, it did not have any influence on the subsequent Oxford *Evelina* (Oxford/2002/Jones and Oxford/2008/Jones) that was released with “Frances Burney” featured prominently on the title pages and the covers. In fact, after Fazi/2001/Italian there were no other name forms but “Frances Burney” detected in traditional (not print-on-demand and not born-digital) editions and reprints of *Evelina*.

³⁴¹ Jung, “Critical Names Matter,” 765.

6.1.2 Title³⁴²

This section describes and discusses changes and trends in the form of the title of *Evelina* and possible causes for these alterations in the context of Burney's literary life and general history. The title of the work can appear in more than one place in the book, such as "the front cover, the spine, the title page, and the half-title page (which, as a rule, has nothing on it but the title, possibly in shortened form)."³⁴³ This present section focusses on forms of the title of *Evelina* as they appear on the title page as according to publishing conventions the book's titles mostly appears of the half-title page and on the cover in the form abridged to the title proper (the title without the subtitle).

As discussed in the previous section, the form of the author's name in *Evelina* went through several mutations. Its title, which started as *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*, also has not stayed the same. Even though the title does not display such a variety of forms as the author's name, the only part of the title that has not been changed is the title proper, while the subtitle went through several iterations, adding genre elements, occasionally becoming rhematic, or as happened in one particular instance, turning into something entirely different. While discussing the causes and attributing responsibility for the changes in the form of the title of *Evelina*, it is important to reiterate Shelvin and stress that any book title is always not only an "authorial aesthetic device" but also a "sophisticated commercial vehicle."³⁴⁴ This function of the marketing tool had been perfected during the "move toward a large-scale commodification of the book during the final decades of the seventeenth and the early and middle decades of the eighteenth centuries,"³⁴⁵ allowing for the title to become a mature commercial device by the time *Evelina* was

³⁴² Bold emphasis added in examples in this section.

³⁴³ Genette, *Paratexts*, 65.

³⁴⁴ Shevlin, "'To Reconcile Book and Title, and Make 'Em Kin to One Another'," 44.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

published. The commercial or, as Genette calls it, the tempting function of the title is one of the main characteristics of this paratextual element and has a direct influence on its form.

In general, Genette identifies three main functions of the title (echoing in this instance the classification earlier offered by Grivel and Hoek): designating or identifying; describing the work's subject matter (thematic) or form (rhematic); and tempting³⁴⁶ that serves "to play up the work"³⁴⁷ in other words to "entice the targeted public"³⁴⁸ to purchase or read the book. To differentiate between two classes of descriptive titles Genette does not use Hoek's terminology, which he describes as "poorly chosen," offering the terms "thematic" to describe the titles that Hoek called "'subjectal' ones, which designate the 'subject of the text,'" and "rhematic" instead of "'objectal' ones, which 'refer to the text itself' or 'designate the text as object.'"³⁴⁹

Genette posited that "in actual practice, identification is the most important function of the title, which could if need be dispense with any other."³⁵⁰ However, the need for identification of the book, while being an important function, could not explain all the changes in the form of the title. To identify the book, the title does not need to be altered, and if altered significantly, it can hamper the book's identification. It is the necessity for the title to fulfil its tempting, commercial function and to appeal to a new generation of reader and buyers that often causes the adjustment of the title.

According to Genette, "the canonical formula for this [tempting] function was expressed three centuries ago by Furetière: 'A lovely title is a book's real procurer.'"³⁵¹ To be a true "procurer" for a book, a title must tempt and appeal to its audience, which does not comprise only

³⁴⁶ Genette, *Paratexts*, 75-76, 93.

³⁴⁷ Hoek, *La marque du titre*, 17.

³⁴⁸ Grivel, *Production de l'intérêt romanesque*, 169-70.

³⁴⁹ Genette, *Paratexts*, 77.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 80-81.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 91. Genette makes reference to Furetière, *Le roman bourgeois*, 1084.

the book's readers, but also its buyers, whole-sellers, retailers, and other agents involved in the book's life-cycle, and must do so during its entire lifetime. "The title is directed at many more people than the text, people who by one route or another receive it and transmit it and thereby have a hand in circulating it. For if the text is an object to be read, the title (like, moreover, the name of the author) is an object to be circulated."³⁵² For a book with a long publication history, such as *Evelina*, this means that the title must keep its appeal to people circulating it throughout its existence and at any particular moment when the book was republished and reprinted.

Burney, for obvious reasons, could not have been responsible for the changes of the title form in *Evelina* throughout the more than 240 year-long life of her book. Moreover, she was not in control of its transformations even during her lifetime. The other agents involved in the life-cycle of *Evelina* were directly (or indirectly) responsible for the form of the title and its subsequent mutations. Genette cautioned against assuming that "the sender of the title is always and necessarily the author and only the author,"³⁵³ underlining that even for the 19th - 20th century's works, which he used as examples to present his paratextual theory, "the responsibility for the title is always shared by the author and the publisher."³⁵⁴ This balance of the shared responsibility was heavily skewed towards publishers in the earlier periods of book history when most authors lost all authority over the appearance of the paratext of their works once the copyright was sold. In fact, the earlier is the period, the more influence the publisher had on the appearance of the title page. "The design of the title-page in Early Modern English was the responsibility of the publisher and the printer, and only sometimes with the collaboration with the author, to the extent that printers, typographers and publishers went as far as to tamper with the text of the title-page."³⁵⁵

³⁵² Genette, *Paratexts*, 74.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 73.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 74.

³⁵⁵ Yáñez-Bouza, "Paratext, Title-Pages and Grammar Books," 45.

Tampering with the text on the title page was not as unusual as it might seem in the modern reality of the book world, with its heightened role of the author. As discussed above, publishers felt quite at liberty to use the name form of the author that they deemed better suited to their interests at a particular moment. When her book became a commodity to be sold, the same happened to Burney's name and the title of *Evelina*. After selling the copyright of her novel to Lowndes in 1778, Burney lost all influence on the appearance of the paratext of her work, including the form of the title. Similarly to the form of Burney's name, the form of the novel's title in all editions of *Evelina* after the first one was defined by publishers' decisions and not by Burney's authorial intent.

The title of *Evelina* in its initial form, *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*, and in most of its variations, followed the custom established by the end of the 18th century. If from "late sixteenth century to the early eighteenth century they tend to be (very) lengthy, usually occupying the entire page,"³⁵⁶ the novels' titles became much shorter towards the end of the 18th century.³⁵⁷ At the time, the formal structure of the title, its elements, and their most common functions, which persist in the present day, took a more defined shape as the combination of a title proper, subtitle, and sometimes genre indication, where only the first element is required. Burney not only followed this structure in *Evelina* but also shaped the title of her work according to the classical custom. As Genette formulated it: "classical titles generally organised this division of labour according to a clear principle: to the title went the name of the hero [...] and to the subtitle went the indication of theme."³⁵⁸ The title of *Evelina* organises the labour according to this principle: the name of the heroine in the title and the subject or, as Genette prefers to call it, the

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 50.

³⁵⁷ For the statistical analysis and general description of the trend of shortening titles from 1740 to 1850 see Moretti, "Style, Inc. Reflections on Seven Thousand Titles (British Novels, 1740–1850)."

³⁵⁸ Genette, *Paratexts*, 85.

theme of the book, in the subtitle. In earlier overly descriptive titles, which to a modern eye read more as a synopsis or a table of contents of the book, the theme could be directly designated and even could describe the subject of the work “to the extent of revealing the denouement.”³⁵⁹ By the mid-18th century, this custom, after being much argued against by some influential figures, including Richardson, had died out. *Evelina*, a book that describes the life and tribulations of a young girl in fashionable society, is no less fashionable in the form of its title. The title according to contemporary custom is not overly long and does not reveal any of the denouements of the novel, such as the marriage of the heroine or her recognition by the erring father, leaving readers free to imagine whatever the entrance in the word might mean and entail.

The graph (Figure 4) shows the distribution of the title forms in the editions and reprints of *Evelina* from 1788 to the present. It makes it possible to observe the beginning and the end of the usage of each form, the time when their use was overlapping, and the “outliers,” the forms, which did not persist (see Figure 2 and 3 for name forms). In Figure 4, the elements of the title structure are presented in a shortened form. It includes the title proper, the subtitle, and (if any) either formal genre indication or a second descriptive subtitle. In Figure 5, the third element, a formal genre indication or a second descriptive subtitle, was eliminated to reduce noise in the data and make trends in the usage of forms of subtitle more clear and evident. Figures 4 and 5 include titles of *Evelina* found in all examined editions and their reprints published in any language in order to trace the trends regarding the usage of certain forms of the title, when they began, ceased, and overlapped. The figures avoid separation by country of publication and show and show overall trends. To ensure uniformity in the data, foreign subtitles were translated into English. The

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 82.

difference in usage of the specific title form by the language and country of publication is discussed below (see an annotated enumerative bibliography of editions in Appendix 1 for full titles).

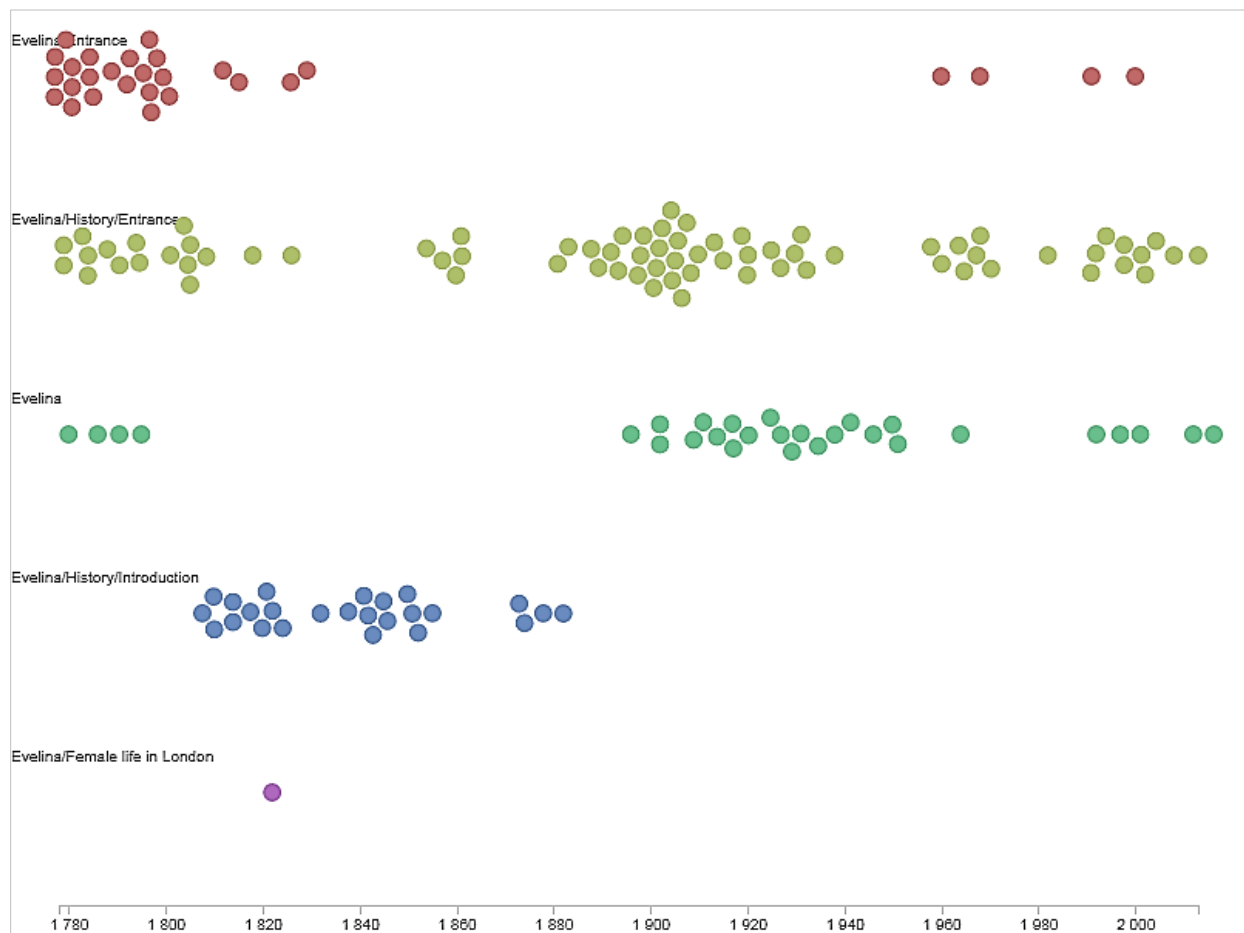
Figure 4: Distribution of Title Forms by Decade



As Figure 4 demonstrates, the title proper, *Evelina*, always stays the same, while the subtitle is often present but displays several variations. The third element, the genre indication, is much less frequent but is still present in ten cases: as a formal genre indication in eight editions and reprints and as a second descriptive subtitle, describing not the text of the novel but the contents of the book, in two editions. Regarding the frequency in the usage of specific title forms,

as Figures 4 and 5 show, there are four most commonly used forms of the title. Three of them differ by a variation in the subtitle (in chronological order of the first appearance in print): *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's **Entrance** into the World* (hereafter *Evelina/ Entrance*), *Evelina: Or, the **History** of a Young Lady's **Entrance** into the World* (hereafter *Evelina/ History/ Entrance*), and *Evelina: Or, the **History** of a Young Lady's **Introduction** to the World* (hereafter *Evelina/ History/ Introduction*). The fourth one, being reduced to the title proper, simply *Evelina*, omitted the descriptive subtitle altogether.

Figure 5: Distribution of Title Forms by Decade (no added subtitles)



As opposed to the forms of Burney's name, which showed an almost equal distribution of the four most prevalent ones, almost half of the studied sample of 156 editions and their reprints, in total 73, have the form of the title as *Evelina/ History/ Entrance*, the one which includes what might be considered an ambiguous genre indication. Three others show almost equal distribution: 28 were published under original title *Evelina/ Entrance* (five of them also contained genre indication as the second subtitle); 29 under a shortened title, reduced to the title proper, *Evelina* (three of them with a subtitle genre indication); and 25 under *Evelina/ History/ Introduction*. Lastly, the fifth form, *Evelina: Or Female Life in London: Being the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to Fashionable Life, and the Gay Scenes of the Metropolis, Displaying a Highly Humorous, Satirical, and Entertaining Description of Fashionable Characters, Manners, and Amusements, in the Higher Circles of Metropolitan Society Embellished and Illustrated with a Series of Humorous Colored Engravings, by the First Artists*, is found in only one edition. This last form of the title is not explored in the present section but was discussed in section 5.2.3.2.1.

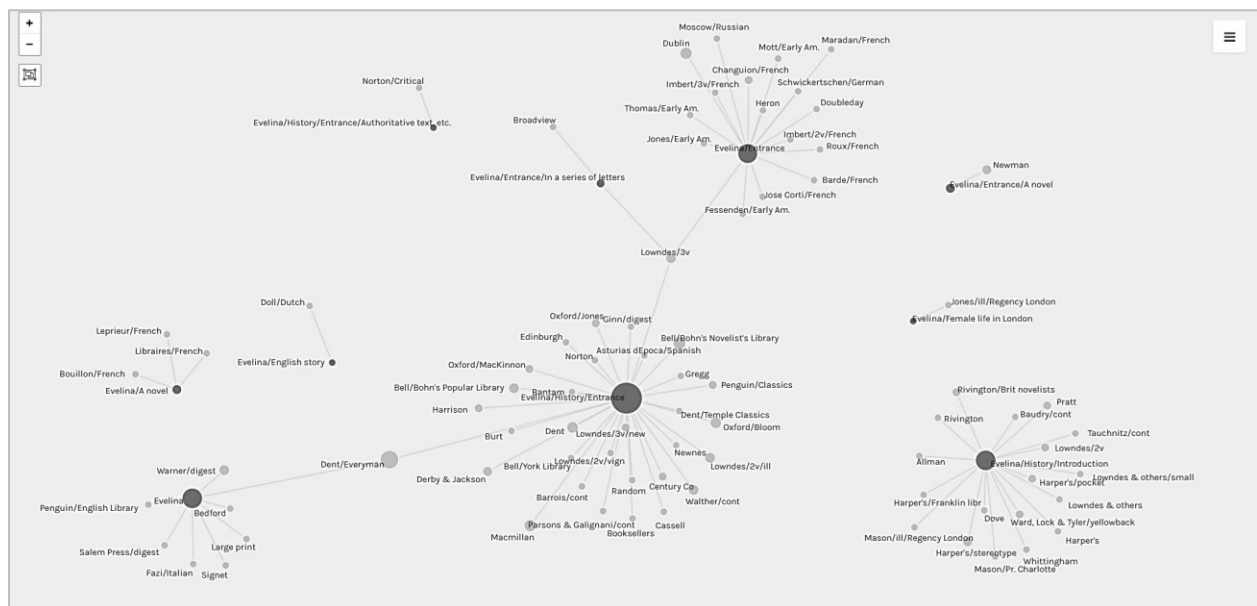
There were several noticeable distinctive time-periods when specific title forms were more prevalent. The initial title *Evelina/ Entrance* was most frequently used until the early 19th century, with only four other editions published in the second half of the 20th century. The period when *Evelina/ Entrance* is met the most frequently overlaps with the equally strong usage of *Evelina/ History/ Entrance*. *Evelina/ History/ Entrance* was the title second to appear and is the most frequent form overall that can be found on title pages of Burney's book from 1779 to the 2010s. Despite the extended period of use of *Evelina/ History/ Entrance*, there is a distinct drop in its frequency, halting at some point to an almost complete hiatus. During this period that lasted from the late 1800s to the 1880s, *Evelina/ History/ Introduction* was largely predominant nearly to the exclusion of all other forms. Moreover, the usage of *Evelina/ History/ Introduction* is completely

limited to that distinct period, the 1810s - 1880s, as it has never been observed again. Lastly, *Evelina*, with the descriptive subtitle dropped by the publishers, becomes an established form from the early 20th century and continues to be used to the present, rivalling in frequency *Evelina/History/Entrance*.

6.1.2.1 A Young Lady's Entrance into the World

When *Evelina* was first published by Lowndes in 1778, it came out with the title *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World* (hereafter *Evelina/ Entrance*). No indications of discussions with the publisher on the form of the title have been found in Burney's diaries or her correspondence, which detailed all other particularities of the publication of *Evelina*. In the absence of any evidence supporting the opposite, it can be concluded with a degree of certainty that the form of the title in the first edition of *Evelina* was created by Burney herself.

Figure 6: Form of the Title vs. Publisher



The initial form, *Evelina/ Entrance*, could be described as purely thematic. According to Genette, the titles could be divided into several types: thematic, describing the subject of the work; rhematic, indicating the form of the work; mixed, with different elements belonging to different types; and ambiguous, that could be considered as both thematic or rhematic depending on the interpretation.³⁶⁰ In the case of *Evelina/ Entrance*, both parts of the title, the title proper and the subtitle, describe the subject of Burney's novel without indicating in any direct or indirect way its novelistic genre. Considering the general prejudice against the novel, as a lower and somewhat immoral genre, and Burney's own concern about decorum and wish to keep her public persona immaculately proper and respectable, this choice is not surprising. However, this purely thematic form of the title, *Evelina/ Entrance*, did not last long in Britain (see Figure 6). As early as in 1779, Lowndes/1779/2nd and Lowndes/1779/3rd were issued under *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World, in a Series of Letters* and *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*.

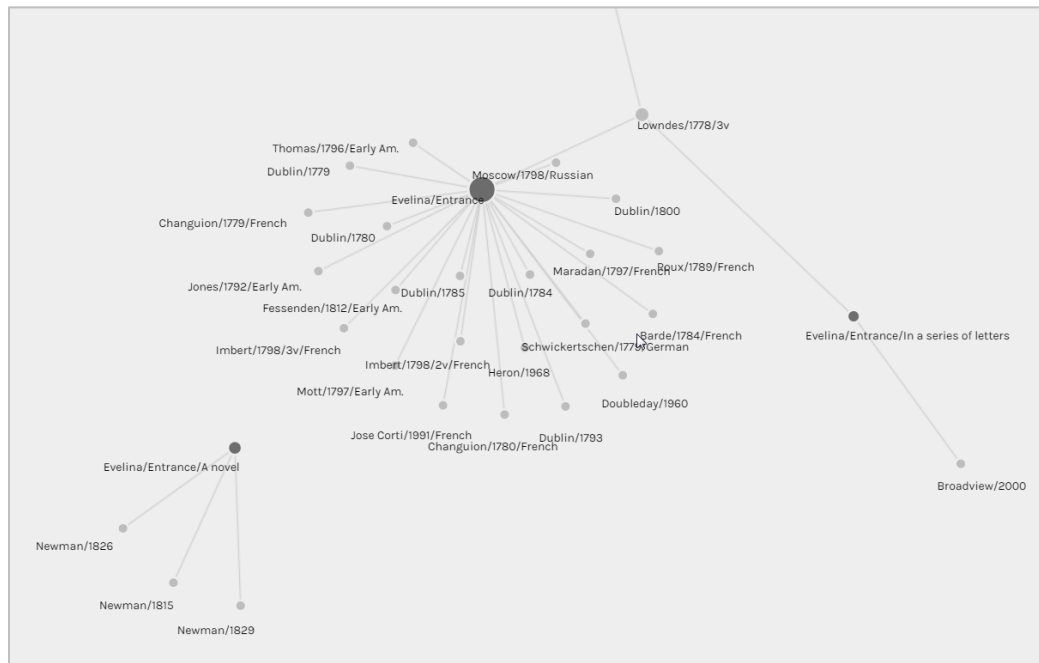
Books that kept the original form of the title, *Evelina/ Entrance*, are for the most part early foreign editions published in the late 18th century (seven French, one German, and one Russian), or the English editions produced in a legal grey area, outside the sphere of application of English copyright law (six Irish and four early American) (see Figures 6 and 7). The majority, i.e. ten editions, of all examined 16 foreign editions and reprints of *Evelina*, kept the original form of the title.³⁶¹ The same observation stands for all four examined early American editions and six out of the total of seven discovered Irish. The original title persisted outside of England, while its form

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 79.

³⁶¹ The number of modern translated editions is too small to draw any definite conclusions. It must be noted though that all of them were issued under different forms of the title. Jose Corti/1991/French followed the trend set by 18th century editions using the form *Evelina/ Entrance*. The Italian edition, Fazi/2001/Italian, was produced under the title form *Evelina*, and one examined Spanish edition, Asturias d'Epoca/2013/Spanish, under *Evelina/ History/ Entrance*.

had been changed by Lowndes as early as in 1779 to the ones clearly indicating the novelistic genre of the work *Evelina/ Entrance/ In a Series of Letters* and *Evelina/ History/ Entrance*.

Figure 7: *Evelina/ Entrance* vs. Publisher



The decision to keep the original title or rather the absence of a decision to change it could be explained by the fact that, in all three circumstances, the publishers did not have to use that particular marketing device. They were operating in a common cultural space where Burney's work was known but not readily available on the market (or not available in an affordable form). Irish reprints, whether for the domestic market or for smuggling into England, were produced as cheap alternatives to the more expensive authorised *Evelinas* printed by the copyright holder Lowndes. In these circumstances, their affordability was the main selling and marketing tool, with little necessity for any other. Similarly, there was no pressing need for early American publishers to increase the attractiveness of their products. There was a relative scarcity of new and popular books in the American colonies (and former colonies) at the end of the 18th – early 19th century,

so any reprint of these works would sell, regardless of the presence or absence of any paratextual enhancements. After early Irish and American editions, the purely thematic form of the title, *Evelina/ Entrance*, did not endure in English. It resurfaced only twice in the much later editions, published in the 1960s and meant for the popular market (Doubleday/1960 and Heron/1968), which however did not lead to any trend and could be regarded as accidental since publishers did not leave any clues to their decisions in other paratextual material.

As for the foreign editions, while most of the publishers did, in fact, use other paratextual elements to underline the novelistic genre of Burney's work, a number of editions (eight French, one German, one Russian) eschewed making alterations to the subtitle, keeping the original form *Evelina/ Entrance*. The reasons for keeping the original form are more complex to discern, due to the limited amount of data. There was only one edition of *Evelina* published in German and one in Russian, both produced at the end of the 18th century, at the height of Burney's fame, so each of these editions was the only option for readers to have access to a fashionable novel in these languages. Hence, the publishers from these countries, as did their American counterparts, did not have to go to extreme lengths to market their products in the conditions of scarcity. As for the French *Evelina*, in total there were 13 (12 editions and one reprint), published from 1779 to 1991. For logistical reasons, it was impossible in the course of the present study to get access to all of them. Only ten out of 12 editions were examined, so the analysis is based only on partial data. Out of ten editions, seven kept the original form of the title, *Evelina/ Entrance*. It is possible to suppose that the initial wide popularity of *Evelina* in the French-speaking cultural space, testified to by the number of editions in French (out of 13 *Evelinas*, nine were published in the 18th century) did not require any tweaks to the title to ensure successful sales. On the other hand, in eight *Evelinas* (Russian, German, and six French) published at the end of the 18th century, the publishers added

what can be considered a second subtitle that indicates the origin of the book as translated from English. The intention of the publisher in including this subtitle was most likely to prod the memory of a potential reader and buyer, who might have heard of the novel but could have been unsure if the book is the right one or not, and to assure them that it is indeed that famous English *Evelina*.

In England, already in 1779, Lowndes/1779/3v/2nd was issued with a variant of this title. Lowndes added to the initial title a second descriptive subtitle: *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World, in a Series of Letters*, producing, thus, the first mixed form of the title. In this title, to two thematic elements, the title proper and thematic subtitle, a third element was added, a second, rhematic, subtitle that revealed not only the form (epistolary) but also suggested the genre of the work. In this case, as happens frequently, when “rhematicism takes the path of a genre designation,”³⁶² writing “*in a Series of Letters*” in the title unambiguously indicated to Burney contemporaries that the book was a novel. Since the time of Richardson and his *Pamela* and *Clarissa*, a book about the adventures or life of a young woman in epistolary form was clearly understood as belonging to the genre of novelistic fiction.

In the early 19th century, another publisher, Newman, went even further in making sure that his target audience did not misinterpret the genre of the work, releasing his plain, unadorned books (Newman/1815, Newman/1826, and Newman/1829) with an even more unambiguous title, *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World. A Novel*. This choice to call *Evelina* on the title page by its proper genre is quite in line with the decision taken by the same publisher with regard the author's name, which took the form of a list of all other Burney's novels: “Author of *Cecilia*, *Camilla*, and *The Wanderer*.” Newman obviously did not want to take the risk that his

³⁶² Genette, *Paratexts*, 86.

audience would not recognise the work as a novel belonging to the pen of the author whose name was actively discussed in the press after the publication of *The Wanderer*.

The form of the title, *Evelina/ Entrance/ In a Series of Letters* is encountered again only in the 2000 edition published by Broadview Press and edited by Susan Howard. The text of the Broadview/2000 is also based on the Lowndes/1779/3v/2nd, which Howard looks “upon as a more definite text than the first edition or the subsequent editions.”³⁶³ In this heavily contextual edition with extensive appendices, targeting an academic market, the decision to use the form of the title of *Evelina* belonging to the manifestation of work that the editor regarded as more definite is most probably motivated by different reasons than those of Lowndes. Rather than hinting at the novelistic genre of the book, the title subtly underlines the reliable origins of its text and the consequent scholarly merits of the edition.

6.1.2.2 The History of a Young Lady’s Entrance into the World

The title, *Evelina: Or, **the History of** a Young Lady’s Entrance into the World* (*Evelina/ History/ Entrance* hereafter) emerges as early as the year following the publication of the first edition in Lowndes/1779/3rd, to later become the most often used form of the title. With this transformation, the form of the title, being purely thematic at first and morphing into a mixed form in the *Evelina/ Entrance/ In a Series of Letters* became ambiguous (thematic or rhematic, depending on the interpretation). The ambiguity was introduced after the addition of the words “History of.” This phrase belongs to a class of phrases (“Life of” is another one) that, according to Genette, “designate at one and the same time the object of a discourse and the discourse itself,” thus, making the title

³⁶³ Howard, “Note on the Text,” 84.

ambiguous in its form.³⁶⁴ “History of” could be interpreted as designating the subject of the book: the book is about the history of Evelina’s entrance, or designating its form and genre.

Even if the “History of” is interpreted as designating the form or genre of the book, it does it equally ambiguously. In both “In a Series of Letters” and “History of” the “rhematism takes the path of a genre designation,”³⁶⁵ indicating the novelistic genre of *Evelina* without spelling it out. At the time, when the novel has not yet shed all the traces of its disreputable origins and dubious connotations, this was a tactic often employed by publishers, wishing to attract readers and buyers, but not desiring to have their product associated with anything less socially acceptable. As Genette pointed out, “other genres, particularly the novel, avoided flaunting a status Aristotle had never heard of, and contrived to suggest their genre status more indirectly by way of paragenic titles in which the words *history*, *life*, *memoirs*, *adventures*, *voyages*, and some others generally played a role.”³⁶⁶ It is not known how Burney felt about this alteration; still, taking into account her carefully curated and protected public persona, it can be supposed that she might have felt a certain degree of displeasure mixed with relief as at least the offensive word “novel” did not appear on the title page of her book.

This particular form, *Evelina/ History/ Entrance*, was used in the largest number of editions and reprints (73, one of them with an added second subtitle), outweighs any other form, and constitutes 50% of the studied corpus. It is found in a variety of types of editions: affordable reprints, gift-books, books included in popular series, and scholarly editions, published over an extended period, between 1779 and 2013. This extended and extensive use makes detecting any trends or tendencies problematic, as it is difficult to understand whether publishers were

³⁶⁴ Genette, *Paratexts*, 86.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., 95.

consciously issuing their *Evelina* under this particular form as part of their marketing strategy or were simply following what became an established custom. Similarly to a form of an author's name, a form of a title become a brand name "more likely to stick in mind and use of the public, 'to grow rigid.'"³⁶⁷ There are some indications that this happened to the title of *Evelina*.

The best example of the title growing rigid is the choice of its form in the scholarly editions (and their respective reprints) produced by Oxford and Bedford. According to their *Notes on the Text*, none of them uses Lowndes/1779/3rd as copy-text. The Oxford/1930/MacKinnon and Oxford/1938/MacKinnon are based on Lowndes/1779/3v/2nd, while in other Oxford editions and in Bedford/1997, the publishers used the first edition, Lowndes/1778. Despite using these particular variants as copy-text, both publishers chose to put the most ubiquitous and the best-known form of the book's title, *Evelina/ History/ Entrance*, on their title pages. Interestingly, with this choice, these scholarly editions created an odd clash of title forms in each one of their physical books. All of them reproduce facsimiles of the original title pages of the Lowndes books that they used as their copy-text. These facsimile title pages bear forms of the title (*Evelina/ Entrance* and *Evelina/ Entrance/ In a Series of Letters* respectively) quite different from *Evelina/ History/ Entrance* that appears on their contemporary title pages.

Lastly, another scholarly edition of *Evelina* produced by Norton displays a curious variant of this title form. To *Evelina/ History/ Entrance*, the publisher added a second genre designation "Authoritative Text, Contexts and Contemporary Reactions, Criticism." The second subtitle, which insists on the scholarly qualities of the edition by enumerating added contextual materials, competes with and overshadows the genre indication "History of," that emphasises the novelistic genre of the book. By adding this subtitle, the publisher underlined that in this edition, they made

³⁶⁷ Jung, "Critical Names Matter," 765.

of *Evelina* something different and maybe more than a novel, a scholarly book, study material that also happens to be a novel.

6.1.2.3 History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World

The same element indicating (ambiguously, but still indicating) the novelistic genre of Burney's novel, "History of" is present in another title form, *Evelina: Or, the **History** of a Young Lady's **Introduction** to the World* (*Evelina/ History/ Introduction* hereafter). This title form appeared first in a two-volume edition of *Evelina* by Lowndes, Lowndes/1805/2v, thus making Burney's first publisher responsible for three out of five forms of the title recorded to the present. Its use continued until 1882 when it is last seen in one of the most accessible book formats, a railway yellowback, Ward, Lock & Tyler/1882/yellowback. In this period, *Evelina/ History/ Introduction* displaced *Evelina/ History/ Entrance* to become the most widespread form with 25 editions and reprints published, while in the same period there were only nine with *Evelina/ History/ Entrance* and four with *Evelina/ Entrance*. The period of dominance of *Evelina/ History/ Introduction* began in the Regency era to finish during the late-Victorian time. For 20 years, from 1832 to 1852, at the height of the Victorian era, it was the only title used, with ten editions and reprints published in English worldwide (see Figure 8).

As opposed to previous iterations of the title, when a purely thematic title became mixed and then ambiguous, the title's formal type and its ambiguity did not change when it became *Evelina/ History/ Introduction*. It was the subject of the book that changed. Instead of being a book first about Evelina and her entrance, and after being about Evelina and the history of her entrance, it became a novel about Evelina and the history of her introduction. This evolution of the subtitle saw Evelina gradually losing her agency when first, the active "entrance" is replaced by a narrative

the title suggests that the heroine, Evelina, was introduced to the world (and most likely properly and by some sort of a chaperone) instead of figuratively leaping all by herself into the bustle of the society. It is quite symbolic that this form of the title with Evelina as a subject of the action of introduction was used the last time in 1882. In 1882, the Married *Women's Property Act* was promulgated that recognised a married woman as a legal identity separate from her husband³⁶⁸ when this form of the title with Evelina as a subject of the action of introduction was issued the last time. A passive heroine in the title was probably needed for a book to sell at the time of nascent feminism and women's rights movements.

6.1.2.4 Simply "Evelina"

The fourth widely used form of the title, which with some modification can be found in 29 editions and reprints, is where the publishers took most liberty with the original title of Burney's work. Instead of modifying the original thematic subtitle to make it ambiguously rhematic (*Evelina/ History/ Entrance*) or to shift what could be called the balance of power from the heroine to an unknown entity, as was seen in and *Evelina/ History/ Introduction*, the subtitle was dropped altogether to leave only the title proper, reducing it to simply *Evelina*. In 24 of 29 books, the title proper was used by itself, while in four earlier editions, rhematic subtitles were appended to it.

As Genette reminded us, of the whole set title, subtitle, genre indication "in our present culture, only the first element is obligatory."³⁶⁹ That does not mean, though, that two other elements, the subtitle and genre indication, would have never been created by the author. In fact, when the author ceases to have control over the form of the title, which in Burney's case happened at the publication of the first edition by Lowndes, it can happen what Genette calls a drift "toward

³⁶⁸ *Married Women's Property Act* (45 & 46 Vict. c.75).

³⁶⁹ Genette, *Paratexts*, 57.

a reduction - actually, an erosion - of the title. The simplest form of this reduction is possibly the omission of the subtitle,”³⁷⁰ which is exactly what happened to *Evelina*. According to Genette, the authorship of the omission or reduction can be attributed to the “labour, or rather, in this case [to the] laziness”, of the same reading public, that can also be called posterity.³⁷¹ “Publishers sometimes, unfortunately, help this omission along, for in many modern editions, even scholarly ones, subtitles disappear from covers and, indeed, from title pages.”³⁷² Despite its reduced state, a shortened title still fulfils its main function of identifying the work and tempting potential readers and buyers. For a work well-known, talked about, famous, or fashionable, at the time of publication of that particular edition, a title proper would be sufficient to incite the public to purchase and read it. In the case of the abridged title of *Evelina*, the nature of editions and reprints where it appears is a perfect demonstration of this principle.

The abridged title of *Evelina* without its original subtitle (the latter in its initial or modified form) is encountered seemingly when the readers already knew about the novel and its merits. In three earlier cases of translated editions, the publications were produced at the height of Burney’s fame as a novelist at the end of the 18th century. Similarly, the abridged title was used in modern editions, published when Burney’s reputation as a classic writer worthy of knowing, reading, or having her book in a personal library, was on the rise or established.

The first cases of use of the abridged form of the title came from the continent, as it was the case for “Miss Burney” as the author’s designation. In 1780, J. Doll in Amsterdam published a Dutch translation of *Evelina* under the title *Evelina: een Engelsche geschiedenis* that could be translated in English as *Evelina: An English Story*. Three French publishers followed suit:

³⁷⁰ Ibid., 70.

³⁷¹ Ibid.

³⁷² Ibid.

Bouillon/1784/French 1784, Libraires/1786/French, and Leprieur/1795/French discarded Burney's subtitle, while adding their own, to publish the book under the title *Evelina: Roman nouvellement traduit et rédigé avec beaucoup de soin d'après l'anglois* that can be translated as *Evelina: A Novel Newly Translated from English and Edited with a Lot of Care*. With these titles, the publishers broke away from the majority of their translated counterparts. While other translated editions kept the original form of the title (thematic title plus thematic subtitle) and appended to it what could be considered a second subtitle, indicating book's translated origins, they replaced the thematic subtitle by a new rhematic one. The new subtitle defines not only the novelistic genre of the book, directly in French (roman) or indirectly in Dutch (story), but also similarly to other translated *Evelinas* published at the end of the 18th century, emphasises the fact that the book was a translation from English. This reassured a potential reader and buyer that this was indeed the famous English *Evelina*, with French subtitles also subtly implying a higher quality of this new translation as compared to their competitors, as it was done with "a lot of care."

Among the 25 modern editions and reprints that were produced with the abridged title, five are digests: four editions and reprints of *Warner Library*, and the 1964 edition of *Masterplots English Fiction Series* by Salem Press. Another digest, *The English Novel before the Nineteenth Century: Excerpts from Representative Types*, published by Ginn & Co. in 1915, displayed a curious mixture of titles. While the full form *Evelina/History/Entrance* was listed in the table of contents, only an abridged form, *Evelina*, appeared before the excerpt from the novel, suggesting the title proper is quite sufficient for a reader to recognise that the work is the same one that they looked up in the table of contents. The other 16 books featuring simply *Evelina* on their title pages are editions and reprints published in Dent's highly accessible (in both senses of the term) *Everyman's Library* from 1909 to 1951. Lastly, the abridged form of the title was found in three

modern editions, Signet/1992, Penguin/2012/English Library, and Large print/2014, published in series intended for the popular market *Signet Classic*, *Penguin English Library*, and *Large Print Classics*. The use of only an abridged title form in literary digests and books published in mass-market series indicates a widespread familiarity and easy recognition of the novel by the reading public.

As Genette pointed out, it is not exclusive to popular editions to reduce book titles to the title proper. Some publishers of scholarly editions also engage in the practice. Bedford/1997 is an example of a highly respectable scholarly publication, “the first, and in some ways, still the best”³⁷³ of the annotated editions of *Evelina*, edited by a well-known Burney scholar, Kristina Straub and published in the *Bedford Cultural Editions* series historicizing literary texts that uses an abridged form of the title, *Evelina*, on its title page. Bedford/1997 is a curious case with regard to the use of title forms. As other scholarly editions of *Evelina*, Bedford/1997 used the first edition, Lowndes/1778, for their copy-text but not the form of its title. Also, in Bedford/1997, a facsimile of the Lowndes/1778 title page bearing the title *Evelina/ Entrance*, different from the form used for the title page, the simple *Evelina*, was reproduced between an editorial introduction and the beginning of Burney’s text. However, as opposed to other scholarly editions, in Bedford/1997, a third form of the title, *Evelina/ History/ Entrance*, is encountered on the page facing the facsimile, above the dedication to Burney’s father. The reasons why this edition included three out of the four most prevalent forms of the title cannot be discovered without speaking to the editor who made the decision, so they will remain unknown for the present.

³⁷³ Havens and Sabor, “Editing *Evelina*.”

6.1.3 Title Page and Its Key Elements: A Summary

In the course of the publishing history of *Evelina*, the name of the author and the title of the book displayed significant variation and fluidity in their forms, reflecting general cultural and societal trends, and thus allowing the book to stay relevant and attractive for new generations of readers. The four forms of Burney's name have been used most often: anonymous, "Miss Burney," "Frances Burney," and "Fanny Burney," with the occasional "Author of..." referring to one or several other Burney's works and "Madame D'Arblay," the latter most often used in combination with other forms than on its own. An interesting trend in the use of name form was discovered. In Victorian times, with their emphasis on the conventional image of the woman, "Miss Burney" that emphasised the femininity of the author became an established feature on the title page, occasionally replaced by no less feminine "Madame D'Arblay." At the end of the 19th century, both "Miss Burney" and "Madame D'Arblay" were completely replaced by "Frances Burney" and "Fanny Burney," illustrating a general shift from the perception of female authors as a separate class of writers with extra stress on their gender, towards their inclusion in the general literary landscape.

The title of *Evelina* did not display such a variety of forms as the author's name. However, the only part of the title that has not been changed was the title proper, while the subtitle went through several iterations, adding genre elements, occasionally becoming rhematic, or as happened in one particular instance, turning into something entirely different. There were four forms of title encountered most frequently. Three of them differ by a variation in the subtitle: *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's **Entrance** into the World*, *Evelina: Or, the **History** of a Young Lady's **Entrance** into the World*, and *Evelina: Or, the **History** of a Young Lady's **Introduction** to the World*, while the

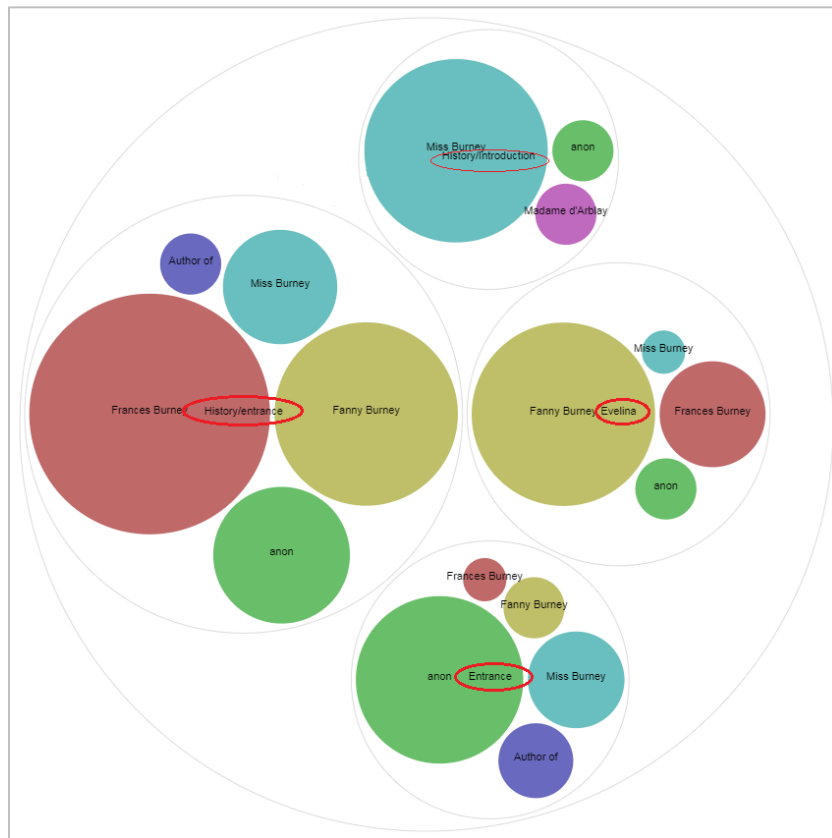
fourth one, being reduced to its simply title proper, *Evelina*, omitted the descriptive subtitle altogether.

There were several noticeable and distinctive time-periods when specific title forms were more prevalent. Thus, the initial title *Evelina/ Entrance* was most frequently used until the early 19th century, with only four other editions published in the second half of the 20th century. *Evelina/ History/ Entrance* was the title second to appear and is the most frequent form overall, that was found on title pages of 73 books, published from 1779 to the 2010s. Simply *Evelina*, where the descriptive subtitle was dropped by the publishers, became an established form in the early 20th century when Burney's reputation as a classic writer worthy of knowing was on the rise. It continues to be used to the present, rivalling, in frequency, with *Evelina/ History/ Entrance*. The most interesting of all four is the trend in usage of *Evelina/ History/ Introduction*, limited to the distinct period, the 1810s - 1880s when it also was a largely predominant form to a nearly total exclusion of three others.

When the data on co-occurrences of title forms with name forms was visualised (see Figure 9) where the relationship is presented graphically, by weighted circles), it demonstrated an interesting trend. First, only two earliest title forms, *Evelina/ Entrance* and *Evelina/ History/ Entrance*, were used with all five most frequent name forms: anonymous, Author of, Miss Burney, Frances Burney, and Fanny Burney. Two later title forms do not co-occur with "Author of," as the form of Burney's name was becoming more standardised in later years and "Author of" disappeared from the title pages of her books. Second, there is a rise in the frequency of the number of co-occurrences of each title form with one and, in each case, different name form. The earliest form of the title, *Evelina/ Entrance*, not surprisingly is encountered most frequently with the earliest form of Burney's name, which is anonymity. This combination also is the only one

respecting Burney's authorial intents: a purely thematic form of the title with no hint on the book's novelistic genre and the absence of her name.

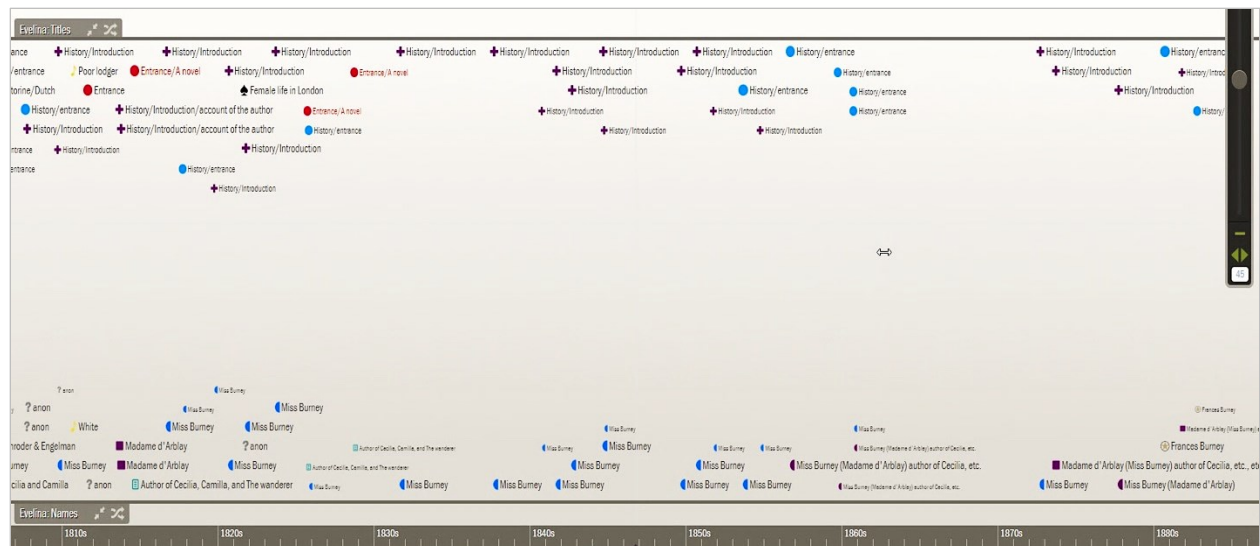
Figure 9: Co-occurrences of Title and Name Forms



The use of the other three forms of the title seems to correlate not only based on the period of their use, but also on the principle of what can be called formality. While *Evelina/ History/ Introduction* is found in a comparable number of books with *Evelina/ Entrance* and *Evelina*, this form of the title displays the smallest number of name forms co-occurring with it. The title *Evelina/ History/ Introduction* that implied passivity of the heroine is used only during the Victorian time (see Figure 10) and found almost exclusively with two most formal forms of the author's name ("Miss Burney" and "Madame D'Arblay") supporting its decorous undertones and appealing to

the form-loving Victorian audience. Similarly, the least formal name form “Fanny Burney” is the most frequently met with the most altered title form that was shortened to a colloquial *Evelina*, while *Evelina/ History/ Entrance* correlates the most with full “Frances Burney.”

Figure 10: Title and Name Forms in Victorian Time



6.2 Textual Paratext: Dedications, Prefaces, Notes, Appendices, Blurbs, etc.

This section describes the history of the evolution of various textual elements of paratext in *Evelina*. The elements of paratextual apparatus consistently present or often encountered throughout the novel’s publication history are discussed in separate sections, while others might be mentioned in sections dedicated to similar elements.

6.2.1 Authorial Paratext: Dedications & Preface

Besides the title, only three other important textual paratextual elements present in *Evelina* are authorial, written by Burney. They appeared in the first edition of *Evelina*: a dedication in verse to Burney’s father, *Oh, Author of my Being* (*Oh, Author...* hereafter), a dedication *To the Authors of*

the Monthly and Critical Reviews (To the Authors... hereafter), and an authorial preface *In the Republic of Letters (In the Republic...* hereafter). The meaning and content of these paratextual elements have been discussed before by literary scholars.³⁷⁴ However, their presence and absence throughout the long publication history of the novel and other modifications and manipulations of their form by publishers have not been previously studied.

The presence of a rather elaborate authorial prefatorial apparatus in *Evelina* is not unusual for the time of publication of Burney's novel. "Throughout the eighteenth century [...], both British and French novels typically contained elaborate authorial prefaces."³⁷⁵ The subjects of these prefaces varied but mostly complied with one of the established patterns. The prefaces of early novels that posed as non-fictional narratives would recount a story of the work's fictitious provenance, told by its purported editor (its author in reality), while others could be written to establish the author's political, religious, intellectual, or moral agenda, or to plead for leniency for work's deficiencies, real or affected. Lastly, prefaces of a specific kind were expected and almost required in any work written by a woman, especially if the work was a novel, still a lowly genre. By the time of the publication of *Evelina*, women authors generally would write a preface to their work to offer some explanation, justification, and apology for their actions, to stave off criticism and accusations of impropriety of their work and themselves. "The early eighteenth-century text written by a woman demanded a preface - most typically a preface in which the author could provide both an apology for the unfeminine action of picking up the pen and an explanation of why her inherently transgressive work merited serious attention. The preface becomes synonymous with modest authorial self-construction."³⁷⁶

³⁷⁴ Campbell, "How to Read Like a Gentleman."; Doody, "Beyond *Evelina*."; Frances Burney; Thaddeus, Frances Burney; Vareschi, "Motive, Intention, Anonymity, and *Evelina*."

³⁷⁵ Trumpener, "Paratext and Genre System," 165-66.

³⁷⁶ Nixon, "'Stop a Moment at This Preface'," 124.

If the presence of an extensive authorial prefatorial apparatus in *Evelina* is not unusual, its nature did not precisely follow the established canon for feminine prefaces. It is well known that Burney kept her identity so strictly anonymous that the public and critics attributed *Evelina* to a male author until her authorship was revealed. This attribution was a subject of much hilarity among the Burney's siblings privy to her secret. Burney's prefaces played an important role in this misattribution. In the dedication "'To the Authors of the Monthly and Critical Reviews,' Frances Burney courts her prospective critics' attention or, more precisely, their protection."³⁷⁷ However, she did not offer her apologies for the quality and possible deficiencies of her work based on her gender but rather instructed them how to read and understand her book, as a male author would do. Moreover, Burney's affectionate dedication to her father was seen by contemporary critics, e.g. in *Critical Review*, as "a dignified outpouring by a son to his parent."³⁷⁸ As Janice Thaddeus demonstrated in her analysis based on contemporary critical reviews and reactions of the reading public, all three elements of authorial paratext, two dedications and the preface, were written in the male tradition and with a masculine stance. This contemporary perception of the authorial prefatorial apparatus in *Evelina* is important to keep in mind, as it could offer some insights into the subsequent history of these paratextual elements.

"Burney introduced *Evelina* in three ways, and that in all three, the stance is masculine. [...] The preface is written in so clearly a male tradition that readers not in the know uniformly attributed *Evelina* to a man. [...] She has assumed a canny transvestism in order to control and extend her audience. Burney in her preface evoked the male novel-writing tradition, mentioning Johnson, Rousseau, Fielding, and Smollett at least partly to convince reviewers that the anonymous author was male. [...] Burney deliberately avoided

³⁷⁷ Campbell, "How to Read Like a Gentleman," 557.

³⁷⁸ Thaddeus, *Frances Burney: A Literary Life*, 39.

For obvious reasons, Burney's dedications or preface were not reprinted in the six digests due to the specificities of their format. Therefore, digests are completely excluded from the following analysis and discussion, bringing the discussed portion of the sample to 85 editions and their reprints (150 in total). Of the 150 editions and reprints, the 63 that kept all three elements without bringing any alterations or modification are mostly English-language editions: earlier ones destined for the middle and upper segments of readers audience and modern, both scholarly and popular, and one modern translation (Fazi/2001/Italian).

The editions and reprints where authorial paratext was modified or omitted by the publishers are of most interest for the present study. In the studied corpus, there was no meaningful correlation found between a specific form of the author's name and exclusion, inclusion, and renaming of authorial paratext. However, there are trends with regard to the kinds and types of editions where Burney's authorial paratext was omitted or changed, and the periods when these alterations occurred. Most cases of the omissions were observed up to the middle of the 19th century in earlier translated editions and cheap reprints as their publishers were less disposed to respect the integrity of a literary work. On the other hand, most instances of giving additional headings to Burney's paratext occur in the mid-19th – mid-20th century, the time of mass-production of affordable reprints of classical texts targeting popular and less-educated audiences.

6.2.1.1 Authorial Paratext: Omissions

The cases of omission of the authorial paratext present a picture that is complicated and nuanced. Thirty-nine editions and reprints of *Evelina* do not reproduce either some or all of Burney's dedications and preface, while in one, Schwickertschen/1779/German, the dedications were omitted, and the preface renamed. Burney's anonymity on the title pages of *Evelina* was first

broken by publishers outside of Britain. Equally, most of the editions that omitted all or some of Burney's dedications or preface were early foreign translations or early English-language editions produced outside of the zone of influence of British copyright law (early Irish, early American, and continental European). Some later British and American publishers also chose not to include Burney's lengthy prefatorial paratext in their popular editions aimed at a less discerning public.

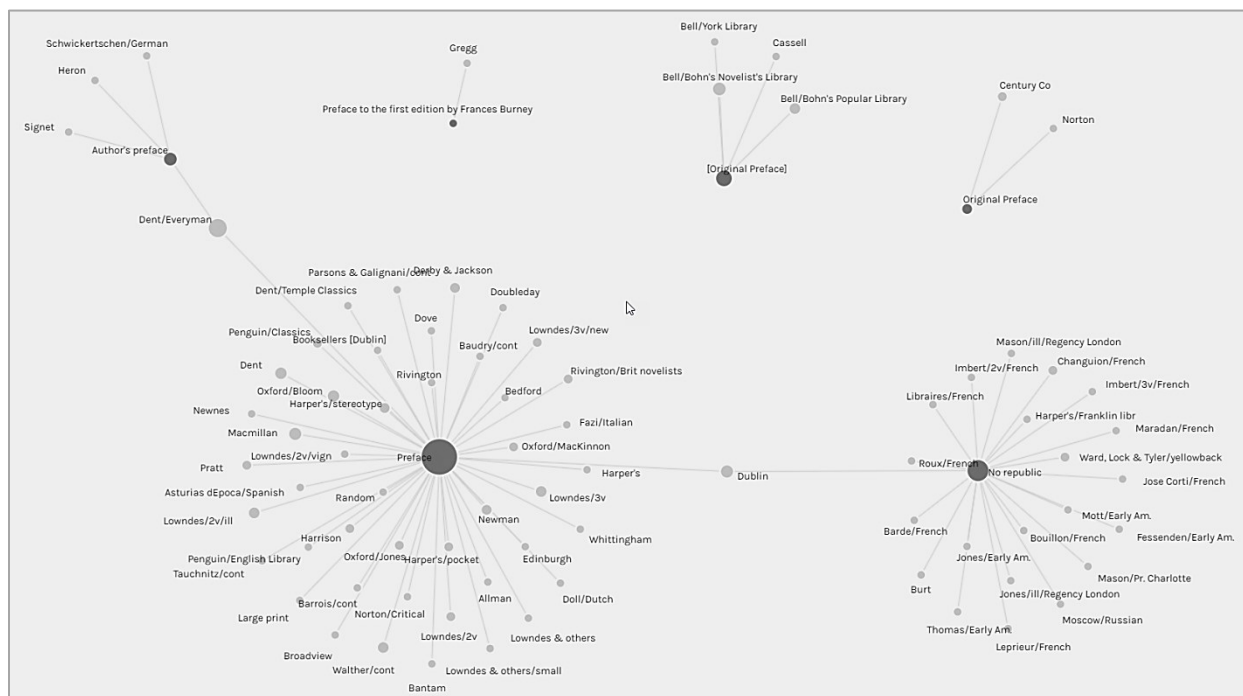
All of Burney's prefatorial paratext was completely omitted in 19 *Evelinas*. The majority of them are translations: 11 (10 French and one Russian) published in the 18th century and one in the 20th century, Jose Corti/1991/French. It is worth noting that French and Russian publishers of the 18th century not only had eliminated all the authorial paratext that could have been perceived by readers as written from a masculine stance and positioning Burney's work as different from its many counterparts, which titillated the feelings of the readers "transported to the fantastic regions of Romance."³⁸⁰ They replaced it with their editorial prefatorial paratext underlining and emphasising the sentimental and romantic character of the novel and invoking Rousseauesque tropes. Similarly, publishers of three peculiar British editions, embellished with engravings more or less well-executed, but all of light and entertaining character and of less than refined taste, produced in the Regency period (Mason/1817, Mason/1821/ill, and Jones/1822/ill), chose to skip all Burney's prefatorial paratext. In all these editions, Burney's lengthy, rather solemn, and intellectual introductory material, written in the language of the late 18th century, would have clashed with the illustrative paratextual means used by the publishers to lighten the text and to emphasise its entertaining or sentimental value and could have been perceived as a potential deterrent for books' purchasers (for a full description of these editions see section 5.2.3.2.1).³⁸¹

³⁸⁰ See Burney's preface *In the Republic...*, para. 6.

³⁸¹ An illustration of what could happen when a clash between authorial prefaces and publishers illustrative and material paratexts is not resolved is the market failure of collected editions of Henry James: Leuschner, "'Utterly, Insurmountably, Unsaleable'."

Four other *Evelinas*, where all Burney prefaces were eliminated, were later Irish reprints (Dublin/1793 and Dublin/1800) and cheap American editions of the late 19th – early 20th century, Harper's/1878/Franklin library and Burt/1905, all aimed at a popular, less affluent, and less educated audience.

Figure 12: Presence, Absence, or Alterations in the Preface “In the Republic of Letters”



In addition to the 19 books that omitted all Burney's prefatorial matter, four others, two of them early translations (Schwickertschen/1779/German, Doll/1780/Dutch) and the second edition and a reprint of *Evelina* produced by Newman (Newman/1826 and Newman/1829), skipped both dedications to Burney's father, *Oh, Author...*, and to the critics, *To the Authors....* Interestingly, these publishers kept the preface *In the Republic of Letters*, thus, endorsing Burney's positioning of her novel among recognised and famed novelists of the 18th century.³⁸² Nine other English-

³⁸² In the first of three *Evelinas* produced by Newman (Newman/1815) the prefatory paratext was not named or omitted, but its order was changed, with *To the Authors...* coming ahead of *Oh, Author....* As Newman printed *Oh,*

language editions and reprints (three earlier Irish, four early American, and two yellowbacks), on the contrary, reproduced Burney's respectful filial address in verse to her father, but omitted both the prose dedication *To the Authors...* and preface *In the Republic of Letters....* Lastly, seven other English-language *Evelinas*, five continental and two British, produced by John Slater Pratt, who specialised in cheap reprints aimed at less educated classes, (Pratt/1842 and Pratt/1845), eliminated only *To the Authors...*, while reproducing Burney's other prefatorial matter, *Oh, Author...* and *In the Republic....*

Most of the *Evelinas* where all or some of Burney's prefaces were omitted can be divided into two categories (with notable exceptions of the French translations, three Regency-time editions, and Allman/1851). They are either books printed as cheap alternatives to more expensive editions (Irish, cheap American, Pratt's, and yellowbacks), or the ones produced in the conditions of relative scarcity: either of modern and fashionable English works (continental English-language, and early American), or the only editions available in that particular language (German and Dutch). Thus, these books were produced in the circumstances close to what could be called a captive market, with few or no alternatives available in that price range or in that particular language. In the conditions of scarcity of offers, publishers supplying a popular novel to their readers could be sure that it would sell. Hence, they felt free to save on an expensive commodity, paper, by removing Burney's prefatorial paratexts. The number of reprints without Burney's prefatorial paratexts is a clear indication that the lack of them did not preclude the cheap reprints of the book from selling well. A particularly good illustration of this is the actions of Irish publishers who gradually eliminated Burney's paratext in subsequent reprints. They faithfully reproduced all three of Burney's dedications and preface in the first edition of *Evelina* printed in

Author... not on a separate page as it is done in other books, but on the same page with the last paragraphs of *To the Authors...*, such reversal in this edition could be explained by the desire to save on paper costs.

Dublin in 1779, eliminated the 10-page-long *To the Authors...* and *In the Republic* in Dublin/1780, Dublin/1784, and Dublin/1785, and finally omitted all of them in the last two (Dublin/1793 and Dublin/1800).

Figure 13: Presence, Absence, or Alterations in the Dedication “To the Authors of the Monthly and Critical Reviews”

Of all three elements of Burney's authorial paratext, *To the Authors...* was most often omitted from the prefatorial matter, in 39 out of 40 *Evelinas* where the authorial paratext was reduced, while *In the Republic...* was skipped in 28 editions and reprints, and *Oh, Author...* only

in 24 *Evelinas*. This difference in treatment of the authorial paratext can be explained by the nature of the elements themselves. The dedication in verse to Burney's father would be more accessible to readers with lower levels of education, while also being the shortest required the smallest amount of paper to print. On the other hand, understanding the meaning and the message in *To the Authors...* and *In the Republic...* would necessitate from the audience some familiarity with literary history in general and the history of the novel as a genre in particular. Some readers could have recognised the names of famous novelists in the preface, *In the Republic...*, which could have helped them to put Burney's novel in a wider literary context. However, the dedication *To the Authors...* would have been the most puzzling for the audience as the most time- and place-specific, and written to accompany the first edition of *Evelina* to court attention and favourable reception of powerful British literary critics. With each reprint, and as the novel was gaining its widespread popularity, the need for this dedication became less clear to readers, who were less informed about, or unfamiliar with, the context of literary publishing in Britain and the all-important role of the critics employed by the periodical press. Hence, the dedication *To the Authors...* was omitted the most often.

6.2.1.2 Renaming Authorial Paratext

The cases of renamed authorial paratext present a less complicated and nuanced picture as compared to the ones where Burney's dedications and preface were omitted. In total, in one combination or another, publishers supplied Burney's authorial paratext with explanatory headings in 46 English-language and one translated *Evelinas* (see Figures 11, 12, and 13). The first instance of a publisher-supplied heading added to Burney's authorial paratext is found in a German translation produced in the year following the publication of the first *Evelina*,

Schwickertschen/1779/German. This German translation represents an interesting mix of publishers' approaches to the treatment of Burney's authorial paratext. Its two first elements, *Oh, Author...* and *To the Authors...*, were omitted, similarly to other early translations, but the third, *In the Republic...*, received a supplemental heading. However, other publishers did not use this tactic for more than a century, until Bell added explanatory headings to Burney's authorial paratext in 1881. This practice continued well into the 20th century and even in the 21st century, with the last edition of *Evelina* in English with a renamed dedication and preface published by Signet in 1992. Headings supplied by the publishers varied from "Original Dedication" to "Dedication" for *To the Authors...*; and from "Original Preface" and "Author's Preface" to "Preface to the First Edition by Frances Burney" for *In the Republic...* *Oh, Author...* was given supplemental titles: "Dedication," "Inscription to Dr. Burney," and "Original Inscription to Dr. Burney."

The first English publisher to add explanatory headings to Burney's authorial paratext was Bell. Twelve *Evelinas* published in his three series, *Bohn's Novelist's Library*, *York Library*, and *Bohn's Popular Library* from 1881 to 1931, have all three paratextual elements named with additional titles, all of which include the word "Original": [Original Inscription] To [Dr. Burney], [Original Dedication], and [Original Preface.] The same headings were used by Cassell, Century Co., and Norton, with only one slight variation in some of them, the use of square brackets. In the Century Co/1906, Century Co/1909, square brackets, which are a universally understood convention used to mark insertions in the original or quoted text, are used only to enclose [Dr. Burney], inserted in Burney's heading in place of the asterisks, but not the supplied headings printed above the Burney's paratext, blurring the line between authorial and editorial paratext. Norton displayed yet another variation in their approach; the dedication to Burney's father in

Norton/1965 is printed before the title page, taking a place that is generally reserved and used for the inscription of the book by its giver.

Another form of headings was used by Dent in 19 *Evelinas* published in the *Everyman's Library* series. In two earlier editions (Dent/1909/Everyman's/Rhys and Dent/1927/Everyman's/Rhys/378-page) and their reprints, only *To the Authors...* received a supplemented title, "Dedication," but in the later Dent/1958/Everyman's/Gibbs and its reprints, both *To the Authors...* and *In the Republic...* were named as "Dedication" and "Author's Preface" respectively. Dent/1958/Everyman's/Gibbs was used as copy-text for a 1968 edition of *Evelina* produced by Heron Books, which also reprinted Dent's heading to the dedication and preface.

Other editions displayed several different variations in the form of headings. Gregg Publishing Company went further than "Author's Preface" by adding to *In the Republic...* a lengthy heading that included Burney's name, "Preface to the First Edition by Frances Burney." Three others named, in a different combination, only two elements out of three. In Newnes/1898 only *Oh, Author...* and *To the Authors...* were named ("Inscription to Dr. Burney" and "Dedication"), while in Signet/1992, on the contrary, no title was added to the verse dedication to Burney's father, but the paratext in prose received the headings "Dedication" and "Author's Preface."

One common trait unites most of the *Evelinas* where the authorial paratexts were supplemented with explanatory headings. Most of them were produced by publishers targeting a readership that would benefit from the additional contextualisation of Burney's lengthy authorial paratext written in an antiquated and solemn language (quite in contrast with the general liveliness of style of the novel): middlebrow or popular (Bell, Newness, Gregg, Norton, Heron Books, and Signet) and also sometimes less affluent and, as a consequence, less educated (Cassell,

Dent/Everyman's) audiences. Most of these *Evelinas* were published in series providing access to affordable editions of classics to the general non-specialised readership (Bell's *Bohn's Novelist's Library*, *York Library*, and *Bohn's Popular Library*, Cassell's *Red Library*, Dent's *Everyman's Library*, Century Co.'s *English Comédie Humaine*, Newnes' *The New Library* Norton's *Classics in English Literature*, and *Signet Classic* (an imprint of Penguin)). Giving clear headings to Burney's lengthy prefatorial apparatus contextualised it for non-specialist readers as coming from the 18th-century author ("Original" or "Author's") and also gave the readers an option to easily skip it to go directly to the text of the novel, by more clearly delimitating the margins and limits of text and paratext. Adding extra editorial headings to Burney's paratext was a compromise between preserving the integrity of the author's text, which all these publishers generally aspired to do, and avoiding deterring potential non-specialist book buyers, whom the authorial paratext, without supplementary headings, could have discouraged by its style or content from reading or purchasing the book.

To the Authors... was the element of authorial paratextual apparatus that had explanatory headings added the most often, in 44 out of 46 *Evelinas* that had its authorial paratext titled, while *In the Republic...* had an extra title added in 24 editions and reprints, and *Oh, Author...* only in 17 *Evelinas*. Similarly to the cases of omission, this discrepancy can be explained by the nature of the elements themselves. The dedication in verse to Burney's father, despite its antiquated solemnity of tone, would be the easiest for comprehension to non-specialist readers and more accessible to readers with lower levels of education, while also being the shortest, the easiest to skip or to read in a cursory manner. *In the Republic...* and particularly *To the Authors...* would require from the audience some level of familiarity with English literary history and with the context of the 18th-century British literary publishing. Burney's lengthy and intellectual introductory material that

evoked literary names and realities of publishing unfamiliar to readers could have produced an alienating effect and become a potential deterrent to purchasing the book. Naming *To the Authors...* and *In the Republic...* gave the readers a clear signal that they were confronted with a prefatory matter written by the 18th-century author, which could be expected to be difficult to understand, and could be passed over to get directly to the text of the novel.

6.2.2 Publishers' Textual Paratext: Prefaces, Blurbs, Notes, Appendices, etc.

This section describes and analyses the elements of publishers' textual paratext found in the studied corpus of 88 editions and their reprints (156 in total). Three published dramatic adaptations of *Evelina* are not included in the corpus and the discussion. It is necessary to mention, however, that the source text of *Evelina* is mentioned in the preface to only one of them, an English-language adaptation, *The Poor Lodger*.

The non-authorial textual paratext in a book is usually supplied by the publisher. It was written by the publisher-bookseller himself in earlier cases or commissioned to an editor in later periods, and formed by a multitude of textual means: notes, prefaces, postfaces, appendices, forewords, cover blurbs, and footnotes. In works of fiction published since the early modern period, publisher's paratextual apparatus has undergone significant changes, becoming more and more elaborate, sometimes outweighing and overshadowing the text of the book in scholarly editions, or shrinking to a mere cover blurb in popular ones. It is important to underline that all elements of the publisher's textual paratext usually present a coherent communication, united by the message that the publisher intends to convey. As Genette pointed out with regard to prefaces and the apparatus of notes and appendices, "in many cases, the discourse of the preface and that

of the apparatus of notes are in a very close relation of continuity and homogeneity.”³⁸³ This also extends to the functions of the publisher’s textual paratext. While each element has its own distinct purpose, they fulfil two main functions: as Genette calls them, presentation and recommendation.³⁸⁴ While the function of presentation is fulfilled when prefaces, notes, and other publisher’s paratext provide information about the work and the author and put it in the literary or historical context of the period, the recommendation is “implicit because the mere presence of [an editorial] preface is in itself a recommendation.”³⁸⁵ It consists in providing support to the author and their work by “a writer whose reputation is more firmly established than the author’s”, “better known in the importing country,” “more current writer,” “by a writer who is capable of adding value to a work – of adding an interpretation, and therefore an exemplary theoretical status”³⁸⁶ to ultimately convince the reader and buyer that the book is worth their attention.

6.2.2.1 Early Prefaces: 1779 – 1820s

In France, the first non-authorial prefaces appeared early in the 16th century, at a time when all prefatorial matter was being formally separated from the text. In the 17th - 18th century, while an authorial preface became an expected and traditional element of the novel playing a key role in the process of publishing and reception, a preface written by publisher-editor-booksellers (*libraire*), or an editorial preface proper, also grew to be a frequently-met element of the novels’ paratext. These non-authorial prefaces in French novels were most often written to explain and justify the

³⁸³ Genette, *Paratexts*, 320.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 265.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 268.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

choice of the text, praise its merits, and anticipate and deflect criticisms, and ultimately to ensure the success of the product of a *libraire*.³⁸⁷

Similarly to the use of Burney's name on the title page of *Evelina*, first introduced in translations, a new element, an editorial preface, was brought to the prefatorial matter of the novel in its early foreign editions. French and Russian publishers of the 18th century eliminated all Burney's prefatorial paratext and replaced it with their own written in quite a Rousseauesque tone, emphasising the sentimental and romantic character of the novel. If in English *Evelina*, editorial prefaces first appeared only in 1810 (Rivington/1810/British Novelists), more than 30 years after its first edition, the very first *Evelina* translated in French Changuion/1779/French, featured a preface that begins with the words "Une jeune demoiselle...". It briefly summarises the novel and, to tempt prospective readers, praises it in language that emphasises not satirical but sentimental aspects of the text and its general elevating character, sometimes straying away from the truth.³⁸⁸ According to the preface, the central character, Evelina, "a young girl," possesses a "virtuous soul, cultivated spirit, and a feeling heart," "was raised away from the world," and "makes multiple errors" when she appears in the "theatre of the world" because of her "lack of knowledge of the ways of the world" (v).³⁸⁹ While this characteristic of Evelina is certainly correct in and of itself, it does not adequately summarise the plot of the book, making it seem more closely aligned with to the bildungsroman genre and completely obfuscating the prominent place given in it to the depiction of the fashionable world and its entertainments. The preface posits that the reading of the novel, where the "characters are traced with veracity, the virtue is favourably presented, and

³⁸⁷ Esmein, "Rhétorique préfacielle et roman au XVIII^e siècle."; Herman, Kozul, and Kremer, *Le roman véritable*; Millet and Williams, *In Praise of Fiction*.

³⁸⁸ Translation from French and Russian into English in this section were made by the author of this thesis.

³⁸⁹ To avoid excessive footnotes, only page numbers in parenthesis will be used to cite quotations from publishers paratext in particular editions of *Evelina* that are identified in the text of the thesis by the abbreviated ID.

vice is drawn in heinous colours” can be “entertaining and useful in many ways” (vi). Again, while the possible benefits of reading *Evelina* could not be denied, the stark black-and-white account, of the ways in which the virtue and vice are depicted, unjustly creates an impression of a book populated by the stock figures of the 18th-century novel, simplifying the complexity of Burney’s characters. The preface “Une jeune demoiselle...” must have been deemed to add value to the book as it was reprinted in at least other six French *Evelinas* of the total 11 published in the 18th century.³⁹⁰

The other three French editions examined (Bouillon/1784, French, Libraires/1786/French, and Leprieur/1795/French), published under the title *Evelina: Roman nouvellement traduit & rédigé avec beaucoup de soin d’après l’anglois* (*Evelina: A Novel Newly Translated from English and Edited with a Lot of Care*) featured two variants of another preface that begins with the words “Un auteur estimable.” This preface to *Evelina* is of significant interest for several reasons. First, it is an example of how two different elements of textual paratext can be used to support each other’s claims. The emphasis of the title on the quality of translation and editing in this particular edition of *Evelina* is reiterated in the anonymous editorial preface. Surprisingly, the anonymous author of the preface begins it by speculating that, contrary to the assertions of “an esteemed author” (v), by whom they mean Choderlos de Laclos who wrote a laudatory review of *Cecilia*, the popularity of the newly published *Cecilia* prompts readers to rediscover *Evelina* that otherwise was lingering on the shelves. This seemingly out-of-place assertion in the preface of the book, in fact, supports the claim of the title, as the author attributes this lack of interest, at least partially, to “too many deficiencies” (v) of the previous translation, which were “entirely corrected” (viii) in this edition. The preface of Leprieur/1795/French, published according to *La Clef de commerce* of

³⁹⁰ Nine of 11 18th-century *Evelinas* were examined; two were not obtainable due to logistical reasons.

1802,³⁹¹ by an editor-bookseller who specialised in novels, and signed “Rousseau de Toulouse,” goes even further in its efforts to laud the merits and promote sales of their *Evelina*. In this edition, the preface “Un auteur estimable...” extends for two more pages, as compared to the one in Bouillon/1784/French and Libraires/1786/French, to include rather unrestrained and impertinent assertions about the editorial work. The author of the preface claims that *Evelina*, which (together with *Cecilia*) “can be put among the best books published in the current century,” was made “infinitely more pleasing” (ix) when they “reduced it to two thirds” (x). It was done by correcting both Burney’s “too repetitive or too weak means” (viii) that she used in her book to express her ideas and the “faults of the translator who did not possess skills to dress them up in the way that would give them merit” (ix).

Another reason why the preface “Un auteur estimable...” represents a significant interest is because of its sentimental undertones and language that, similarly to the first French preface, “Une jeune demoiselle...,” unmistakably tries to appeal to and sell the book to a feminine audience. It includes a lengthy excerpt (unattributed) of the review of *Cecilia* written by Choderlos de Laclos and published in 1784 where, among other erroneous stories about Burney, he recounted a false sentimental (if not to say sugary) anecdote about her motivation for writing. De Laclos associates the author with the character and asserts that 18-year old Burney (she was 26 in reality) wrote her novel out of tender filial feelings (which are implicitly proper and noble) to amuse her sick father.³⁹² While according to Doody, de Laclos used this story to vindicate Burney’s not-so-noble occupation of novel-writing “because it rose out of filial care, and indeed filial tenderness and the nursing instincts were the sources of her talent,”³⁹³ it was included in the preface for

³⁹¹ *La clef du commerce*, 38.

³⁹² De Laclos, “*Cecilia ou les mémoires d’une hétéroclite*.” See a discussion of this gossip and the controversy related to Burney’s age when she wrote *Evelina* in Doody, “Beyond *Evelina*,” 360.

³⁹³ Doody, “Beyond *Evelina*,” 360.

evidently promotional reasons. The sentimental character of Burney's "touching motivation" (v) behind the writing of *Evelina* and *Cecilia* echoes the rest of the language in the preface making it abundantly clear that the book is intended for "delicate readers," "whom it cannot fail to please" (x).

Similarly to the early French translations, the Russian edition of *Evelina* (Moscow/1798/Russian), also published in the 18th century, does not include any of Burney's dedications or preface. Their absence can be explained by the fact that according to the title page, *Evelina* was translated into Russian from French and only "checked with the original." However, the Russian publishers, Ridiger and Kludii, chose not to translate the French preface from an edition that they used as copy-text, supplying their own prefatorial matter, a lengthy eight-page preface in verse by the translator, Tatischev. The verse, of mediocre quality, does not refer to or relate to the text of the novel. The only, and rather loose, connection is its references to the education of youth, which could be seen as relating to the process of the character formation of *Evelina*. The preface gives an impression of belonging to an earlier literary period, both by its pre-Karamzine poetic style and its repeated evocation and use of Enlightenment rhetoric and tropes, mentioning Rousseau, Nature, classical figures and deities, and reason as the means of saving humanity from its sins. However, considering a delay in the spread of newest literary trends to Russia, the verse, even though contrasting oddly with the sprightly content of Burney's novel, would not seem out of place to the Russian reading public of the time, chiefly brought up on French Enlightenment literature.

In England, generally, the "age of abundance [for editorial prefaces] begins in the nineteenth century."³⁹⁴ In *Evelina*, the pattern of the inclusion or absence of editorial prefaces,

³⁹⁴ Genette, *Paratexts*, 264.

supplied by the publishers themselves or commissioned to editors, does not quite comply with the general pattern of prefaces, which became an expected and almost requisite part of a book, as it was succinctly described by Barbara Leckie:

“In 1818, John Keats claims that prefaces are written to the public and that he does not want to participate in this mode of address. In 1837, Thomas Love Peacock notes that his novels had originally appeared without prefaces and that he would have preferred that they remain that way. But, he writes, “an old friend assures me, that to publish a book without a preface is like entering a drawing-room without making a bow” (cited in Grierson 134). In England in the 1880s, however, the novel preface went beyond textual etiquette. It was not only written to the public, but it also participated in the debate over competing definitions of the reading public, and it contributed, in turn, to a new configuration of this public.”³⁹⁵

In contrast to the general tendency, after the first prefatorial editorial matter in English appeared in *Evelina* in the 1810s - 1820s, a lengthy hiatus followed. The novel became consistently prefaced only in the late 19th century after it was published with the extensive prefatorial matter, verging on literary criticism by Bell in his *Bohn's Novelist's Library*, followed by prefaced editions by Dent and Macmillan. Interestingly, the editorial prefaces' pattern of appearance in *Evelina* does not comply with Genette's assertion that authorial and editorial prefaces, except in posthumously published scholarly editions, rarely coexist “in fiction, where one introduction is rightly thought sufficient, but it is not rare in theoretical or critical works, which allow [...] a significant apportioning of prefatorial discourses.”³⁹⁶ At the time of the appearance of the early prefatorial

³⁹⁵ Leckie, “‘A Preface Is Written to the Public,’” 447.

³⁹⁶ Genette, *Paratexts*, 264.

editorial matter in English editions of *Evelina*, Burney was still alive and active professionally, having only recently published *The Wanderer*. The earliest editorial prefaces, specifically written to accompany *Evelina*, did not replace but preceded and coexisted with Burney's own dedications and preface in Rivington/1810/British Novelists, Rivington/1820/British Novelists, Lowndes & others/1814, and Lowndes & others/1814/small print.

The 11-page preface to the edition of *Evelina* included in the 50-volume *British Novelists* series, Rivington/1810/British Novelists, was written by Barbauld, as all prefaces to all 28 novels in the series. Burney and Barbauld were acquainted socially and appreciated each other's work. Burney famously described Barbauld's legacy as a children's writer as opening a "new walk" in the genre.³⁹⁷ Barbauld acclaimed Burney's novels in her preface to *Evelina*, opening it with the following resolute statement: "Scarcely any name, if any, stands higher in the list of novel-writers than that of Miss Burney" (i). Barbauld's editorial preface to *Evelina* merits some special attention as the first piece of substantive English literary criticism of Burney's novels. In this regard, it can be seen as setting the agenda for the perception of Burney's legacy for the most of the 19th century, and even for the later period, as one of an acute observer and a writer skilled at depicting manners and human nature, all the time adhering to high moral standards. According to Barbauld, the main merit of Burney as a writer was her ability to observe "human nature, both in high and low life, with the quick and penetrating eye of genius. Equally happy in seizing the ridiculous, and in entering into the finer feelings, her pictures of manners are just and interesting, and the highest value is given to them by the moral feelings they exercise, and the excellent principles they inculcate" (x).

³⁹⁷ Myers, "Of Mice and Mothers," 261.

Barbauld's essay praised three Burney's novels published up to that date but gave clear preference to *Evelina* for, among other reasons, more optimistic tones, no depictions of acute human suffering (such as Cecilia's insanity), and a definite happy-end conclusion that leaves on the mind of the reader "the glow of happiness," (iii) while in *Cecilia* and *Camilla* "we are tantalised with imperfect happiness" (x). As later criticism shows, this characterisation of *Evelina* as an entertaining and light but moral and 'safe' novel, coming from an essayist known for her high principles, persisted into a much later period, ensuring steady reprints and sales of the novel. Unfortunately, Barbauld, an esteemed critic, gave in her essay legitimacy to the false anecdote about Burney being 17 when she wrote *Evelina*, which became later so damaging to her reputation as a writer. Lastly, and rather curiously, in this essay, Burney was mildly reprimanded by Barbauld, known herself for her "bashfulness and maidenly reserve,"³⁹⁸ for the lack of delicacy, "the fondness for humour, and low humour" that "strongly characterizes, sometimes perhaps blemishes, her genius" (iii) and her "propensity [...] to involve her heroines not only in difficult but in degrading adventures" (ix). Apparently, for the upcoming Victorian time, Burney, a pinnacle of propriety, even known for her prudishness, could have seemed not prudish enough. Fortunately for the publication history of *Evelina*, this perception did not endure, as it would have had a nefarious influence on the distribution of *Evelina*, implicitly destined, as all novels and, consequently, their prefaces, for a female, and an especially young female, audience.³⁹⁹

The second English editorial preface to *Evelina* came from Burney's first publisher, the publishing house of Lowndes, at the time already directed by the son of Thomas Lowndes, William (Lowndes & others/1814, and Lowndes & others/1814/small print). This preface, entitled "Madame D'Arblay" focuses on biographical details, reprinting only at the end, in place of literary

³⁹⁸ McCarthy, *Anna Letitia Barbauld: Voice of the Enlightenment*, 24.

³⁹⁹ Leckie, "'A Preface Is Written to the Public'."

analysis, the one-and-a-half page excerpt from Barbauld's essay written for *British Novelists*, and the three laudatory reviews of *Evelina* published in critical reviews in 1788. The biographical sketch, somewhat surprisingly for the text coming from the publishing house that issued the first edition of *Evelina*, repeats the same false anecdote that Burney was 17 when she wrote the novel, also adding to it a sentimental description of the disclosure of the author's identity. "The young lady, overcome with delight, affectionately threw her arms round her father's neck and avowed herself the author" (3).

The preface in Lowndes & others/1814, and Lowndes & others/1814/small print, with its distinctly saccharine overtones, subtly but visibly shifts the focus from Burney the author to Burney the daughter and the wife, defining her through her emotional connections and relationships. Even though it lists dates and some few details of Burney's other works, it begins by identifying her as first and foremost the eldest daughter of Charles Burney, for whom the publisher does not fail to enumerate titles and accomplishments, "Doctor of Music and Fellow of the Royal Society" (3). It describes an always proper, but active and resourceful Burney as a model young woman, quite in line with the already emerging ideal of the Victorian angel of the house, with her "aversion to every kind of publicity," (4) who "greatly resembled the amiable and charming character attributed to her heroine," (4) emphasising her retiring and almost pastoral married life, when she "employed some of her leisure hours in fancy work, afterwards disposed of at Leatherhead Fair for the benefit of the poor" (5). It tactfully omits the exact nature of Burney's Court position as a Keeper of the Robes that could have been not genteel enough for the new sensitivities, only referring to "a situation about the Queen" (4). Such a sentimental and decorous portrayal of the author served to underline her respectable character and consequently, the suitability and appeal of the story to a middle-class female audience.

The last examples of an early English prefatorial matter supplied to *Evelina* by the publishers belong to the Regency era. As mentioned above, the publishers of all three rather curious editions produced in this period, Mason/1817, Mason/1821, and Jones/1822/ill, skipped all Burney's lengthy prefatorial paratext (for a full description of these editions see section 5.2.3.2.1). Instead, they prefaced the novel with reprinted complimentary reviews, to some extent following the example of William Lowndes, who did it first in 1814, with one but significant difference. If Lowndes faithfully reprinted the year of reviews' publication (1788), Mason and Johnson discreetly omitted it, skilfully leaving unsophisticated readers to postdate the reviews and to see them as more contemporary and up-to-date compliments to the merits of the products, which they were seeking to sell.

6.2.2.2 Publisher's Textual Paratext in Time of Mass-Access to Books

After the appearance of early English prefaces came a 40-year period when *Evelina* was published and reprinted but contrary to the general trend, was not prefaced. British, continental, and American editions and reprints of different kinds abounded, ranging from cheap and accessible to well-executed, but at a time when appending a preface to a book was almost requisite, no editor deemed it necessary to preface *Evelina*. In total, between 1820 and 1860, there were 20 English editions and reprints of *Evelina* published, none of which contained an editorial preface. Nineteen of them were examined in the course of the present study, while one, Tegg/1835, was not available for logistical reasons; however, its pagination allowed the researcher to infer with a degree of certainty the absence of an editorial preface. This reluctance to preface *Evelina* could have stemmed from the damage caused to Burney's reputation as a writer by both Hazlitt and, especially, Croker, who wrote vicious reviews of *The Wanderer*, *The Memoir of Doctor Burney*,

and *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay*, 1842-46. Croker was famous for his biased and extremely vituperative writing even in the world of the early to mid-19th century periodical press that appealed "to the lowest common denominator of the common reader."⁴⁰⁰ Still, his reviews produced a damaging effect on Burney's literary and even, to a certain degree, her personal reputation that was felt for a long time.⁴⁰¹

The recovery of her reputation began when *Diary and Letters*, brutally savaged by Croker, elicited a highly positive review essay by Thomas Babington Macaulay.⁴⁰² This was the earliest defence of both *Diary* and Burney's reputation (Barbauld's preface to *Evelina* was written and published before Croker's reviews). In his quite lengthy (47 pages) piece, Macaulay was contributing to his private feud with Croker but showed a sincere admiration of Burney's abilities of observation and description as demonstrated in *Diary* and *Evelina*. In his characterisation of *Evelina*, Macaulay emphasised Burney's feminine qualities of delicacy and her position as the originator of the novel as a socially acceptable genre, who "took away the reproach which lay on a most useful and delightful species of composition," placing her in the line of female authors with Austen and Edgeworth. According to him, *Evelina* is an example of how, "both the fashionable and the vulgar life of London might be exhibited with great force, and with broad comic humour, and which yet should not contain a single line inconsistent with rigid morality, or even with virgin delicacy," all of which made *Evelina* the "first novel that lived and deserved to live."⁴⁰³

Macaulay's review, reprinted several times in his collected essays, became not only the first defence of Burney's literary reputation but also the first preface to an English *Evelina* printed after a 40-year hiatus. In 1860 and 1861 Derby & Jackson, an American publisher, added an extra

⁴⁰⁰ Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form*, 180.

⁴⁰¹ Civalé, "The Literary Afterlife of Frances Burney."; Doody, *Frances Burney*.

⁴⁰² Macaulay, "Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay."

⁴⁰³ Cited from the review reprinted in Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays*, 66-67.

gathering (signature) to their previously unprefaced *Evelina* (Derby & Jackson/1857/stereotype), issuing it “With ‘Madame D’Arblay’ by T. Babington Macaulay” in 1860 and 1861. Still, this was not yet a beginning of a new trend, which was to come later, as *Evelina* remained largely unprefaced for other 20 years, with only one exception. In 1878, another publisher, also across the Atlantic, Harper & Brothers, used again Macaulay’s review in the guise of a preface for his *Evelina* issued in the more than democratic and accessible *Harper’s Franklin Square Library* series. However, if Derby & Jackson chose to reprint Macaulay’s lengthy essay in full, Harper used only short but the most complimentary excerpts from it (the one cited above).

When using the review by Macaulay, a well-known essayist, a distinguished critic, and a then-authoritative historian, whose collected critical works went through multiple reprints, both Derby & Jackson’s and Harper’s prefaces were clearly fulfilling the function of recommending, described by Genette as “I, X, tell you that Y has genius and that you must read his book.”⁴⁰⁴ The earliest example of this practice was the preface commissioned to a famous essayist, Barbauld, for *Evelina* included in The *British Novelists* series. Derby & Jackson and Harper, contrary to usual practice and most probably as a cost-saving measure for their mass-market editions of *Evelina*, did not “resort to a preface-writer”⁴⁰⁵ but used a ready product that had been produced by a reputable and well-known critic. The authorship attribution is the prefatory piece in Harper/1878/Franklin Library is of especial interest, as Harper chose not to use Macaulay’s first and middle names or initials but printed his title, “Lord Macaulay.” The intended mass audience for this very cheap edition might not have heard of Macaulay the critic and historian. However, despite all its republicanism, the American public, and especially the public belonging to popular classes, always kept a vivid interest, mixed with a certain reverence if not to say adulation towards British nobility.

⁴⁰⁴ Genette, *Paratexts*, 267.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

Thus, this signature is an openly promotional tactic that confers some degree of authority to the writer of the preface and a certain peerage to Harper's unassuming volume.

As it was demonstrated earlier, since 1881 and for the next 80 years, offerings of *Evelina* on the market and consequently publishers' textual paratext, especially in the books produced for the mass reading public, were dominated because of the number of their reprints by three publishers: Bell, Dent, and Macmillan. The appearance of the first scholarly edition of *Evelina* produced by the Clarendon Press, Oxford/1930/MacKinnon, reprinted in 1938 (discussed in the following section), and a sprinkling of other full-text editions produced by other publishers in this period could not disturb their dominance. Bell's, Dent's, and Macmillan's publisher's paratext written by four editors at the end of the 19th – the first decade of the 20th century accompanies and introduces 38 out of 49 full-text *Evelinas*, more than 77% of all published in English until the end of 1950s (excluding introductions published in digests). Thus, as the dominating publishers' paratextual matter of the time, they are discussed in detail in the present study.

The preface for all Bell's editions of *Evelina* was written by Annie Raine Ellis, while Austin Dobson contributed an introduction for the Macmillan's edition. Prefaces to Dent's editions of *Evelina* were written by three editors. Reginald Brimley Johnson prefaced Dent's *Evelina* published without series, while the one included in the *Everyman's Library* was prefaced from 1909 until 1951 by Ernest Rhys. In the four last *Evelinas* included in the series, Rhys' preface was replaced by the one written by Lewis Gibbs. The significance of Ellis and Dobson's prefaces, as well as of Burney's biography by Dobson in the *English Men of Letters*, for the field of Burney studies has already been demonstrated.⁴⁰⁶ However, in the present work, Ellis and Dobson's prefaces, and the prefaces in the editions produced by Dent, are considered not as contributions to

⁴⁰⁶ Sabor, "Annie Raine Ellis, Austin Dobson, and the Rise of Burney Studies," 26.

the rising reputation of Burney as a writer, but as paratextual elements of particular editions of *Evelina* that they presented and recommended to prospective readers and buyers. When considered from this perspective, differences in presentational tactics adopted by the editors and specific to particular editions are more significant as compared to common themes discovered in their prefatorial matter. The presence of the same themes could be a sign of the prevalent perception and established critical discourse about the author and her work. On the other hand, the dissimilarities in prefatorial discourse and other publisher's textual paratext are what could be called the selling points for each edition: presenting *Evelina* as a specific type of book destined, consequently, for specific audiences targeted by each publisher.

If the prefatorial matter varies in length, going from the longest in Bell's *Evelina* (58 pages) to the shortest in the one published in the *Everyman's Library* in 1909 – 1951 (three pages), there are several common themes, almost common places, repeated in all of them. All publishers provide, with obvious variations in length and scope, a biographical sketch, editors' view on *Evelina*, mixed with its publication history, and some opinion on Burney's literary legacy as a whole. Burney's family, or at the very least her industrious and agreeable father, are presented in idyllic tones, while Burney herself is unfailingly described as self-educated as a child, shy, reserved, with an irrepressible passion for writing. The prefaces do not fail to relate the sentimental history of the book's conception after the bonfire that consumed Burney's early manuscripts and of its secret writing. *Evelina* is uniformly praised for its lucid, natural, impulsive, and animated language, and freshness and veracity in the description of types and characters met in both vulgar and refined societies. Burney is unvaryingly credited for making the novel a respectable genre, acceptable for women to write, being the beginner of a line of women authors. The controversy surrounding Burney's age at the time of writing of *Evelina* is addressed in all of the prefaces more

or less openly: ranging from explicit and lengthy exculpation in Bell's edition to some subtle hints in Macmillan/1903. In all prefaces, there is also a requisite description of sensational reception of *Evelina* by contemporaries, accompanied by some literary and society celebrities' name-dropping, where Dr. Johnson, Mrs. Thrale, and Burke are unvaryingly present.

Lastly, Bell, Macmillan, and one of Dent's editions are the first in the book's publication history to include other kinds publisher's textual paratext, such as lists of illustrations, table of contents, textual and historical notes, note on copy-text, and list of works by and about the author. Apart from their direct functions of annotating the text, providing some historical information necessary for contemporary readers, or enabling the readers to go directly to a particular segment of the text or an illustration, these paratextual devices have a clear promotional function and value. Their presence signals that the book was worthy of an extra editorial and publisher's attention and labour, and is, thus, worthy of reader's and buyer's attention.

Despite similarities in the publisher's paratext supplied by Bell, Macmillan, and Dent, there are also significant differences in how they package the novel to present and recommend it to their target audiences. The paratextual packaging of Bell's *Evelina*, with its extensive introductions and footnotes, presented it as an educational or somewhat scholarly(ish) edition of a forgotten classical writer. Bells' *Evelina*, with the paratextual matter by Ellis, successfully stayed in print for 50 years from 1881 to 1931 going through three editions and nine reprints. In the *Introduction*, Ellis directly calls Burney "a classic, second only to Fielding and Richardson" (iv). She also alludes to *Les oubliés et les dédaignés: figures littéraires de la fin du XVIIIe siècle* by Charles Monselet, implying that Burney is also a forgotten figure from the last century, who has to be rediscovered by Ellis' contemporaries. Parenthetically, it is only to be hoped that Bell, Ellis, and especially their respectable middle-class readers and students, to whom most of the firm's production was

destined, were not aware of Monselet's pursuits in gourmet and libertine literature. This would not have been a happy association for an author known for her delicate sense of appropriateness and a degree of prudery, nor for her book, the success of which Ellis attributed among other qualities, to its "entire purity" (xxxii) (note the contrast with Ellis' assessment of Fielding's and Smollett's novels as "out of the reach of those to whose youth, or sex, some shelter is due" (vi)). The 58-page prefatorial matter to Bell's *Evelina* pays so little attention to the novel, save for a couple of paragraphs, that it reads more as Burney's literary biography rather than an introduction to a specific novel. Ellis' notes and *Introduction* provided to students of the literature, or any other reader wishing to go beyond the text of the novel or needing some contextual knowledge, a wealth of historical and geographical information, curious anecdotes about Burney's times, opinions of the illustrious contemporaries of her work, as well some short criticism of her other novels. Given Bell's primary market focus on educational and school literature, the choice to package the novel as an educational edition of a well-known book of a classical writer, who was in the process of being rediscovered, is quite natural.

However and regardless of the undeniable amount of contextual material in Ellis' introduction and notes and its usefulness, the publisher's paratext in Bell's *Evelina* presents and promotes the novel not exclusively as an educational edition. The *Introduction* and *Epilogue* (to the *Introduction*), written in quite a combative style, are filled with literary and society gossip and their refutation. They are meant to vindicate, defend, and settle some scores, with Ellis arguing at length that not only was Burney a forgotten writer but also an unjustly forgotten and a mistreated one, repudiating successfully, if somewhat effusively, vicious attacks on Burney's literary and personal reputation by Croker (in the *Introduction*) and by Augusta Hall Llanover (in the 16-page *Epilogue*). The paratextual matter in Bell's *Evelina* was effective in its defence of Burney as it

succeeded in putting to rest some of the most unpleasant perceptions of her as a vain and egotistical person. However, it could not also fail to incite the curiosity of readers, who might have been drawn to read or buy a novel so ecstatically met by contemporary readers, and written by an author so unjustly treated by critics and gossips. A novel of manners and characters must be worth reading if its prefatorial matter, filled with dramatic descriptions of the slanderous treatment of the virtuous author quite blameless of any accusation, reads as a mini-novel.

The next new publisher's textual paratext appeared in *Evelina* published by Dent in 1893, his first edition of Burney's novel, which was subsequently reprinted four times until 1903. Similarly to Bell, Dent includes a variety of textual paratext in the book, which, though differently from Bell's, also sought to present the edition as possessing quality and authority. Dent/1893 does not have extensive footnotes or essay-length introductory material. Instead, it features a list of illustrations at the beginning of each of two volumes that draws readers' attention to the added pictorial and decorative aspects of the book, followed by a one-page note on the copy-text, acknowledgements, and a 14-page editorial introduction. The introduction, titled "Frances Burney," and presumably the note on the copy-text, were written by Richard Brimley Johnson, "a biographer, critic, and editor specializing in nineteenth-century English literature and literary figures,"⁴⁰⁷ who prepared, among others, several editions of works by Jane Austen published by Dent without series in 1892 and later in Everyman's Library, and in several luxury and gift editions.⁴⁰⁸

The note on the copy-text and acknowledgements to persons who contributed to the production of the book fulfil the same functions in Dent/1893, as similar elements will do later in scholarly editions, in which they become hallmarks and requisite components. In the editorial

⁴⁰⁷ "Johnson, R. Brimley (Reginald Brimley), 1867-1932," University of Virginia Library.

⁴⁰⁸ Carson, *A Truth Universally Acknowledged*, 280.

paratext, there is the information that the second edition by Lowndes (full citation provided) was used as copy-text, and that certain editorial and proof-reading interventions and decisions were made: “inconsistent spelling and punctuation are retained, as well as the incorrect French and English attributed to some of the characters; but a few obvious misprints are corrected, the words substituted for them being enclosed in square brackets” (vii). The paratext that relates these more or less useful facts to the reader serves to emphasise the value of the text and the quality of the editorial and publisher’s product, and their labour and care put in preparing it with philological rigour. Similarly, the expressed acknowledgements to a certain Mr. E.S. Shuckburgh for the loan of the copy of the second edition that was used as a copy-text, and to “Mr. Charles Burney of Halstead lodge,” a clergyman and Burney’s great-great-nephew, and “Mrs Annie Raine Ellis, the editor of Miss Burney’s *Early Diary*, for their kind answers to various questions” (vii) as all acknowledgements are meant, as Genette put it, as “information for the reader, and perhaps also, obliquely, [as] value-enhancement” for the book.⁴⁰⁹ They lend legitimacy and authority to both Dent/1893 and its prefatorial matter and again underline the quality of the final product, the book that was produced relying on the best sources available to the editor and the publisher.

The introduction “Frances Burney” in Dent/1893 brings out themes common to all three prefaces outlined above. However, while presenting and recommending his edition to prospective readers and buyers, Dent takes an approach different from Bell. The introduction is much less combative in style as compared with Ellis’ prefaces. It does not completely pass over the known controversies about Burney’s age or her unhappiness at the Court but alludes to them in much less confrontational and more conciliatory tone. As compared to the prefatorial matter in Bell’s *Evelina*, the focus is shifted from Burney’s ill-usage by critics and gossips, to freshness,

⁴⁰⁹ Genette, *Paratexts*, 212.

naturalness, feminine decorum, and refinement. Johnson praises the “buoyant freshness” of the “natural and impulsive” novel and “direct, lucid, and effective” writing style of Burney in *Evelina*, not failing also to cite Macaulay, who characterised Burney’s transports of delight over her fame, recorded in her diaries, as “outpourings of kind heart” so different from “the egotism of a blue-stocking” (xxi). He underlines the important place that *Evelina* occupies in the history of literature, putting a strong emphasis on the respectability: “made circulating libraries respectable, and established the position of the novel,” “proved beyond all cavil the fact that women could write books that were worth reading, and do so without forfeiting the good opinion of their acquaintance” (xviii).

Johnson also calls attention to Burney’s qualities of sense, sensitivity, and delicate feelings that “almost reconciles us to the old-fashioned grace of ‘sensibility’” (xi). This theme of “marked degree of refinement” (xii) is continued in the account of her cultured family and father, and the brilliant and varied atmosphere in Burney’s house, full of the international celebrities of the time. Johnson mildly disapproves of a practical joke against a woman (Madame Duval) that could not be appealing to “more cultivated humour of to-day” (xv), however, immediately bringing up “the British prejudice against foreigners” (xv) as a ready explanation of why the refined Dr. Burney did not find it offensive. At the end of the introduction and rather inconsequently, Johnson talks about the illustrative history of the novel. He does not mention though the illustration to the Dent/1893 itself by W. Cubitt Cooke. Instead, he describes the miniature drawings for *Evelina* made by Burney’s cousin Edward Francis Burney, “a favoured pupil of Sir Joshua Reynolds,” (xxi) maintaining the theme of the Burney family creativity and refinement, citing Charlotte Burney’s description of the drawings replete with “sweet,” “delightful,” “lovely,” and “handsome” (xxi-xxii) to continue the leitmotif of graceful freshness. The general impression left by the publisher’s

paratext in Dent/1893, presenting and recommending it to prospective readers and buyers, is of a clear appeal to the more discerning audience that would appreciate and seek a “degree of refinement” in their reading matter.

The next editorial preface was published in Macmillan’s edition, first issued in 1903 and reprinted five times until 1932 in *Illustrated Pocket Classics* and later in the *Cranford* series. Similarly to Dent, Macmillan included a variety of publisher’s paratext in their *Evelina*: an *Introduction* by Austin Dobson, a table of contents listing all the letters, and a list of 75 illustrations by Hugh Thomson. Macmillan/1903 is the first *Evelina* to feature a table of contents, and the only one discovered where the table lists all the letters indicating their numbers, senders, and addressees. This approach is in contrast to all other editions of *Evelina*, and especially to the modern scholarly editions, that proudly enumerate all their added paratextual content, while listing the whole novel under one single entry in their tables of contents. The main function of tables of content is to allow “the reader to have some idea of the ‘subject’ beforehand, choose particular [fragments] [...], and to follow their own paths.”⁴¹⁰ Providing this opportunity to a reader of an epistolary novel in Macmillan/1903 implies that any fragment of the book and any illustration might be worthy of separate attention and study, similarly to the way constructing these tables was worth the extra labour and paper expended by the publisher.

The *Introduction* by Dobson, abridged from a chapter in his biography of Burney in *English Men of Letters* repeats common themes already met in the previously published prefatorial matter; however, it clearly has a different focus in comparison to Ellis and Johnson’s prefaces. Dobson, not a scholar but a “man of letters” himself, who did only “perfunctory” research for Burney’s biography,⁴¹¹ does not dwell on the quality of language in the novel or the sophisticated qualities

⁴¹⁰ Tankard, “The Rambler’s Second Audience: Johnson and the Paratextual ‘part of Literature,’” 251.

⁴¹¹ Sabor, “Annie Raine Ellis, Austin Dobson, and the Rise of Burney Studies,” 34.

of Burney's cultured family. In Macmillan/1903, Burney is predictably and briefly described as a "refined young lady of punctilious and even prudish disposition" (x) and an ideal Victorian lady-author, a "reserved, delicate, emotional young woman" who wrote "to amuse herself" "without thought of publication" confiding "only to the discreet ears of her admiring sisters" (ix). As to her language in general, it is only remarked that she "copies people and their talk so vividly" and has a "native sense of the ridiculous" and "perceptive faculty prematurely acute" (x).

The main focus of the positive-in-tone and uncontroversial-in-content preface is on the publication and reception of the first edition of *Evelina*, and on the illustrative history of the novel. Dobson recounts at length, in complimentary language and with multiple recourses to flattering testimonies from Dr. Johnson, Mrs. Thrale, Burke, and Richardson, the history of genesis through the fire of the novel and the process of the literary fame, which gradually came to Burney. As opposed to Ellis' prefatorial matter by, Dobson's introduction was not written to refute any misconceptions, referring to the controversy surrounding Burney's age in vague terms, buried in the middle of the lengthy publication history: "as time went on, the story grew and expanded in her mind," "when she actually began her furtive and intermittent task is difficult to say," "it progressed by fits and starts" (x-xi), which would make it impossible to notice for anybody unfamiliar with the subject. Not surprisingly for an introduction to an edition embellished with no less than 75 illustrations, Dobson talks of the pictorial history of *Evelina*, not so subtly implying that the illustrations in the volume that he is prefacing are much more suitable for the novel than the first ones that appeared in Lowndes/1779/3v/2nd. He concludes loftily that Lowndes "was not well advised" in commissioning the illustrations to J.H. Mortimer, known for his depictions of "banditti and monsters" (xviii). The illustrations to Macmillan/1903 by Hugh Thomson, which are indeed truly charming as they present a nostalgic picture of the elegant and refined pre-industrial

time, are, according to Dobson, more suitable for the book as being executed by an “especially sympathetic pictorial interpreter” (xvi). In his view, they also successfully correct the book’s main deficiency: “a certain lack of topographical background” (xvii), i.e. a lack of description of public places, resorts, and sights. Dobson also reviews the “delicate little” (xviii) illustrations by Edward Burney positively, not failing to mention that they were exhibited at the Royal Academy and showing his clear preference for a more elegant kind of pictorial matter, similar to the one in the volume he is prefacing. To conclude the account of the *Evelina*’s illustrative trajectory, Dobson relays an anecdote of Catherine II of Russia commissioning a series of compositions from *Evelina* to Angelica Kauffmann that “the author declined to credit” (xviii). Even though Dobson discovered “no traces of any scenes from Fanny Burney’s novel” in the “famous Hermitage on the Neva” (xviii), he finds it necessary to mention a story that reinforces the refined and aristocratic tones of the novel’s history and could not fail to appeal to prospective buyers and readers of the lavishly bound and illustrated volume, issued (according to bound-in publisher’s advertisement) in “a series of dainty gift books.”⁴¹²

The Rhys’ *Introduction to Evelina* in the *Everyman’s Library* series is the shortest of the four but was the most long-lived and the most often reprinted. It lasted through two editions and 13 reprints from 1909 well into the 1950s, as Dent published *Evelina* with a new introduction by Lewis Gibbs in this series only in 1958. The preface repeats all the requisite themes from its predecessors: the ecstatic reception of the book by the famous and fashionable of the day (Dr. Johnson, Mrs. Thrale, Burke, Gibbon, Reynolds, and Sheridan) that made “the Lowndes’ shop in Fleet Street a place of note to the fashionable world” (vii); and romantic details of the book’s

⁴¹² A verification in the museums’ online catalogue did not confirm the existence of these drawings. “The State Hermitage Museum.” Accessed April 20, 2020, <https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/?lng=en>

conception and writing, underlining that the myth of Burney's age when she wrote the book was "a pretty fantasy" referring to the diary as the testimony of her innocence "of any attempt to foster this notion" (vii). Burney's diaries that after the publication of Dobson's biography in the *English Men of Letters* were looked upon as an unparalleled source of historical information got a prominent place in the *Introduction*, mentioned four times on its three pages. The emphasis on the diaries and their evidential value is quite natural for the Dent series destined for the lower-middle and working-class self-educating readers eager for factual knowledge and learning. Dent also includes in his edition of *Evelina* "the list of works of Frances Burney, Madame D'Arblay" (x) where all the editions of her diaries and her biography in the *English Men of Letters* by Dobson are listed. For the readers and buyers of *Everyman's Library*, with limited means and education but seeking of quality knowledge and books, this litany of famous names who prefaced the editions (Ellis, Dobson, and Macaulay) would serve as a reassurance of the quality of the book they were about to purchase or read.

Among other eight full-text editions of *Evelina* (and three of their reprints), published during the period of dominance of publishers' paratext produced by Bell, Dent, and Macmillan, five editions were issued without any editorial prefaces, notes, or tables of contents. Four prefaces are found in two full-text editions Century Co/1906 and Gregg/1920 and two digests Warner/1896/digest and Ginn/1915/digest (and their reprints), which reproduce some excerpts of *Evelina*. This paratextual matter, though significantly varying in length (one-page *Publisher's Note* in Century Co. as opposed to 26 pages of *Introductions, Notes, and Chronology* in Gregg/1920), mostly followed the themes described above, heralding *Evelina* as an example of the novel of manners and in most cases, Burney as the founder of the novel as a respectable genre and a precursor to Jane Austen.

A special mention must be made about Gregg/1920. The prominent place given on the title page to the academic degree (Ph.D.) of its editor-in-chief, Richard Burton, and the preface to the series, founded to publish “fine examples of the art of letters,” clearly signal the intent of serving the educational market or at least the audience of self-educating readers seeking out quality text. Gregg/1920, edited by Edwin Bjorkman, a journalist, literary critic, and translator, was the first *Evelina* after Bell to bear the obligatory marks of educational and scholarly editions, supplied with a publisher’s paratextual apparatus proper to them. It includes a substantive publisher’s *Introduction* and *Notes*, and is the first one to feature a *Chronology* of Burney’s life and work. The preface follows the pattern established earlier, recounting the events of Burney’s life, especially the ones surrounding the publication of *Evelina*. However, the emphasis in the preface is imperceptibly but unmistakably shifted from *Evelina* as a literary work, describing it as the novel that bears the marks of “sentimentally moralistic” literature of the 18th century with its inclination to “proper voicing of proper sentiments” (16), to *Evelina* as a historical document. The book is presented and marketed to its future readers as an “unusually correct and vivid picture of life in the London of her own day” accurately describing its public places and “an unusually veracious record of life and manners in the later half of the 18th century” (18), linking *Evelina* in the last paragraph of the *Introduction* to Burney’s diaries, “a treasure trove of valuable information” (20). This emphasis on the value of the book as a historical account is reinforced by ten pages of notes, all of biographical and historical nature, and the *Chronology*. The *Chronology* makes an attempt to establish Burney’s place in the history of literature, making her life and work an element bridging early novels, ranging from “1485 Sir Thomas Malory ‘Le Morte Darthur’” and Richardson, with modern literature (Dickens, Thackeray, and Poe).

6.2.2.3 Publisher's Textual Paratext in Modern Times: *Evelina* Popular & Scholarly

The period of dominance of the four versions of publisher's paratext supplied by Bell, Dent, and Macmillan came to an end after the Second World War. The paratext produced at the end of the Victorian and into the Edwardian age would not be the best suited to fulfil the functions of presenting and recommending the book to its prospective readers and buyers when the world was changing at an ever-increasing pace and heading into the roaring 60s. Even Dent had to update their paratext to *Evelina*, reprinted 15 times in the *Everyman's Library* series, and commissioned a new introduction from their new editor Lewis Gibbs (for Dent/1958/Everyman's/Gibbs, reprinted in 1960, 1964, and 1967 (the last time the novel was produced in the series)). Gibbs' *Introduction*, but not its other textual paratext, was also reprinted in an edition of *Evelina* published by Heron Books in 1968 (by arrangement with Dent & Sons, Ltd.). Gibbs' paratexts include a brief chronology of Burney's diaries, an enlarged bibliography, and an *Introduction*, which repeats several passages from Burney's dairies, and themes found in the earlier Dent/Everyman's preface, such as references to Dr. Johnson, Reynolds and Burke's reception of *Evelina* and history of the novel's secret writing and publication. It brings, however, something new that did not have a place in the Rhys' introduction: a somewhat patronising tone in the text, where Burney is consistently referred to by her first name, as Fanny, while the contemporary popularity of the novel is half-mockingly attributed to the difficulty in guessing how the plot "could be brought about" to its predictable culmination. The *Introduction* concludes by stressing not the role of the text in the history of the English novel, but its qualities as a light reading, appealing to an "ordinary reader" with the promise that he will be "richly and abundantly entertained" (viii) by the book. It demonstrates how, at the time of mass access to education, the publisher had to find other

approaches to sell classics published in the *Everyman's* series, initially destined for readers seeking self-education.

The 1960s saw several other popular editions of *Evelina* appear: Doubleday/1960, Norton/1965 in the *New Library*; *Norton's Classics in English Literature* series, and the last of the digest editions, a summary of the plot published in the *Masterplots English Fiction Series* by Salem Press in 1964. Overall, the publishers' textual paratext in these editions is quite unremarkable, with editorial texts reduced to a single paragraph, all of them stressing the importance of the book as a record of the 18th-century society, and at the same time as a lively, entertaining reading. For example, even though the 20-line blurb inside the front cover of Norton/1965 begins with an assertion of the "historical importance" of Burney, it is replete with words more suitable for a description of a sensational society novel: "fashion/, fashionable" (met thrice), "society/social" (four times), "celebrities," and "brilliant."

Doubleday's edition, published under the imprint of Dolphin books, is worthy of notice as it is the first *Evelina* to be accompanied by the most recent type of paratext to appear in the publisher's paratextual and promotional toolkit: the back-cover blurb. The blurb stresses the conventional feminine qualities of her "modest and sensible" book, full of "impromptu humour" and "lively observations," that describes the world "as appears to the girl of 17" and combines "decorous feminine" and "comic gallery of eccentrics," also referencing Burney's place in the history of literature as a precursor to Jane Austen, presenting the book as belonging to a genre of historical romance fiction.

Five modern editions targeting popular audiences appeared from the early 1990s until the early 2010s: Bantam/1992 (by Bantam Books, a division of the Doubleday publishing group), Signet/1992 (by a division of Penguin Books), Random/2001 (by Modern Library, an imprint of

Penguin Random House), Penguin/2012/English Library, and Howes/2014/Large print. All of these include some publishers' paratext inside (prefaces, introduction, etc.) and on the outside of the book, i.e. blurbs. The cover blurbs of these *Evelinas*, destined for the popular market, continued with slight variations the themes found in Doubleday/1960. While acknowledging the book's status as a classic and a founder of the modern genre of the novel, it is insistently presented as light and entertaining reading, a mixture of social satire and romance novel. The blurbs are replete with interchangeable clichés the publishers employ to entice the reader and describe a novel that is set in a "wanton glittering and fascinating London" (Bantam), where "matchmaking is the game, and proper husbands are the prize," in which "beautiful young Evelina" (Penguin), "raised by a pastor after her mother died and her father abandoned her" (Random), "strives for the attention of the handsome Lord Orville, while trying to avoid the dangerous Sir Clement Willoughby" (Large Print), "finds herself without hope that she should ever deserve the attention of the man she loves" (Penguin) "encounters all manner of people – from prospective husbands to rakes to vulgar relatives – and endures all manner of trials before she achieves her final triumph" (Random) in "perilous passage from innocent maidenhood to virtuous marriage" (Signet).⁴¹³

Symptomatically, the other paratext inside the books commissioned and supplied by the publishers somewhat contrasts the dazzling language of the blurbs. The introductions and biographical notes in Bantam/1992, Signet/1992, and Random/2001, written by two academics and a writer and regular contributor to *New York Review of Books* are, if not of a nature belonging to a scholarly edition, still far more reflective and insightful than the blurbs lead the reader to expect. If they recount the catching details of the novel's publication history, they still present a picture of Burney's life and work, and analysis of *Evelina* informed by the recent scholarship of

⁴¹³ These fragments are selected and mixed intentionally from the five books to demonstrate how they use interchangeable clichés when they describe the novel and try to entice the reader and buyers.

the time exploring gender dynamics in the novel, the situation of women in the 18th-century society, and Burney's own complex relationship with her father, with a sufficient amount of accurate information provided for non-specialist readers or students engaging with the book for the first time. The publishers' paratexts found in Penguin/2012/English Library, and Howes/2014/Large print are excerpts from Burney's diaries and letters describing the appearance of the novel and its appreciation in the contemporary literary society, thus, also providing a non-specialist reader with the context to understand the place of the novel and the author in the literary history.

The variation between the message in the blurb and other publisher's textual paratext might be explained by the subtle but important difference in their addressees. They both perform the functions of presenting and recommending the book, but not to the same audience. Before the appearance of the back-cover blurb, all publisher's textual paratext was destined for both readers and buyers in quite an equal measure. The coming of the blurb changed the status-quo, with blurbs containing a "promotional statement, an equivalent of the French *bla-bla* or *baratin*"⁴¹⁴ to become a sub-type of textual paratext with increased promotional and marketing function. It is the blurb on the back and the image on the front cover that specifically target the busy and hasty buyers scanning the shelves for new reads, while the textual paratext inside the book is destined mostly for readers who have already bought or obtained the book by other means, or for more thorough and less hurried, and thus, less frequently met buyers. It is impossible to assert that this dichotomy of presenting *Evelina* as a book close to a romance novel in the cover blurb as opposed to publisher's paratext inside the book that accurately reflects the complexity of the novel is an accurate indication of the actual tastes of book-buyers, who are presumed to be more attracted by

⁴¹⁴ Genette, *Paratexts*, 25.

the description heightening the romance and sensational aspects of the book, or of the publishers' tactics, who assume that buyers would be so. This dichotomy exists in the paratext of all modern popular editions of *Evelina* that feature some substantive publisher's textual paratext other than a cover blurb and not only in popular English editions. All three modern translated editions, Jose Corti/1991/French, Fazi/2001/Italian, and Asturias d'Epoca/2013/Spanish, also published not as scholarly but as mass-market editions, display a similar trend.

The 20th century saw the appearance of the first scholarly editions of *Evelina* (Oxford/1930/Mackinnon) and the multiplication and diversification of publisher's textual paratext associated with this type of edition. In the late 20th century, the publisher's textual paratext in *Evelina* multiplied and grew into prefaces, footnotes, endnotes, appendices, postfaces, bibliographies, chronologies, and commentary, later joined by the now requisite cover blurbs. The paratextual apparatus in seven annotated and contextual scholarly English editions of *Evelina* published in the 20th century was surveyed, described, and discussed in an article published in 2014 by Hilary Havens and Peter Sabor.⁴¹⁵ The authors list paratextual material found in each edition (especially textual), provide information on the copy-text and textual editing, highlight and discuss strengths, weaknesses, comparative merits, and the usefulness of each of them for scholars and students. Thus, the present work does not describe the textual paratext found in each of these editions in detail but provides a description and analysis of the detected general trends, also focusing more on the types of paratext that received less attention in the Havens and Sabor article.

All seven annotated editions feature a substantial and sometimes more than substantial paratextual apparatus that, together with editorial prefaces, perform their usual functions of informing and presenting, each in its way "retrac[ing] the stages of the work's conception, writing,

⁴¹⁵ Havens and Sabor, "Editing *Evelina*."

and publication.⁴¹⁶ Besides, all the editions contain, with a varying degree of presence, “a ‘history of the text’ and an account of their own editorial decisions (establishment of the text, choice of pre-texts and variants, documentary and critical notes, and so forth).”⁴¹⁷ The structure of commentary in *Evelina* follows the conventions for a modern scholarly book, especially with regard to the division of functions between footnotes and appendices suggested in the 17th century by Jean Le Clerc, who insisted that footnotes should be brief and specific indications of the sources, where “one could see the assertions verified,” while the “at the end of the book should go full commentaries by individuals and excurses on points of detail.”⁴¹⁸ The scholarly annotated editions of *Evelina* mostly follow these principles, with, however, some nuanced variations that are consistent with their targeted reader audiences and overall emphasis of the publishers’ paratext presenting and recommending the book as a particular kind and type.

Oxford/1930/Mackinnon was the first edition of *Evelina* that can be called scholarly, published by a prestigious university press. Its publisher’s supplied paratext is pointedly contextual in its approach. The *Preface* and *Introduction* by the book editor, former judge Frank Mackinnon, openly announce the publisher’s/ editorial perception of the edition: “interest of the book lies not in the story, and the drawing of character, but in the picture it affords of contemporary life and manners” (3). Mackinnon makes it abundantly clear through his dismissive tone and language that the book is indeed published to highlight its value as a historical document. The text of the novel, according to him, does not possess any inherent literary value since “Fanny Burney has no pretensions to style: indeed she could not always write grammatically,” so the textual editing was “not worth doing” (3). The rest of the publisher’s textual paratextual packaging reinforces this

⁴¹⁶ Genette, *Paratexts*, 265.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Grafton, *The Footnote*, 217-18.

presentation of the book as a contextual annotated edition, valuable for its historical information. It features a plethora of appendices and notes of historical nature: 34 pages of *Notes* (some of them miniature essays on places), 11 *Appendices* and an *Index* of sites, places of entertainment, manners, pastimes, and customs, etc., but only three-and-a-half pages of *Textual Notes*, tucked at the end of the numerous appendices, and no separate note on the copy-text, with the information on editorial decisions dispersed in the editorial *Preface* and *Introduction*. The publisher's paratext in Oxford/1930/Mackinnon is a reflection of both the general trend in literary research of the time, which was still learning to appreciate women authors, and the perception of Burney's works, prevalent at the time, as having only historical and evidential value.

The approach to the paratextual packaging of *Evelina* adopted in Oxford/1930/Mackinnon did not disappear with the development and bloom of Burney's scholarship in the 1980s – 1990s that brought back her appreciation as a novelist and writer. Bedford/1997, Norton/1998/Critical, and Broadview/2000, if not guilty of dismissiveness in tone in their publisher's supplied paratext, still package and present *Evelina*, albeit with a degree of variation, as a contextual edition where the historically informative value of the book is put at the forefront, while its interest as a literary work is more or less subtly shifted to a lesser position. All three editions make this emphasis clear with the place they give to paratextual materials in their tables of contents, filled with lengthy lists of all appendices, contexts, criticism, and chronologies, with the text of the novel put under a one-line heading. In Bedford/1997 and Broadview/2000, the text is even further enmeshed with and overshadowed by the paratextual apparatus by the lack of distinct numbering of paratext with roman numerals, customary for scholarly editions,⁴¹⁹ and equal weight and size given in the tables of contents to the heading for the text of the novel and headings for the paratextual accoutrements.

⁴¹⁹ Genette, *Paratexts*, 162.

All this not only makes the novel somewhat difficult to locate at first glance but also clearly presents the text and the paratext as the content of equal significance and value in the book.

In Bedford/1997, Norton/1998/Critical, and Broadview/2000, the distinct focus on the contextual paratext is supported by the lack of, or diminished emphasis on, the text editing. Similarly to Oxford/1930/Mackinnon, Norton/1998/Critical does not have a separate note on the copy-text used for the edition, including some brief and not overly specific information on editorial interventions in a short two-page *Preface. Notes on the Text* are present in Bedford/1997 and Broadview/2000, of one page-length in the former, and more detailed and thorough in the latter, but both buried among hundreds of pages of other paratextual paraphernalia. The cover blurbs, the paratextual element of heightened promotional importance, not surprisingly also reflect the presentation of the books as much more than a literary work. Their blurbs illustrate perfectly the three identified purposes of this paratextual element: “to convince the bookselling trade that the book is worthwhile; to convince the reviewer that the book is worth reviewing and to convince the man in the bookshop, who has by then, perhaps, vaguely heard of it, to buy it after he has picked it up.”⁴²⁰ Even for a book that has been in print for so long as *Evelina*, all three purposes are still relevant. By having the blurb focus on the merits of these books as contextual editions by listing the plethora of added paratextual materials, and by emphasising the historical contextual focus of the series (Bedford/1997 and Norton/1998/Critical) and the significance of editorial intervention (Broadview/2000), while saying little or nothing about the Burney novel, the publishers specifically target the educational and academic market for their books to be reviewed, sold, and bought based on the merits and value added by their paratext. Lastly, the publishers of all three editions chose to use footnotes rather than endnotes not only in the paratext but also throughout

⁴²⁰ Blond, *The Publishing Game*, 58.

the text of the novel. For centuries, footnotes have been hallmarks of scholarly books giving legitimacy to historical writing and testifying to the thoroughness of research.⁴²¹ The choice of the publishers to use them instead of endnotes, which are less of an impediment to the process of reading and interaction with a literary work, is another subtle way they fashion their products as scholarly books worthy of attention primarily because of historical information they provide to readers.

The textual paratexts in three other annotated editions, Oxford/1968/Bloom, Oxford/2002/Jones, and Penguin/1994/Classics, are different from the ones discussed above by their attention to and focus on the text of the novel. The *Introduction* in Oxford/1968/Bloom describes in detail the history of the conception, writing, composition, publication, and reception of *Evelina*. All the editorial decisions on the copy-text are clearly and carefully explained and described in the *Note on the Text*, printed in a prominent place at the end of the *Introduction*, which also includes a full page of information on the editions and reprints of *Evelina*; although outdated now, it was invaluable at the time. Another sign of close attention paid to the text of the novel is the inclusion of 14 pages of *Textual Notes* that detail alterations and changes between the first, second, and third Lowndes editions and precede the more historically-focused *Explanatory Notes*. These *Textual Notes*, an “invaluable feature of Bloom’s *Evelina*,”⁴²² were reprinted in Oxford/1970/Bloom, but omitted in the subsequent 1982, 1991, and 1998 reprints. Oxford/2002/Jones, a revision of Oxford/1968/Bloom, also does not reprint Bloom’s *Textual Notes* but does include a separate *Note on the Text* with the information on editions and reprints, printing it also at the beginning of the volume, followed by the *Select Bibliography* that, though

⁴²¹ Garritzen, “Paratexts and Footnotes in Historical Narrative.”; Grafton, *The Footnote*; Peale, “Authorship and Authority in Sir John Barrow’s Narrative.”; Skelton, “The Paratext of Everything.”

⁴²² Havens and Sabor, “Editing *Evelina*,” para. 9.

shorter than the one, for example, in Bedford, gives clear preference to important critical works. The *Introduction* by Vivien Jones in Oxford/2002/Jones puts into prominence and discusses the innovative use of language and “linguistic richness” (x) of Burney’s novel. Lastly, Penguin/1994/Classics, though the lightest in terms of the added amount of publisher’s paratext, as it does not include any appendices or contextual historical materials, is similar to both Oxford/1968/Bloom and Oxford/2002/Jones in its focus. Its *Introduction* and *Notes* (endnotes) also pay considerable attention to the novel’s composition and its revisions from the manuscript drafts. It contains a separate *Note on the Text* that is also printed in a prominent place in the book, immediately preceding the text of the novel.

The cover blurbs in Oxford and Penguin editions and reprints, even though lighter and more promotional in tone as common with this type of paratext, also clearly focus on the novel, its significance, and characterisation. While the value added to the book by the editors’ work is mentioned in the blurbs, e.g. “Edward A. Bloom has edited the text from the rare first edition of 1778” (Oxford/1970/Bloom and subsequent), the book is presented to the prospective buyers and readers first and foremost as a novel both important and captivating to read.

In their paratextual structuring of the books, all three editions also give a prominent place to the text of the novel. Both Oxford/1968/Bloom and Oxford/2002/Jones combine the use of footnotes, found in the paratext, and endnotes, annotating the text of the novel. Endnotes have the advantage of being “economical of space, less trouble to design and less expensive to set, [...] [and] comfortably run to any length,” but the disadvantage of requiring a reader to swap back and forth between the main and the supplementary parts of the text.⁴²³ On the other hand, this approach prevents the notes from interfering with the reading experience and creates the possibility for a

⁴²³ Bringhurst, *The Elements of Typographic Style*, 68.

reader to interact with the text of the book as with any other work of fiction. The endnotes in Oxford/1968/Bloom and Oxford/2002/Jones are marked with unobtrusive numbers (Bloom) or asterisks (Jones). They “leave the text page clean”⁴²⁴ and reduce the inclusion of the paratextual material on the pages containing the text of the novel to a very minimum, which does not hinder the reading experience and is in keeping with the general considerate attention paid to the novel’s text in these two Oxford editions. Interestingly, *Evelina* by Penguin completely eschews footnotes not only throughout the text but also through the editorial paratext, using only endnotes. Footnotes are often seen as “the very emblem of fussiness”⁴²⁵ and especially of academic fussiness. The choice by Penguin to not include the footnotes altogether in their *Evelina* is most probably motivated by both their desire to provide an unhindered reading experience of the novel and their general publishing strategy of producing quality books targeting the non-specialist market. Lastly, all three editions, Oxford/1968/Bloom, Penguin/1994/Classics, and Oxford/2002/Jones, follow the long-established convention of clearly distinguishing the paratextual matter preceding the novel from its text “by the use of roman numerals for page numbers (a practice that first appeared in the mid-eighteenth century).”⁴²⁶ This usage of different numerals visually indicating the beginning of Burney’s text again enables an easier interaction with the book and reading experience of the novel as a literary work. Overall, the publisher’s paratexts in Oxford/1968/Bloom, Penguin/1994/Classics, and Oxford/2002/Jones package and present *Evelina* as an annotated edition of a literary text, valuable and of interest to readers in its own right.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Genette, *Paratexts*, 162.

6.2.3 Textual Paratext: A Summary

Similarly to the title, other authorial elements of the textual paratext, a dedication in verse to Burney's father, a dedication to critics, and a preface, were often modified or altered by the publishers throughout the long publication history of *Evelina*. Even though some publishers reprinted the authorial prefatorial paratext faithfully, without any alterations or omissions, many others omitted one, two, or all three elements of Burney's introductory material, or gave the elements additional explanatory titles. It was found that there are distinct trends in the kinds and types of editions where Burney's authorial paratext was omitted or changed, and with regard to the periods when alterations occurred. Most cases of omissions were observed up to the middle of the 19th century in earlier translated editions and cheap reprints. The publishers of these types of books were less inclined to respect the integrity of a literary work and more predisposed to save on an expensive commodity, paper, by not printing the prefaces. On the other hand, most instances of giving additional headings to Burney's paratext fall in the mid-19th – mid-20th century. Most of them were supplied by the publishers of affordable editions targeting a readership that would benefit from additional contextualisation of Burney's lengthy authorial paratext, written in the antiquated and solemn language. Giving clear headings to Burney's prefatorial apparatus contextualised it for non-specialist readers as coming from an 18th-century author ("Original" or "Author's"). It subtly provided the readers with a possibility to easily skip the paratext and engage directly with the text of the novel by delimitating the margins and limits of text and paratext more clearly. In these editions, adding extra headings to Burney's paratext was a compromise between preserving the integrity of the author's text, which all these publishers usually aspired to do, and deterring potential non-specialist book buyers, who if not assisted with supplementary headings,

could have been discouraged from buying the book by the length and language of its authorial paratext.

The publisher's textual paratext is the element that displayed the most variation throughout the publication history of *Evelina*. The three most important factors that influenced its form and evolution were: the literary custom of the time, Burney's reputation as a writer, and the intended audience of the book. The editorial preface first appeared in the prefatorial matter of the novel in its early foreign editions. French and Russian publishers of the 18th century eliminated all Burney's prefatorial paratext and replaced it with their own, emphasising the sentimental and romantic character of the novel that they unmistakably marketed to a female audience. Conversely, the first editorial prefaces in English appeared in *Evelina* only in the 1810s – 1820s, when Burney's merits as a novelist were recognised with the inclusion of her works in the canon-setting *British Novelists* series. After, there came a 40-year period when British, continental, and American editions and reprints ranging from cheap to well-executed were regularly published, but no editor deemed it necessary to preface *Evelina*. This reluctance probably stemmed from the damage caused to Burney's reputation as a writer by the vicious critics of her later works, Hazlitt and, especially, Croker. *Evelina* became consistently prefaced again only in the late 19th century when it was published with a substantive prefatorial matter by Bell, Dent, and Macmillan. For the next 80 years, their publishers' textual paratext dominated the market, as it introduced more than 77% of all *Evelinas* published in English until the end of 1950s. Since the 1960s Burney's reputation as a writer worthy of attention recovered due to the efforts of Joyce Hemlow and later feminist critics, which was reflected in the publishers' prefatorial paratext of both popular and scholarly editions. Curiously, in popular editions, this produced a marked contract between more substantive publisher's prefatorial paratext, which does justice to the importance and complexity of the novel,

and sensational and light overtones of the cover blurbs stressing the entertaining qualities of the book. Lastly, the 20th century saw the appearance of scholarly editions of *Evelina* with the associated multiplication, diversification, and increase of quality of publisher's textual paratext, with some annotated editions subtly putting the historically informative value of the book at the forefront, while others emphasising more its interest as a literary work.

6.3 Iconic Paratext: Decorations, Illustrations, & Covers

This section describes the evolution of the elements of iconic paratext in *Evelina*, such as illustrations and printers' decorations, both in the text and on the covers. In his seminal work, Genette left out the discussion of iconic paratext, despite acknowledging that its "paratextual relevance [was] undeniable"⁴²⁷ because he claimed that they required a separate study and were impossible to describe in sufficient detail in his work, which was focused on setting the paratextual framework for the first time. As shown in the literature review above, previous studies in book history deepened the understanding of the paratextual significance of its iconic elements, demonstrating how, besides adding to the pleasure of reading, they can be used to redefine subtly the genre of a book in its new editions and to make them more appealing to new audiences. In a book, illustrations serve "to decorate, to inform, and to interpret"⁴²⁸ the text. However, the main reason for illustrating books, especially works of fiction, such as *Evelina*, which are not intended for specialists or art critics, but for common readers, is to impress them⁴²⁹ and "to contribute to reader's comprehension and enjoyment of the works."⁴³⁰ This purpose is well understood by all agents involved in the life-cycle of a book: readers, publishers, authors, illustrators, etc. The shared

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 405.

⁴²⁸ Hodnett, *Five Centuries of English Book Illustration*, 1.

⁴²⁹ Hodnett, *Image and Text*, 3.

⁴³⁰ Hodnett, *Five Centuries of English Book Illustration*, 1.

understanding allows iconic paratext to fulfil one of its main functions, defined by Genette, to tempt, inciting potential buyers to purchase the book and potential readers to engage with the text and read it.

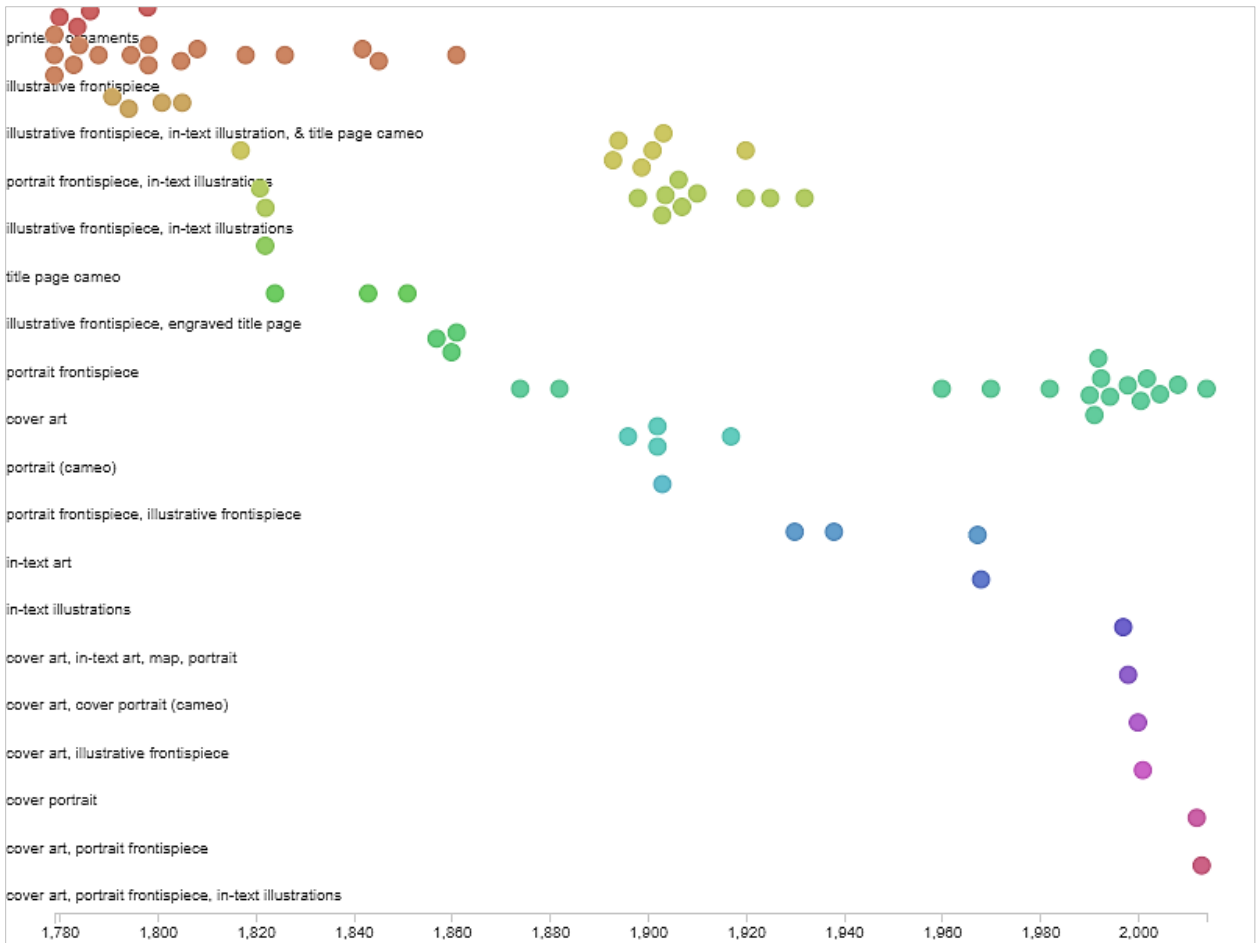
Adding iconic paratext has always been, particularly until the mid-20th century, a costly endeavour. Therefore, only popular titles, especially those popular among the affluent, with an enduring appeal and thus, with a potential for selling several editions and reprints, would warrant a publisher's investment in commissioning the production of woodcuts or other types of engravings. As Philip Stewart pointed out, "a publisher's decision to have a book illustrated was and is still a commercial as much as an aesthetic one: illustration has always been expensive. [...] the financial risk entailed normally supposed a predictable type of buyer who could afford and would wish to possess, the particular product envisaged."⁴³¹ *Evelina*, with its early fame among the fashionable and literary circles, and its subsequent steady and enduring popularity among various segments of middle-class readership, was the type of book that a publisher would not hesitate to illustrate to make it more appealing to their potential customers. Among the 156 examined editions and reprints of *Evelina*, 84 feature some kind of iconic paratext, the form of which mostly corresponds to the general trends in the development of book illustrations (see Table 7 and Figure 14).

⁴³¹ Stewart, *Engraven Desire*, ix.

Table 7: Prevalent Forms of Iconic Paratext by Century

	18 th century	19 th century	20 th century	21 st century
Total	19	26	31	8
Prevalent forms	printer's ornaments, illustrative frontispiece	illustrative frontispiece engraved title page, portrait frontispiece, in-text illustrations	illustrative frontispiece, in-text illustrations, cover art	cover art

Figure 14: Iconic Paratext: Distribution of Form by Decade



Beginning in the late 17th century, iconic paratext, especially in the form of frontispiece portraits, became a common feature in the collected editions of classical and historical works. By the mid-18th century, it came into works of contemporary fiction, again first as frontispiece portraits and later as plot-based illustrations, most of them placed as frontispieces (there are some notable exceptions, such as *Pamela* by Richardson, which featured 29 in-text illustrations (1742)).⁴³² By the time *Evelina* was published in 1778, technological advances and the subsequent lowering cost of production for prints led to greater accessibility and a greater demand for books, especially novels, illustrated with plot-based pictures.⁴³³ Testimonies left by contemporary readers show how greatly these illustrations increased an anticipated pleasure of reading and influencing readers' choice of the books, thus acting as important promotional devices.⁴³⁴

In early editions of *Evelina*, Lowndes and his continental counterparts publishing in French, Russian, and English, followed the trend and used various types of iconic paratext as early as in 1779. Lowndes was the first to include in his editions specially commissioned illustrative frontispieces (Lowndes/1779/3v/2nd). The continental publishers first used various forms of decorative and symbolic/allusive printer's ornaments: cupids, flowers, ribbons, etc., moving to print plot-based illustrative matter as frontispieces since the late 1780s – early 1790s. Progress in printing and image-reproduction technologies (such as engraving on steel instead of copper) in the 1820s – 1830s led to the appearance of a strong market for illustrated printed matter. Even though the majority of the books published from the 1820s until 1914 were produced unillustrated,⁴³⁵ the “market for illustrated books developed to the point where, by the mid-1830, the buying public

⁴³² Doerksen, “Framing the Narrative,” 465; Tim Clayton, “Book Illustration and the World of Prints.”

⁴³³ Doerksen, “Framing the Narrative,” 465.

⁴³⁴ Barchas, *Graphic Design*.

⁴³⁵ Twyman, “The Illustration Revolution,” 143.

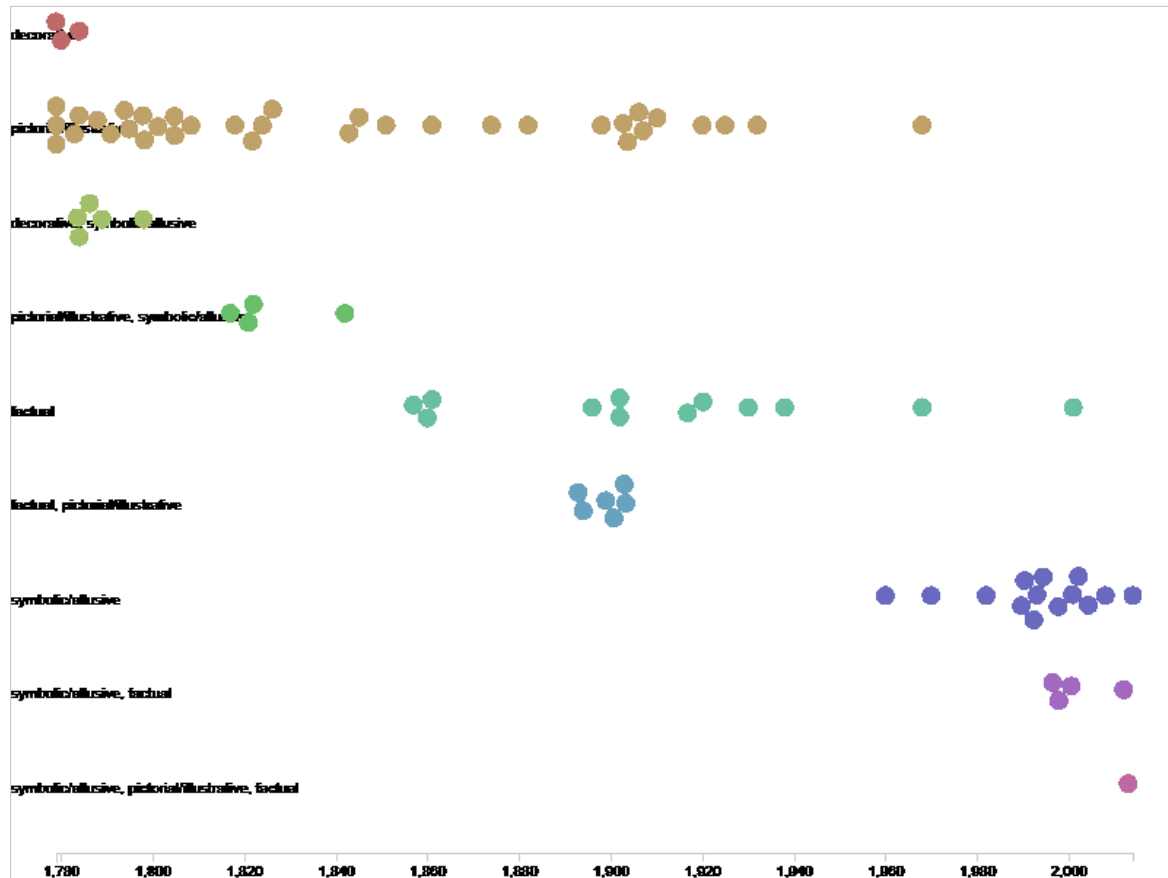
came to expect illustrations of the latest novels, poetry collections and literary miscellanies.”⁴³⁶ By the 1820s, *Evelina* was not a literary novelty, nor did it fit in other categories that the public expected to be published with illustrations. However, probably due to its reputation as a safe, entertaining novel and its steady popularity among the reading public, several of its 19th-century publishers chose to produce a number of editions illustrated with engraved frontispieces and title pages to boost the sales of their product: some with woodcuts (Chiswick/1822 and Pratt/1845), but mostly with steel engravings (Rivington et al./1824, Dove/1843, Allman /1851, Derby & Jackson/1857).

At the turn of the century, increased attention to the visual make-up of books and their aesthetic qualities, characteristic of *fin de siècle* book publishing, resulted in 13 editions and reprints (Dent/1893, Newnes/1898, Dent/1903/Temple, Macmillan/1903, and their reprints) decorated with a significant number of in-text plot-based illustrations, “full-page plates visualising iconographic moments from the text with which they are issued.”⁴³⁷ Lastly, advances in colour printing, combined with heightened competition for readers’ attention in the consolidating book market of the second half of the 20th century, led to increasing adoption of the illustrated book covers (dust jackets, paperbacks, and cloth-covered hardbacks with cover art). Publishers of *Evelina* closely followed this trend, as all its 19 editions and reprints in English, French, Italian, and Spanish that have appeared since 1970 invariably feature cover art or fully illustrated covers, sometimes combined, as is the case with Bedford/1997 or Asturias d’Epoca/Spanish/2013, with other illustrative matter, such as in-text art or plot-based illustrations.

⁴³⁶ Hill, *Picturing Scotland*, 46.

⁴³⁷ Jung, *The Publishing and Marketing of Illustrated Literature in Scotland*, xxxiii.

Figure 15: Distribution of Illustrations' Types by Decade



The iconic paratext (its overall approach, the overarching theme, or the scenes chosen to be illustrated) is never determined by the text itself, as “the choice is powerfully influenced [...] by extraneous factors.”⁴³⁸ These factors can include the prevalent style of the time and, most frequently, the intended audience, to whom a book using illustrations and other paratextual means would be presented as belonging to a certain genre and promising a certain type of reading experience. In *Evelina*, after seven early editions, where printer’s ornaments constitute iconic paratext, the majority of iconic paratext is encountered in the form of images. The evolution of the type of the iconic paratext demonstrates a distinct trend from the pictorial/illustrative paratext (illustrating the plot of the novel) to types of images that could be described as illustrating not

⁴³⁸ Stewart, *Engraven Desire*, 2.

specifically Burney's work, but an 18th-century classic work of fiction (see Figure 15). The latter group of images includes factual paratext (representing non-fictional characters or settings), mostly Burney's portraits, which could have been included in any of her works, and symbolic/allusive iconic paratext (suggesting the spirit of the book), mostly the reproductions of artworks not specifically created to illustrate Burney's novel, which could be placed in other works of fiction of a similar genre or describing with the same time period (see section 4.3.2.1 and Appendix 4).

6.3.1 Illustrating the Novel

The majority of pictorial/illustrative iconic paratext in *Evelina* that highlights certain episodes or scenes from the plot fall into three distinct clusters (see Figures 16 and 17). The exception is two Regency-time editions (see section 5.2.3.2.1 above), which stand apart from the rest of the corpus in all their paratextual representations: Mason/1821/ill and Jones/1822/ill being explicitly modelled after "rambling texts" (not included the data visualisation in Figure 16). The first cluster is plot-based frontispiece illustrations to the novel, commissioned by Lowndes for his 1779 edition, later reused by him or other publishers. The other two clusters are: the late 18th - 19th-century illustrations interpreting *Evelina* as a sentimental/ romantic novel and in-text illustrations in the *fin de siècle* editions (described and discussed in detail in section 5.2.4.2). These two latter clusters are markedly distinguished between themselves by two aspects of their visual interpretation of the text: the time-period of the action in illustrations (contemporary to the time of publication of the edition vs. contemporary to 1778); and their overall expressive content (sentimental, emotional, romantic, etc. vs. nostalgic and elegant).

Figure 16: Clustering of Pictorial/Illustrative Paratext: Time Represented & Expressive Content

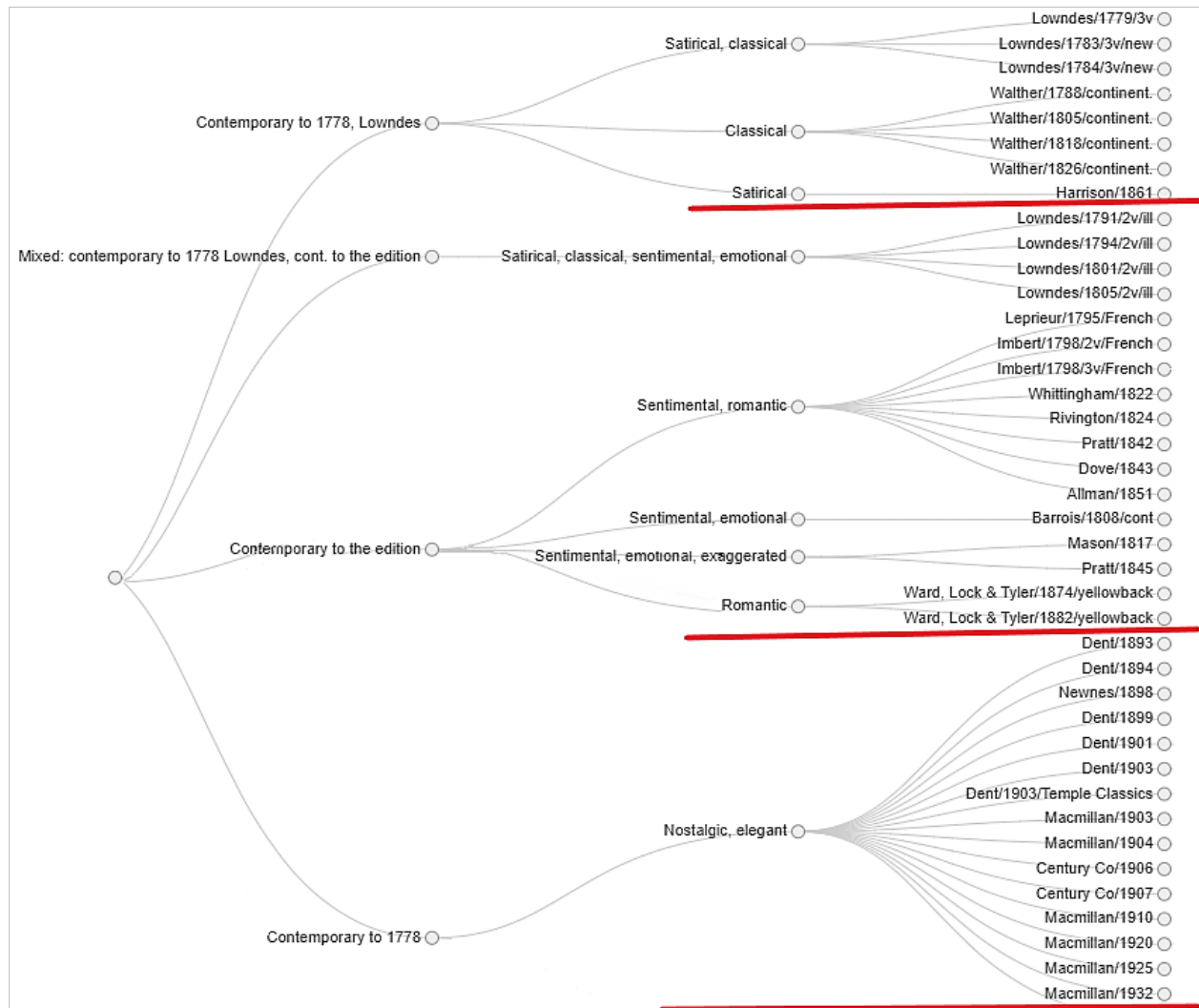
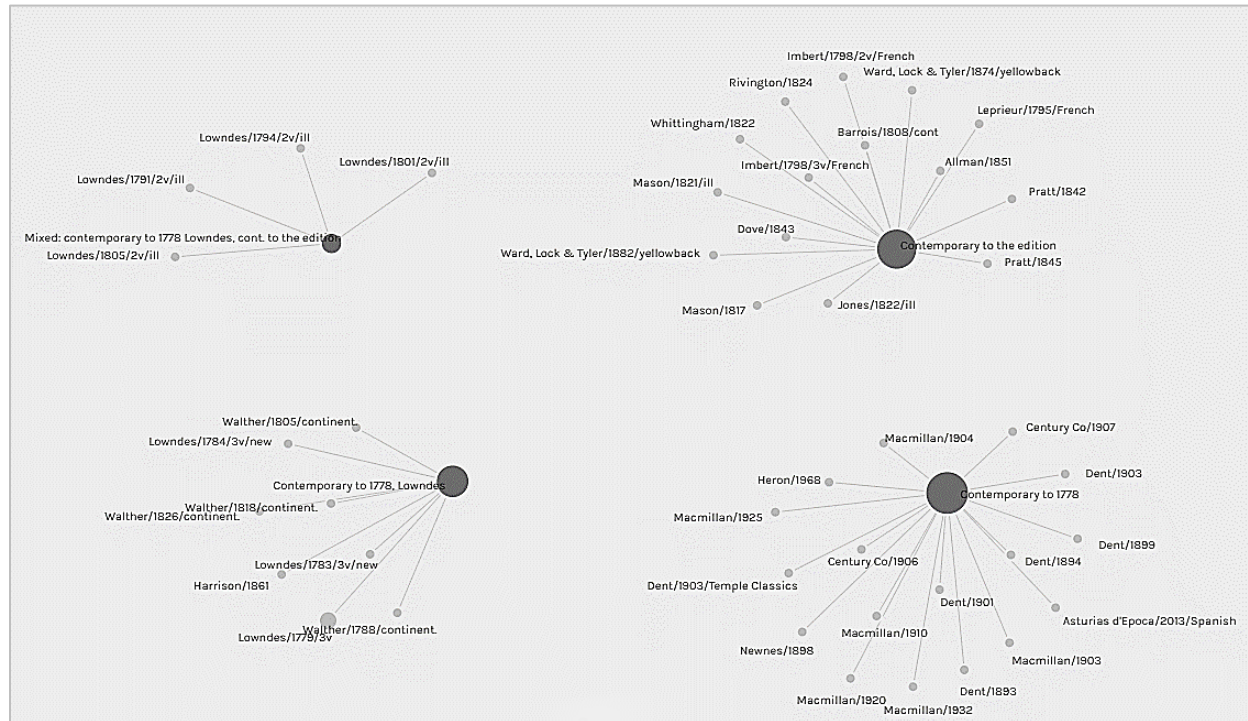


Figure 17: Pictorial/Illustrative Paratext: Time Represented

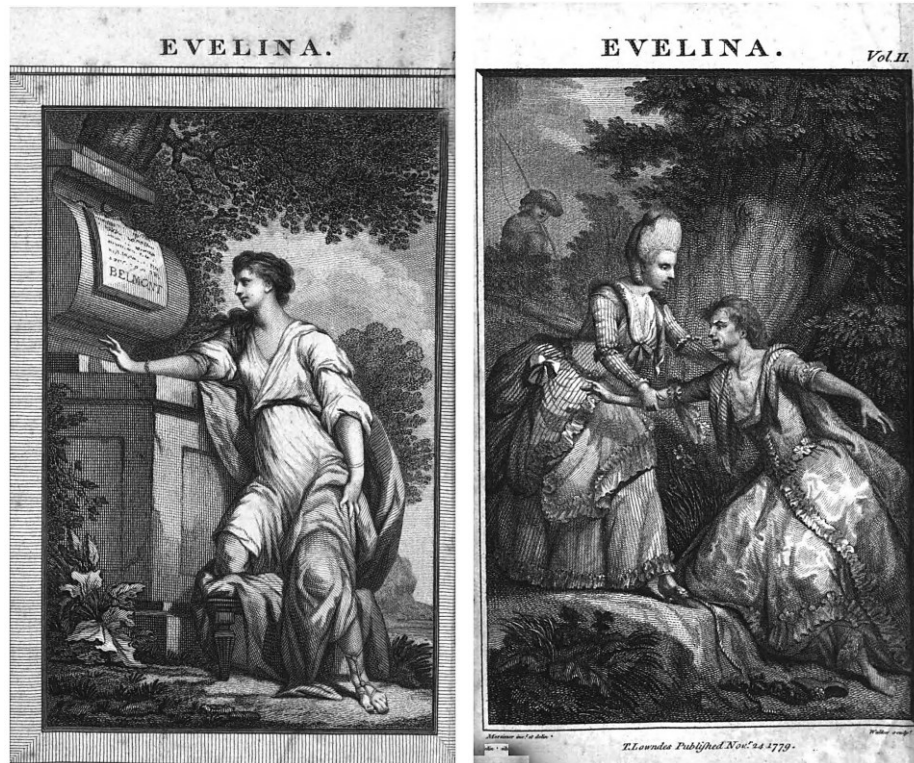


6.3.1.1 Illustrations to Lowndes/1779

When *Evelina* made its first appearance on the book market, it was perceived and received by contemporary readers and critics as a captivating and wittingly satirical novel of manners. Its third edition published by Lowndes (Lowndes/1779/3v/3rd), and in some preserved copies, the second edition (Lowndes/1779/3v/2nd) were illustrated with the first pictorial/illustrative iconic paratext, frontispiece plot-based illustrations. These illustrations, as it was already customary by the late 18th century, were made to “visually encapsulate the themes of the text that follows.”⁴³⁹ They reflected the perception of the novel as belonging to a certain genre and promised a certain type of reading experience: the story of an unacknowledged nobleman’s daughter, mixed with a satirical and humorous representation of manners in the contemporary society (see also section 5.2.2.1).

⁴³⁹ Shevlin, “‘To Reconcile Book and Title, and Make 'Em Kin to One Another’,” 43.

Image 29: Illustrations to Lowndes/1779/3v/2nd



The frontispieces were the work of John Hamilton Mortimer (1740 – 1779), who was best known for his historical paintings and scenes set in the Italian wilderness, featuring, as Dobson dismissively described in his preface to Macmillan/1903, monsters and, particularly often, bandits (the latter known as banditti, genre scenes with romantic robbers). His illustration in the first volume was executed in the manner reminiscent of the vogue for pictures of classical ruins of the early-mid 18th century, often featuring tombs with inscriptions.⁴⁴⁰ It is a classical feminine figure dressed in Grecian robes and sandals reaching out to a marble monument with the name Belmont (Evelina's father's name), a reference to the precarious social status of *Evelina* as a young woman whose birth legitimacy was not confirmed and recognised by society and her father. The others volumes' frontispieces show two of the three scenes in the novel that most prominently reveal the

⁴⁴⁰ Fowler, *The Mind of the Book*, 165-67.

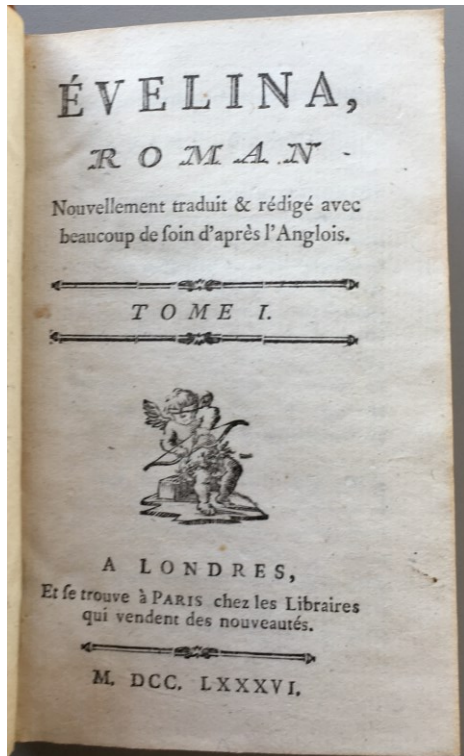
disturbing crudeness of manners and inherent cruelty of behaviour that Evelina witnesses in society: the bedraggled Madame Duval, her wig lost and dress dishevelled, helped by Evelina to get out of the ditch, where she fell as a result of a practical joke by Captain Mirvan; and the dandyish Mr. Lovel being bitten by a monkey dressed as a fashionable fop, set upon him by the same Captain. If the choice of these scenes to be illustrated seemed ill-fitting to Dobson at the beginning of the 20th century, and even more so to the modern readers, these episodes in the novel were met with hilarity and approbation from the novel's contemporary reading public and critics (especially the cruel treatment of an old French woman).⁴⁴¹

Mortimer's three frontispieces were reused in the "new edition" of *Evelina* published in 1783, Lowndes/1783/3v/new, and reprinted in the next year, 1784. The same plates also made their way into a new two-volume edition published in 1791 (reprinted in 1794, 1801, and 1805), where their classical figures and scenes of crude humour and violence oddly contrast with newly commissioned title-page cameos. The cameos that show characters in contemporary (1791) settings and in sentimental scenes in their overall tone reflect the new taste of the contemporary public for romantic readings (see more in section 6.3.1.2 below). Lastly, all three frontispieces made their appearance in several later editions by other publishers (see Figure 17). The frontispiece to v.1 with its classic overtones was reprinted, most likely without any permissions from the publisher or the illustrator, in a continental English edition, Walther/1805/continental (and its 1818 and 1826 reprints), while the engraving to v.3 with the monkey-biting scene was reproduced without any comments or explanation (and in extremely bad quality) in Harrison/1861. Some or all Mortimer's engravings are also found in Oxford/1930/MacKinnon, Oxford/1938/MacKinnon, Oxford/1968/Bloom, and Broadview/2000 (see also section 6.3.2.2).

⁴⁴¹ Looser, *Women Writers and Old Age in Great Britain*, 33.

6.3.1.2 Romantic, Sentimental & in the Latest Fashion

Image 30: Title page of *Libraires*/1786/French

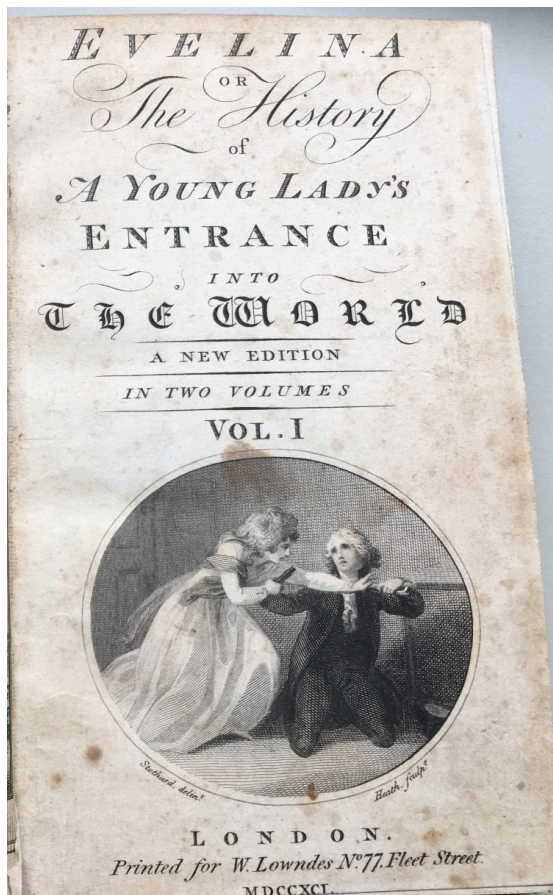


It has been demonstrated in the previous research that the iconic paratext has been, since as early as the 17th century, actively employed to influence or change the perception of the genre of a book or of its new edition to facilitate and further its circulations and sales among the intended audience.⁴⁴² The tactic has been used by the publishers of *Evelina*, who added to their editions the iconic paratext first in the form of printer's ornaments, not simply purely decorative but symbolic/allusive, suggesting of the genre of the book, and later in the form of illustrations. The printer's ornaments include cupids, ribbons, musical instruments (lute), flowers, flowery

⁴⁴² Barchas, "Prefiguring Genre; 'Grandison's Grandeur as Printed Book.'"; *Graphic Design*; Brookes, "'All the Rest Is Propaganda'."; Mills, "Henry Neville and the Isle of Pines."; O'Sullivan, "Translation, Pseudotranslation and Paratext."; Phillips, "How Books Are Positioned in the Market."

arrangements, rocailles, pastoral landscapes, etc. in Lowndes/1784/2v/vign, Libraires/1786/French, Roux/1789/French, Moscow/1798/Russian and, to a certain extent, in Barde/1784/French. They signalled to the prospective readers and buyers the genre of the book as a sentimental novel (See Image 30).

Image 31: Title page of Lowndes/1791/2v/ill



In Lowndes/1791/2v/ill, the iconic paratext began a marked shift from the representation of *Evelina* as a satirical novel of manners to a sentimental novel, as it began to move from depicting episodes of violent humour to illustrations with emotional, sentimental, and romantic scenes, which reflected modernised tastes in both reading matter and fashion. For Lowndes/1791/2v/ill, the publisher commissioned new title-page cameo vignettes. They depict the scenes filled with

sentiment and passion: Evelina removing pistols from her illegitimate brother Mr. McCartney to prevent his suicide (v.1) and the first highly emotional meeting between Evelina and Lord Belmont, her estranged father (v.2). The vignette for the v.2 (See Image 31) was made after one of the watercolour illustrations to the novel by Burney's cousin Edward Burney.⁴⁴³

Lowndes/1791/2v/ill is a transitional point between the first plot-based iconic paratext by Mortimer and the later tendency to illustrate *Evelina* as a romantic novel. In addition to the new vignettes, the publisher reused in it the frontispiece plates from the Lowndes/1779/3v/2nd. As a result, a reader or a buyer was confronted with new cameos on the title pages with sentimental characters dressed in post-revolutionary fashion and placed among *Directoire*-style furniture, clashing oddly with the tone, style, and represented time with the frontispiece plates representing ladies with rococo high hair-dos and panier skirts, and be-wigged male characters engaged in a scene of crude humour and violence (See Image 2). Still, Lowndes/1791/2v/ill was the first edition where the expressive content of the iconic paratext began to shift to highlight the sentimental and romantic side of the plot, thus reflecting changing contemporary reading taste. Lowndes/1791/2v/ill was also the first in another development in *Evelina* iconic paratext, as it shows a subtle modernisation of the novel through such means as updating the fashion in illustrations. The settings in the cameo vignettes, with square-legged *Directoire*-style furniture and heavy drapes and the characters' fashions, men's black simple suits and Evelina's white and simple freely flowing chemise dress with her hair in a mass of ringlets falling at her neck, are not consistent with the action of the novel, but contemporary to the time of publication of the edition, the late 1780s – 1790s.

⁴⁴³ Davenport, "Two Edward Burney's Illustrations for *Evelina*," 8.

The use of updated and modernised fashions and settings in illustrations is important as it signalled to the style-attuned audience an implied contemporaneousness of the book. In the late 18th and throughout the 19th century, fashion went through a series of rapid changes, of which customers were informed by the developing and proliferating written record of fashion: the fashion plates. For example, in the late 18th century, the fashion changed from panier-skirts, elaborate wigs, and high hair-dos to simple suits for men, and soft diaphanous chemise dresses and free-flowing hair held by a ribbon for women. The existence of a new widely available record of the changing fashion made book readers and buyers conscious and alert to the location of a certain style of dress in time and the space, of their geographic origins, contemporaneousness or out-of-datedness.⁴⁴⁴ In these conditions, to prevent the perception of a work as outdated, publishers used a tactic that helped modernise a new edition of an earlier text. They would introduce illustrations with the latest fashions, creating what Clair Hughes calls the “reality effect”⁴⁴⁵ that made characters operating in an imaginary world more tangible and real, while at the same time making the book seem closer to the reader’s reality. By having vignettes with characters and settings made not according to the fashion of the time of the novel’s action (the late 1770s), but according to the fashion of the readers’ time (late 1780s - 1790s), Lowndes made the book appear more contemporary, if not directly implying that the action takes place in reality and circumstances less far removed from the reader than it was (as *Evelina* was far too well known for that) but still bringing the book closer to the 1790s audience.

From 1791 and until the late 19th century, there were 19 editions and reprints, in English (printed both in England and continentally) and in French that included newly produced

⁴⁴⁴ For a discussion of the fashion trends as a means of distinction between the past and the present see Campbell, *Historical Style*.

⁴⁴⁵ Hughes, *Dressed in Fiction*, 2.

pictorial/illustrative iconic paratext. In these *Evelinas*, the iconic paratext followed two trends observed in the vignettes in Lowndes/1791/2v/ill, with regard to updating fashions and romantic, expressive content of the illustrations. All of them used the fashions and settings of, or at least close to, the time of publication of that particular edition, instead of the ones contemporary to 1778, thus, bringing the work nearer to the audience and making it seem more relevant to later-time readers. Instead of rococo panier skirts, wigs, and high hair-dos, these illustrations featured chemise dresses with empire waistlines and bi-corn hats (e.g. Imbert/1798/2v/French, Barrois/1808/continental, Whittingham/1822); late Regency dresses with elaborate hem and neckline decoration and cone-shaped skirts (e.g. Mason/1817, Mason/1821/ill, Jones/1822/ill); Romantic era cork-screw curls, natural waistlines, and wide-brimmed hats with ostrich feathers (e.g. Rivington et al./1824, Pratt/1842, Pratt/1845, Dove/1843); and late Victorian bustled walking dresses and top-hat (Ward, Lock & Tyler/1874/yellowback, Ward, Lock & Tyler/1882/yellowback). The expressive content of the iconic pictorial/illustrative paratext in the majority of editions published between 1791 and 1882 also changed, following the trend that began in the vignettes in Lowndes/1791/2v/ill. The only salient exceptions were Mason/1821/ill and Jones/1822/ill, made after Regency debauched and violent “rambling” texts, which stand quite apart from the rest of the corpus in their paratextual representation (see section 5.2.3.2.1). In the rest of the *Evelinas* published during the period, the scenes with characters subjected to violence were replaced by emotional, sentimental, and romantic encounters, often depicting the same most sentiment-laden and passion-filled episodes, highlighting the romantic and sentimental aspects of the text to suit the readers’ nascent taste for romanticism. Two of the most often represented episodes are the most emotional scenes of the novel: Evelina taking the pistol from her illegitimate brother Mr. Macartney to prevent him from committing suicide in nine editions and reprints (See

Image 32) and Evelina finally met and acknowledged by her erring father in seven editions and reprints (See Image 33).

Image 32: Scene between Evelina and Macartney



Image 33: Scene between Evelina and her Father

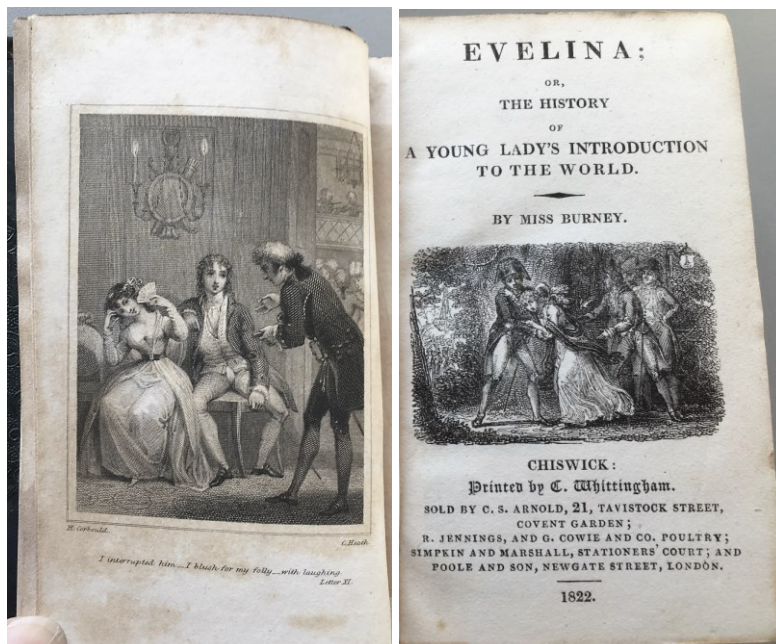


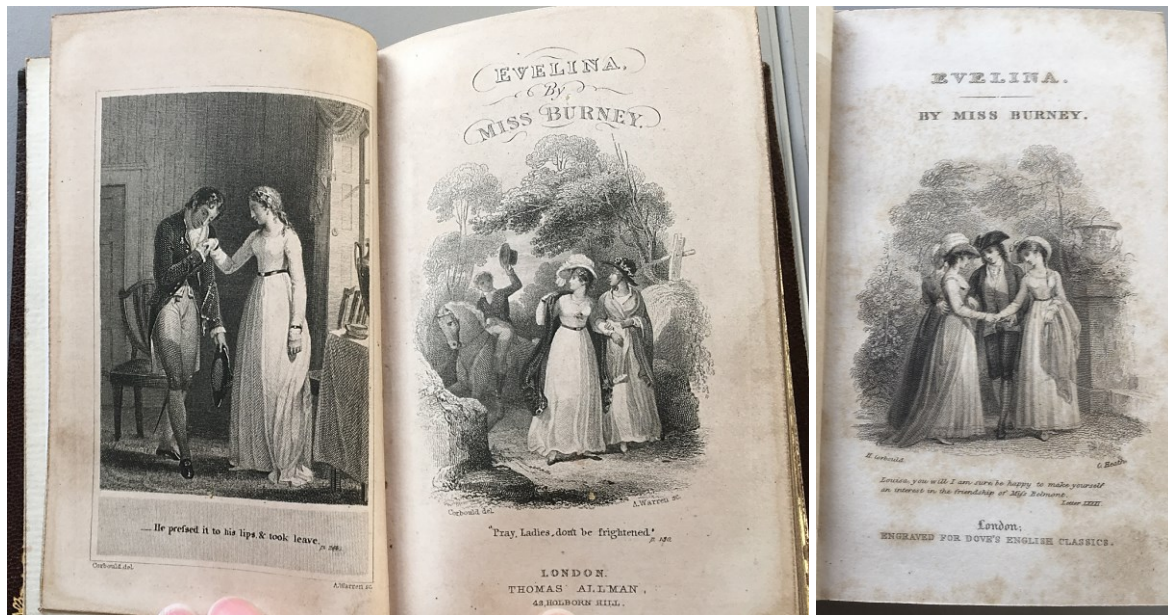
Six other illustrations show Evelina with her model suitor, Lord Orville: four of them are romantic tête-à-têtes, while two others are a sentimental scene, where he introduces Evelina to his sister Lady Louisa as his future wife. Moreover, even the episodes where the main character suffered a threat of violence and was harassed are represented in a softened view, more as gallant encounters and romantic scenes (See Image 34). For example, in Whittingham/1822, the episode where Lord Orville protects Evelina from a group of men aggressively stalking her is shown as a rescue of a damsel in distress by a virtuous hero rather than as a disturbing harassment scene (which could have potentially led to sexual violence). Similarly, the humiliating scene at a public ball, where Evelina's unknowing transgression of the rules of dancing etiquette was viciously exposed by Sir Clement to Lord Orville, appears in Dove/1843 as a flirtatious scene between a

coquettish Evelina, Lord Orville, and Sir Clement. Lastly, the encounter in the garden between Evelina, Miss Mirvan, and Sir Clement, two young girls and an unscrupulous rake, who had previously made unwanted and inappropriate advances to one of them, is presented as a decorous walk in a shrubbery (Rivington et al./1824, Allman/1851, Ward, Lock & Tyler/1874/yellowback, and Ward, Lock & Tyler/1882/yellowback).

Most of the iconic paratext present in the late 18th - 19th century *Evelinas* was found to be of a pictorial/illustrative type that depicts episodes of the plot of the novel. Its expressive content rapidly shifted, from the initial classical and satirical/humorous in the first editions by Lowndes to romantic and sentimental that became prevalent during this period. This change, combined with the efforts to modernise *Evelina* with the use of updated fashions, was part of conscious efforts by publishers to promote and sell their editions of the novel to new generations of customers at the time of popularity of the genre of romantic novel.

Image 34: Scenes between Evelina and Lord Orville





6.3.1.3 Nostalgic, Elegant, & True to the Time

The last substantive cluster of pictorial/illustrative iconic paratext is found in four editions published at the turn of the 19th century: Dent/1893, Newnes/1898, Dent/1903/Temple, and Macmillan/1903 and their nine reprints. It would have been difficult to separate the discussion of iconic paratext from the discussion of the historical context of these highly ornamental editions, which were produced to appeal to *fin de siècle* readers acutely attuned to the aesthetic aspects of the book as an object. Therefore, the iconic paratext of these editions has been described and analysed in section 5.2.4.2 above.

However, for the present discussion of the trend in the evolution of the iconic paratext, it is necessary to situate this cluster in relation to the previous pictorial/illustrative paratext illustrating the plot of the novel, and the later symbolic/allusive iconic paratext that illustrates *Evelina* not as a specific text with a specific plot and set of characters, but as an 18th-century classic work of fiction. While the iconic paratext in Dent/1893, Newnes/1898, Dent/1903/Temple, and Macmillan/1903 is similar to the earlier cluster of romantic and sentimental illustrations, both

being pictorial/illustrative in type, it differs significantly in its expressive content and time of action in the illustrations. As opposed to the earlier pictorial iconic paratext, with its distinct romantic overtones that also visually modernised the books, the illustrations in the four *fin de siècle* editions accurately reflect the time and settings of the plot, while their overall tone is the one of nostalgic and graceful elegance. The illustrations in the *fin de siècle* editions represent a transition point between the trends for pictorial/illustrative and symbolic/allusive iconic paratext in *Evelina*. Even though this iconic paratext depicts episodes and scenes from the novel's plot, their nostalgic and idealised character makes this paratext instead an illustration of the pre-industrial simplicity, grace, and elegance of the romanticised 18th century's society than of the text of the novel. It makes this iconic paratext a switching point in the evolution towards the factual and symbolic/allusive paratext in the modern editions, which illustrates not Burney's novel *per se* but an 18th-century classic work of fiction.

6.3.2 Illustrating a Classic and the Times

During the 19th century, Burney and her novel, *Evelina*, were gradually entering the literary canon and gaining the status of a classic (see sections 5.2.3.1 and 5.2.4 above). At the same time, there began a shift in the prevalent type of illustrations included in new editions of the novel. First, in the mid-19th century, a factual type of iconic paratext made its appearance and coexisted with the pictorial/illustrative type until the 1970s, when both of them were almost entirely ousted by the symbolic/allusive type (see Figure 15). These later types of iconic paratext, though different, distinguish themselves from the pictorial/illustrative type by the fact that they do not directly illustrate the plot of the novel but rather depict times, places, and people that are related to or could be associated with the novel (however marginally).

6.3.2.1 Burney on Display

The earliest and the most widespread form of factual paratext is Burney's portraits, which are found, mostly as frontispieces, in 19 editions and reprints of *Evelina* (including digests) published from the mid-19th until the early 21st century. This iconic paratext is associated with the text of the novel only through the creator-work relationship. It could have been included in any edition of Burney's novels, plays, or journals, any biographical work about her, her family, or literary figures, or in any work of literary criticism on the subject of novels, 18th-century literature, women authors, etc.

Since the early 18th century, the author's (mostly frontispiece) portraits printed in the book were a clear signifier of the status or, as Barchas put it, a "cast label," for the book and the author as they were mostly found in posthumous editions, "collected works of established writers, editions of classical authors, and, occasionally high-profile biographies, histories, or travel narratives."⁴⁴⁶ In the mid-late 18th century, the frontispiece portrait began to be used by publishers not only as a "label of authority" for classical and established authoritative works, but also as marketing devices for contemporary novels.⁴⁴⁷ Contemporaries looked askance at this practice, especially when it was used by living female authors, regarding it as presumptuous, since "packaging of the author alongside the text [gave] the writer authority by establishing him or her within a classical framework and by establishing verisimilitude,"⁴⁴⁸ and frivolous, since this made the authors resemble women of dubious reputations, whose portraits were circulating in print. During her lifetime, none of Burney's publishers committed the indiscretion of using a portrait of the author, known for her decorous behaviour and reputation, in any edition of her works. The perception of

⁴⁴⁶ Barchas, *Graphic Design*, 22.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁴⁴⁸ Creel, "(Re)Framing Eliza Haywood," 29.

impropriety of including authors' portraits in the works of living female authors persisted well into the 19th century. It is known that, in contrast to Dickens, who sanctioned and actively used his portraits for the marketing of his works, Gaskell "refused to have her portrait used as a promotional tool during her life-time, [p]ossibly considering the salacious reading that could be given to such images of women."⁴⁴⁹

On the other hand, the inclusion of such a portrait in an edition of a work of a departed author (male or female) would be a sign of their rising canonical status. As a mid-Victorian art critic wrote, "the forms and features of distinguished characters are of universal interest; they become, as it were, the property of all mankind, not only of the generation in which they lived, but of every succeeding period ... giving to the future all that can be rescued from the grasp of mortality – a rich legacy from the treasure-house of the good and great."⁴⁵⁰ Symptomatically, the portraits of Burney are found in the editions that followed or were produced during signpost events in her rise into the "treasure-house of the good and great," the canon of English literature. The earliest portrait appeared after the posthumous publication of the much critically acclaimed and admired *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay* (1842 - 1846) in Derby & Jackson/1857 (reprinted in 1860 and 1861). The portraits in Dent/1893 (reprinted in 1894, 1899, 1901, and 1903), Warner/1896/digest (reprinted twice in 1902 and once more in 1917), Dent/1903/Temple Classics, and Gregg/1920 were produced during and immediately after the period of Burney's solidifying reputation as an English classic at the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century, following A.R. Ellis' editions of *Evelina* (1881), *Cecilia* (1882), and *Early Diary of Frances Burney* (1889), the inclusion of an eight-column entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1885), and the publication of her biography by Dobson in the *English Men of Letters*. The presence of Burney's

⁴⁴⁹ Curtis, *Visual Words*, 163.

⁴⁵⁰ Curtis, *Visual Words*, 144, citing an 1849 *Art Journal* article.

portrait in the editions of the late 19th – early 20th century is both a reflection of the characteristic “late 19th-century urge to remake English literature into a major cultural enterprise, both within and outside England, with literary values tied to a sense of nostalgia, heritage and greatness and her growing status in this cultural enterprise. Lastly, the Bedford/1997, Norton/1998, Fazi/2001/Italian, Penguin/2012/English Library, and Asturias d’Epoca/2013/Spanish editions, with three different Burney portraits, appeared after the wave of Burney scholarship in the 1980s -1990s that firmly established her in the Pantheon of English literature.

The increased availability of image reproduction technologies in the 19th century brought a Victorian fascination with images of persons, living and dead, eminent or criminal,⁴⁵¹ and “the first great drive to market and promote the individual through the technologies of photography and engraving.”⁴⁵² Thus, publishers, by including Burney’s images in their editions of *Evelina*, were catering to an increasing public desire to see the visual likeness of the author, born out of the wide availability of images of the famous or powerful that became the norm in the nascent mainstream celebrity culture. In this context, the choice of the portrait that publishers used in their editions is also of interest. There are four existing portraits of Burney. Two of them are less known: an undated watercolour miniature on ivory by John Bogle and a crayon sketch, as a young woman in an informal dress reading a book, by her cousin, Edward Burney.⁴⁵³ Two others are more familiar to the reading public, both painted by Edward Burney: Burney in a Vandyke dress and hat with ostrich feathers (1782) and Burney wearing a fashionable voluminous Lunardi bonnet (1784-1785). Edward Burney’s “reputation today derives primarily from his various paintings of his

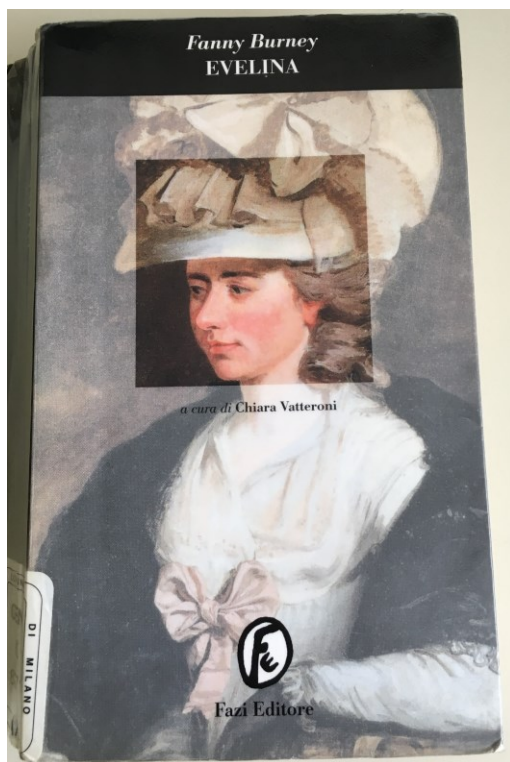
⁴⁵¹ Jennifer Green-Lewis, *Framing the Victorians*.

⁴⁵² Curtis, *Visual Words*, 143.

⁴⁵³ This least known of her portraits is kept at the Brooklyn Museum, accessed on April 20th, 2020, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/36382>.

cousin Frances, the best known of which is that depicting her in a huge Lunardi bonnet.”⁴⁵⁴ However, this best-known portrait of Burney, pensively sitting in a relaxed pose with her eyes averted from the viewer, which is also considered a better likeness of the sitter, where “her face and nose are longer, and the expression is less self-assured,”⁴⁵⁵ was used only once to illustrate *Evelina*, in Fazi/2001/Italian (See Image 35).

Image 35: Burney in Lunardi bonnet form Fazi/2001/Italian



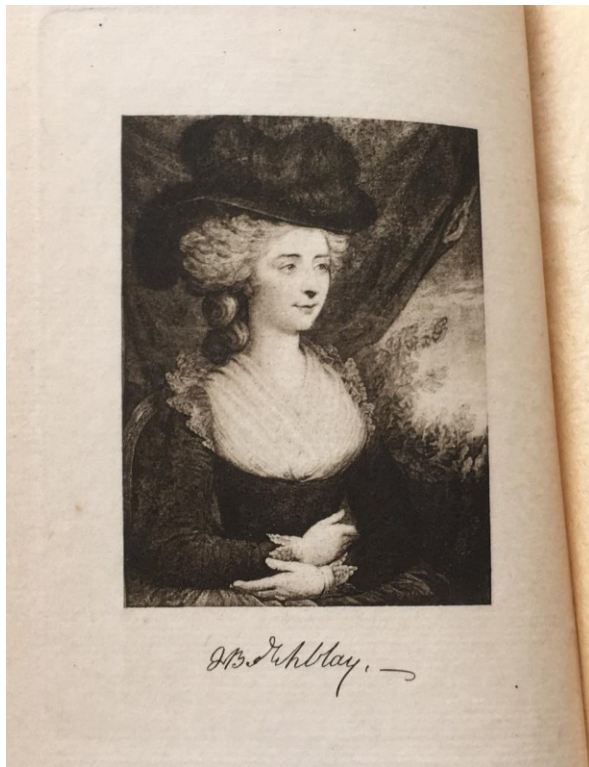
Except for Penguin/2012/English Library, where the least known of her portraits, the crayon sketch, is reproduced inside the front cover, the portrait that is found in all other 17 *Evelinas*, is of Burney in Vandyke dress that, according to her letters, she found too flattering (see Image 36). In this portrait, Burney is demurely sitting upright, her arms folded on her lap, looking

⁴⁵⁴ Keymer and Sabor, *Pamela in the Marketplace*, 176.

⁴⁵⁵ Davenport, *Faithful Handmaid*, 191.

composed and self-possessed, with a small benevolent smile playing on her lips, and as Davenport described it, gazing “straight ahead in sprightly self-confidence.”⁴⁵⁶

Image 36: Burney in Vandyke Dress from Dent/1893



Her costume was devised by her cousin, Edward, who in this portrait, dressed Burney, not overly interested in fashion, more dashingly and stylishly than was usual. She is wearing a strikingly elegant black Vandyke gown with slashed sleeves, lace cuffs and collar, and a low-cut bodice with a semi-transparent chemisette or neckerchief; a wide-brimmed hat with ostrich feathers; and a fashionable coquettish black ribbon on her neck that is also seen in other contemporary paintings, e.g. by Thomas Gainsborough’s *Lady in Blue*, *Mary Gainsborough*, *Madame Lebrun*, *Mrs. Sarah Siddons*, etc. When he chose to paint Burney in a Vandyke gown,

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

Edward Burney followed the style of portraits adopted by his mentor Joshua Reynolds, and other earlier painters, e.g. Joseph van Aken, who frequently historicised their subjects by painting them in 17th-century costumes in Vandyke style. The tactic was used to free the portraits from the danger of becoming obsolete-looking, which could have happened if the artists had followed the contemporary, fast-changing fashion, by clothing their subjects in Vandyke dress that, by the second half of the 18th century, was thought to have timeless historical and romantic appeal.⁴⁵⁷

The timeless historical and romantic appeal of Vandyke-style portraits could be one of the reasons why the 19th and 20th century's publishers preferred to include this particular Burney portrait in *Evelina*. Another reason could be that, in this portrait, Burney is painted as younger, prettier, and more sophisticated, compared to the one made three years later, where, though good-looking, she is much less dashing and looks closer to her age (33 years). As Looser demonstrated in her research on visual representations of Bluestockings, well into the 19th century, it was still "difficult [...] to convince the public that learned and literary women might age well."⁴⁵⁸ As a result, the publishers might have preferred the portrait where Burney looked more youthful and attractive, as it would appeal more to prospective buyers and readers. A recent illustration of this publishers' logic is the story of the modification and prettification of Jane Austen's portrait that was originally drawn by her sister Cassandra, for it to be fit to be put on covers of a book published by the Wordsworth Editions. Lacking another portrait, the publisher felt the need to make changes in Austen's looks because "the poor old thing didn't have anything going for her in the way of looks. Her original portrait is very, very dowdy. It wouldn't be appealing to readers."⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁷ Campbell, *Historical Style*, 102-09; Ribeiro, "Some Evidence of the Influence of the Dress."

⁴⁵⁸ Looser, "The Blues Gone Grey, 116.

⁴⁵⁹ Phillips, "Jane Austen Gets a Makeover," 82.

6.3.2.2 Illustrating the Times

In the 20th – 21st century, as Burney and *Evelina* were gaining their place in the canon of English classics, the iconic paratext included in the editions of the book was becoming less and less specific to the novel. First, beginning with Gregg/1920, two other kinds of factual iconic paratext, less frequent as compared to Burney's portraits, made their appearance. One is encountered in only three editions and one reprint: Gregg/1920, Oxford/1930/MacKinnon, Oxford/1938/MacKinnon, and Bedford/1997. It is comprised of engravings and maps, which are only related to the novel as they represent places of its action (Ranelagh Gardens, Rotunda, Vauxhall Gardens, The Mall, St James Park, Bath, Little Theatre, Haymarket, Marylebone Garden, etc.), and portraits of contemporary society and literary figures associated (Dr. Johnson, Mrs. Thrale) or not (Edward Boscawen, Lady Clifton) with Burney. This factual iconic paratext was not created to illustrate *Evelina* but rather the time and place of its action, and is generic to such a degree that it could have been used for any other novel where the same places were mentioned; for an author with whom the portraits' subjects were friends, acquaintances, or contemporaries, or in any non-fiction work, such as a manual, guide, handbook, or scholarly monograph dealing with a topic pertaining to the 18th-century England.

Image 37: Illustrations from Oxford/1930: Vauxhall Gardens and Rotunda

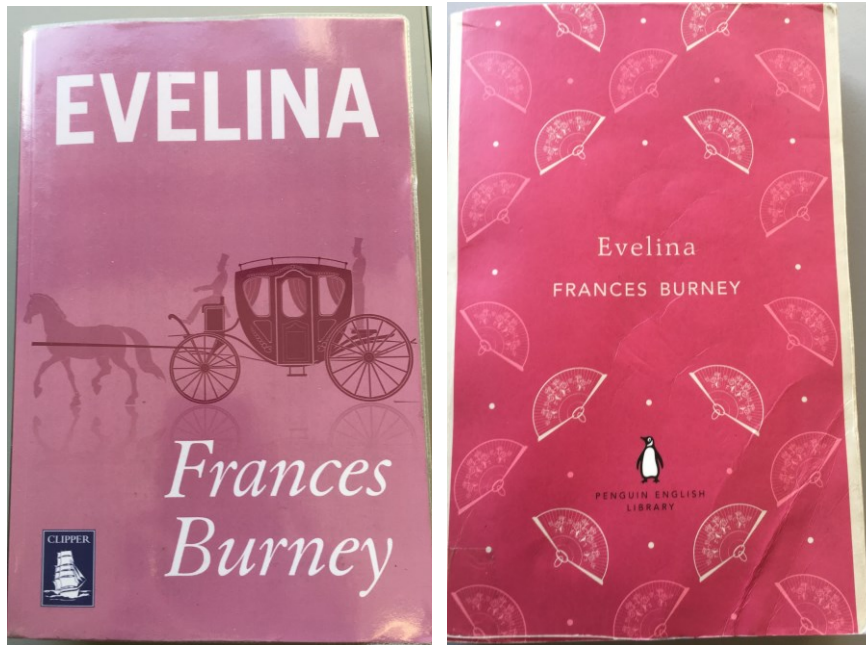


It is somewhat more complicated to categorise the third kind of factual paratext as such because it might seem to belong to the pictorial/illustrative type. It is encountered in the annotated *Evelinas* (Oxford/1930/MacKinnon, Oxford/1938/MacKinnon, Oxford/1968/Bloom, and Broadview/2000) and is the reproduction of the frontispieces to the Lowndes/1779/3v/2nd. All three frontispieces are reproduced in the Oxford editions and the frontispiece to v.2 in Broadview/2000. However, it can be argued that these frontispieces, even though initially conceived as pictorial/illustrative to the plot of the novel, took on different functions in these scholarly editions. In the Oxford editions, the frontispieces are reproduced in locations, which correspond to the beginning of each of the original volumes. These editions, for the first time since the second decade of the 19th century, restore explicitly and intentionally the original structure of the text by reintroducing the original letter numbering. Therefore, the reproduced frontispieces could be seen as a part of the reconstructed history of the text. In Broadview/2000, the frontispiece to v.2 with Evelina helping her muddled grandmother out of the ditch is also included not as an illustration to the plot, but rather as evidence supporting the argument of the extensive prefatorial paratextual apparatus, which is narrowly focused on family and comedy.

The latest type in appearance was symbolic/allusive iconic paratext, most often reduced to cover art, found in *Evelinas* published since the second half of the 20th century. It shares with the second group of factual paratext, in most cases, the characteristic of being generic, and not specifically created to illustrate Burney's novel. Of 22 *Evelinas* published since 1960, 19 feature symbolic/allusive iconic paratext, and only in four of them, it is original art. On their covers, Doubleday/1960 and Oxford/1970/Bloom have drawings of young women, while Penguin/2012/English Library and Large print/2014 contain vaguely historically romantic drawings (carriage and open fans), all of which nonetheless are so generic in theme and non-

specific in detail that they could have been easily used to illustrate any historical novel with elements of romance in its plot.

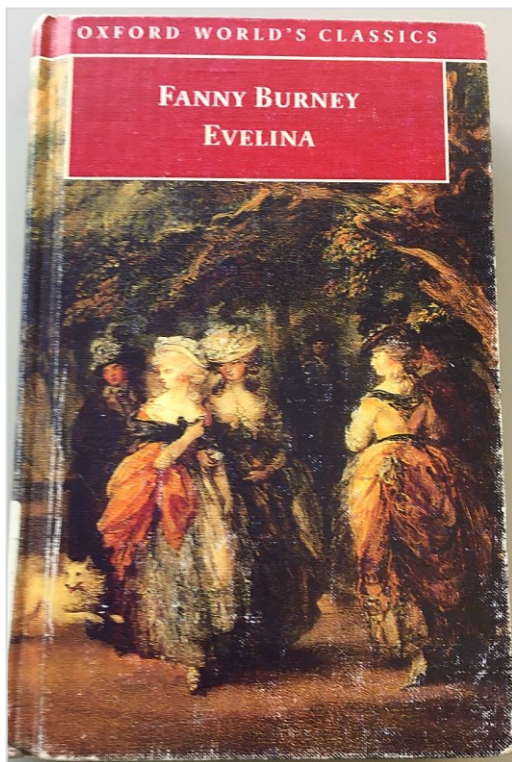
Image 38: Examples of Cover Art in Modern Editions



Since the early 1980s, instead of original art, publishers have begun to use reproductions of period paintings as cover art in *Evelinas* (15 editions and reprints from 1982 until 2014). This symbolic/allusive iconic paratext on covers does not illustrate the plot of the novel but the time and place of its action (See Image 39 and 40). The paintings show either fashionable crowds or individual women in 18th-century fashions and surroundings. Sometimes, they are related to Burney's novel, albeit only by the title, when fashionable crowds are gathered in a place mentioned in the text, e.g. the fragment of *The Mall in St James Park* by Gainsborough in Oxford/1982/Bloom and later (See Image 39), *St James Park and the Mall* by Joseph Nickolls in Penguin/1994/Classics, or *An Entertainment in Vauxhall Garden* in Oxford/2002/Jones. In other cases, they are portraits by famous painters of attractive women, sometimes celebrities (See Image 40), e.g. Elizabeth Johnson or Lady Hamilton, mostly luxuriously and stylishly dressed and coiffed, romantic- or

sensual-looking, who have no connection to the book whatsoever (Jose Corti/1991/French, Bantam/1992, Signet/1992, Norton/1998, Broadview/2000, Random/2001, Oxford/2008/Jones, Asturias d'Epoca/2013/Spanish). Similarly to factual paratext discussed above, this symbolic/allusive iconic paratext is both generic and not specifically created to illustrate Burney's novel, suggesting the time of its action.

Image 39: Cover Image, St James Park and the Mall, in Oxford/1991/Bloom



This type of iconic paratext is far from being exclusive to Burney's novel. For example, it has been noted before that the "[e]ditions of Austen's novels tend to feature paintings or stills from screen adaptations on the covers,"⁴⁶⁰ while "many covers [of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*] reproduce 19th-century paintings."⁴⁶¹ As *Evelina* has yet to be made into a movie, its illustrative covers do not

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ Parfait, *The Publishing History of Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 193.

feature images from films, as do the novels by Jane Austen since the 1940 *Pride and Prejudice*, starring Greer Garson and Lawrence Olivier.⁴⁶² *Evelina*, with the reproductions of Fragonard, Gainsborough, Reynolds, Canaletto, and Romney on its covers, joined countless classic works of fiction, which are adorned by period paintings used as cover art to contextualise the novel as “current illustrative conventions produce a clear cultural and temporal specific taxonomy of texts: classics carry framed provenance illustrations contemporaneous with their own formation.”⁴⁶³ For instance, as it was found in previous research, since “the mid-1960s, covers of Austen novels began to shift away from using original art. Instead, the trend was to contextualize the work with reproductions of paintings and portraits, sometimes an inaccurate contextualization from a geographical, chronological, or social viewpoint.”⁴⁶⁴ A commissioning editor of the Oxford Worlds Classics described this publisher’s strategy as finding “cover illustrations that reflect the context of the period in which they were written, the period of the novels. So we look for roughly contemporary images with subject matter that is relevant to the novel, which inevitably means, for Austen, a number of female portraits.”⁴⁶⁵ This publisher’s strategy is sometimes seen as a response to a certain segment of the audience that “yearn[s] for an escape into the past,”⁴⁶⁶ which the covers promise to readers or buyers who pick the book.

⁴⁶² Carroll and Wiltshire, “Jane Austen, Illustrated.”; Gilbert, “From Cover to Cover.”

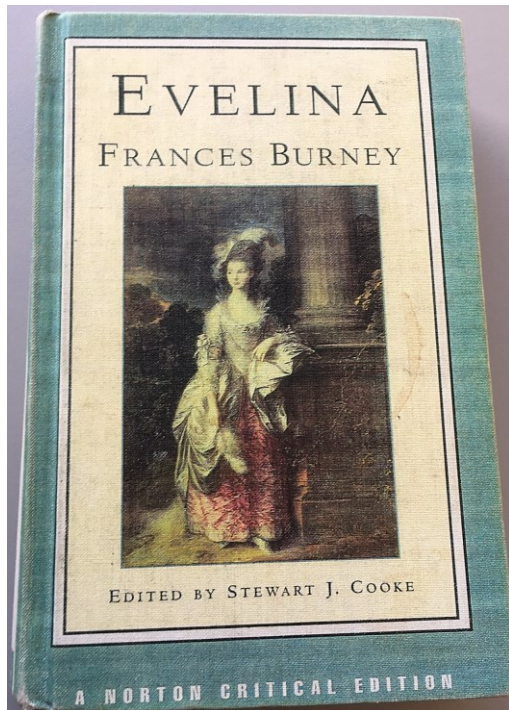
⁴⁶³ Gardiner, “‘An Immense Continent’,” 47.

⁴⁶⁴ Gilbert, “From Cover to Cover.”

⁴⁶⁵ Phillips, “Jane Austen Gets a Makeover,” 82.

⁴⁶⁶ Gilbert, “From Cover to Cover.”

Image 40: Cover Image, Honorable Mrs. Graham, in Norton/1998



Interestingly, similarly to what was found for Austen's novels,⁴⁶⁷ the symbolic/allusive paratext on the covers of modern *Evelina* suggests a reading experience more elevated in the world than the one offered by the novel. For example, while the heroine meets and mingles with the noblesse, she spends half of the novel in the company of her vulgar London relatives that can hardly be represented by, for example, the *Honorable Mrs. Graham* in Norton/1998 (see Image 40). The only deviation from this approach of using artworks with subjects from the upper classes is seen in Bedford/1997. It took it to another extreme, implying that the novel's action takes place in a much lower segment of society than it does by placing on the cover a fragment of an engraving made after *Canvassing for Votes* by William Hogarth, showing a servant-girl counting coins in her lap. Another *Evelina*'s publisher, Broadview, made some anachronistic choices for the cover art

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

of their editions of Austen novels, “perhaps jarring the onlooker into rethinking the theme, setting, or characters.”⁴⁶⁸ However, in the Broadview/2000, with a fragment from Canaletto’s *London: The Thames and the City of London from Richmond House*, depicting a leisurely walk of fashionably clad figures, the same publisher used iconic paratext that follows the general tendency in modern *Evelina* to illustrate its 18th-century time and the context (or rather its socially elevated part).

Image 41: Cover Image, Love Letter, in Asturias d’Epoca/2013/Spanish



Lastly, one modern edition, Asturias d’Epoca/2013/Spanish, offers a variation of this trend. While it features on-cover symbolic/allusive paratext that illustrates the context and the time of *Evelina*, and factual paratext (frontispiece portrait), it also includes pictorial/illustrative paratext

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

that was created to illustrate Burney's novel, albeit more than 100 years ago. In Asturias d'Epoca/2013/Spanish, in addition to Burney's portrait, and cover art, a reproduction of the painting *Love Letter* by Fragonard (See Image 41) the publisher reprinted in it all 75 illustrations made by Thomson for Macmillan/1903, creating one of the most visually attractive modern editions.

6.3.3 Types of *Evelina* Defined by Paratext

The majority of iconic paratext found in 84 editions and reprints of *Evelina* demonstrate several distinct trends that are mostly in line with the development of this paratext in the course of the book history. However, in the physical books, the iconic paratext does not exist in separation from the rest of the paratextual apparatus, so often the genre and the intended audience of the book are defined not only by the iconic paratext but also by the whole ensemble of the paratextual elements.

Due to the size of the corpus and a large number of discovered editions and reprints of *Evelina*, it was necessary to describe and discuss separately the evolution of each paratextual element (an alternative would be to discuss their ensemble in each edition, which is impractical in a study of this breadth). However, in real life, readers and buyers encountered all at once the paratextual apparatus of each of the editions and reprints of *Evelina*. During these often brief first encounters between a person and a book, the visual and textual elements of paratext interacted with and reinforced each other, producing a holistic and often, as the previous literature has shown, lasting impression of the book. This impression affected the decision to engage with the book or not, by presenting the book in a certain light as belonging to a certain type or genre and promising a certain type of reading experience.

Publishers have employed paratext, both iconic and textual, to repackage *Evelina* for different audiences and different times. The books and their paratext, when produced, are shaped by a multitude of unique and naturally occurring circumstances and factors, so they are as diverse and different as the times and people that fashioned them. Therefore, it would be impossible to have all the editions neatly assigned in mutually exclusive categories, as some of them would break the mould with their singularity and unusualness. However, the combinations of paratextual elements, both iconic and textual, produced four distinguishable types of editions of *Evelina* targeting different readers and buyers' audiences: sentimental and romantic, destined for a female audience; reprint for modest-income readers; *fin de siècle* edition for aesthetically-conscious readers and buyers; and contextual scholarly editions targeting students of literature and educators. The section below describes and discusses paratextual elements of *Evelina* and their interactions, correlations, and co-occurrences that result in these three distinctly delineated types.

6.3.3.1 *Evelina* “pour les lecteurs délicats”

One of the well-defined types of editions is the *Evelina*, presented as a romantic novel (a cluster of 18 editions and reprints from 18th – 19th centuries) or, in its later development, as a historical romance novel (a cluster of 10 editions from the late 20th – early 21st centuries), targeting female readers. This type of edition is created by interactions and co-occurrences of several paratextual elements, iconic and textual. In the earlier cluster, the elements comprise iconic paratext, physical format, and several elements of textual paratext: the form of the author's name, authorial textual paratext, and publisher's prefatorial textual paratext; while in the cluster of modern editions, the interaction happens chiefly between the iconic and publisher's prefatorial textual paratext. The earlier cluster is comprised of 18 editions and reprints (six in French, one in Russian, one English-

language continental, and ten English-language published in England) that can be described as sentimental or romantic novels targeting leisured middle or upper-middle-class female readers, or, as it is directly stated in the editorial preface to several of the French editions, “*lecteurs délicats*” (gentle readers). One of their shared paratextual characteristics is the iconic paratext, both pictorial/illustrative and decorative, with distinct sentimental and romantic overtones. There are no wild scenes with a biting monkey and a rough sea captain; instead, the decorative paratext, found in five of the 18 editions, abounds with printer’s ornaments laden with romance and sentiment (flowers, cupids, pastoral landscapes, etc.). Similarly, illustrative/pictorial paratext predominantly shows Evelina either interacting with her suitors, Lord Orville and Sir Clement (sometimes including other characters in the scenes), in romantic or refined settings, or in emotional encounters with her illegitimate brother or her erring father. The characters in all illustrative/pictorial are dressed according to the fashions of the time of the book’s publication and thus are modernised to look more contemporary and relatable to their readers.

This iconic paratext is supported by the textual one, as all these editions demonstrate a clear tendency not to overburden their readers with the extensive textual prefatorial matter, while the majority of them also emphasise the female authorship of the book. Twelve of these 18 editions included either none of Burney’s authorial paratext (dedication in verse to her father, dedication in prose to reviewers, and the preface) or included it only partially. In addition, ten editions and reprints in total do not have any editorial prefatorial prefaces, confirming the general tendency towards the reduction of textual prefatorial matter that follows iconic paratext with sentimental and romantic tone and expressive content. In eight of the 12 editions, for which publishers omitted all of Burney’s prefaces with their elevated, serious, and intellectual overtones, they replaced them with their own editorial prefatorial paratext, underlining and emphasising the sentimental and

romantic character of the novel. French and Russian publishers replaced it with highly sentimentalised editorial introductions, featuring false tear-jerking anecdotes about Burney (wrote the novel when she was 17 to amuse her sick father), direct characterisation of the plot of the novel in unequivocally sentimental terms (it is about a young girl with a virtuous soul, cultivated spirit, and a feeling heart raised away from the world), or verse with a full panoply of Rousseauesque tropes. The four *Evelinas* (Pratt/1842, Pratt/1845, Ward, Lock & Tyler/1874/yellowback, and Ward, Lock & Tyler/1882/yellowback) that included Burney's authorial paratext selectively, uniformly kept her rather sentimental dedication to her father, and equally uniformly disposed of the solemn and somewhat highbrow dedication to the authors of critical reviews.

In addition, in the majority of 18 *Evelinas* forming the early cluster, the iconic paratext with sentimental and romantic tones is subtly supported by two other important paratextual elements: the form of the author's name and the size of the book. Fourteen of them chose to indicate "Miss Burney" as the author of the book (as the only designation or in combination with Mme D'Arblay). As discussed in detail above (see section 6.1.1.3), this designation capitalises on the name recognition of an author known for her decorous femininity and brings in "Miss" with its multiple layers of meaning: virginal undertones of the honorific, feminised authorial image, presumed inherent understanding of sentimental subjects, and appeal to femininity shared with prospective readers. This name form supports the iconic paratext and, if present, editorial prefatorial paratext, reinforcing the presentation of these editions as a book that should appeal to, and is destined for, a female audience.

Lastly, the physical size of the majority of these 18 *Evelinas* implicitly confirms its intended audience. According to Genette, book formats since the classical period provided an

“implicit and thus very unofficial genre indication.”⁴⁶⁹ Since the early modern period, weighty and tall folio and quarto formats have been associated with scholarly, legal, religious, and scientific publications, since the 18th – 19th centuries, while smaller formats such as octavo and duodecimo (generally no more than 17-18 cm high) were reserved for fiction, poetry and novels. The majority of *Evelinas* published during this period are predictably in the octavo and duodecimo formats. However, of the 18 books with sentimental and romantic iconic paratext, 12 are the smallest in size of the entire corpus, 12 – 13 cm high (See Image 42). As it has been demonstrated before, since the time of books becoming more widely available in the 17th century and until the present, women have been challenged and restricted in the act of reading and in choice of reading matter.⁴⁷⁰ Throughout the time of the publication of these 12 diminutive editions of *Evelina*, from the late 18th - 19th centuries, novel reading was seen as a sensual experience prone to polluting the purity of women’s, and especially young unmarried women’s, hearts by producing mental and sexual excitement and rendering ordinary life uninteresting.⁴⁷¹ One consequence of this policing of mind was publishers’ choice of smaller sizes for the books, especially novels, which they were endeavouring to sell to a female audience. Even as late as the mid-19th century, “women were interested in [...] small and discreet format (which was easier to hide). It was light and congenial.”⁴⁷² These 12 *Evelinas* are no more than 12 – 13 cm high and 8 – 10 cm wide, light, with the text block printed on very thin light paper and in a tiny roman type. Even if bound in one single volume, they could be easily concealed in a woman’s reticule or dress pocket that since the 16th

⁴⁶⁹ Genette, *Paratexts*, 102.

⁴⁷⁰ See for example, Batchelor and Kaplan, *Women and Material Culture, 1660-1830*; Gallagher, *Nobody's Story*; Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain*; Radway, *Reading the Romance*; Singley and Sweeney, *Anxious Power*.

⁴⁷¹ Curtis, *Visual Words*, 235-42.

⁴⁷² Olivero, “The Paperback Revolution in France, 1850–1950,” 85.

century “provided the wearer with an individual and personal space.”⁴⁷³ Thus, the small physical size additionally identifies these editions as intended for a female audience.

Image 42: Example of a Small-size *Evelina*



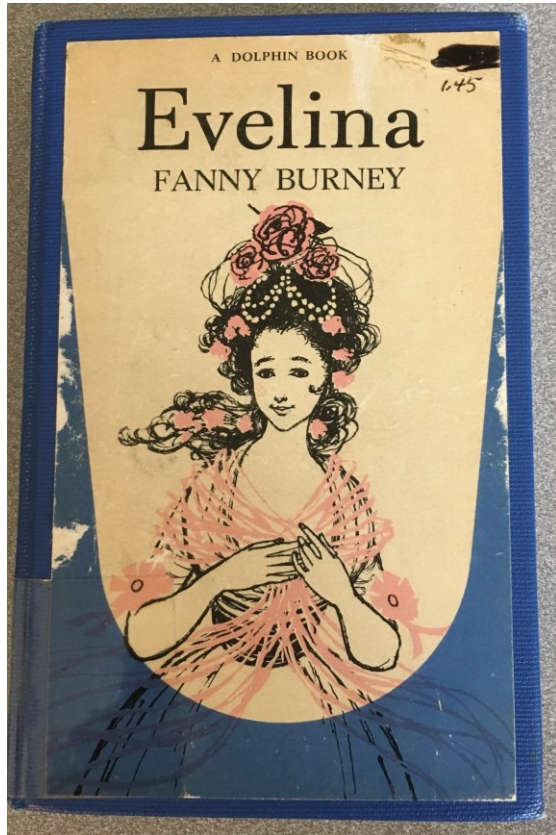
The paratextual features particular to any book are predefined by numerous unique and naturally occurring causes and circumstances, specific to each book, publisher, time, location, etc. Therefore, books cannot be rigidly categorised according to mutually exclusive features. The 18 editions discussed in the paragraphs above represent the most salient examples of interactions and co-occurrences between different types of paratext, iconic and textual, which produced the type of *Evelina* as a romantic novel, destined for female readers and buyers. There were several other editions, though lacking such an explicit indication as iconic paratext, where publishers suggested the same prospective audience through the means of prefatorial textual paratext (Changuion/1779/French, Changuion/1780/French, and Bouillon/1784/French), sometimes

⁴⁷³ Unsworth, “Hands Deep in History,” 148.

combined with author's name form, "Miss Burney" (Maradan/1797/French), and with the small book size (Lowndes & others/1814/small).

Equally, the editions of *Evelina* with a similar implied genre and intended audience of romance novel that form the later cluster (the late 20th – early 21st centuries) do not contain all the paratextual features of the earlier cluster. The general course of book history made some of those paratextual features, such as editorial prefaces deliberately distorting the truth or cavalier treatment of authorial paratext, disappear. However, the paratext, iconic and textual, of ten modern editions, indicates that these *Evelinas* are presented by their publishers to their readers as belonging to the genre of historical romance. This genre is suggested by the iconic paratext, sometimes unambiguously (See Image 43): in-text illustration with languid 18th-century figures (Heron/1968) or cover drawings of a pretty, young, sweet-smiling girl, with pink flowers and pearls in her hair, pink ribbons, and pink shawl dressed in a stylised 18th-century gown on a white and baby-blue background (Doubleday/1960), open fans of dark pink (Penguin/2012/English Library), and a horse-drawn carriage on light purple (Large print/2014). In other cases, the genre is implied more subtly by using reproductions of various romantic paintings of attractive women as the cover art in Jose Corti/1991/French, Bantam/1992, Signet/1992, Random/2001, Fazi/2001/Italian, and Asturias d'Epoca/2013/Spanish. The tone of iconic paratext is reinforced by the textual paratext. The cover blurbs in these editions are replete with interchangeable clichés, their language directly suggesting the historical romance genre, and the overall qualities of the books as light, no-so-taxing reading. This is supported by short to mid-length prefatorial matter, which if doing more justice to the qualities and significance of the text, still does not omit discussion of the most captivating, romantic, and sensational details of its history and Burney's life, which reinforce the impression created by the imagery and cover blurbs.

Image 43: Cover image in Doubleday/1960



6.3.3.2 Affordable *Evelina*

Not only can the tone and expressive content of iconic paratext signal something about the book and its intended audience, but also its mere presence or absence in a book has a meaning implicitly understood by all the agents involved in the life-cycle of the book. This is especially true for the editions published before the mid-20th century, as image production was until that time a particularly costly process, so their presence would unmistakably signal to a prospective buyer the price range of the book, and to the booksellers, deciding to stock their shop with the edition, the audience that the publisher intended to reach. In the course of the present study, it was discovered that 72 *Evelinas* (excluding dramatic adaptations) were published unillustrated. Interestingly, among the 105 *Evelinas* published before, 1914 the majority, 55, had some sort of iconic paratext,

so slightly less than a half were issued unillustrated, which does not correspond to the general trend in book history, as most books in the 19th – early 20th century were found to be published without iconic paratext.⁴⁷⁴ This could be seen as an indication of the continuous appeal of *Evelina*, even when the novel ceased to be new, across all segments of the book market, especially of its appeal to more affluent readers since only the novel's popularity among this audience would warrant publishers' investment in the production of illustrations. The editions and reprints of *Evelina*, issued without any iconic paratext, do not all belong to the same type, even though, predictably, the majority of them are cheap editions meant for the lower segment of the book market. An exception is, for example, the costly Rivington/1810/British Novelists and Rivington/1820/British Novelists that were published without any illustrations or decorative embellishments, as were all the titles in this canon-setting collection of English literature.

Affordable reprints, targeting less affluent customers, constitute the majority of *Evelinas* where iconic paratext is absent. When the absence of the iconic paratext is correlated with the absence of textual paratext, authorial and publishers' prefatorial matters, and the material paratext (quality of paper and printing), two distinct clusters emerge. The first one is 13 earlier English-language editions, published in the late 18th – early 19th century, openly pirated or produced in the grey legal area outside of the zone of influence of English copyright law (e.g. Irish, Scottish, continental, or early American). None of them has any publisher's prefatorial paratext, and the majority does not reproduce all Burney's prefatorial texts, keeping only her dedication to her father, while skipping the lengthy preface and dedication to the critics. This decision to cut the prefatorial matters to the bare minimum is another hallmark of a cheap edition. Paper was an expensive commodity, so to produce more affordable books, the publishers had to eliminate all

⁴⁷⁴ Twyman, "The Illustration Revolution," 143.

that could be eliminated. The material paratext, especially in the early American editions, poor quality of the paper, closely set type, and narrow margins, also signals low cost and affordability.

The second cluster is formed by 15 19th-century English-language editions published in England, on the continent, and in the US, after the end of the Napoleonic wars and before the appearance of *Evelina* in the transformative and innovative *Everyman's Library* series. Similarly to the earlier cluster, in these editions, to the absence of illustrations is added a general absence of publisher's paratext (except for a short paragraph in Harper's/1878/Franklin library). On the other hand, as opposed to the earlier cluster, the majority respected the integrity of the authorial paratext, reproducing it all, which reflects the growing recognition of the role of the author in the book industry. Interestingly, two American *Evelinas*, which display the poorest quality of printing and paper, Harper's/1878/Franklin library and Burt/1905, are the only ones that do not reproduce any of Burney's prefatorial matter, confirming the trends recognised in the previous research. As the study of the publishing history of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* showed, cheap American editions kept the paratextual characteristics of the early books published for the lower segments of the market, such as mediocre printing quality, bad paper, absence of publisher's paratext, and inconsiderate treatment of authorial paratext, well into the 19th century, as opposed to the improved quality of affordable English and continental editions published at the same time.

6.3.3.3 *Evelina* with a "Marked Degree of Refinement"

A well-defined, although short-lived, type of *Evelina* was published during *fin de siècle*, the period of a simultaneously present consciousness of the aesthetical aspects of the book as physical objects, awakened by Art Nouveau, Arts and Crafts, and the revival of printing movements, and a typical late Victorian and Edwardian nostalgia for idealized and genteel pre-industrial society. The type

of editions that comprises Dent/1893, Newnes/1898, Dent/1903/Temple, Macmillan/1903, Century Co/1906 (to a certain degree), and their ten reprints is created by the interaction and co-occurrences in the same physical books of several kinds of paratext: iconic, material, and publishers' prefatorial textual paratext, all contributing to the creation of elegant and even sophisticated books.

One of their main shared characteristics is the iconic paratext, both pictorial/illustrative and decorative. All *Evelinas* of this type are well, and sometimes extensively, illustrated (e.g. 16 illustrations in Newnes/1898 and 75 in Macmillan/1903) and decorated with ornamental head- and tail-pieces, engraved title pages, which were sometimes in two colours (red and black), enclosed in decorative borders (Dent/1893, Newnes/1898, and Dent/1903/Temple), or embellished with illustrative cameos (Macmillan/1903 and Century Co/1906). The pictorial/illustrative iconic paratext, as opposed to illustrations in earlier editions with their romantic overtones visually modernising the books, accurately reflects the time and settings of the plot, the 18th-century society, while its overall tone is the one of nostalgic and graceful elegance. In illustrations, idealised charming and refined figures (and even less refined characters) in 18th-century fashions and interiors are depicted with grace and gentle humour. The decorative iconic paratext on covers and the material make-up of the books of this type echoes and supports the pictorial/illustrative iconic paratext. Some editions are more elegant and even lavish: Macmillan/1903, in green jewel-coloured cover and spine, fully decorated with embossed gilt tooling and three gilt edges, printed on thick glossy paper; Dent/1893, light and slim, bound in light-green smooth and thin cloth, with gilt lettering and intricate gilt cover decorations and gilded or deckled edges, printed on hand-made paper (or its good imitation); Dent/1903/Temple, tiny, slim, and elegant, with covers soft to the touch, bound in dull green leatherette with gilt ornaments on spine and cover, printed on

exceedingly thin but strong and smooth paper in beautiful roman type and blackletter. The other two (Newnes/1898 and Century Co/1906) are more modest but are still made with conscious attention to their make-up, bound in cloth bindings with decorative elements on covers and spines.

This iconic and material paratext is unfailingly supported by the textual paratext (albeit with some variation in degree, form, and content), contributing to the creation of the type of *Evelina* with emphasised aesthetical qualities. Drawing attention to the pictorial and decorative aspects of the book, Dent/1893, Newnes/1898, Macmillan/1903, and Century Co/1906 and their reprints include lists of illustrations, while the names of illustrators Hugh Thomson and Arthur Rackham are featured on the covers and titles pages of Newnes/1898 and Macmillan/1903. Publishers' prefatorial paratext in two of the three most visually attractive editions, Dent/1893 and Macmillan/1903, reinforces the refined and nostalgic tone of the iconic paratext with the accounts of Burney's cultured family and father, the brilliant atmosphere in his house full of celebrities, and Burney's own old-fashioned grace, sensibility, delicate feelings, refinement, and sense of decorum, and thorough respectability and graceful freshness of the novel. The elegance of the iconic and material paratexts in these two editions are also subtly strengthened by the discussion (and the language of this discussion) of the previous illustrative history of the novel. Both prefaces mention "delicate," "delightful," and "lovely" "little drawings" for *Evelina* by Edward Francis Burney, "a favoured pupil of Sir Joshua Reynolds," that were exhibited at the Royal Academy. Lastly, in Macmillan/1903, an anecdote about Catherine II of Russia, one of the epitomes of the luxurious 18th century, who (possibly) commissioned a series of illustrative compositions from *Evelina*, is recounted at the end of the preface and echoes lavish and elaborate iconic and material paratext of the book.

6.3.3.4 Scholarly *Evelina*: Contextualizing a Classic

The last type of *Evelina*, a contextual annotated edition, educational and scholarly, took shape in the 20th century. There have been 15 editions and reprints, from Gregg/1920 to Oxford/2008/Jones, where paratext, iconic and textual, signalled this distinct book type. Its appearance is due to developments in the book history and general history, and in Burney's literary afterlife. In the 20th century (especially in its second half), the democratisation of access to education created a need for publications helping students coming from various backgrounds to contextualise and understand early works and their realities, sometimes far removed from their readers. Industrialisation and the lowering costs of paper and the printing process made the publication of literary works with added various kinds of study aids economically viable. At the same time, the development of literary scholarship brought about what was called a "seemingly insatiable scholarly quest to somehow 'know,' 'fix,' and 'catalogue' the meaning of the books, an act reflected most notably in the production of annotated editions, which speculate upon and expand authorial inclusions and references."⁴⁷⁵ These combined conditions created a favourable climate for publication of numerous annotated editions of recognised classics, while Burney's rising literary status naturally led to the appearance of such editions of *Evelina*.

These editions share several common characteristics in their iconic and textual paratext. First, and most obviously, they demonstrate a heightened degree of attention to the integrity of the work, reproducing all Burney's authorial paratext with no alterations. As is usual for scholarly editions,⁴⁷⁶ such attention is also signalled in publishers' paratext by an almost ritual mention and emphasis on the copy-text used in this particular book: in the preface (e.g. Oxford/1930/MacKinnon and Norton/1998/Critical) or in a separate *Note on the Text* (e.g.

⁴⁷⁵ Jaques and Giddens, *Lewis Carroll's Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and through the Looking Glass*, 105.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 104.

Oxford/1968/Bloom, Penguin/1994/Classics Bedford/1997, Broadview/2000, Oxford/2002/Jones, etc.).

Another feature common to this type of *Evelina* is both the presence and the amount of publisher's textual paratext, where publishers undoubtedly rely on a shared understanding of what should be in a scholarly edition. As noted in previous research, "greater status, as well as a clear pitch for the student market, could also be gained through the use of a suitable academic commentary to lend the edition a scholarly imprimatur."⁴⁷⁷ All 15 editions and reprints include a plethora, sometimes reaching the point of overwhelming the text, of prefaces, introductions, footnotes, endnotes, notes, appendices, postfaces, excerpts from the 18th-century conduct books, reprints of reviews, bibliographies, and chronologies. While undeniably providing a useful context to *Evelina* for students and educators, the variety of publishers' textual paratext is also a recognised means used by publishers of scholarly editions to show their awareness of "new protocols of reading, and new uses for the book," as well as of "an effort to keep pace with changing interpretation of the novel"⁴⁷⁸ to ultimately demonstrate the value and scholarly merits of their own edition. In 15 *Evelinas* that belong to the type of scholarly annotated book, publishers' textual paratext is also uniformly lengthy, running from tens to more than 200 pages (Norton/1998/Critical). It is also, in certain cases, only somewhat marginally related to the book (some appendices in Oxford/1930/MacKinnon and Broadview/2000), demonstrating similarities with other annotated editions of classics, e.g. Martin Gardner's annotated edition of *Alice* that included largely irrelevant paratextual material⁴⁷⁹ and school editions of *Cranford* "forced to stagger under a corpus of notes and study aides."⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁷ McCleery, "The 1969 Edition of *Ulysses*," 67.

⁴⁷⁸ Parfait, *The Publishing History of Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 193.

⁴⁷⁹ Jaques and Giddens, *Lewis Carroll's Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and through the Looking Glass*, 105.

⁴⁸⁰ Recchio, *Elizabeth Gaskell's Cranford*, 159, citing Hopkins, *Elizabeth Gaskell, Her Life and Work*, 103.

The last element of publisher's textual paratext that serves as an indication of the editions' type for prospective readers is literary series. In modern highly fragmented literary publishing, the inclusion of a work in a specific series is a clear indication that the book belongs to a certain type.⁴⁸¹ The earliest edition in this group, Gregg/1920, indicates this somewhat indirectly, by appending the academic degree of the editor to the name of the series on the title page "*Living literature series*. Richard Burton, Ph. D., Editor-in-Chief." However, 12 editions and reprints, issued since Oxford/1968/Bloom, have been published in the series explicitly destined for annotated scholarly editions: *Oxford English Novels*, *Oxford World's Classics*, *Penguin Classics*, *Bedford Cultural Editions*, *Norton Critical Editions*, and *Broadview Literary Texts*.

The textual paratext, both authorial, and editorial, unambiguously pointing to the scholarly type of edition, is reinforced in the majority of these 15 *Evelinas* by similarly obvious iconic paratext, factual and symbolic/allusive, both in text and on covers. The factual paratext found in Gregg/1920, Oxford/1930/MacKinnon, Oxford/1938/MacKinnon, and Bedford/1997 is comprised of engravings and maps, related to the novel by being representations of the places of its action and portraits of 18th-century social and literary figures. It fulfils the same function as publishers' textual paratext, not illustrating the novel, but providing a context for its understanding and study. Similarly, the symbolic/allusive paratext on the covers of 11 of these 15 editions published since 1970 does not illustrate the novel but suggests the time and place of its action. In ten of them, the cover art is reproductions of period paintings of fashionable crowds or women portraits in 18th-century fashions and surroundings. The paintings, set in 18th century London, are sometimes marginally related to Burney's novel, representing a place mentioned in the text (Oxford/1982/Bloom, Penguin/1994/Classics, and Oxford/2002/Jones), while in other editions,

⁴⁸¹ Genette, *Paratexts*, 22-23.

they have no connection to the book whatsoever besides the depicted time (Bedford/1997, Norton/1998, Broadview/2000, Oxford/2008/Jones). This symbolic/allusive iconic paratext, reproductions of paintings contemporary to the time and the context of the novel, that, since the 1980s, has been a recognised sign of an edition of a classical work, correlates with an extensive publisher's textual paratext, reinforcing the presentation of these *Evelinas* as contextual annotated editions of a classic.

6.3.4 Iconic Paratext: A Summary

This study found that the evolution of the iconic paratext in *Evelina* followed general trends in book history and technological developments in the production of illustrations. Its early iconic paratext is typical for the late 18th century novels: decorative and symbolic/allusive printer's ornaments and frontispiece plot-based illustrations. Progress in printing and image-reproduction technologies in the 1820s – 1830s led to the appearance of a strong market for illustrated printed matter. Several of the 19th-century publishers chose to produce a number of editions illustrated with woodcuts and steel engravings to boost the sales of their editions the novel that enjoyed steady popularity among the reading public. At the turn of the century, increased attention to the visual make-up of books and their aesthetic qualities, typical of *fin de siècle* book publishing, resulted in several highly ornamental editions of *Evelina* decorated with large numbers of quality illustrations executed by known artists. Lastly, all 19 editions and reprints of *Evelina* in English, French, Italian, and Spanish that appeared since 1970 invariably feature cover art or fully illustrated covers, sometimes combined with in-text art or plot-based illustrations exemplifying advances in colour printing and heightened competition on the market in the second half of the 20th century, which led to the wide-spread adoption of illustrated book covers as promotional devices. Following

general trends in book illustrations, and under the influence of such factors as prevalent style of the time and, most often, the intended audience, to whom *Evelina* was presented as belonging to a certain genre and promising a certain type of reading experience, its iconic paratext demonstrated a distinct evolution from the pictorial/illustrative iconic paratext, which highlighted the plot of the novel, to the factual and symbolic/allusive paratext. As the iconic paratext is one of the most important publisher's tempting devices, this shift demonstrates that modern editions of *Evelina* both popular and scholarly are presented and promoted to their readers less as a specific novel with its own plot but as an 18th-century classic work of fiction.

During the 240-year publication history of *Evelina*, publishers have employed a combination of iconic and textual paratext to repackaging the book for different audiences that resulted in four distinguishable types of editions of *Evelina*: the sentimental and romantic novel destined for a female audience, reprint for modest-income readers, book for the aesthetically-conscious public of *fin de siècle*, and contextual scholarly edition targeting students of literature and educators. The type of *Evelina* as a romantic novel is created by the interactions and co-occurrences of iconic paratext, physical format, form of the author's name, and a minimal amount of authorial and/or publisher's textual paratext. The affordable reprints type, targeting less affluent customers, is created mostly by the co-occurrence of an always-absent iconic paratext, the omission or reduction of Burney's prefatorial paratext, not present or minimal publishers' prefatorial matters, and material paratext, poor quality of paper and printing. The *fin de siècle* type is characterised by a high degree of attention to iconic and material paratext: elegant illustrations with faithful reproduction of 18th-century fashions and settings, attractively designed and bound covers, gilding on covers and edges, and very good quality or even hand-made paper. This is supported by publisher's textual paratext emphasising the aesthetical merits of the edition and

refined qualities of the book and its author. The last identified type of *Evelina*, the contextual annotated edition, educational and scholarly, is created by a marked and stressed degree of attention to the integrity of the work (reproduction of all Burney's authorial paratext with no alterations and emphasis on the used copy-text), the plethora of lengthy and varied publisher's textual paratext, inclusion in a series with the scholarly and educational focus, and iconic paratext, factual and symbolic/allusive both in text and on covers that, instead of illustrating the novel, provides a context for its understanding and study.

7. Conclusion

This chapter highlights the findings of the study, stating their significance for the advancement of knowledge, describes the limitations, and sets directions for future research.

7.1 Key Findings & Contributions to the Advancement of Knowledge

This research had as its goal finding a solution to the following research problem: the insufficiency of knowledge regarding the evolution of the entirety of paratextual apparatus in the book during an extended period of time. The study of the case of one single text, *Evelina* by Burney, was designed to discover, describe and interpret the evolution of its paratextual features. To solve the research problem, in the course of this historical and descriptive case study, four research questions were answered (see section 1.2).

The research was conceptualised in the theoretical approach of the sociology of texts offered by McKenzie that has at its core the study of books as historical artefacts and the product of a complex interplay of the work of all the agents involved in their production. This allowed the medium-centered focus of the research that studied material features of multiple editions of *Evelina* in historical context. The bio-bibliographical circuit proposed by Adams and Barker for the study of the book history was adopted as an underlining theoretical model of this research. The bio-bibliographical circuit puts emphasis on the book as a material object defining five main events of book's life-cycle and four groups of societal factors influencing each event. Adoption of the model allowed to delimit the scope of this study that was chiefly based on in-depth examination of physical books to concentrate it on three events in the history of *Evelina*: publication, manufacture, and survival.

The paratextual theory and the taxonomy of paratext, a set of elements, iconic, material, and textual, which makes the books physically present and enables a text to become a book, developed by Genette, constituted the main theoretical and analytical lens for the study. The paratextual elements of each book were analysed and interpreted through the lens of this theory to reveal how they were used and designed to convey meaning and to influence the perception of the book by its readers. All bibliographical codes, physical features, and preliminary matters were analysed as material evidence of the past, as the evidence of their social history of transmission. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* was used consistently as the point of reference during the analysis of each paratextual element, its functions, and “paratextual message.”⁴⁸² Using Genette’s paratextual theory as a central theoretical and analytical lens in the study of the publishing history of *Evelina* made it possible to analyse material and textual features of the books as the means used by books’ publishers to influence books’ readers and buyers, and to reveal how the novel’s paratextual packaging reflected shifts in the presentation of the novel to its readers and corresponded to its changing status in the literary canon. Building this study of the publishing history of *Evelina* on the theoretical, conceptual, and methodological foundations described above, positioned it within the scholarly output in book history that examines the medium of the physical book as the evidence of the history of publishing and as a device producing an impact on its readers and purchasers. Consequently, it made it possible for this study not only to discover and describe the publishing history of a particular book, *Evelina*, but also to contribute to the growth of knowledge in this area of scholarly inquiry.

RQ 1 and RQ 2 were addressed in *Chapter 5: Results & Discussion: Evelina’s Publication History*. Exhaustive bibliographic searches were carried out to discover all editions and reprints of

⁴⁸² Genette, *Paratexts*, 4.

Evelina published to the present. It has been found that the only bibliography of Burney's work by Grau is incomplete, with multiple editions and reprints of *Evelina* missing, and with a number listed erroneously, reprints wrongly attributed to particular editions, editions listed as reprints, and reprints as editions. It has been found that, from 1778 until 2014, *Evelina* was published in 167 editions and reprints, including five in literary digests, and in three dramatic adaptations. Of 167, only 99 *Evelinas*, 57 of them unique editions and 42 reprints, were listed in the bibliography by Grau, in addition to two dramatic adaptations, in German and English. In the course of the present study, a total of 68 *Evelinas* not listed in bibliographical sources were found (43 editions and 25 reprints), plus one dramatic adaptation in Dutch. This study allowed the correction of the errors in the attribution of editions and reprints, and most importantly, the discovery of editions and reprints, which existence was hereto unknown to a wider scholarly community.

For 240 years, *Evelina* was steadily published in English, with a total of 76 English editions and 67 reprints (plus one dramatic adaptation, *The Poor Lodger*), never going out of print, with at least one *Evelina* (the 1970s and the 1980s) and up to 14 (the 1900s) published per decade. While the predominant majority of editions and reprints of *Evelina* were published in English (143 out of 167), there have been 23 translated editions and one reprint in 10 other languages (French, Dutch, Danish, German, Italian, Polish, Romanian, Russian, Spanish, and Swedish) and one in English Braille. Only 11 of these were listed in the previous bibliography, while 14 were uncovered in the course of the present study. Knowledge of the existence of these editions enriches and changes our understanding of the publication history of this novel, demonstrating a full picture of its reach to the reading public in Britain and abroad.

The publication history of *Evelina* was historicised in the context of the world and European history, history of the book, histories of publishing houses, and Burney's literary life.

This allowed uncovering patterns in the distribution of its publication dates and paratextual features of the book and their correlation with events in Burney's life, technological developments in the book history, historical events, and aesthetic movements. Its publication history is a vivid testimony of the general course of the book history for the period, and especially of the British book history. The only notable exception is the prolonged absence of editorial prefaces in English editions of the novel (from 1820 to 1860), which is contrary to the general trend in the 19th century's publishing when appending a preface to a book was almost requisite. The rest of *Evelina* publication history illustrates most of the book history's important or even pivotal developments. Its publication numbers testify to the rise of the novel to become a dominant published literary form. *Evelina* marked the transition of the novel into a respectable genre and illustrated the slow pace of development of international copyright protection, as it was translated, pirated, and reprinted without the permission of the rights holder in Ireland, America, and on the continent. Its Regency-time editions, paratextually modelled after "rambling" texts on London life, exemplify both the vogue for this type of book and the social atmosphere that caused the demand, characterised by extravagance, debauchery, gambling, and heavy drinking. During its life, *Evelina* was published in a range of editions in English of varying quality, from cheap editions to series aimed at upper segments of the middle class. This range exemplifies technological progress in printing and publishing, and the subsequent rise of affordability of the book in the 19th century, while its *fin de siècle* editions demonstrate changing tastes of the reading public, and technical and aesthetic developments in book design. A variety of its modern popular and scholarly editions included in various literary series illustrates the dominance of series publishing, a consequence of the increased diversification and competition on the book market in modern times. Lastly, its annotated editions published in various series of "classics" mark the rise of Burney's own status

as the author, illustrate the reformulation and enlargement of the literary canon in the second half of the 20th century, and exemplify a development of a strong market for educational books.

RQ 3 and RQ 4 were addressed in *Chapter 6: Results & Discussion: Paratextual Elements and Their Evolution*. This chapter traced the history of the development of individual paratextual elements, such as titles, author name's form, publishers' prefatorial paratext, author's prefatorial paratext, and iconic paratext, and their mutual interactions in the course of the novel's publishing history. The publication history of *Evelina* has lasted for more than 240 years, during which society, book publishing industry, and Burney's reputation as a writer went through multiple transformative changes. The evolution of each separate paratextual element was described, analysed, and discussed in relation to previous literature and historicised in the context of the book and general history, and of Burney's literary life. By considering the transformation of each element in the light of general developments in book history, it was demonstrated how they changed and evolved, influenced by historical, cultural, technological, and aesthetical forces. Comparisons of the same element in books, produced by different publishers, revealed how the publishers manipulated the paratext in the novel to respond to the dynamically developing book market.

It was found that the form and content of the title page of *Evelina* were modified to correspond to new publishing conventions and changing tastes of the reading public, in order to fulfil its marketing or, as Genette calls it, tempting function. In their look and feel (fonts, use of visual elements and images, etc.), the title page of *Evelina* almost always stayed modern-looking to be appealing for their contemporary readers. The changes that it went through did not go against the general trend of book history, but rather could serve as an illustration of the history of this paratextual element. It was found for example, that most of its 18th – early 19th-century title pages

were typographical and often included some (largely false) statements about the newness of the edition, as publishers were following a practice common since the 16th century and exploited strong attraction of new reading matter to the contemporary public. Later, when the work of literary editors was becoming more recognised, the title page of *Evelina* began to include information on the editors or additional materials contained in the book to underline an enhanced value of their editions and quality of their textual and paratextual content.

It was discovered that the name of the author and the title of the book, two most important elements of the title page, have not stayed constant, displaying significant variation and fluidity in their forms, reflecting general cultural and societal trends, and thus, allowing the book to stay relevant and attractive for new generations of readers. The study found that four forms of Burney's name have been used most often: anonymous, "Miss Burney," "Frances Burney," and "Fanny Burney," with the occasional "Author of..." referring to one or several other Burney's works and "Madame D'Arblay," the latter most often used in combination with other forms than on its own. In Victorian times, with their emphasis on the conventional image of the woman, "Miss Burney" became an established feature on the title page of *Evelina* with two other forms infrequently interloping, "Madame D'Arblay" and "Author of." At the end of the 19th century, both "Miss Burney" and "Madame D'Arblay" were completely replaced by "Frances Burney" and "Fanny Burney," illustrating a general shift from the perception of female authors as a separate class of writers with extra stress on their gender, towards their inclusion in the general literary landscape.

Even though the title of *Evelina* did not display such a variety of forms as the author's name, this study shows that the only part of the title that has not been changed was the title proper, while the subtitle went through several iterations, adding genre elements, occasionally becoming rhematic, or as happened in one particular instance, turning into something entirely different. There

were four forms of title encountered most frequently. Three of them differ by a variation in the subtitle: *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's **Entrance** into the World*, *Evelina: Or, the **History** of a Young Lady's **Entrance** into the World*, and *Evelina: Or, the **History** of a Young Lady's **Introduction** to the World*, while the fourth one, being reduced to its simply title proper, *Evelina*, omitted the descriptive subtitle altogether. There are several noticeable and distinctive time-periods when specific title forms were more prevalent. Thus, the initial title *Evelina/ Entrance* was most frequently used until the early 19th century, with only four other editions published in the second half of the 20th century. *Evelina/ History/ Entrance* was the title second to appear and is the most frequent form that was found on title pages of 73 books, published from 1779 to the 2010s. *Evelina*, where the descriptive subtitle was dropped by the publishers became an established form from early 20th century and continues to be used to the present, rivalling, in frequency, with *Evelina/ History/ Entrance*. The most interesting among four forms of the title is the usage of *Evelina/ History/ Introduction*, limited to the distinct period, the 1810s - 1880s when it was a largely predominant form to a nearly total exclusion of three others. This title form, where *Evelina* shifts from being an agent (or an actor) to become a passive subject of the action of an unknown entity, who introduces her into the world, perfectly aligns with the cultural expectations of the time. This form of the title, *Evelina/ History/ Introduction*, was the most prevalent, when the idea of the woman as the angel of the house, devoted to family and husband, submissive, self-sacrificing, and passive, took shape and became the societal norm. With this changed title and an implied passivity of the heroine, the book would have had more appeal to the Victorian audience, especially because this title was almost uniformly found with the two most formal forms of the author's name ("Miss Burney" and "Madame D'Arblay") supporting its decorous undertones.

Besides the title of the book, of all main textual paratextual elements present in *Evelina*, only three others are authorial: a dedication in verse to her father, a dedication to critics, and a preface. The meaning and content of these paratextual elements have been discussed before by literary scholars. However, their presence or absence throughout the long publication history of the novel and other modifications of and manipulations in their form introduced by publishers have not been previously studied. During the long publication history of *Evelina*, some publishers reprinted the authorial prefatorial paratext faithfully, without any alterations or omissions, while others omitted one, two, or all three elements of Burney's introductory material, or gave the elements additional explanatory titles. It was found that there are distinct trends in the kinds and types of editions where Burney's authorial paratext was omitted or changed, and with regard to the periods when the alterations occurred. Most cases of the omissions were observed up to the middle of the 19th century in earlier translated editions and cheap reprints when publishers of these types of books, were less disposed to respect the integrity of a literary work. On the other hand, most instances of giving additional headings to Burney's paratext fall in the mid-19th – mid-20th century. Most of them were supplied by the publishers of affordable editions targeting a readership that would benefit from additional contextualisation of Burney's lengthy authorial paratext, written in the antiquated and solemn language. Giving clear headings to Burney's lengthy prefatorial apparatus contextualised it for non-specialist readers as coming from an 18th-century author ("Original" or "Author's") and subtly provided the readers with a possibility to easily skip it and engage directly with the text of the novel, by delimitating the margins and limits of text and paratext more clearly. In these editions, adding extra headings to Burney's paratext was a compromise between preserving the integrity of the author's text and deterring potential non-

specialist book buyers, who if not assisted with supplementary headings, could have been discouraged by the amount and language of authorial paratext from purchasing the book.

The publisher's textual paratext is the element that displayed the greatest variations. Two most important factors that influenced its form and evolution were Burney's reputation as a writer, and the intended audience of the book. The editorial preface was added to the prefatorial matter of the novel in the early foreign editions, French and Russian, where Burney's paratext was replaced with sentimentalised prefaces emphasising the romantic character of the novel, marketing it to a female audience. The damage caused to Burney's reputation as a writer in the early 19th century by the vicious critics of her later works, Hazlitt and, especially, Croker, was followed by a 40-year absence of publishers' paratext. During this period, *Evelina* was widely published, but contrary to the established practice of the time when appending a preface to a book was almost requisite, it was not prefaced. Only in the late 19th century, after Burney's reputation as a writer and especially diarist began to rise again, did *Evelina* become consistently prefaced. Published by Bell, Dent, and Macmillan with the extensive prefatorial matter, their *Evelinas* and consequently their publishers' textual paratext dominated the market, introducing more than 77% of all editions published in English for the next 80 years until the end of the 1950s. From the 1960s onwards, Burney's reputation as a novelist and playwright worthy of attention was gradually recovered due to the efforts of Joyce Hemlow and later feminist critics. This was reflected in the publishers' prefatorial paratext in modern popular and scholarly editions. Even though in popular editions, cover blurbs with sensational and light overtones stress the qualities of the book as entertaining reading, in marked contrast, the more substantive publisher's prefatorial paratext does justice to the importance and complexity of the novel. Lastly, the 20th century saw the appearance of scholarly

editions of *Evelina*, destined for the educational and academic market, with their typical multiplication, diversification, and increase in quality of publisher's textual paratext.

This study reveals that the evolution of the iconic paratext in *Evelina* followed general trends in book history and technological developments in the production of illustrations. Its early publishers used various types of iconic paratext typical for the late 18th century novels from as early as 1779: illustrative frontispieces in Lowndes/1779/3v/2nd, and in foreign editions, first, decorative and symbolic/allusive printer's ornaments and, since the late 1780s – early 1790s, frontispiece plot-based illustrations. Progress in printing and image-reproduction technologies in the 1820s – 1830s led to the appearance of a strong market for illustrated printed matter. Due to the reputation of *Evelina* as a safe but entertaining novel and its steady popularity among the reading public, several of its 19th-century publishers chose to produce a number of editions illustrated with woodcuts and steel engravings on frontispieces and title pages to boost the sales of their products. At the turn of the century, increased attention to the visual make-up of books and their aesthetic qualities, characteristic of *fin de siècle* book publishing, resulted in several highly decorative editions of *Evelina* with a significant amount of quality illustrations. Lastly, advances in colour printing and increased market competition in the second half of the 20th century led to the adoption of illustrated book covers as important promotional devices. All 19 editions and reprints of *Evelina* in English, French, Italian, and Spanish that appeared since 1970 invariably feature cover art or fully illustrated covers, sometimes combined with in-text art or plot-based illustrations. In addition, it was found that the iconic paratext demonstrated a distinct evolution from the pictorial/illustrative iconic paratext that illustrates the plot of the novel, highlighting its various episodes and scenes, to the paratext that could be described as illustrating not specifically this Burney work, but an 18th-century classic work of fiction.

Lastly, the study revealed that during the publication history of *Evelina*, publishers employed a combination of iconic and textual paratext in a variety of ways to repackaging the book for different audiences. The use of specific paratextual elements and their combinations, interactions, correlations, and co-occurrences resulted in four distinguishable types of editions of *Evelina* targeting different readers and buyers' audiences: romantic novel targeting female audience; reprint for modest-income readers; *fin de siècle* edition for the aesthetically-conscious public; and contextual scholarly edition.

The study fills several important gaps in the existing scholarship and advances our knowledge of Burney legacy and of book history in general. It discovered and presented a complex picture of the publishing history of the first novel of the first important English female novelist, and produced the first description of the entire paratextual apparatus of the corpus of its editions. It adds significantly to the state of knowledge on the scope of Burney's literary oeuvre as it documents in a comprehensive bibliography all editions and reprints of *Evelina*, including ones previously unrecorded. Also, even though significant attention has been paid in multiple sources to the anonymity of the first edition of *Evelina* and to the form of her first name, the actual use of the forms of Burney's name and the titles of her work had never been previously studied in sufficient detail in a representative corpus of editions. Equally, before this study, the other paratextual elements of Burney's works had not been explored in a consistent manner throughout their whole publication history. The detailed and comprehensive description and analysis of the evolution of these paratextual elements in *Evelina* presented in this study constitutes a significant contribution to knowledge.

In contrast to previous research in book history, which concentrated on a single or only a few paratextual elements, or paratextual elements found in only one or several editions of the book,

this diachronic study aimed for the comprehensiveness of the sample and considered, analysed, described, and discussed the entirety of the paratextual apparatus found in the vast majority of editions and reprints of the novel (156 of 167) produced during its publishing history. Thus, the study is an illustration of the evolution of the paratextual apparatus of the book published in the West during a period of 240 years, and, as such, it contributes to the body of knowledge on the history of practices of production, distribution, reception, and use of physical books. The discussion of how the paratextual elements in *Evelina* changed from one edition to another illustrates how the physical medium of the book reflected technological, aesthetical, and societal developments of the time of its publication; and how it was used and manipulated to influence the perception of its content by the readers through the choices made by publishers from the late 18th century to the present.

For book history, this study also presents important methodological progress as it developed a new holistic, historical, and qualitative methodology for studying book history through the lens of paratextual theory. The study employed instruments and methods for structured and consistent data collection and analysis of paratextual elements existing in different media in a significant corpus of editions. First, an instrument based on Genette's paratextual framework was developed to enable the researcher to collect and analyse the data on all features of all paratextual elements present in a significant corpus of editions in a consistent and systematic way. According to the literature review, previous book history studies, undertaken in the context of paratextual theory, did not employ any specially constructed data collection instruments. Second, in this study, coding of images was used as a means of reduction of visual data contained in iconic paratext (images, decorations, illustrations, etc.) to textual expressions in order to facilitate its analysis as an integral part of the paratextual apparatus of the books. In previous book history research

undertaken in the theoretical and analytical framework of the paratextual theory, this method has been used only sporadically, with the methodology not appropriately documented. Lastly, in this study, digital humanities visualisation and network analysis tools were used for detect patterns and trends in the evolution of individual paratextual elements and their co-occurrences, and for visualising the publication history of *Evelina* in the context of the general history, history of literary and aesthetic movements, Burney's life, and publication history of her other works. Digital humanities tools are often used for visualisation and computational examination of the text of literary works, but they have not been reported in the literature to be used for the analysis of the paratextual elements, which represents important methodological progress. In future, the developed methodological approach with the associated data collection and analysis instruments can be used by other researchers in studies based on paratextual theory and extended to different titles or genres of physical books, to other types of documents, or any other carriers of recorded information.

7.2 Limitations & Directions for Future Research

The limitations of the present study fall into two categories: the first resulted mostly from logistical constraints, and the second ones were defined by the scope of the study. Because of logistical constraints, editions of *Evelina* that corresponded to the criteria for inclusion but could not have been accessed due to their scarcity were not examined. They are two earlier English editions held in a limited number of libraries, not within easy travelling distance, not obtainable through the Inter-Library-Loan, and not in digital format. Of translated editions, eight were not examined due to logistical constraints (obtainability of a copy or linguistic barriers). The translations that were not considered in this study are two French editions and editions in Braille, Danish, Polish,

Romanian, Spanish, and Swedish (one in each of them). However, this limitation should not be considered as weakening the results or the completeness of the study significantly, as the final corpus included more than 88% of all published editions of the book and more than 96% of editions in the original language, English.

The scope of the study did not allow the inclusion of three categories of books: born-digital editions, print-on-demand editions, and audiobooks as their bound-less and bibliographically ill-defined nature would have made the present research project with its methodology, which aimed at maximum exhaustiveness, hardly feasible. However, it is planned to extend this research to print-on-demand and born-digital editions in a future study, which would not aim at being exhaustive and would use more selective sampling. Similarly, the scope of the present study was limited due to logistical constraints, which did not permit exhaustive examination of the sources constituting public epitext of *Evelina* (book reviews and publisher's advertisements printed in periodical literature) and its private epitext (publisher's archives) even though these types sources were occasionally used and included in the analysis and discussion.

The directions for future research partly ensue from the limitations of the present study. Currently, there is a growing body of literature in studies of paratext in born-digital and electronic editions.⁴⁸³ This study can be extended to a sample of born-digital and print-on-demand editions, e.g. included in the series *Girlebooks* or published by Createspace Publishing, to uncover if the paratextual apparatus of these editions demonstrates trends similar to the late 20th – 21st-century print editions.

⁴⁸³ The examples include Block, "Electronic Literature as Paratextual Construction."; Desrochers and Tomaszek, "Bridging the Unknown."; Galey, "The Enkindling Reciter."; Galey et al., "Imagining the Architectures of the Book."; Shanmugapriya, Menon, and Campbell, "An Introduction to the Functioning Process of Embedded Paratext of Digital Literature."

In addition, the present research could be extended to a comparative study of paratextual apparatus found in other novels of comparable publication and time ranges. For example, building upon recent work by Barchas,⁴⁸⁴ published when this thesis was in its last stages, a comparative study could be conducted on a sample of popular editions of works by Austen and Burney. This comparative study could also explore the usage of Burney and Austen's name forms in early French translation, more specifically with regard to the publishers' choice to preserve or not the authors' anonymity.

Another direction for future research would be to examine two other events of the life-cycle of *Evelina* that were outside of the scope of the present study, defined as distribution and reception in the Adams and Barker's bio-bibliographical circuit theoretical model. The event of reception could be studied by extending it to public epitext: publisher's advertisements and critical reviews of each edition of *Evelina*, published since 1778 to the present, found in newspapers, popular and trade magazines, and scholarly journals. This would allow comparing and analysing the positioning of the novel on the book market by publishers through the paratext included in the books themselves (peritext) and in the external sources (public epitext). In addition, the comparison of publisher's advertisements and critical reviews would allow an investigation of similarities, or the lack of thereof, between the publisher's positioning and critics' perceptions of the editions. The event of distribution could be examined through the study of publishers' archives, and circulating and public library catalogues to discover the extent of each edition and its reach to the public. However, these last two directions would present significant difficulties. They would be hampered by the low rate of survival of information sources, and would require extensive time

⁴⁸⁴ Barchas, *The Lost Books of Jane Austen*.

and funding for access and data collection from electronic resources and for travel to archives and libraries to use non-digitised records and periodicals.

8. Appendices

Appendix 1: Bibliography of Editions & Reprints of *Evelina*

This annotated enumerative bibliography contains information about all discovered editions and reprints of *Evelina*. In the bibliography, the paratextual elements are transcribed as they are present in the books. The only exceptions are the punctuation and dates, which were normalised during the data clean-up process, i.e. dates recorded in Roman numerals converted into Arabic, and the punctuation between the title and subtitle standardised. For the reprints, generally, only the date of publication is recorded in the bibliography, to which any other relevant information is added (e.g. edition statement, publishers, etc.).

Each entry was enhanced with notes. The notes provide references to bibliographical sources, brief information pertaining to the paratext of the edition or relevant for its identification, and information allowing locations of physical and electronic copies to be traced. It is also indicated in the notes if no copy or reprint of an edition was examined in the course of the present study. Entries for each edition and reprint include a reference to the Grau bibliography. For the editions and reprints present in the bibliography, it is the reference number (e.g. Grau I.A.1). Editions and reprints published within the time frame of the bibliography, but not listed there, have a note “Not in Grau.” Those published after 1981 (date of publication of the Grau bibliography) have a note “After Grau.” If a reprint is present in Grau but is listed under a wrong edition, the note will list both entries, e.g. “Grau I.A.18, should be I.A.12a.”

To facilitate further research on the corpus of *Evelinas*, each entry lists one or, for scarce holdings, several OCLC numbers. OCLC numbers are unique identifiers for cataloguing records in WorldCat catalogue to which are linked records of libraries worldwide holding copies of the item. Searching in WorldCat by the OCLC number will retrieve a bibliographic record with the

information about reported copies in contributing libraries. It is necessary to mention that OCLC matches local holdings to the WorldCat bibliographic records based on their associated metadata, with one of the parameters being the language of cataloguing (NB: not the language of the book), recorded in the field 040, subfield b.⁴⁸⁵ This results in holdings of Francophone libraries linked to French records, and holdings of Anglophone libraries linked to English records. As this thesis is written in English, the choice was made to include in the bibliography the OCLC numbers that are linked to the maximum number of holdings of Anglophone libraries unless there was none declared, in which case OCLC numbers for the records with maximum declared holdings were chosen.

Lastly, unique publication identifiers, established according to the process described in section 4.3.1.1 and used throughout the thesis to refer to particular editions or reprints, are listed as the last element in each entry. The identifiers adhere to the form: the last name of the publisher (or more rarely place of publication)/year/any other relevant information helpful for distinguishing this particular edition or reprint.

1. Anonymous. *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. 3 vols. London: Printed for T. Lowndes, No. 77, in Fleet-Street, 1778.

Grau I.A.1, ESTC T145413, T81094, OCLC 3759377. First edition.

Lowndes/1778/3v/1st

2. Anonymous. *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World. In a Series of Letters*. The second edition. London: Printed for T. Lowndes, No. 77, in Fleet-Street, 1779.

⁴⁸⁵ More about technical aspects of the topic can be found in OCLC. "Matching to Records in Worldcat."

Grau I.A.1, Rothschild 546, ESTC T81094, OCLC 6979437.

Lowndes/1779/3v/2nd

3. Anonymous. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. The third edition. London: Printed for T. Lowndes, No. 77, in Fleet-Street, 1779.

Grau I.A.1, ESTC T113895, OCLC 2584828.

Lowndes/1779/3v/3rd

4. Anonymous. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. The fourth edition. London: Printed for T. Lowndes, No. 77, in Fleet-Street, 1779.

Grau I.A.1, ESTC T107606, OCLC 542731.

Lowndes/1779/3v/4th

5. Anonymous. *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. 2 vols. Dublin: Printed for Messrs. Price, Corcoran, R. Cross, Fitzsimons, W. Whitestone, Chamberlaine, Williams, J. Hoey, Colles, E. Cross, Burnet, Walker, Jenkin, Beatty, Exshaw, White, and Perrin, 1779.

Not in Grau, ESTC T200766, OCLC 54743605, 18th Century Collections Online.

Dublin/1779

- 5.1. The second edition. Printed for Messrs. Price, Corcoran, Fitzsimons, Whitestone, Chamberlaine, Williams, J. Hoey, Colles, Burnet, Walker, Jenkin, Beatty, Exshaw, White and Perrin, 1780.

Not in Grau, ESTC T186175, OCLC 642510276.

Dublin/1780

- 5.2. The third edition. Printed for Messrs. Price, Corcoran, Fitzsimons, Whitestone, Chamberlaine, Williams, Hoey, Colles, Burnet, Walker, Jenkin, Beatty, Exshaw, White and Perrin, 1784.

Not in Grau, ESTC T134367, OCLC 49518243.

Dublin/1784

- 5.3. The second edition. London: Printed for, and sold by the booksellers, 1785.

Not in Grau, ESTC T223485, OCLC 510680483. A reissue of the Dublin third edition of 1784, with cancel title pages.

Dublin/1785

- 5.4. The fourth edition. Printed for Messrs. J. Moore, and J. Rice, College-Green, 1793.

Grau I.A.12, ESTC T200767, OCLC 186530036.

Dublin/1793

- 5.5. The fifth edition. Printed by William Porter, 1800.

Not in Grau, OCLC 181803634, 225689070. Largely a reissue of the Dublin fourth edition of 1793, with a cancel title page and signatures C and D reset (v.1).

Dublin/1800

6. Anonymous. *Evelina: ou, l'entrée d'une jeune personne dans le monde. Ouvrage traduit de l'anglois.* [in French]. 3 vols. À Paris & se trouve à Amsterdam: Chez D.J. Changuion, 1779.
Grau I.A.2, OCLC 456816124. Translated by Henri Renfner according to BN; by Griffet de Labaume according to Grau.
Changuion/1779/French
- 6.1. Seconde édition. 1780.
Grau I.A.2, BN III, column 881, OCLC 46634488, Europeana.
Changuion/1780/French
7. Anonymous. *Evelina: oder eines jungen Frauenzimmers Eintritt in die Welt.* [in German]
Translated by Christian Felix Weisse. 3 vols. Leipzig: Im Schwickertschen Verlage, 1779.
Grau I.A.3, OCLC 48254004.
Schwickertschen/1779/German
8. Anonymous. *Evelina: Een Engelsche Geschiedenis.* [in Dutch] 3 vols. Te Amsterdam: By Jan Doll, 1780-1785.
Grau I.A.4, OCLC 778459698, Google Books.
Doll/1780-1785/Dutch
9. Anonymous. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World.* A new edition. 3 vols. London: Printed for T. and W. Lowndes, No. 77, in Fleet-Street, 1783.
Grau I.A.5, ESTC T130270, OCLC 12685408.

Lowndes/1783/3v/new

9.1. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. A new edition. 1784.

Grau I.A.5, ESTC T130812, OCLC 1515334.

Lowndes/1784/3v/new

10. Anonymous. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. A new edition. In two volumes. 2 vols. London: Printed for T. and W. Lowndes No. 77, in Fleet-Street, 1784.

Not in Grau, ESTC T130956, OCLC 316754769, 18th Century Collections Online. Vignettes before the text in each volume.

Lowndes/1784/2v/vign

11. Anonymous. *Evelina: roman nouvellement traduit & rédigé avec beaucoup de soin d'après l'anglois*. [in French] Translated by Antoine Gilbert Griffet de la Beume. 2 vols. A Bouillon et à Paris: A la société typographique; Chez les libraires qui vendent des nouveautés, 1784.

Not in Grau, OCLC 503909359, 55568453, 716145360, J. Etienne, Impressions bouillonnaises, p. 4.

Bouillon/1784/French

12. Miss Burney. *Evelina: ou, l'entrée d'une jeune personne dans le monde*. Traduit de l'anglais.

[in French] 3 vols. A Genève: Chez Paul Barde, Imprimeur-Libraire, 1784.

Grau I.A.6, OCLC 21383751. Grau has "Oeuvres de Miss Burney" in the bibliography. It is not found in the book.

Barde/1784/French

13. Miss Burney. *Evelina: ou, l'entrée d'une jeune personne dans le monde; traduit de l'anglais.*

[in French] Translated by Henri Renfner. In *Oeuvres de Miss Burney*. 3 vols. A Genève: Libraires associés, 1784.

Grau I.A.7, OCLC 456816128. Not examined.

Libraires associés/1784/French

14. Anonymous. *Evelina: roman, nouvellement traduit & rédigé avec beaucoup de soin d'après*

l'anglois. [in French] In *Oeuvres de Miss Burney*, v. 5-6. 2 vols. À Londres et se trouve à Paris: Chez les Libraires qui vendent des nouveautés, 1786.

Not in Grau, OCLC 70192626, Google Books.

Libraires/1786/French

15. Schröder, Friedrich Ludwig. *Victorine, oder Wohlthun trägt Zinsen. Ein Lustspiel in vier*

Aufzügen. [in German] In *Beytrag zur deutschen Schaubühne*, Berlin: George Jacob Decker, 1786.

Not in Grau, OCLC 79660197, Google Books, HathiTrust. A dramatic adaptation of *Evelina*.

Victorine/1786/German

16. Miss Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. 3 vols.

Dresden: Printed for C. and F. Walther, 1788.

Grau I.A.8, ESTC T107793, OCLC 37223287, HathiTrust, 18th Century Collections Online.

Walther/1788/continental

16.1. 1805.

Grau I.A.8, OCLC 40801768.

Walther/1805/continental

16.2. 1818.

Not in Grau, OCLC 316175535.

Walther/1818/continental

16.3. 1826.

Not in Grau, OCLC 935908992, 935908978.

Walther/1826/continental

17. Anonymous. *Evelina: ou, l'entrée d'une jeune personne dans le monde*. [in French] Troisième

édition. 3 vols. A Maestricht: Chez J. P. Roux & compagnie, imprimeurs-libraires, associés,

1789.

Not in Grau, OCLC 186963586, Google Books.

Roux/1789/French

18. Miss Burney. *Evelina: eller et ungt fruntimmers inträde i verlden. författadt på ängelska af Miss Burney, och ifrån fransyskan öfversatt af Carl Leonard Stalhammar.* [in Swedish]

Translated by Carl Leonard Stalhammar. Stockholm: Tryckt hos Anders Zetterberg, 1789.

Not in Grau, OCLC 186963586. Not examined.

Zetterberg/1789/Swedish

19. Anonymous. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World.* A new edition in two volumes. 2 vols. London: Printed for W. Lowndes N 77, Fleet Street, 1791.

Grau I.A.5, should be I.A.12a, ESTC T068562, OCLC 33284790. Pictorial title pages with vignettes in addition to frontispieces from Lowndes 1779 second edition.

Lowndes/1791/2v/ill

- 19.1. 1794.

Grau I.A.12a, ESTC T134369, OCLC 6548000.

Lowndes/1794/2v/ill

- 19.2. 1801.

Grau I.A.18, should be I.A.12a, OCLC 475812470.

Lowndes/1801/2v/ill

- 19.3. 1805.

Not in Grau, OCLC 692218887.

Lowndes/1805/2v/ill

20. Anonymous. *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World. In Two Volumes.* 2 vols. Philadelphia: Printed by Benjamin Johnson, 1792.
- Grau I.A.10, Evans 25118, ESTC W32138, OCLC 208017265, 702322314. Dated as 1793 by Evans. Not examined.
- Johnson/1792/Early American
21. Anonymous. *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World. In Two Volumes.* 2 vols. Philadelphia: Printed by Mordecai Jones, 1792.
- Grau I.A.11, Not in Evans, ESTC W30126, OCLC 30553979, 24258592, 208373365, America's Historical Imprints.
- Jones/1792/Early American
22. Anonymous. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World.* A new edition in two volumes. 2 vols. London: Printed for the booksellers, 1794.
- Not in Grau, ESTC T134368, OCLC 520596513, 18th Century Collections Online.
- Booksellers [Dublin?]/1794
23. Miss Burney. *Evelina: roman nouvellement traduit et rédigé avec beaucoup de soin d'après l'anglois.* [in French] 2 vols. A Paris: Chez Leprieur, Libraire, rue Savoie, N 12, l'an IV de la République française.
- Not in Grau, OCLC 70142170. Published in 1795 or 1796.
- Leprieur/1795/French

24. Anonymous. *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World: In Two Volumes*. 2 vols. Printed at Worcester, Massachusetts: By Thomas, Son & Thomas, for Thomas, Andrews & Penniman, booksellers, State Street, Albany, August 1796. (Vol. 2 has imprint: Printed at Worcester, Massachusetts by Thomas, Son & Thomas, for Thomas, Andrews & Butler, booksellers, Market Street, Baltimore, August, 1796). Some copies have imprint: By Thomas, Son & Thomas, sold by them at the Worcester bookstore, August 1796
Grau I.A.13, Evans 29996, OCLC 44702269, America's Historical Imprints.
Thomas/1796/Early American
25. Miss Burney. *Evelina: ou, l'entrée d'une jeune personne dans le monde traduit de l'anglais*. [in French] Translated by Antoine Gilbert Griffet de la Beaume. In *Oeuvres de Miss Burney*, v. 1-2. 2 vols. A Paris: Chez Maradan, libraire, rue du Cimetière-Saint-André-des-Arts, n. 9, an VI - 1797.
Grau I.A.15, OCLC 17345230, 61187066 (Oeuvres de Miss Burney), Internet Archive.
Maradan/1797/French
26. Anonymous. *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. 2 vols. New-York: Printed by Jacob S. Mott, for J. Harrison, Gaine & Ten Eyck, C. Davis, P.A. Mesier, J. Tiebout, N. Judah, and C. Smith, 1797.
Grau I.A.14, Shipton & Mooney 31747, OCLC 17891741, America's Historical Imprints.
Mott/1797/Early American

27. Miss Burney. *Evelina: ou, l'entrée d'une jeune personne dans le monde traduit de l'anglais.*

[in French] 3 vols. A Paris: Chez Imbert, imprimeur, Cloître Notre-Dame, no 35, an VI. 1798.

Not in Grau, OCLC 78755433.

Imbert/1798/3v/French

28. Miss Burney. *Evelina: ou, l'entrée d'une jeune personne dans le monde traduit de l'anglais.*

[in French] In *Oeuvres de Miss Burney*, v. 1-2. 2 vols. A Paris: Chez Imbert, imprimeur, Cloître Notre-Dame, no 35; v.2 has imprint: Chez Bleuet jeune, Libraire, place de l'Ecole, maison du café Manoury, n. 45, an VI. 1798.

Not in Grau, OCLC 252554468, Google Books. Publisher's name in v.1, with 4th and 5th letters printed unclearly.

Imbert/1798/2v/French

29. Miss Burney. *Evelina: ili vstuplenie v' sv't molodoi d'vitsy. Perevod s frantsuzskago, slichennoi s aglinskim originalom.* [in Russian] Translated by Luka Tatischev. 3 vols. Moskva: V Universitetskoi Tipografii, u Ridigera and Klaudiya, 1798.

Grau I.A.16, OCLC 79968011; microform: Eighteenth Century Russian Publications, 524, reel 69:2, Russian National Library system number NLR01 009672531. With a verse introduction by the translator, Luka Tatischev. Approved by Moscow censors (printed on the title page).

Moscow/1798/Russian

30. The author of Cecilia and Camilla. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. A new edition in two volumes. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Cupar-Fife. Printed by R. Tullis, for John Fairbairn, and Archibald Constable, 1804.
- Not in Grau, OCLC 230567293.
- Edinburgh/1804
31. Miss Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. 3 vols. London, Paris: Printed for the booksellers and sold by Parsons and Galignani, 1805.
- Not in Grau, OCLC 913754862.
- Parsons & Galignani/1805/continental
32. Miss Frances Burney. *Evelina: eller et ungt fruentimmers indtrædelse i verden*. [in Danish] Translated by Henr Wilh Lundbye, A. Define Guldberg and Karl v. Haven. 3 vols. Schubothe: Kjøbenhavn, 1805-1812.
- Not in Grau, OCLC 759828105. Not examined.
- Kjøbenhavn/1805-1812/Danish
33. Schröder, Friedrich Ludwig. *Victorine, Tooneelspel*. [in Dutch] Translated by M. G. Engelman. Amsterdam: Wed. J. Doll, 1806.
- Not in Grau, OCLC 316097609. Google Books. A dramatic adaptation of *Evelina*, first published in German 1786 as: *Victorine, oder Wohlthun trägt Zinsen*.
- Victorine/1806/Dutch

34. Anonymous. *Evelina: Or the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. 3 vols. Paris: Printed for Theophilus Barrois, Junior, bookseller, N. 5, Quay Voltaire, 1808.
Not in Grau, OCLC 84977595, Europeana.
Barrois/1808/continental
35. Anonymous. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World*. A new edition in two volumes. 2 vols. London: Printed for W. Lowndes 38 Bedford Street by T.C. Hansard, Peterborough-court, 1808.
Grau I.A.18, OCLC 26380072, Google Books.
Lowndes/1808/2v
- 35.1. 1810.
Grau I.A.18, OCLC 268782800.
Lowndes/1810/2v
36. White, William Charles. *The Poor Lodger: A Comedy, in Five Acts as Performed at the Boston Theatre*. Boston: Printed by Joshua Belcher, 1811.
Grau II.4, OCLC 166594445, America's Historical Imprints. A dramatic adaptation of *Evelina*.
Poor lodger/1811
37. Miss Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World*. British Novelists, v. 38-39. 2 vols. London: Printed for F. C. and J. Rivington; Otridge and Son; A. Strahan; T. Payne; G. Robinson; W. Lowndes; Wilkie and Robinson; Scatcherd and Letterman;

J. Walker; Vernon, Hood and Sharpe; R. Lea; J. Nunn; Lackington and Co.; Clarke and Son; C. Law; Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme; Cadell and Davis; E. Jeffrey; J. K. Newman; Crossby and Co.; J. Carpenter; S. Bagster; T. Booth; J. Murray; J. and J. Richardson; Black, Parry, and Kingsbury; J. Harding; R. Phillips; J. Mawman; J. Booker; J. Asperne; R. Baldwin; Mathews and Leigh; J. Faulder; Johnson and Co.; W. Creech, Edinburgh; Wilson and Sons, York., 1810.

Grau I.A.19, OCLC 4227966, HathiTrust. With an essay, and prefaces, biographical and critical, by Mrs. Barbauld.

Rivington/1810/British Novelists

37.1. 1820.

Grau I.A.19, OCLC 871199267.

Rivington/1820/British Novelists

38. Anonymous. *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World. In Two Volumes.* 2 vols.

Brattleborough, Vt.: Published by William Fessenden, 1812.

Grau I.A.20, Shaw & Shoemaker 24626, OCLC 13918724.

Fessenden/1812/Early American

39. Madame D'Arblay. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World. With Some Account of the Author.* A new edition in two volumes. 2 vols. London: Printed by Hansard, jun. Peterborough-court, Fleet-Street for W. Lowndes, 38, Bedford Street and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 39 Paternoster row, 1814.

Not in Grau, New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature v. 2, p. 971, OCLC 316025917. 13 cm, better quality paper and printing than 1814 Lowndes larger imprint.

Lowndes & others/1814/small print

40. Madame D'Arblay. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World. With Some Account of the Author.* A new edition in two volumes. 2 vols. London: Printed by Hansard, jun. Peterborough-court, Fleet-Street for W. Lowndes, 38, Bedford Street and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 39 Paternoster row, 1814.

Not in Grau, OCLC 912932559. 16 cm, lower quality paper and printing than above.

Lowndes & others/1814

41. The author of Cecilia, Camilla, and The Wanderer. *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World. A Novel. In Two Volumes.* 2 vols. London: Printed for A.K. Newman & Co. Leadenhall Street, 1815.

Not in Grau, OCLC 228022191.

Newman/1815

42. The author of Cecilia, Camilla, and The Wanderer. *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World. A Novel. In Two Volumes.* New edition. 2 vols. London: Printed for A.K. Newman & Co. Leadenhall Street, 1826.

Not in Grau, OCLC 70237893.

Newman/1826

42.1. 1829.

Grau I.A.25, OCLC 6878134.

Newman/1829

43. Miss Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World*. 2 vols.

London: Tegg, 1816.

Not in Grau, not in OCLC, no copies declared. A record for 24mo found in the February 1816 issue of the *Tegg's Catalogue of Cheap Books*. Not examined.

Tegg/1816

44. Miss Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World*. A new edition, embellished with engravings. London: Published by Edward Mason, Creed Lane, Ludgate-Street, 1817.

Not in Grau, OCLC 779072322. Frontispiece is a stipple engraved portrait of Princess Charlotte of Wales & Saxe-Coburg.

Mason/1817

45. Miss Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World*. A new edition, embellished with engravings. London: Published by Edward Mason, Creed Lane, Ludgate-Street, 1821.

Grau I.A.22, OCLC 698728996. Seven leaves of hand-colored plates, including added illustrated title page, in the style of illustrations to *Life in London Or the Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorn* (1821).

Mason/1821/ill

46. Anonymous. *Evelina: Or Female Life in London: Being the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to Fashionable Life, and the Gay Scenes of the Metropolis, Displaying a Highly Humorous, Satirical, and Entertaining Description of Fashionable Characters, Manners, and Amusements, in the Higher Circles of Metropolitan Society Embellished and Illustrated with a Series of Humorous Colored Engravings, by the First Artists*. London: Jones and Co. Warwick Square, 1822.

Grau I.A.23, OCLC 7918825. Seven leaves of hand-colored plates (the same as in Mason/1821/ill), including added illustrated title page, in the style of illustrations to *Life in London: Or, the Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorn* (1821).

Jones/1822/ill

47. Miss Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World*. 2 vols. Chiswick: Printed by C. Whittingham. Sold by C. S. Arnold, 21 Tavistock Street, Covent Garden; R. Jennings, and G. Cowie and Co.; Poultry; Simpkin and Marshall, Stationers' Court; and Poole and Son, Newgate Street, London, 1822.

Grau I.A.21, OCLC 426497889.

Chiswick/1822

48. Miss Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World*. London: Printed for C. and J. Rivington; J. Nunn; T. Cadell; Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green; G. W. B. Whittaker; J. Richardson; J. Walker; Newman and Co.; Harding, Mavor, and

Lepard; Kingsbury, Parbury, and Allen; Black, Young, and Young; Sherwood, Jones, and Co.; Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy; Simpkin and Marshall; R. Scholey; G. Cowie; T. Tegg; and J Duncan, 1824.

Grau I.A.21, OCLC 6097308.

Rivington et al./1824

49. Miss Burney. *Ewelina, czyli wyjście młodej panny na scenę świata*. [in Polish] Translated by T. Hołonkiewicz. *Obrazy Domowego Pożycia. Zbiór Romansów z Najlepszych Autorów, Tłumaczony*, v. 9-12. 4 vols. Wilno: Glücksberg, 1830.

Not in Grau, OCLC 830815969, 830815971, 830815974. V.1 is not in OCLC, one copy of v.2-4 in the National Library of Poland. Not examined.

Glücksberg/1830/Polish

50. Miss Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World*. 2 vols. London: Tegg, 1835.

Not in Grau, OCLC 810873734, 631020355, 634654819. Two 12mo copies recorded in OCLC. Not examined.

Tegg/1835

51. Miss Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World*. Collection of Ancient and Modern British Novels and Romances, v. CXCVIII. Paris: Baudry's European Library, Rue du Coq near the Louvre. Sold also by Amyot, Rue de la Paix; Truchy, Boulevard des Italiens; Theophile Barrois, Jun., Rue Richelieu; Librarie des Etrangers, 55, Rue Neuve

Saint-Augustin; Heideloff, Rue Vivienne; and by all the principal booksellers of the continent,
1838.

Grau I.A.27, OCLC 21383803, Europeana, HathiTrust, Internet Archive, Google Books.

Baudry/1838/continental

52. Miss Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World. In Two Volumes.* Harper's Stereotype Edition. 2 vols. New-York: Published by Harper & Brothers, No 82, Cliff-Street, 1832.

Grau I.A.26, OCLC 39254720.

Harper/1832/stereotype

52.1. 1841.

Not in Grau, OCLC 498126778.

Harper/1841/stereotype

52.2. 1845.

Grau I.A.30, should be I.A.26, OCLC 22649332.

Harper/1845/ stereotype

52.3. 1852.

Grau I.A.32, should be I.A.26, OCLC 18027726.

Harper/1852/stereotype

53. Miss Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World*. London: PJ. S. Pratt, 1842.
Not in Grau, OCLC 931232956.
Pratt/1842
54. Miss Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World*. London: J.S. Pratt, 1845.
Not in Grau, OCLC 31017046.
Pratt/1845
55. Miss Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World*. Dove's English Classics. London: Printed and published by J.F. Dove, St. John's square, [1843].
Grau I.A.17, Grau I.A.28, OCLC 703504607. Grau gives date of publication as 1843? based on a hand-written inscription. Grau also lists another Dove edition as 18--. There is no positive evidence of existence of two separate editions.
Dove/1843
56. Miss Burney. *Evelina*. [in French] Translated by M. L. de Wailly. Paris: Charpentier, 1843.
Grau I.A.29, OCLC 963268235. Not examined.
Charpentier/1743/French
57. Miss Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World*. Collection of British Authors, v. 190. Leipzig: Bernard Tauchnitz, 1850.

Grau I.A.31, OCLC 2843655.

Tauchnitz/1850/continental

58. Miss Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World*. London:

T. Allman, 42, Holborn Hill, [1851].

Not in Grau, OCLC 961941225.

Allman/1851

59. Fanny Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. New edition complete in one volume. London: Thomas Harrison, 59, Pall Mall, 1854.

Grau I.A.33, OCLC 2322752, HathiTrust.

Harrison/1854

59.1. 1861.

Grau I.A.33, OCLC 794771775.

Harrison/1861

60. Miss Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World*. Pocket

Editions of Select Novels, No. 12. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 329 & 331, Pearl Street, Franklin square, 1855.

Grau I.A.30, OCLC 22199151.

Harper/1855/pocket

61. Miss Burney (Madame D'Arblay) author of "Cecilia," etc. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. New York: Derby & Jackson, 119 Nassau Street, 1857.

Grau I.A.34, OCLC 1999503, Internet Archive.

Derby & Jackson/1857

61.1. 1860.

Not in Grau, OCLC 549457743. With "Madame D'Arblay" by T. Babington Macaulay as an introduction.

Derby & Jackson/1860

61.2. 1861.

Grau I.A.34, OCLC 27030464. With "Madame D'Arblay" by T. Babington Macaulay as an introduction.

Derby & Jackson/1861

62. Miss Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World, in Two Volumes*. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin square, 1873.

Not in Grau, OCLC 7882683.

Harper/1873

63. Madame D'Arblay (Miss Burney) author of "Cecilia," etc., etc. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World*. Library of Favourite Authors. London; New York: Ward, Lock, and Tyler, [1874].

Grau I.A.35, OCLC 50387854. Yellowback; undated.

Ward, Lock & Tyler/1874/yellowback

63.1. Select Library of Fiction, 43, [1882].

Grau I.A.37, should be I.A.35, OCLC 35551543.

Ward, Lock & Tyler/1882/yellowback

64. Miss Burney (Madame D'Arblay). *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World*. Franklin Square Library, No. 22. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1878.

Grau I.A.36, OCLC 17576392.

Harper/1878/Franklin Library

65. Frances Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. Bohn's Novelist's Library. London: George Bell and Sons, York Street, Covent Garden, 1881.

Grau I.A.38, OCLC 356198, Bodleian Libraries. With an introduction and notes by Annie Raine Ellis, author of or "Sylvestra," "Marie," and "Marianne."

Bell/1881/Bohn's Novelist's

65.1. 1883.

Grau I.A.38, OCLC 12331492.

Bell/1883/Bohn's Novelist's

65.2. 1890.

Grau I.A.38, OCLC 35551944.

Bell/1890/Bohn's Novelist's

65.3. 1892.

Grau I.A.38, OCLC 10361079.

Bell/1892/Bohn's Novelist's

65.4. 1898.

Grau I.A.38, OCLC 850943.

Bell/1898/Bohn's Novelist's

65.5. 1904.

Not In Grau, OCLC 364195420.

Bell/1904/Bohn's Novelist's

65.6. 1907.

Grau I.A.38, OCLC 4331958.

Bell/1907/Bohn's Novelist's

66. Frances Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. Cassell's

Red Library. London, Paris & Melbourne: Cassell & Company, Limited, 1888.

Grau I.A.39, OCLC 557490055, 794771806, Internet Archive. Undated; latest date in advertisements: 1888; also issued without series name.

Cassell/1888

67. Frances Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World (in Two Volumes)*. 2 vols. London: Published by J. M. Dent and Company at Aldine House in Great Eastern Street, E.C., 1893.

Grau I.A.40, OCLC 4112606. Internet Archive. Edited by R. Brimley Johnson. Printed in two variants: large-paper (200 copies) on thick handmade paper and smaller one machine-made paper. Title page designed by Aubrey Beardsley.

Dent/1893

67.1. 1894.

Grau I.A.40, OCLC 1039425132.

Dent/1894

67.2. 1899.

Grau I.A.40, OCLC 7863957.

Dent/1899

67.3. 1901.

Grau I.A.40, OCLC 586929.

Dent/1901

67.4. 1903.

Not in Grau, OCLC 597569.

Dent/1903

68. Frances Burney (Madame D'Arblay). *Evelina*. In *Library of the World's Best Literature, Ancient and Modern, V. 5*, Edited by George Henry Warner, Hamilton Wright Mabie, Lucia Isabella Gilbert Runkle, Charles Dudley Warner. New York: R. S. Peale and J. A. Hill, 1896. Not in Grau, OCLC 1182898, HathiTrust. 30 v. digest, one letter from *Evelina* reproduced, an excerpt from *Cecilia*, and two excerpts from Burney's letters.

Warner/1896/digest

- 68.1. Memorial edition deluxe. 1902.

Not in Grau, OCLC 3648354.

Warner/1902/digest/de luxe

- 68.2. Teachers' edition. 1902.

Not in Grau, OCLC 3221433.

Warner/1902/digest

- 68.3. *Warner Library*. 1917.

Grau V.114, OCLC 337774.

Warner/1917/digest

69. Frances Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. London: Geo. Newnes Ltd. Southampton Street. Strand, 1898.
Grau I.A.41, OCLC 5851693, HathiTrust. Illustrated by Arthur Rackham.
Newness/1898
70. Frances Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. The Temple Classic. 2 vols. London: J. M. Dent and Company. Aldine House, 1903.
Grau I.A.42, OCLC 606397419, Europeana, HathiTrust.
Dent/1903/Temple
71. Fanny Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. Macmillan's Illustrated Pocket Classics. London; New York: Macmillan & Co. Limited; Macmillan Company, 1903.
Grau I.A.43, OCLC 43623471, Internet Archive. 75 illustrations throughout the text by Hugh Thomson. Introduction by Austin Dobson.
Macmillan/1903
- 71.1. 1904.
Grau I.A.43, OCLC 22540912.
Macmillan/1904
- 71.2. 1910. The Cranford series.
Not in Grau, OCLC 15502791.

Macmillan/1910

71.3. 1920. The Cranford series.

Grau I.A.43, OCLC 10090711.

Macmillan/1920

71.4. 1925. The Cranford series.

Grau I.A.43, OCLC 4323482.

Macmillan/1925

71.5. 1932. The Cranford series.

Grau I.A.43, OCLC 15128084.

Macmillan/1932

72. Fanny Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. The York Library. London: George Bell and Sons, 1904.

Grau I.A.44, OCLC 557490130, 316133370. Bodleian Libraries. With an introduction and notes by Annie Raine Ellis.

Bell/1904/York Library

73. Frances Burney. *Evelina: The History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. The Home Library. New York: A.L. Burt Company, Publishers, 1905.

Grau I.A.45, OCLC 10361022. HathiTrust, Google Books. Undated.

Burt/1905

74. Frances Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. The English Comédie Humaine. Second Series. New York: The Century Co, 1906.

Grau I.A.46, OCLC 8038771. 11 illustrations by Hugh Thomson (from Macmillan 1903 edition).

Century Co/1906

74.1. 1907.

Not in Grau, OCLC 8736736.

Century Co/1907

75. Fanny Burney. *Evelina*. Everyman's Library. London: New York: J. M. Dent & Co.; E. P. Dutton & Co., 1909.

Grau I.A.47, OCLC 557490136, Bodleian Libraries. With an introduction and edited by Ernest Rhys; xvi, 512 pages.

Dent/1909/Everyman's/Rhys

75.1. 1911.

Grau I.A.47, OCLC 269958.

Dent/1911/Everyman's/Rhys

75.2. 1914.

Grau I.A.47, OCLC 236076800.

Dent/1914/Everyman's/Rhys

75.3. 1917.

Grau I.A.47, OCLC 13682928.

Dent/1917/Everyman's/Rhys

75.4. 1920.

Not in Grau, OCLC 18140723.

Dent/1920/Everyman's/Rhys

75.5. 1925.

Grau I.A.47, OCLC 18230879.

Dent/1925/Everyman's/Rhys

76. Fanny Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. Bohn's Popular Library. London: George Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1913.

Grau I.A.48, OCLC 976575701, Bodleian Libraries. "With Introduction and notes by A.R. Ellis, editor of the *Early Diary of Fanny Burney*."

Bell/1913/Bohn's Popular Library

76.1. 1919.

Grau I.A.48, OCLC 21071970.

Bell/1919/Bohn's Popular Library

76.2. 1927.

Grau I.A.48, OCLC 517624.

Bell/1927/Bohn's Popular Library

76.3. 1931.

Grau I.A.48, OCLC 7632683.

Bell/1931/Bohn's Popular Library

77. Fanny Burney. *Evelina*. In *The English Novel before the Nineteenth Century: Excerpts from Representative Types*, edited by Annette Brown Hopkins and Helen Sard Hughes. Boston, New York, Chicago, London: Ginn and Company, 1915.

Grau I.A.49, OCLC 386998, Internet Archive. Digest, eight letters from *Evelina* included.

Ginn/1915/digest

78. Frances Burney D'Arblay. *Evelina; Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. Living Literature Series. New York, Chicago, Boston, San Francisco, London: Gregg Publishing Company, 1920.

Grau I.A.51, OCLC 3583628. Edited by Edwin Bjorkman, author of "Voices of Tomorrow."

Gregg/1920

79. Fanny Burney. *Evelina*. Melbourne: Braille Writers' Association of Victoria, 1926.

Not in Grau, OCLC 219759815. 10 volumes of interline Braille. Not examined.

Braille/1926

80. Fanny Burney. *Evelina*. Everyman's Library. London; Toronto; New York: J. M. Dent & Sons. Ltd.; E. P. Dutton & Co., 1927.

Grau I.A.47, OCLC 5740454. With an introduction and edited by Ernest Rhys. From 1927 onwards, reset on 378 pages.

Dent/1927/Everyman's/Rhys/378-page

80.1. 1929.

Grau I.A.47, OCLC 15997064.

Dent/1929/Everyman's/Rhys/378-page

80.2. 1931.

Not in Grau, OCLC 11795518.

Dent/1931/Everyman's/Rhys/378-page

80.3. 1935.

Not in Grau, OCLC 13244578.

Dent/1935/Everyman's/Rhys/378-page

80.4. 1938.

Grau I.A.47, OCLC 2486300.

Dent/1938/Everyman's/Rhys/378-page

80.5. 1941.

Grau I.A.47, OCLC 19856522.

Dent/1941/Everyman's/Rhys/378-page

80.6. 1946.

Grau I.A.47, OCLC 37946398.

Dent/1946/Everyman's/Rhys/378-page

80.7. 1950.

Grau I.A.47, OCLC 9420897.

Dent/1950/Everyman's/Rhys/378-page

80.8. 1951.

Grau I.A.47, OCLC 40523306, 421965006

Dent/1951/Everyman's/Rhys/378-page

81. Frances Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. Oxford:

At the Clarendon Press, 1930.

Grau I.A.52, OCLC 60589443. With notes, indexes, and illustrations from contemporary sources, edited by Sir Frank D. Mackinnon.

Oxford/1930/Mackinnon

81.1. The Oxford Bookshelf. 1938.

Grau I.A.52, OCLC 70442545

Oxford/1938/Mackinnon

82. Fanny Burney. *Evelina*. [in Spanish] Colección Universal; 1339-1346. 2 vols. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1934.

Not in Grau, OCLC 802647751, 431705652. "Introducción por Ernesto Rhys; la traducción del inglés ha sido hecha por "Maribel." Not examined.

Espasa-Calpe/1934/Spanish

83. Fanny Burney. *Evelina; Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. Everyman's Library; 352. London; New York: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.; E. P. Dutton & Co., 1958.

Grau I.A.53, OCLC 425972750. With an introduction by Lewis Gibbs.

Dent/1958/Everyman's/Gibbs

83.1. 1960.

Not in Grau, OCLC 9721861.

Dent/1958/Everyman's/Gibbs

83.2. 1964.

Not in Grau, OCLC 3852326.

Dent/1964/Everyman's/Gibbs

83.3. 1967.

Grau I.A.53, OCLC 170789.

Dent/1967/Everyman's/Gibbs

84. Fanny Burney. *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. Dolphin Books. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1960.

Grau I.A.54, OCLC 1944809.

Doubleday/1960

85. Fanny Burney (Madame D'Arblay, 1752-1840). *Evelina*. In *Masterplots English Fiction Series: 337 Plots in Story Form from the Best English Fiction*, edited by Frank N. Magill and Dayton Kohler (story editor). New York: Salem Press, 1964.

Not in Grau, OCLC 83462069. Two-and-a-half page summary of *Evelina's* plot.

Salem Press/1964/digest

86. Fanny Burney. *Evelina; Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. The Norton Library; 294. New York; London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1965.

Grau I.A.55, OCLC 1336180.

Norton/1965

87. Fanny Burney. *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. Heron Books Collection.

London: Heron Books. Published by arrangement with J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1968.

Grau I.A.57, OCLC 107566. With an introduction by Lewis Gibbs; illustrations by Robin Jacques.

Heron/1968

88. Frances Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. Oxford

English Novels. London; New York; Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Grau I.A.56 OCLC 387620. Edited and introduced by Edward A. Bloom.

Oxford/1968/Bloom

88.1. 1970.

Grau I.A.56 OCLC 155142.

Oxford/1970/Bloom

88.2. Fanny Burney. 1982.

After Grau, OCLC 7946223. The same ISBN is also reported by few libraries as published in 1984, OCLC 440943592, 1985, OCLC 797816604, 1986, OCLC 919734220, 1987, OCLC 715727416, 1988, OCLC 715873014

Oxford/1982/Bloom

88.3. Fanny Burney. 1991.

After Grau, OCLC 25417225. The same ISBN is also reported as published in 1992,
OCLC 246056043.

Oxford/1991/Bloom

88.4. Fanny Burney. 1998.

After Grau, OCLC 39036454.

Oxford/1998/Bloom

89. Fanny Burney. *Evelina*. [in Romanian] Biblioteca Pentru Toți. București: Minerva, 1983.

After Grau, OCLC 895210165. Translation, preface, and chronological table by Adina
Arsenescu. Not examined.

Minerva/1983/Romanian

90. Frances Burney, dite Fanny Burney. *Evelina: Ou, l'entrée d'une jeune personne dans le monde*. [in French] Translated by Florence Bruzel Vercaemer. Domaine Romantique. Paris: José Corti, 1991.

After Grau, OCLC 28324967. With an introduction by Florence Bruzel Vercaemer.

Jose Corti/1991/French

91. Fanny Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. Bantam Classics. New York, Toronto, London, Sydney, Auckland: Bantam Books, 1992.

After Grau, OCLC 26919230. With an introduction by Angeline Goreau.

Bantam/1992

92. Fanny Burney. *Evelina*. Signet Classic. New York: Signet Book, 1992.

After Grau, OCLC 25972455. With an introduction by Katharine M. Rogers.

Signet/1992

93. Frances Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*. Penguin Classics. London; New York: Penguin Books, 1994.

After Grau, OCLC 32049706. Edited, with an introduction and notes by Margaret Anne Doody.

Penguin/1994/Classics

93.1. 2004.

After Grau, OCLC 57140496.

Penguin/2004/Classics

94. Frances Burney. *Evelina*. Bedford Cultural Editions. Boston; New York Bedford Books, 1997.

After Grau, OCLC 38249754. Edited by Kristina Straub.

Bedford/1997

95. Frances Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World: Authoritative Text, Contexts and Contemporary Reactions, Criticism*. A Norton Critical Edition. New York; London: W.W. Norton & Co., 1998.

After Grau, OCLC 36165269. Edited by Stewart J. Cooke.

Norton/1998/Critical

96. Frances Burney. *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World: In a Series of Letters.*

Broadview Literary Texts. Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 2000.

After Grau, OCLC 44019584. Edited by Susan Kubica Howard.

Broadview/2000

97. Frances Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World.* The Modern Library Classics. New York: Modern Library, 2001.

After Grau, OCLC 47100873, 47677352. Also issued with Random House and Hi Marketing as a publishers. Introduction by Elizabeth Kowaleski Wallace; notes and selected bibliography by Audrey Bilger.

Random/2001

98. Fanny Burney. *Evelina.* [in Italian] Translated by Chiara Vatteroni. Le Porte; 63. Roma: Fazi, 2001.

After Grau, OCLC 797567853.

Fazi/2001/Italian

99. Frances Burney. *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World.* Oxford World's Classics. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

After Grau, OCLC 53967294. Edited by Edward A. Bloom; with an introduction and notes by Vivien Jones.

Oxford/2002/Jones

99.1. 2008.

After Grau, OCLC 798786474.

Oxford/2008/Jones

100. Frances Burney. *Evelina*. Penguin English Library. London: Penguin, 2012.

After Grau, OCLC 760290211.

Penguin/2012/English Library

101. Fanny Burney. *Evelina: O, Historia de una joven dama en su entrada en sociedad*. [in Spanish] Translated by Eva María González Pardo. Tesoros de Época. Morcín: Asturias d'Epoca 2013. Illustrations by Hugh Thomson (from Macmillan 1903 edition).

After Grau, OCLC 864294092.

Asturias d'Epoca/2013/Spanish

102. Frances Burney. *Evelina*. Large Print Classics. Rearsby, Leicester: W.F. Howes under the Clipper imprint, 2014.

After Grau, OCLC 889859179. Large print edition.

Howes/2014/large print

Appendix 2: Data Sources: Bibliographies, Catalogues, Electronic Libraries, & Databases

Online catalogues:

- OCLC WorldCat: <https://www.worldcat.org>; McGill Library's subscription version: <https://mcgill.on.worldcat.org/discovery>
- English Short-Title Catalogue: <http://estc.bl.uk>
- British Library catalogue <http://explore.bl.uk>
- Catalogue of Bibliothèque nationale de France: <https://catalogue.bnf.fr>
- Bodleian Libraries catalogue: <http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>
- German National Library catalogue: <https://www.dnb.de>
- Berlin State Library catalogue: <https://staatsbibliothek-berlin.de>
- Bavarian State Library catalogue: <https://www.bsb-muenchen.de>

Subscription-based electronic databases:

- America's Historical Imprints (Readex).
- Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Gale).
- Nineteenth Century Collections Online (Gale).

Free electronic libraries:

- Europeana Collections: <https://www.europeana.eu>
- Gallica: <https://gallica.bnf.fr>
- Google Books: <https://books.google.com>
- Google Play: <https://play.google.com>
- HathiTrust: <https://www.hathitrust.org>
- Internet Archive: <https://archive.org>

Online book-selling platforms:

- Amazon platforms: <https://www.amazon.com>, <https://www.amazon.co.uk>
- Abebooks: <https://www.abebooks.com>

Appendix 3: Data Collection Instrument

An Excel spreadsheet was used as data collection instrument, where each row represented an edition or reprint of *Evelina*, while data on individual paratextual elements was collected in the columns. In addition, several technical columns for sorting, counts, and access information were used

Figure 18: Partial Screenshot of Column Headers in the Data Collection Instrument

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
1	Description/ Comments/ Tag	Publisher (sorting column)	Date (sorting column)	Title: Place, time, senders, addressees, function (designation, connotations, temptation), genre indications	Name of the author: Place, onymity, anonymity, pseudonymity	Edition: Place, presence, length, veracity	Publication date: Place, presence, length, veracity	Publication place	Publisher: Statement: Place, presence, length, veracity	Printer	Pagination: collation	Title page	Verso of the title page	Publisher's series: Presence, place, other books, reputation, target=market	Book format, type, quality

Columns in the data collection instrument:

1. #
2. Description/ Comments/ Tag
3. Publisher (sorting column)
4. Date (sorting column)
5. Title: Place, time, senders, addressees, function (designation, connotations, temptation), genre indications
6. Name of the author: Place, onymity, anonymity, pseudonymity
7. Edition: Place, presence, length, veracity
8. Publication date: Place, presence, length, veracity
9. Publication place
10. Publisher: Statement: Place, presence, length, veracity
11. Printer

12. Pagination
13. Title page(s)
14. Verso of the title page(s)
15. Publisher's series: Presence, place, other books, reputation, targeted market
16. Book format, type, quality
17. Typeface
18. Paper
19. Cover and its appendages: Dust jacket, spine, slipcase, binding, illustrations, portraits, ornaments, colours, decorations, choice of textual content, quality of used materials
20. Illustrations: Description (absence/ presence, place in the text, illustrated textual fragments)
21. Printer's ornaments, vignettes
22. Form of illustrations
23. Type of illustrations
24. Scene or episode illustrated
25. Time-period illustrated
26. Expressive content, tone, mood of illustrations
27. Bound-in advertisements: Position, content, relation to text or targeted audience
28. Dedications
29. Authorial prefaces
30. Editorial prefatorial situation of communication (including postfaces)
31. Blurb on cover or dust jacket
32. Intertitles (tables of contents, running heads, etc.)

- 33. Notes
- 34. Language
- 35. Done/not done (sorting column)
- 36. Sample (sorting column)
- 37. Editions (sorting column)
- 38. Reprints (sorting column)
- 39. Editions examined (sorting column)
- 40. E-book (sorting column)
- 41. References
- 42. Grau reference count
- 43. Provenance
- 44. Call #
- 45. Location
- 46. E-book location
- 47. Links

Appendix 4: Coding Scheme for Iconic Paratext

Table 8: Coding Scheme

Category	Codes
Absence/ presence	1/0
Number in the book	quantity
Form	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Printer's ornament: a "relief cut of wood or metal, used by printers for decorative purposes when printing letterpress texts"⁴⁸⁶ decorative rather than illustrative in nature • Illustrative frontispiece: an illustration on a verso page, facing the title-page containing an image related to the book other than a portrait of the author • Portrait frontispiece: an illustration on a verso page, facing the title-page containing a portrait of the author • Title page cameo: an illustration on the title page enclosed in an oval/round border • Engraved title page: a title page that mostly consists of an engraved illustration • In-text illustration: an illustration bound or printed inside text-block • Cover art: a work of art other than a portrait reproduced on a cover • Cover portrait: a portrait reproduced on a cover

⁴⁸⁶ *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, s.v. "Ornament"

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cover portrait (cameo): a portrait reproduced on a cover enclosed in an oval/round border • In-text portrait: a portrait bound or printed inside text-block • In-text portrait (cameo): a portrait enclosed in an oval/round border bound or printed inside text block • In-text art: a work of art other than portrait bound or printed inside text-block • In-text map: a geographical map bound or printed inside text-block
Type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Factual: representing non-fictional characters or settings • Decorative/ ornamental: done in pure decoration • Pictorial/illustrative: illustrating the plot of the novel • Symbolic/allusive: suggesting the spirit of the book
Time period illustrated	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contemporary to 1778, Lowndes: illustrations from 1779 editions by Lowndes done in settings and fashions contemporary to the action of the novel, • Contemporary to 1778: in settings and fashions contemporary to the action of the novel • Contemporary to the edition: in settings and fashions contemporary to the publication of the edition
Overall theme & sentiment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Satirical: illustrating scenes from the novel satirising contemporary manners • Classical: relating to the ancient Greece or Rome

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sentimental: exhibiting or suggesting feelings and emotions • Emotional: displaying strong/ intense emotions • Exaggerated: with excessive gestures or poses • Romantic; presenting romantic encounters, suggesting feelings of love and tenderness • Nostalgic: evocative and idealising of the past • Elegant: characterised by grace and sophistication • Historical: depicting historical people/ places • Romance: typical for the genre of contemporary romance novels
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Appendix 5: Figures in Larger Format

Figure 2 (Copy): Distribution of the Name Forms by Decade

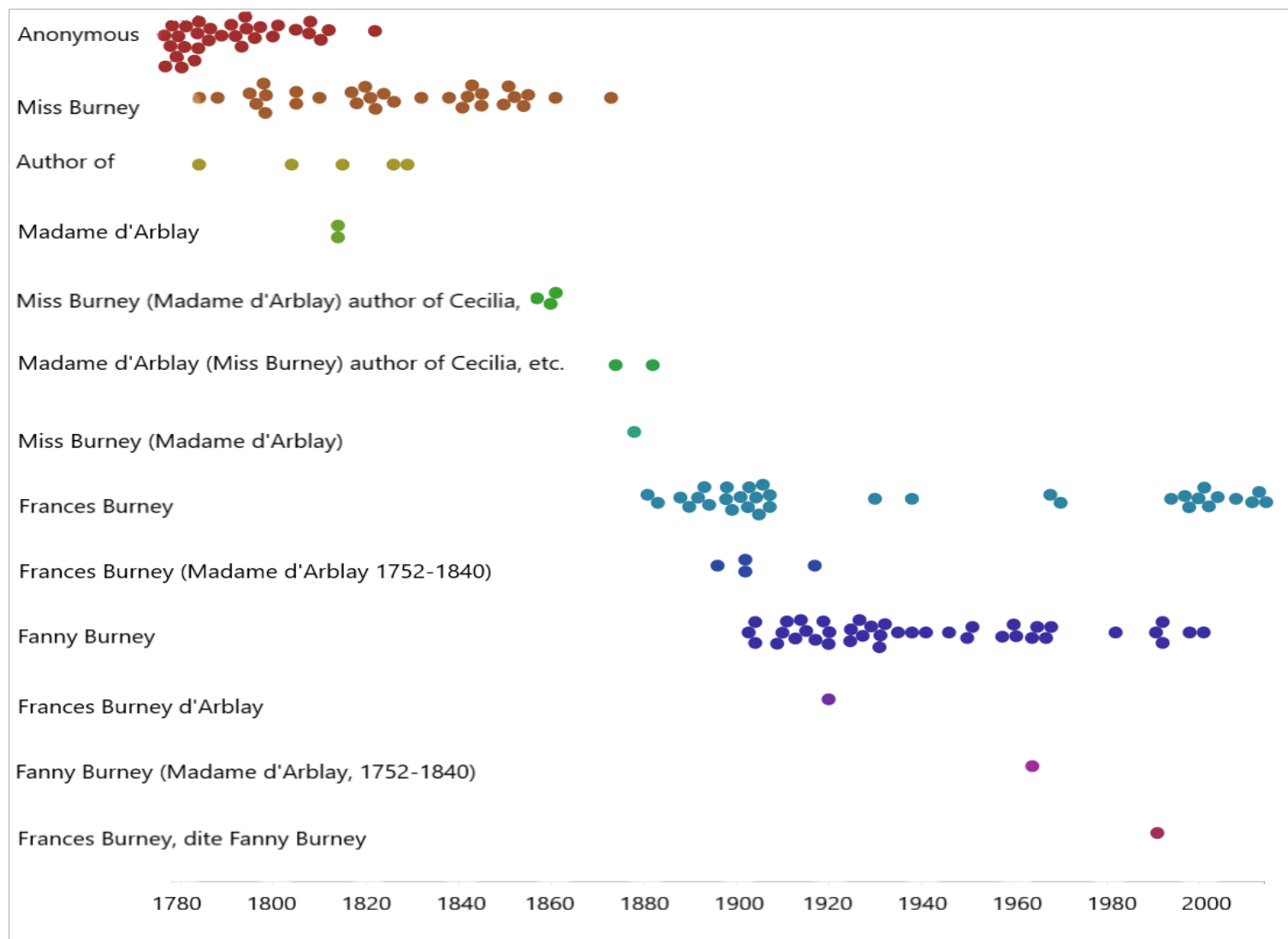


Figure 3 (Copy): Distribution of the Name Forms by Decade (No Compound Names)

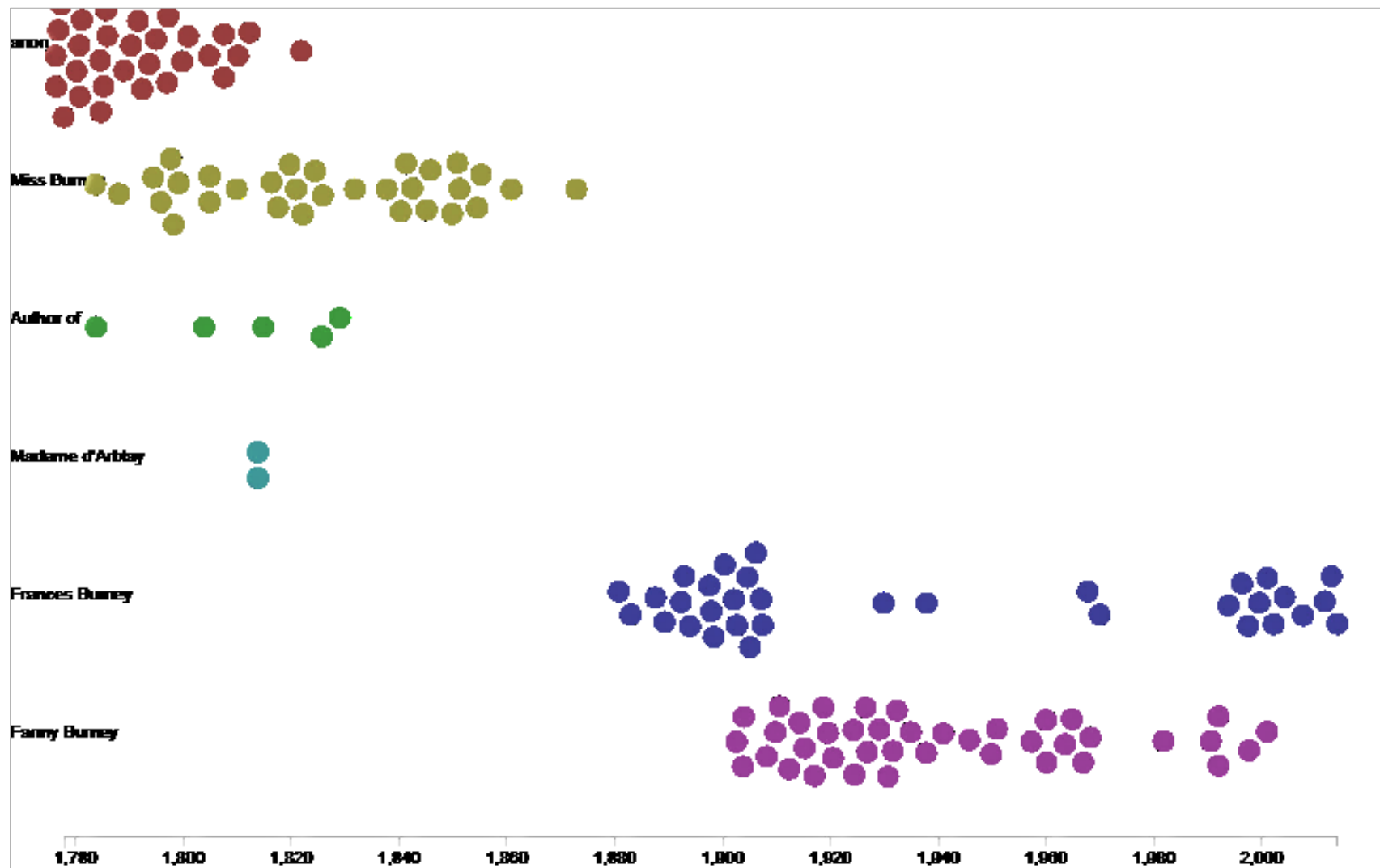


Figure 4 (Copy): Distribution of the Title Forms by Decade

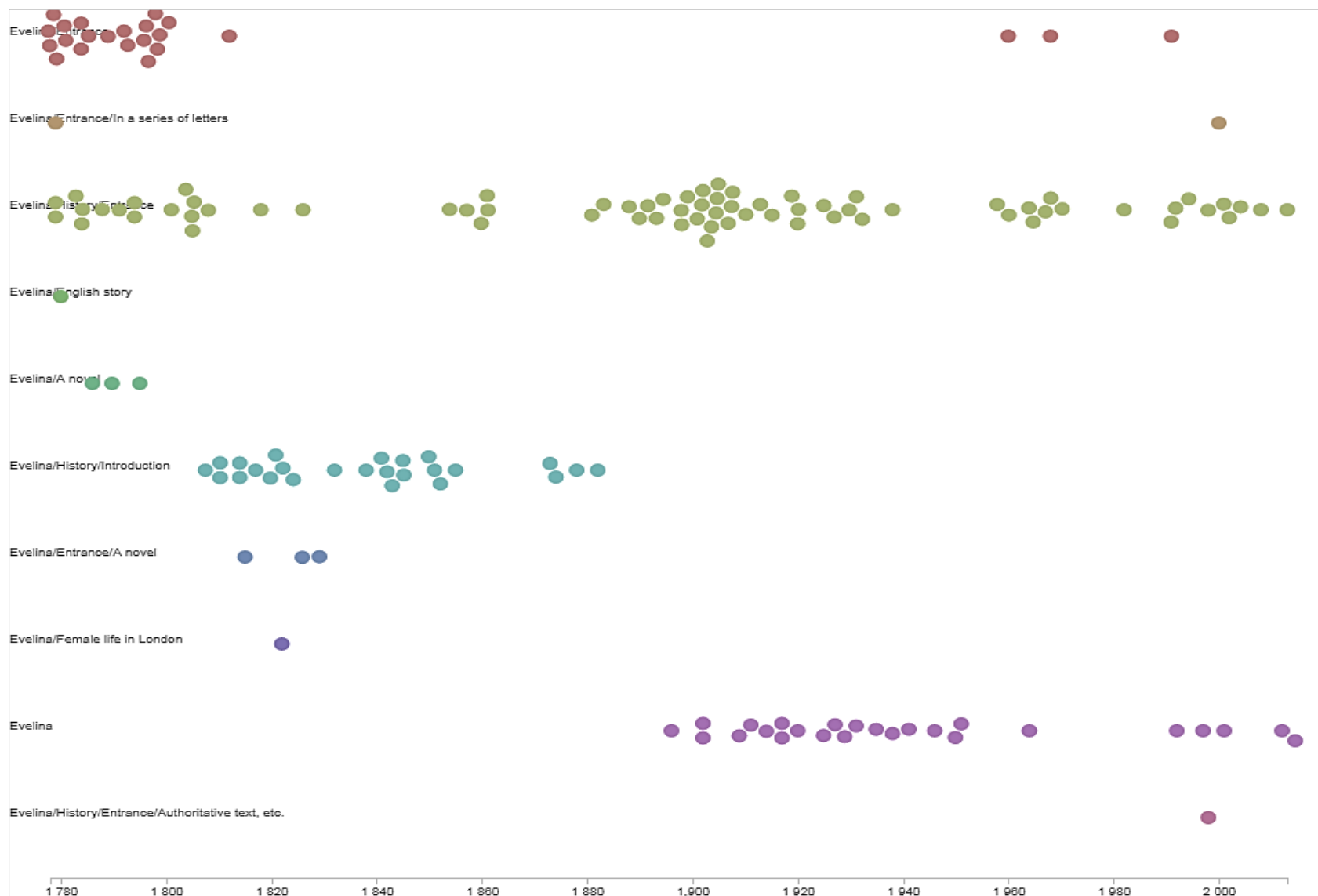


Figure 5 (Copy): Distribution of the Title Forms by Decade (no added subtitles)

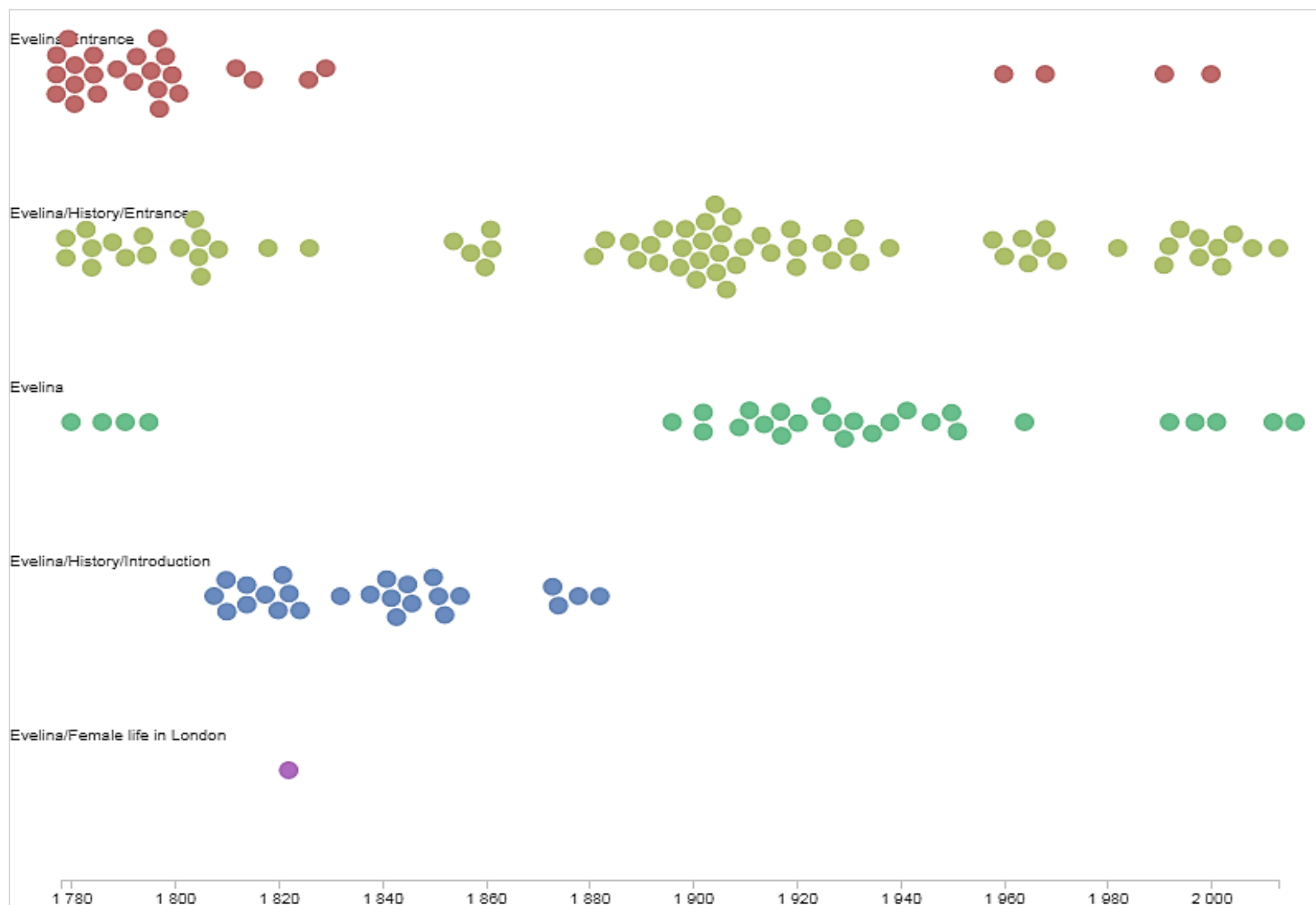


Figure 6 (Copy): Form of the Title vs. Publisher

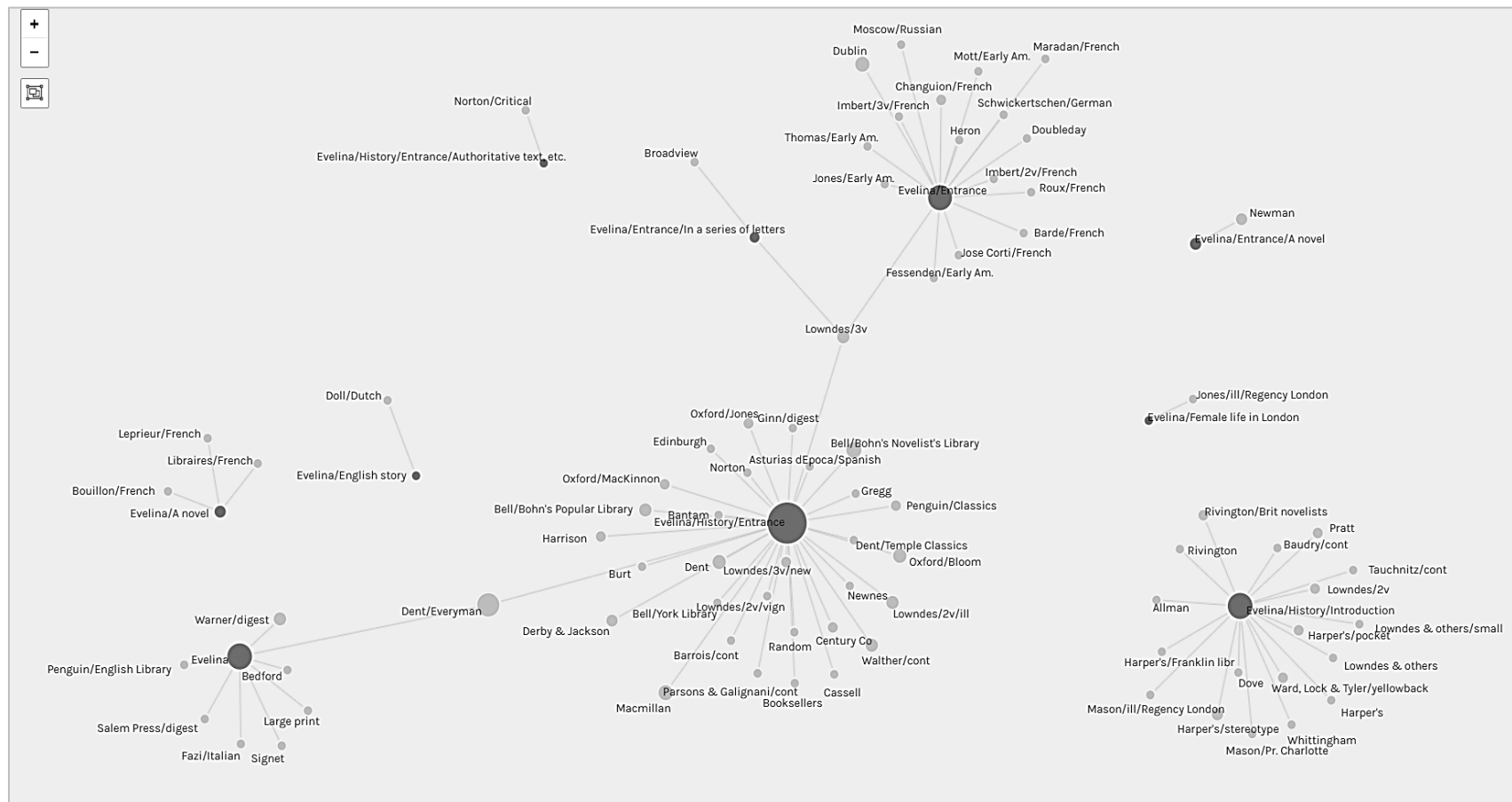


Figure 7 (Copy): *Evelina/ Entrance* vs. Publisher

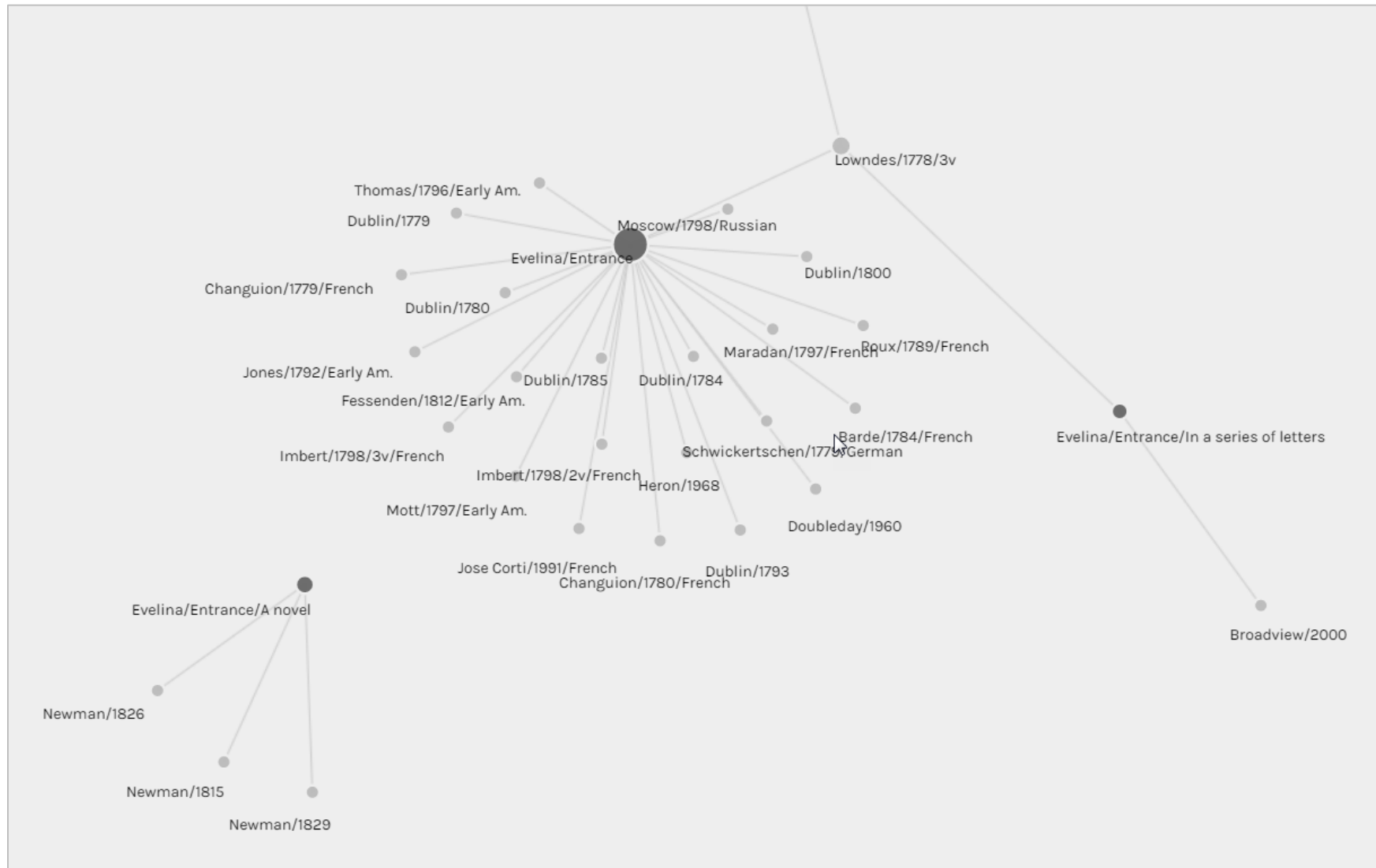


Figure 8 (Copy): Period of Use of *Evelina*/ *History*/ *Introduction*

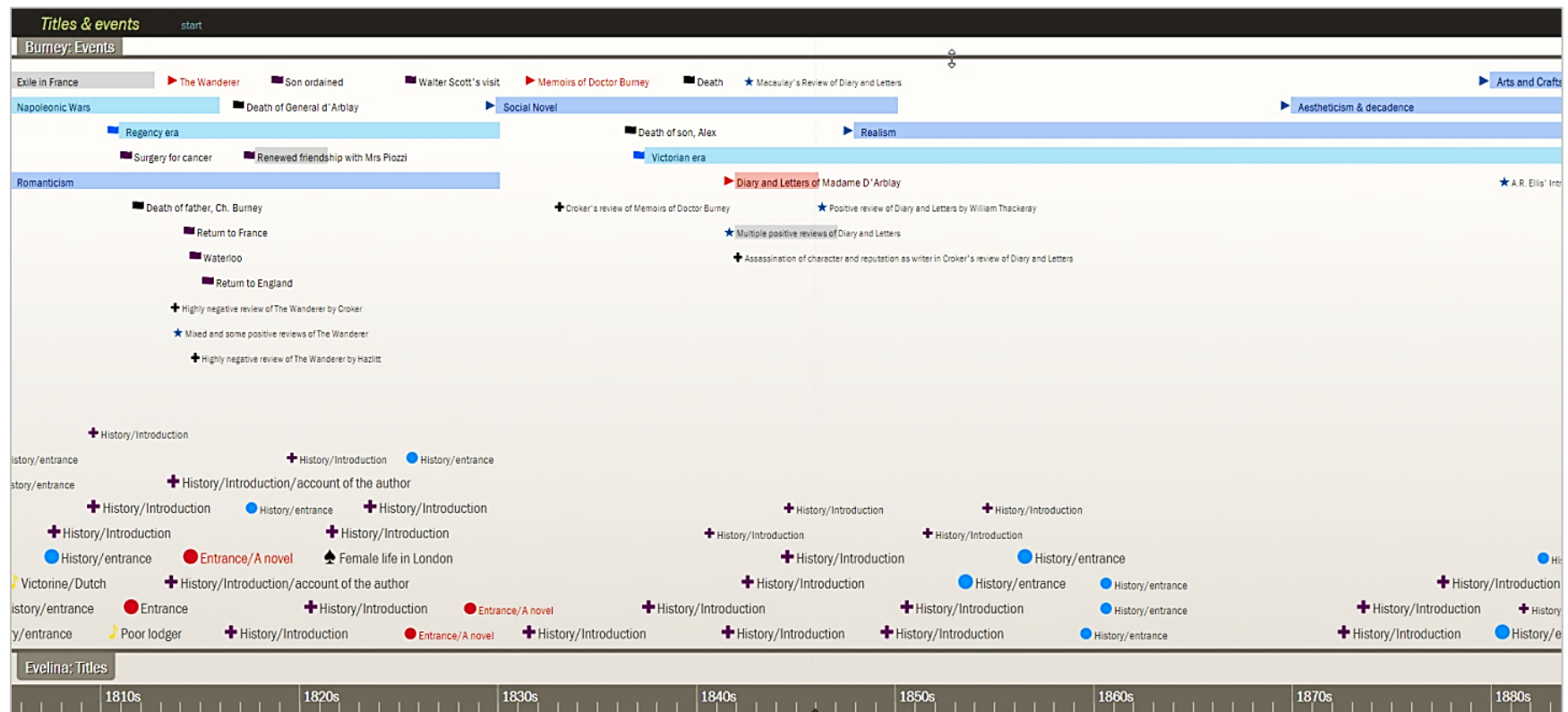


Figure 9 (Copy): Co-occurrences of the Title and Name Forms

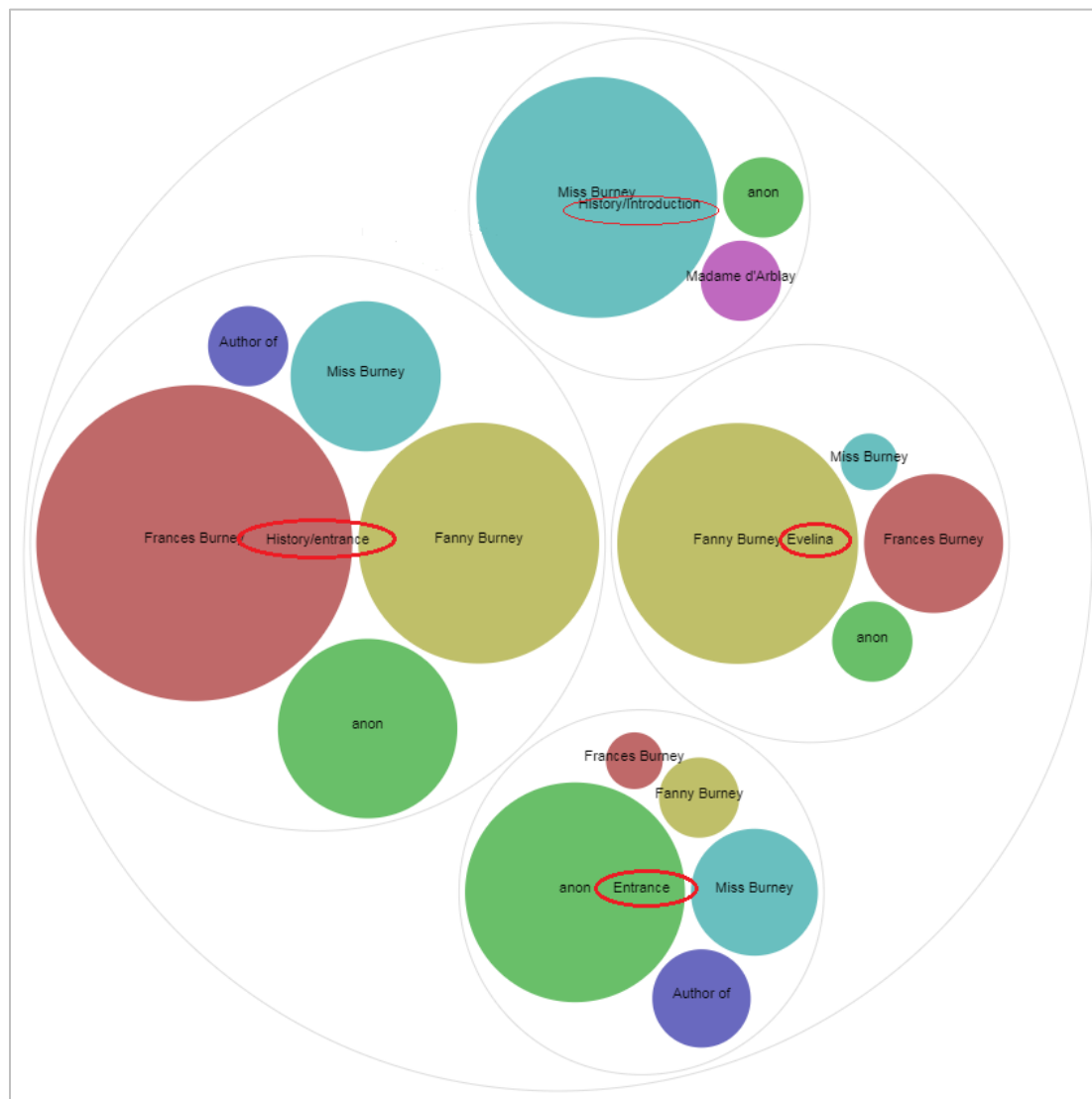


Figure 10 (Copy): Title and Name Forms in Victorian Time

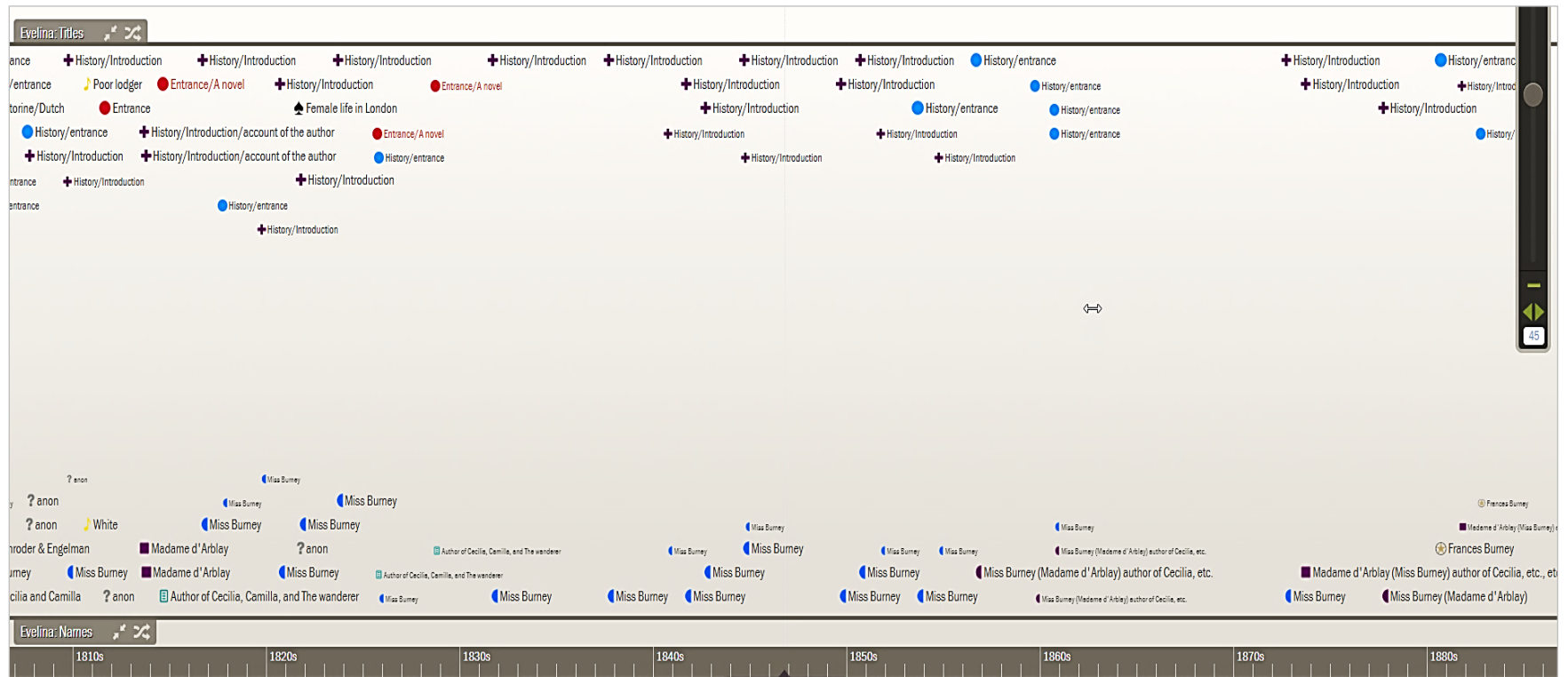


Figure 11 (Copy): Presence, Absence, or Alterations in the Dedication “Oh, Author of my Being”

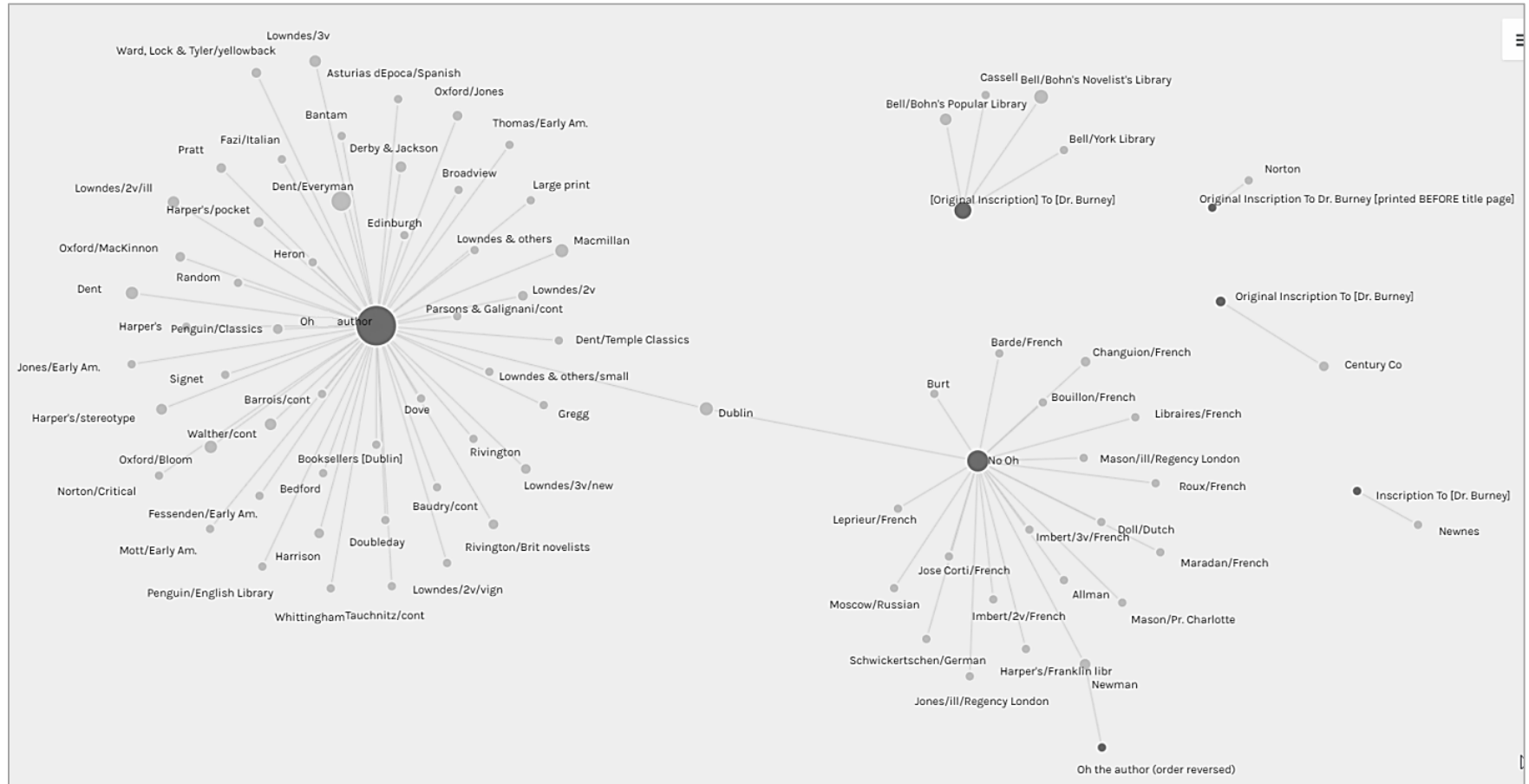


Figure 12 (Copy): Presence, Absence, or Alterations in the Preface “In the Republic of Letters”

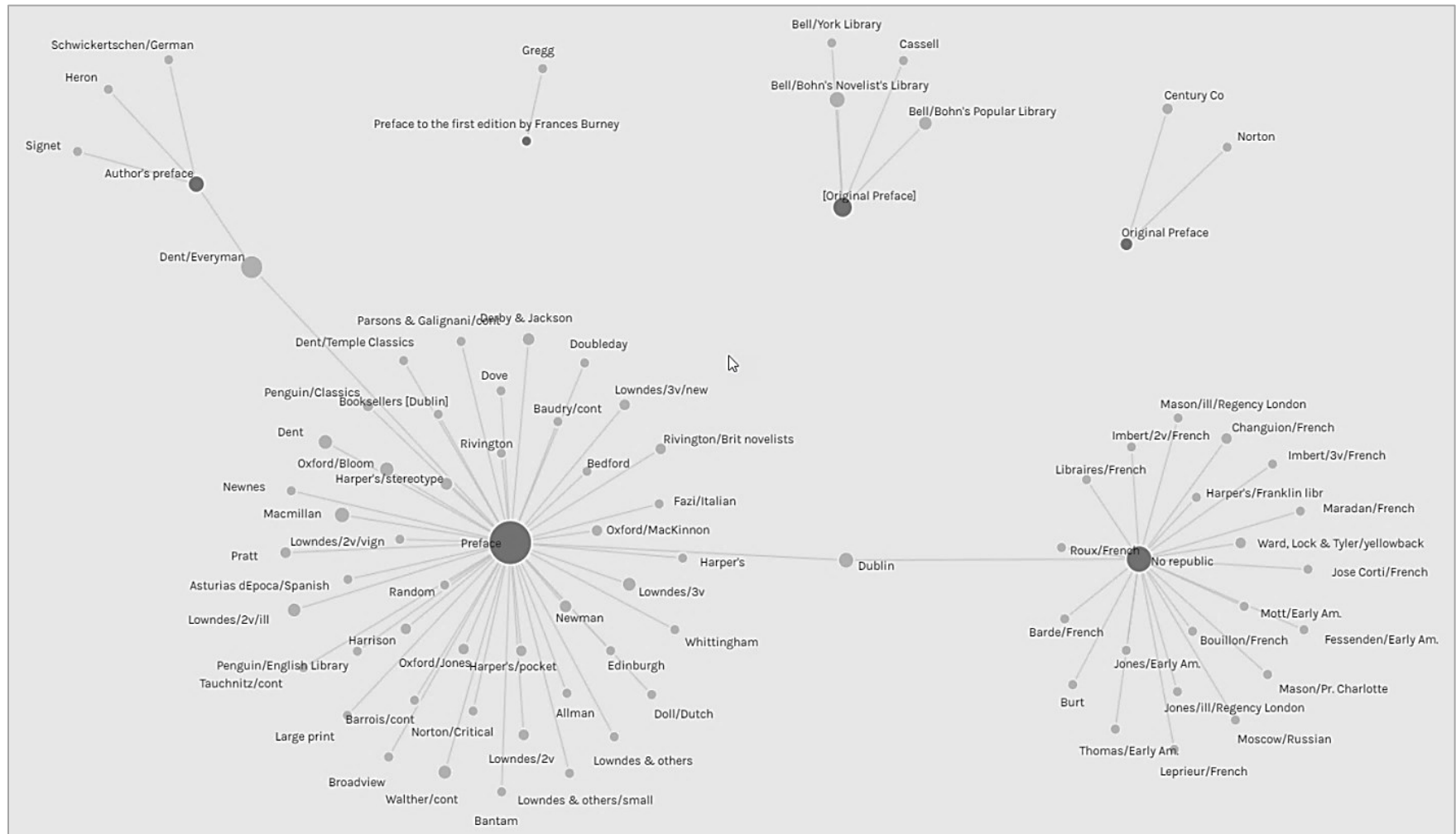


Figure 13 (Copy): Presence, Absence, or Alterations in the Dedication “To the Authors of the Monthly and Critical Reviews”

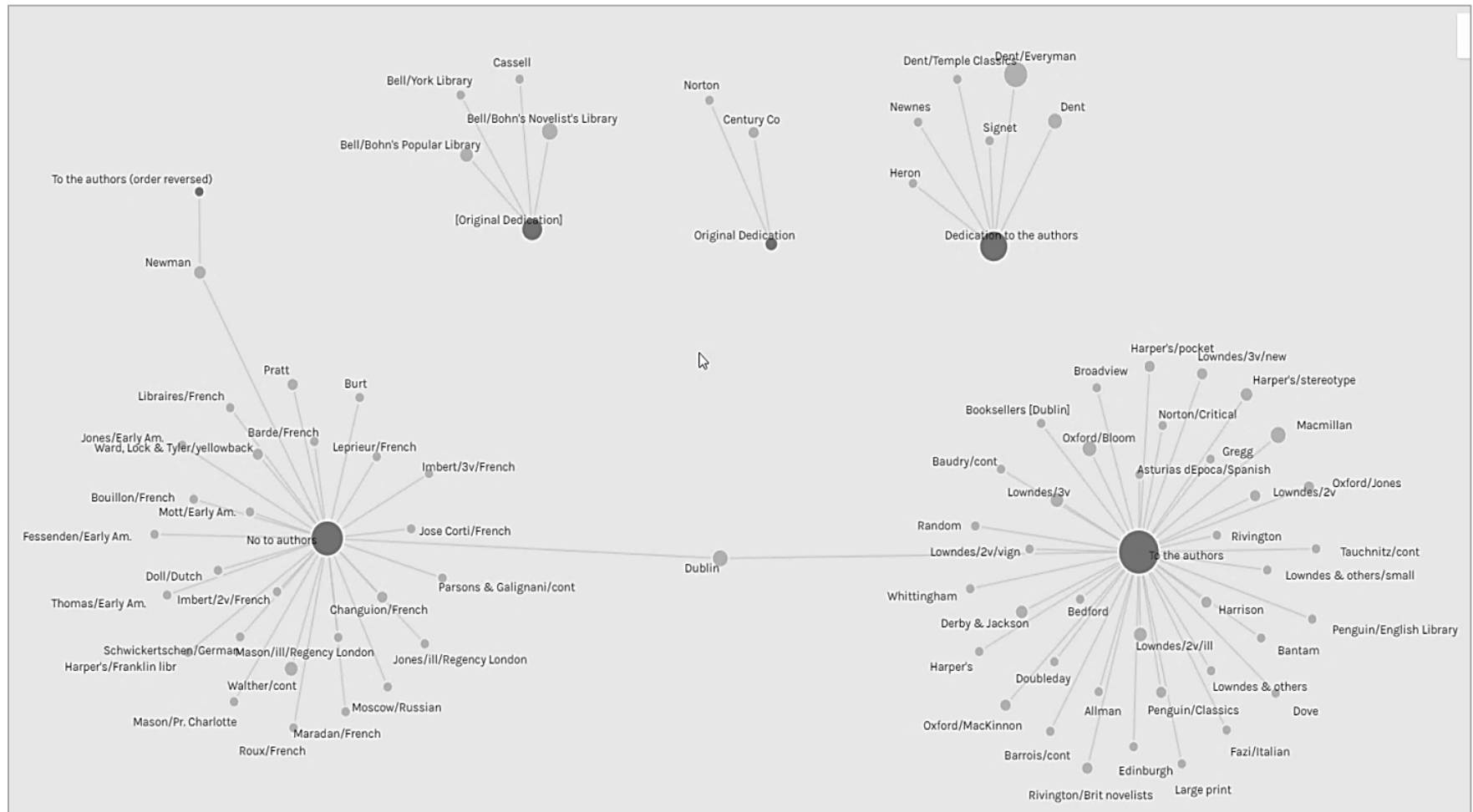


Figure 14 (Copy): Iconic Paratext: Distribution of Form by Decade

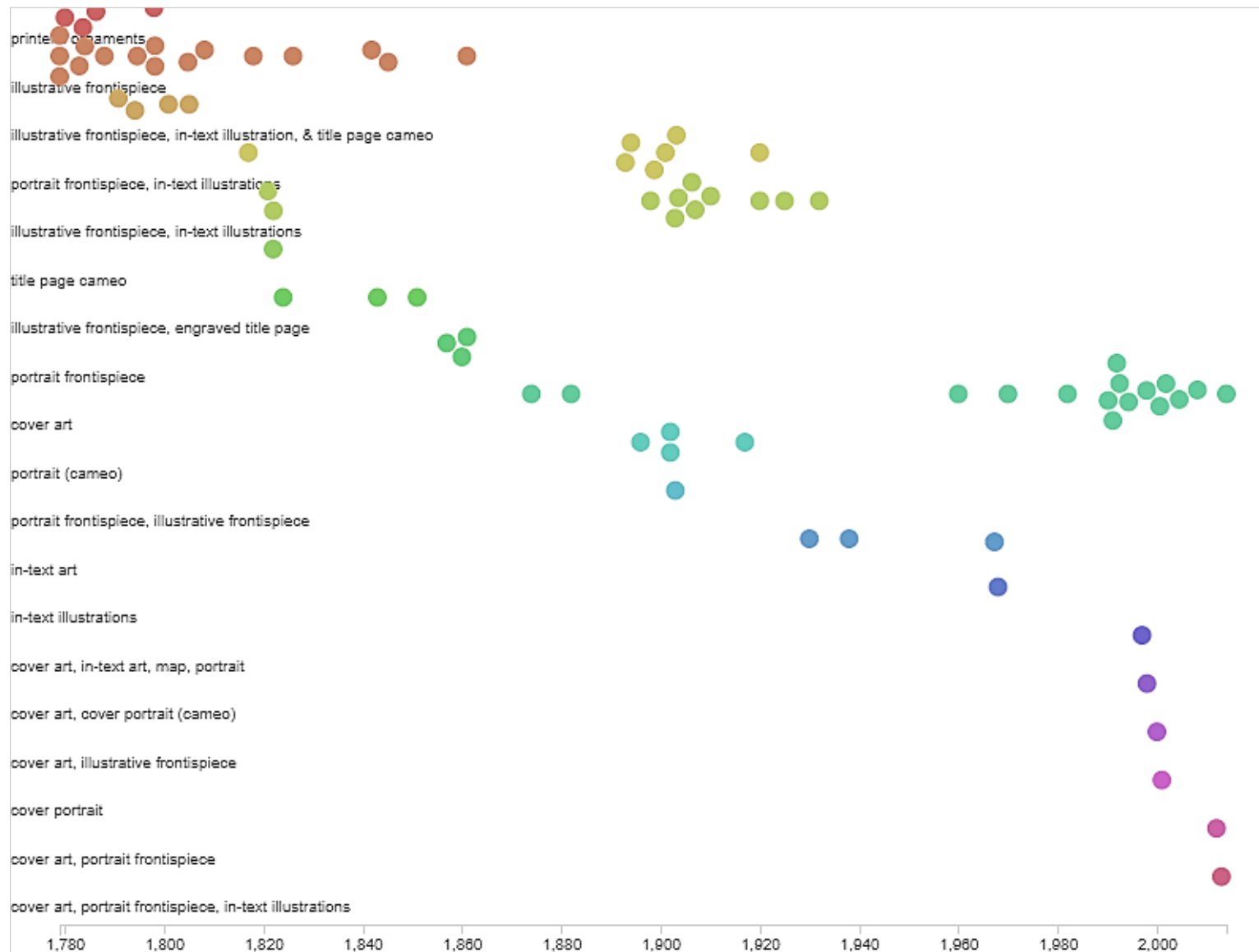


Figure 15 (Copy): Distribution of Illustrations' Types by Decade

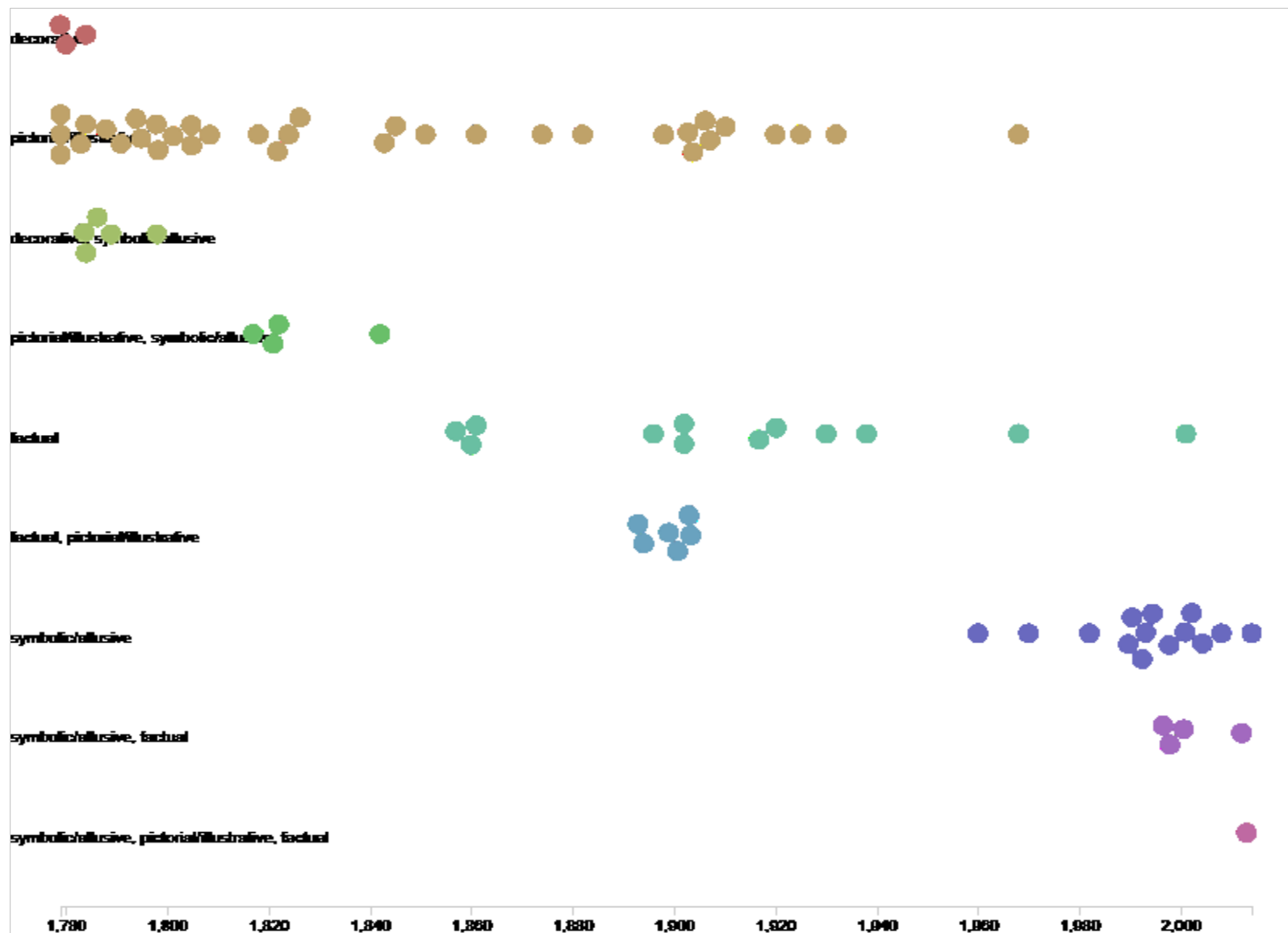


Figure 16 (Copy): Clustering of Pictorial/Illustrative Paratext: Time Represented & Expressive Content

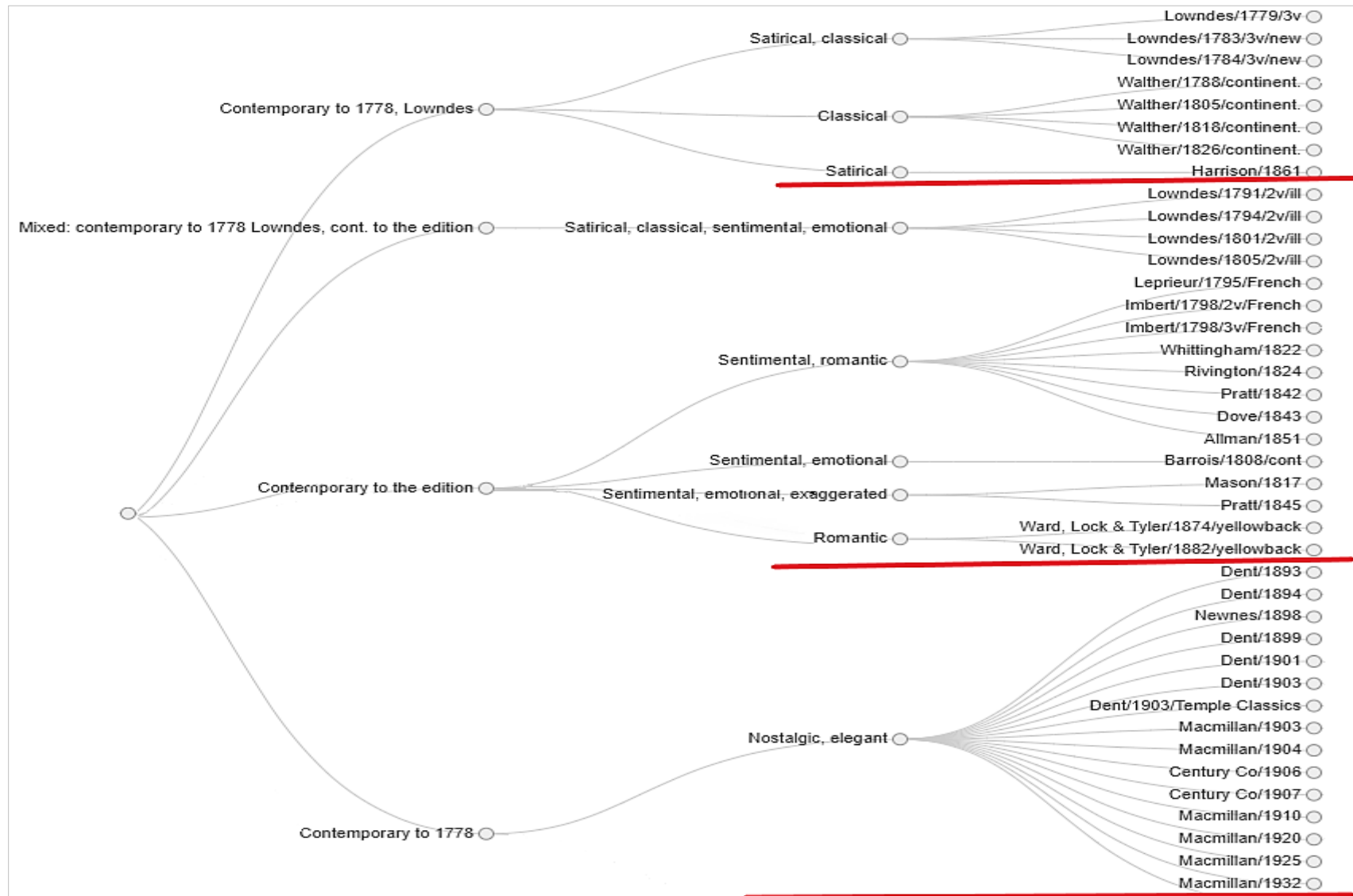
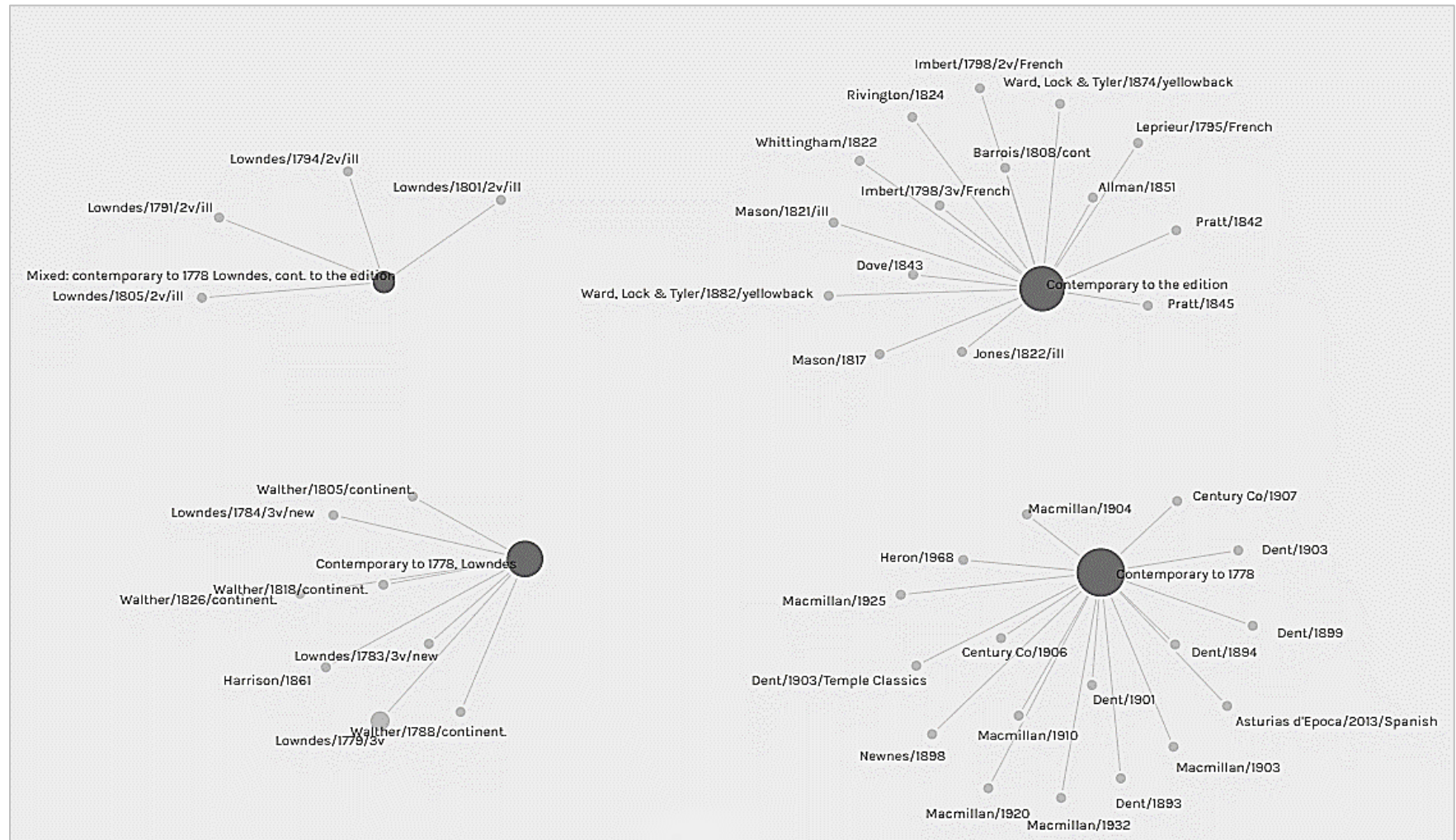


Figure 17 (Copy): Pictorial/Illustrative Paratext: Time Represented



Appendix 6: Timelines & Timelines Data

Figure 19: Screenshot *Editions & Events* Timelines

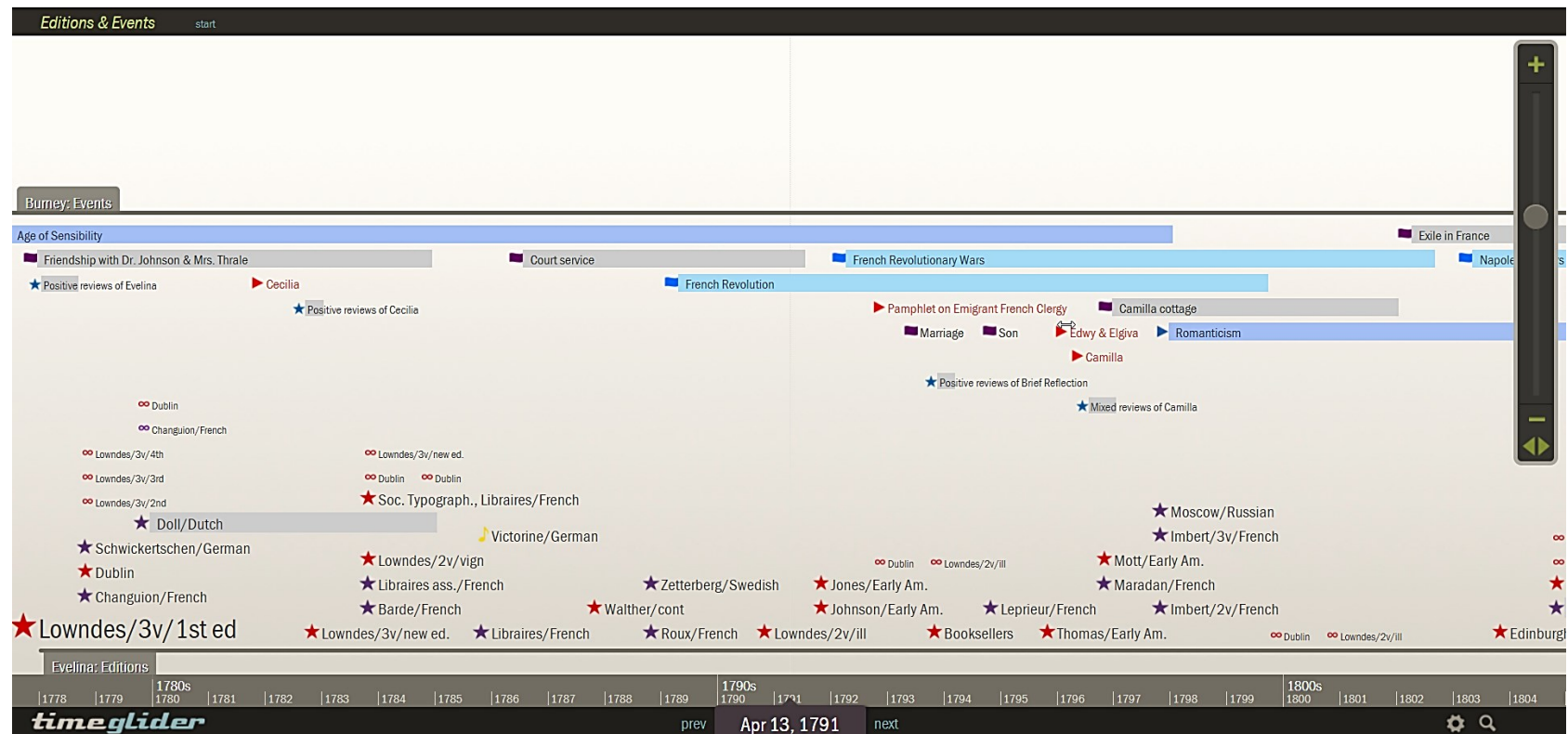


Figure 20: Screenshot *Name & Title* Timelines

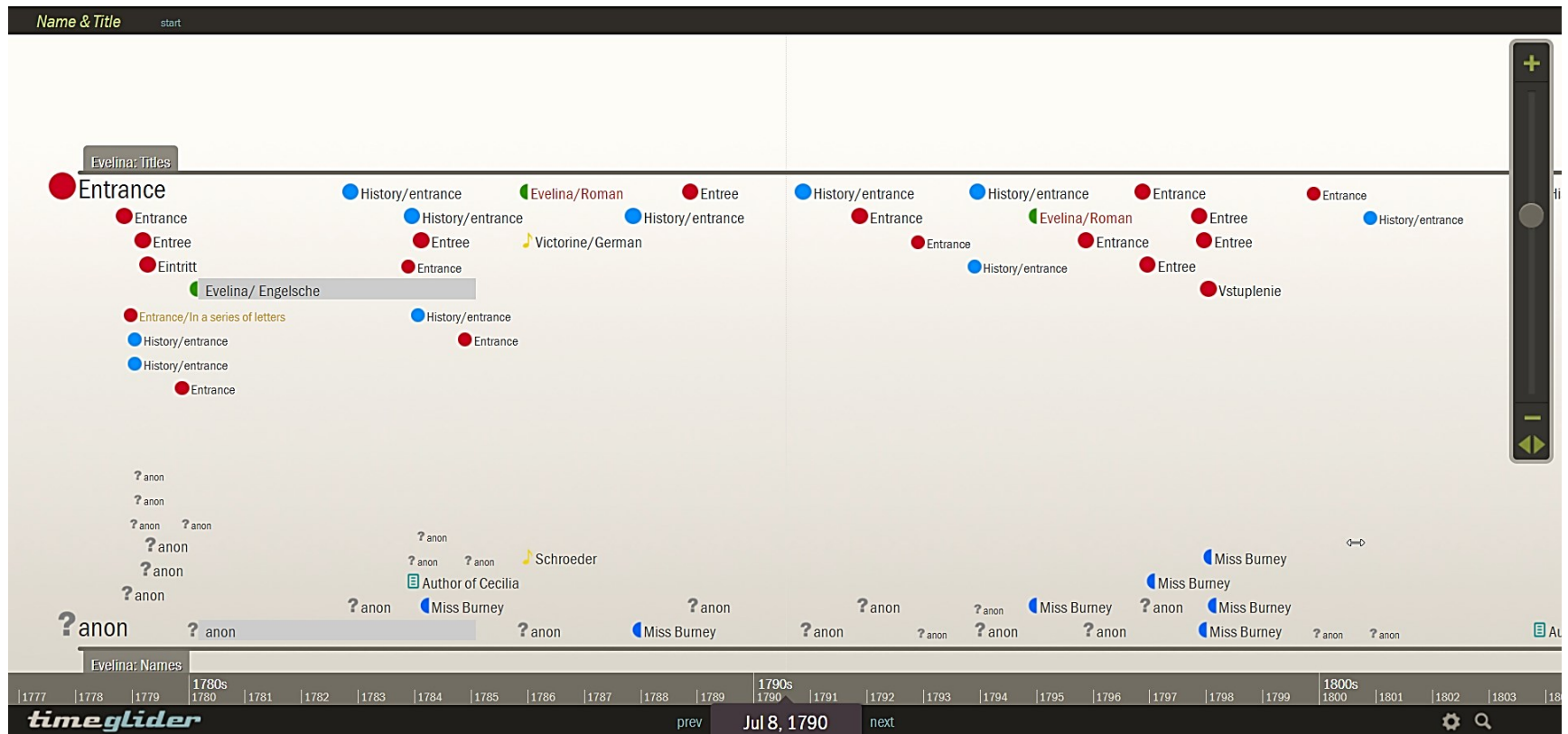


Figure 21: Screenshot *Title & Events* Timelines

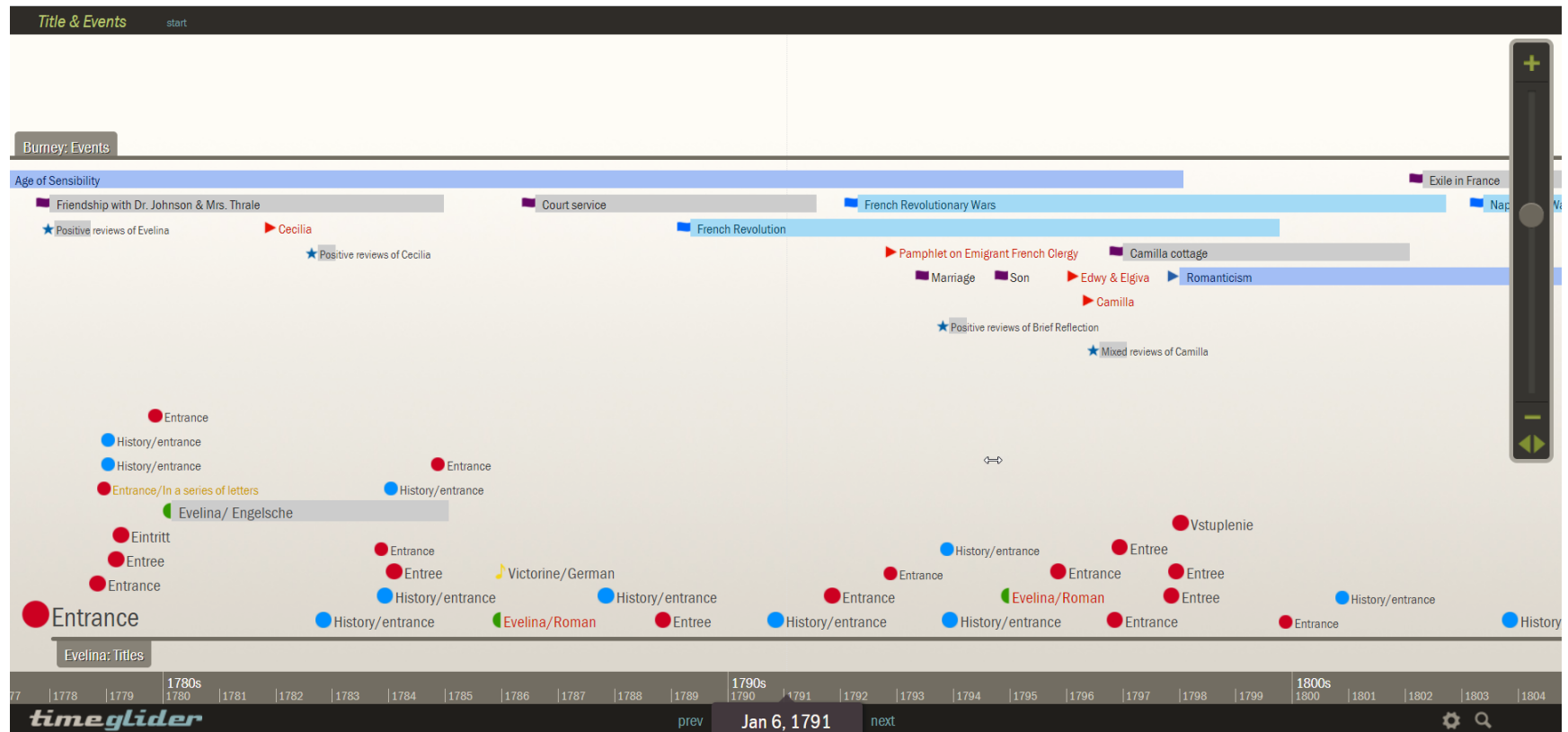
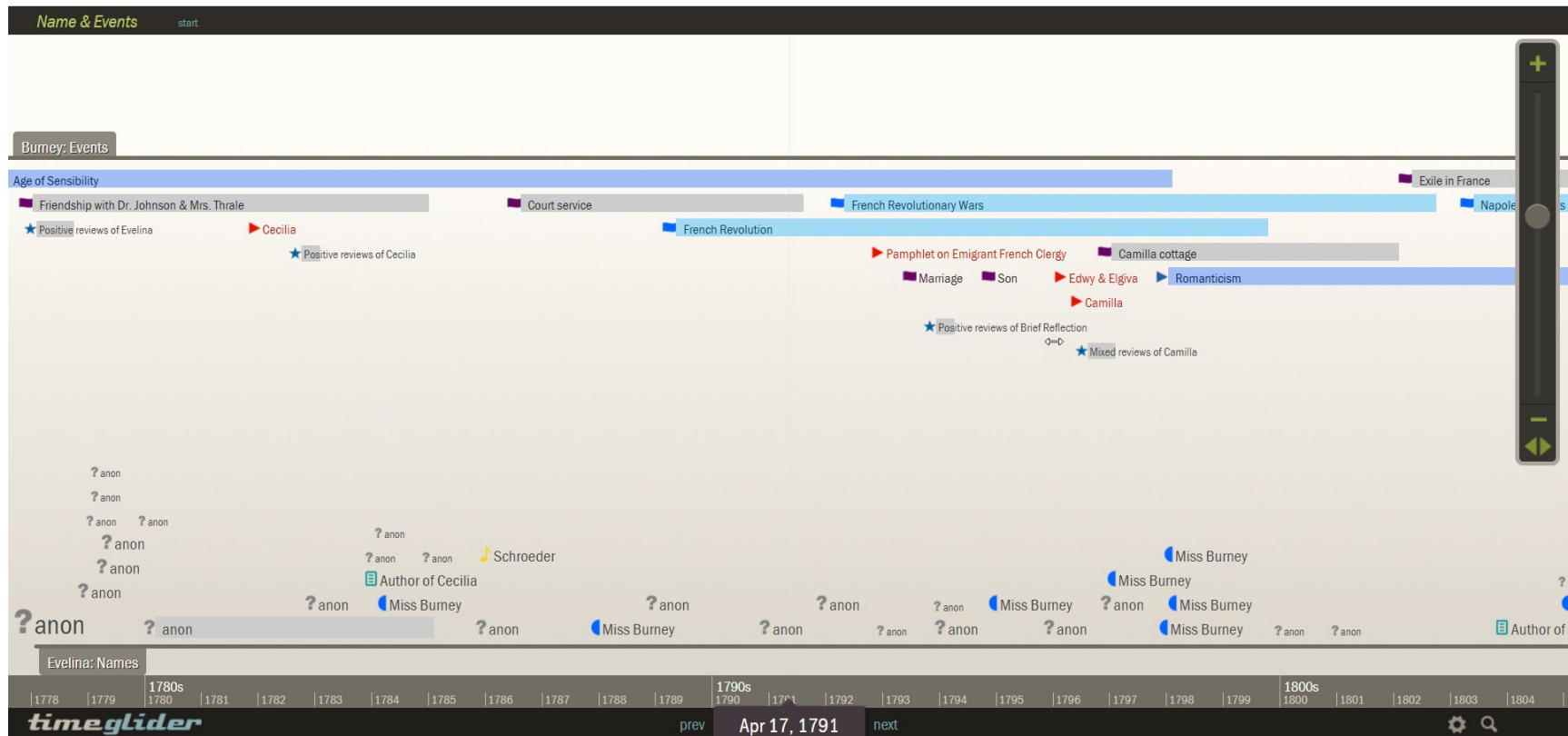


Figure 22: Screenshot *Name & Events* Timelines



Copies of the timelines viewed in sets of two can be found on the Timeglider website:

- *Editions & Events*: <https://timeglider.com/p/e6fdd4b3304a75da>
- *Name & Title*, <https://timeglider.com/p/af9b01ee3207eff1>
- *Title & Events*, <https://timeglider.com/p/d51de90f52c99006>
- *Name & Events*: <https://timeglider.com/p/129b00f85072e7f5>

Table 9: Timeline Data: Burney's Life Events & Works

startdate	enddate	title	description
01/02/1778	12/01/1784	Friendship with Dr. Johnson & Mrs. Thrale	Friendship with Dr. Johnson was ended by his death and with Hester Thrale by her marriage to singer Gabriel Piozzi.
01/08/1782		<i>Cecilia</i>	<i>Cecilia: Or, Memoirs of an Heiress</i> (5 v.) published by T. Payne and Cadell.
08/07/1786	07/07/1791	Court service	Became Second Keeper of the Robes to Queen Charlotte, left the service with a pension of £100 after 5 years.
07/28/1793		Marriage	Marries French émigré, Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste Piochard D'Arblay, a career soldier and former aide de camp to the marquis de La Fayette.

01/01/1793		<i>Pamphlet on Emigrant French Clergy</i>	Non-fiction publication: <i>Brief Reflections Relative to the Emigrant French Clergy</i> .
12/18/1794		Son	Burney's only son, Alexander, born.
03/21/1796		<i>Edwy & Elgiva</i>	Produced once at Drury Lane.
07/01/1796		<i>Camilla</i>	The third novel, <i>Camilla: Or, A Picture of Youth</i> (5 v.): T. Payne, Cadell & W. Davies, published by subscription. The 36-page subscription list reads like a who's who of late 18th-century English society. Among the subscribers was Jane Austen.
01/01/1797	01/01/1802	Camilla cottage	Built with the money paid to Burney for <i>Camilla</i> .
04/20/1802	08/16/1812	Exile in France	After joining her husband, involuntary exile in France caused by the renewal of war between England and France.
09/01/1811		Surgery for cancer	Underwent a radical mastectomy without any anaesthetic, recording the whole horrific experience in her diaries.
03/01/1814		<i>The Wanderer</i>	<i>The Wanderer: Or, Female Difficulties</i> : Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, published to bring her £1,500.

			The novel was begun in the 1790s, Burney was working on it while she was an exile in France.
11/01/1814		Return to France	Returned to France to join her husband, leaving her son at Cambridge.
03/01/1815		Waterloo	Fled to Belgium from advancing Napoleon troops, waited for the outcome of the Battle of Waterloo, where her husband fought for the side opposing Napoleon, in a nearby town.
10/17/1815		Return to England	Returned to England with wounded General D'Arblay.
11/17/1817	05/02/1821	Renewed friendship with Mrs Piozzi	Reconciled with Mrs Piozzi, the friendship ended by the latter's death.
05/03/1817		Death of General D'Arblay	
04/11/1819		Son ordained	Alex ordained a priest in Church of England.
01/01/1826		Walter Scott's visit	Received a visit from Sir Walter Scott in London.
01/01/1832		<i>Memoirs of Doctor Burney</i>	Publishes biography of her father based on heavily edited journals of her father.
01/19/1837		Death of son, Alex	

01/06/1840		Death	Died in London at the age of 87, buried alongside her son and husband in Bath.
01/01/1842	01/01/1846	<i>Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay</i>	Heavily edited Burney's diaries, with most sensitive moments omitted, published by her niece Charlotte Barrett.
01/01/1889		<i>Early Diary of Frances Burney</i>	First publication of Burney's Diaries written before 1778, with notes and introduction by A.R. Ellis, increased Burney's fame as a diarist.
01/01/1904	01/01/1905	<i>Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay (1778-1840)</i>	Based on Charlotte Barrett's edition (1842–1846), illustrated, with introduction and commentary, ed. by Austin Dobson (London: Macmillan).
01/01/1940		<i>The Diary of Fanny Burney</i>	Ed. by Lewis Gibbs. Everyman's Library 960 (Dent). Reprinted also in 1941, 1950, 1961, 1966, 1971
01/01/1948		<i>The Diary of Fanny Burney</i>	A selection edited by Christopher Lloyd (London: R. Ingram).
01/01/1957		<i>Edwy and Elgiva</i>	A tragedy performed in 1795, the first edition of any of Burney's plays, ed. by Miriam J. Benkowitz (New York: Shoe String Press).

01/01/1972	01/01/1984	<i>The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney. 12 vols.</i>	A ground-breaking edition of Burney's journals and letters from 1791 to 1839, ed. by Joyce Hemlow et al., 12 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon).
01/01/1972		<i>Camilla/scholarly edition</i>	The only scholarly edition, based on the first edition for copy-text, ed. by Edward A. Bloom and Lillian D. Bloom (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
01/01/1984		<i>A Busy Day</i>	The first publication of a Burney comedy, never performed during her lifetime, ed. by Tara Ghoshal Wallace (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press).
01/01/1986		<i>Fanny Burney: Selected Letters and Journals</i>	Selection from twelve volumes of Burney's later journals and letters, 1791 - 1839, ed. by Joyce Hemlow (Oxford: Clarendon).
01/01/1988	01/01/2012	<i>The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney. 12 vols.</i>	The complete text of all of Burney's early journals and letters, 1768 - 1783, ed. Lars Troide et al., 5 vols. (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press).

01/01/1988		<i>Cecilia/scholarly edition</i>	The only scholarly edition, based on the first edition for copy-text, ed. by Peter Sabor and Margaret Anne Doody (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
01/01/1991		<i>The Wanderer/scholarly edition</i>	The only scholarly edition, based on the first edition for copy-text, ed. by Margaret Anne Doody, Robert L. Mack, and Peter Sabor (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
01/01/1995		<i>The Complete Plays of Frances Burney</i>	An annotated edition of all eight of Burney's plays, ed. by Peter Sabor, Geoffrey M. Sill, and Stewart J. Cooke (London: Pickering).
01/01/1995		<i>The Witlings</i>	Critical edition, ed. by Clayton J. Delery (East Lansing, MI: Colleagues Press).
01/01/2000		<i>A Busy Day</i>	Acting text, ed. by Alan Coveney (London: Oberon).
01/01/2001		<i>Fanny Burney: Journals and Letters</i>	Selection from Burney's journals and letters, 1768 - 1839, ed. by Peter Sabor and Lars E. Troide (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin).

01/01/2002		<i>The Witlings and The Woman-Hater</i>	Edition of two of Burney's comedies, ed. by Peter Sabor and Geoffrey Sill (Peterborough, ON: Broadview).
06/13/2002		Memorial plaque at Westminster Abbey	Memorial to Frances Burney 1752 - 1840, Novelist, Playwright and Diarist at Westminster Abbey.
01/01/2011	01/01/2019	<i>The Court Journals and Letters of Frances Burney. 6 vols.</i>	Fully annotated texts of journals and letters written during Burney's Court service, 1786–1791, ed. by Peter Sabor et al. (Oxford: Clarendon).
01/01/2015	01/01/2019	<i>Additional Journals and Letters of Frances Burney. 2 vols.</i>	Last two volumes of Burney's journals and letters., ed. by Peter Sabor and Stewart Cooke (Oxford: Clarendon)

Table 10: Biographical and Critical Publications

startdate	enddate	title	description
02/01/1778	09/01/1778	Positive reviews of <i>Evelina</i>	London Review; Monthly Review; Critical Review; Gentleman's Magazine
10/01/1782	01/01/1783	Positive reviews of <i>Cecilia</i>	London Magazine; Monthly Review; Critical Review; Gentleman's Magazine

12/01/1793	03/01/1794	Positive reviews of <i>Brief Reflection</i>	British Critic; Monthly Review; European Magazine & London Review; Critical Review
08/01/1796	01/01/1797	Mixed reviews of <i>Camilla</i>	Analytical Review; Monthly Magazine; Critical Review; Freemasons' Magazine; Monthly Review; Scots Magazine; Philadelphia Minerva
04/01/1814	04/01/1814	Mixed and some positive reviews of <i>The Wanderer</i>	Anti-Jacobin Review; British Critic; Theatrical Inquisitor and Monthly Mirror; Gentleman's Magazine; European Magazine and London Review
02/01/1814		Highly negative review of <i>The Wanderer</i> by Croker	The Quarterly Review 11, 123-130. Savage review that effectively killed the book and began the lasting damage to Burney's reputation as the author.
02/01/1815		Highly negative review of <i>The Wanderer</i> by Hazlitt	The Edinburgh Review 24, 320-328. Added greatly to the damage done by Croker.

06/01/1833		Croker's review of <i>Memoirs of Doctor Burney</i>	The Quarterly Review 49 (1833), 97-125. Highly negative review by Croker. Burney was accused of lying about her age at the publication of <i>Evelina</i> .
06/01/1842		Assassination of character and reputation as a writer in <i>Croker's review of Diary and Letters</i>	The Quarterly Review 70 (1842), 243-87. Another even more negative review that damaged Burney's reputation as an author, accusing her of egotism, affectation, artifice, vanity, and manoeuvring describing the whole book as nearly the most worthless ever written.
01/01/1843		Macaulay's Review of <i>Diary and Letters</i>	The Edinburgh Review 76 (1843), 523-570. The earliest and lengthy defence (47 pages) of the <i>Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay</i> that also praised <i>Evelina</i> for observation, descriptions, and moral feelings.
01/01/1842	01/01/1847	Multiple positive reviews of <i>Diary and Letters</i>	Numerous (more than 20) positive reviews of separate volumes of <i>Diary and Letters</i> in Athenaeum, New

			Monthly Magazine, Monthly Review, and Eclectic Review.
09/01/1846		Positive review of <i>Diary and Letters</i> by William Thackeray	Morning Chronicle [London].
01/01/1881		A.R. Ellis' Introduction to <i>Evelina</i>	First edition of <i>Evelina</i> with an extensive biographical introduction and notes, arguing that Burney was an unjustly forgotten classic writer and repudiating vicious attacks by Croker.
01/01/1885		Entry in the <i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>	8-column entry
01/01/1890		<i>Fanny Burney and Her Friends</i>	<i>Fanny Burney and Her Friends: Select Passages from her Diary and Other Writings</i> , ed. by Leonard Benton Seeley, reprinted several times.

06/01/1903		<i>Fanny Burney</i>	First book-length biography by Austin Dobson in the series <i>English Men of Letters</i> . The second printing of the series included biographies of women writers, among them Burney.
01/01/1904		<i>Juniper Hall</i>	<i>Juniper Hall, a Rendezvous of Certain Illustrious Personages During the French Revolution, Including Alexandre D'Arblay and Fanny Burney</i> , by Constance Hill (London: J. Lane), accessible work for the general public.
01/01/1907		<i>The House in St. Martin's Street</i>	<i>The House in St. Martin's Street: Being Chronicles of the Burney Family</i> , by Constance Hill (London: J. Lane), a collective biography of Burney's, accessible work for the general public.
01/01/1911		<i>The Keeper of the Robes</i>	A biographical account of F. Burney's years at the court, by Frank Frankfort Moore (London: Hodder and Stoughton).

01/01/1912		<i>Fanny Burney at the Court of Queen Charlotte</i>	Biography 1786-1791, by Constance Hill (London: J. Lane), accessible work for the general public.
01/01/1912		<i>Dr. Johnson and Fanny Burney</i>	Dr. Johnson and Fanny Burney: <i>Excerpts from Fanny Burney's Prose, 1777–84</i> : passages on Dr. Johnson in Burney's journals and letters, from 1777 until his death in 1784, ed. By C. B. Tinker (London: Jonathan Cape).
01/01/1913		<i>Discovering "Evelina": an Old-Fashioned Romance</i>	A fictional account of the history of the publication of <i>Evelina</i> also published as <i>Fanny's First Novel</i> , by Frank Frankfort Moore (London: Hutchinson & Co.).
01/01/1925		<i>Fanny Burney</i>	Brief biographical and critical pamphlet, by Edith Julia Morley, <i>English Association Pamphlet 60</i> (London: Oxford University Press).
01/01/1926		<i>Fanny Burney and the Burneys</i>	Selections from Burney's diaries, by R. Brimley Johnson (London: Stanley Paul).
01/01/1927		<i>The Story of Fanny Burney</i>	<i>The story of Fanny Burney: being an introduction to the Diary and letters of</i>

			<i>Madame D'Arblay</i> . Account of Burney's life and times, by Muriel Masfield, reprinted in 1974 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press).
01/01/1933		<i>An Investigation into the Character of Fanny Burney</i>	Psychological analysis of Burney's character based on Klages theory, by Antoinette Arnold Overman (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris).
01/01/1936		<i>Fanny Burney</i>	Lively biography, written by a naval historian, Christopher Lloyd (London: Longmans, Green).
01/01/1938		<i>Be Loved No More: The Life and Environment of Fanny Burney</i>	Biography based on Burney's diaries, by Arthur Bernon Tourtellot (London: George Allen & Unwin).
01/01/1947		<i>Young Miss Burney</i>	Juvenile biography by Anna Bird Stewart (Philadelphia: Lippincott).
01/01/1948		<i>Fanny Burney, 1752-1840; a Biography.</i>	Short accessible biography, by Averyl Edwards, (London: Staples Press).

01/01/1951		<i>A Degree of Prudery, a Biography of Fanny Burney</i>	Well-written but very contemptuous and unsympathetic biography, by Emily Hahn (London: A. Barker).
01/01/1958		<i>The History of Fanny Burney</i>	Pioneering work of Burney's scholarship, by Joyce Hemlow (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
01/01/1960		<i>Fanny Burney, Novelist: A Study in Technique</i>	Analysis of Burney's literary techniques, by Eugene White (Shoestring Press, 1960).
01/01/1961		<i>The Young Fanny Burney</i>	Juvenile biography by Winifred Gerin (London & New York: Thomas Nelson).
01/01/1962		<i>Fanny Burney, sa vie et ses romans</i>	By Gabrielle Buffet (Paris: Presses universitaires de France).
01/01/1966		<i>The Story of Fanny Burney</i>	Juvenile biography by Josephine Kamm (London: Methuen).
01/01/1968		<i>Fanny Burney</i>	Study of Burney's works from a biographical point of view, by Michael E. Adelstein (New York: Twayne).

01/01/1971		<i>Catalogue of the Burney Family Correspondence</i>	1749 - 1878, by Joyce Hemlow, with Jeanne M. Burgess, and Althea Douglas (New York: New York Public Library).
01/01/1980		<i>Fanny Burney</i>	Popular biography by Sarah Kilpatrick (New York: Stein and Day).
01/01/1981		<i>Fanny Burney: An Annotated Bibliography</i>	Comprehensive but incomplete bibliography, by Joseph A. Grau (New York: Garland Pub.).
01/01/1987		<i>The Novels and Journals of Fanny Burney</i>	Critical work, discussing Burney's novels and journals in historical context, by D. Devlin (New York: St. Martin's) also (London: Macmillan).
01/01/1987		<i>Fanny Burney</i>	Published in the <i>Women Writers</i> series, biographical and critical, by Judy Simons (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble).
01/01/1988		<i>Divided Fictions</i>	<i>Divided Fictions: Fanny Burney and Feminine Strategy</i> , a feminist interpretation, by Kristina Straub (Lexington: Univ. Press of Kentucky).

01/01/1988		<i>Fanny Burney's Evelina</i>	Published in the <i>Modern Critical Interpretations</i> series, abridged reprints of critical essays 1967 - 1981, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House).
01/01/1988		<i>Frances Burney: The Life in the Works</i>	Extensive analyses of Burney's works, by Margaret Anne Doody (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press).
01/01/1989		<i>The Iron Pen</i>	<i>The Iron Pen: Frances Burney and the Politics of Women's Writing</i> , a feminist reading of Burney's novels, by Julia Epstein (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press).
01/01/1989		<i>Narrative Techniques in the Novels of Fanny Burney</i>	Study of the formal characteristics of Burney's novels, by Tracy Edgar, Daugherty (New York: Peter Lang).
01/01/1989		<i>Dr. Johnson and Fanny Burney</i>	<i>Dr. Johnson and Fanny Burney: Excerpts from Fanny Burney's Prose, 1777-84</i> : a revision of 1912 edition, ed. by Nigel Wood, 2d ed. (Bristol, UK: Bristol Classical Press).

01/01/1990		<i>Frances Burney: The World of "Female Difficulties"</i>	Feminist reading of Burney's novels, by Katharine M. Rogers (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf).
01/01/1990		<i>One woman's liberation: the story of Fanny Burney</i>	Feminist biography, by Louis Baldwin (Wakefield, NH: Longwood Academic).
01/01/1991		<i>Special Issue: Evelina</i>	<i>Eighteenth-Century Fiction</i> 3.4 (1991).
01/01/1992		<i>Woman as "Nobody" and the Novels of Fanny Burney</i>	Feminist criticism of Burney's novels, by Joanne Cutting-Gray (Gainesville: Univ. Press of Florida).
01/01/1993		<i>The World of Fanny Burney</i>	By Evelyn Farr (London: Peter Owen) accessible biographical work.
01/01/1996		<i>Fanny Burney, 1752-1840</i>	By Sally Grant, Larks Pocket Biographies; 11 (Dereham: Larks Press) accessible biographical work.
01/01/1997		<i>Frances Burney, dramatist</i>	<i>Frances Burney, dramatist: gender, performance, and the late eighteenth-century stage</i> . Discussion in light of

			performance and feminist theory, by Barbara Darby (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky).
01/01/1997		<i>Familiar Violence</i>	<i>Familiar Violence: Gender and Social Upheaval in the Novels of Frances Burney</i> , by Barbara Zonitch (Newark: University of Delaware Press).
01/01/1998		<i>Fanny Burney: Her Life, 1752-1840</i>	An illustrated biography, by Kate Chisholm (London: Chatto & Windus).
01/01/1998	01/01/2019	<i>Burney Journal</i>	A journal published by the Burney Society.
01/01/1999		<i>A City of Palaces</i>	<i>A City of Palaces: Bath Through the Eyes of Fanny Burney</i> . Illustrated biographical insight into Burney through her experiences of Bath, by Maggie Lane (Bath: Millstream Books).
01/01/2000		<i>Faithful Handmaid</i>	<i>Faithful Handmaid: Fanny Burney at the Court of King George III</i> . Account of Burney's five years at Court, by Hester Davenport (Stroud: Sutton).

01/01/2000		<i>Fanny Burney: A Biography</i>	An overview of Burney's life, by Claire Harman (London: Harper & Collins Publishers).
01/01/2000		<i>Frances Burney: A Literary Life</i>	Study of Burney's life as a professional writer, by Janice Farrar Thaddeus. Published also in Palgrave/Macmillan <i>Literary Lives</i> series. (New York: St. Martin's Press).
01/01/2001		<i>Miss Burney trägt grün : Roman</i>	Fictionalised biography of Burney by Elsemarie Maletzke (Frankfurt am Main: Schöffling).
01/01/2002		<i>Fanny Burney : The Mother of English Fiction</i>	By Nigel Nicolson (London: Short Books): accessible biography and criticism.
01/01/2002		<i>A Known Scribbler: Frances Burney on Literary Life</i>	Annotated selection from Burney's journals and letters on her literary life, ed. by Justine Crump (Peterborough, ON: Broadview).
01/01/2005		<i>The Problem of the Name</i>	<i>The Problem of the Name: A Culture-Oriented Eclectic Approach to the Issue of Identity in Frances Burney's</i>

			<i>World</i> , by Song, Min (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press).
01/01/2007		<i>The Cambridge Companion to Frances Burney</i>	Collection of essays, ed. by Peter Sabor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
01/01/2007		<i>A Celebration of Frances Burney</i>	Collection of papers, presented at a Westminster Abbey in 2002, ed. by Lorna J. Clark (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars).
01/01/2010		<i>L'imagination féminine dans les romans de Frances Burney</i>	By Laure Blanchemain Faucon (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail).
01/01/2012		<i>Backstage in the Novel</i>	<i>Backstage in the Novel: Frances Burney and the Theater Arts</i> , by Francesca Saggini, translated by Laura Kopp (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press).
01/01/2012		<i>Frances Burney's Cecilia: A Publishing History</i>	Illustrated monograph on the publishing history of <i>Cecilia</i> , by Catherine M. Parisian (Burlington, VT: Ashgate).

01/01/2012		<i>Frances Burney, Evelina (guide/ French)</i>	<i>Frances Burney, Evelina: or the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World.</i> French-language guide to <i>Evelina</i> , by Jean Dixsaut (Neuilly: Atlante).
01/01/2012		<i>Correspondences Frances Burney's Evelina /French</i>	Guide for students, by Anne Rouhette (Paris: Fahrenheit).
01/01/2013		<i>Lifting the veil</i>	<i>Lifting the veil: disruption and order in Frances Burney's Evelina.</i> Discusses savagery inherent in the so-called civilized society, by Laure Blanchemain Faucon (Paris: Presses universitaires de France).
01/01/2013		<i>Frances Burney and narrative prior to ideology</i>	Reinterprets Burney's place in the history of the English novel, by Brian McCrea (Newark: University of Delaware Press).

01/01/2014		<i>A Tale in Two Cities: Fanny Burney and Adele, Comtesse de Boigne</i>	By Brian Unwin (London: I.B. Tauris) accessible selection of diaries and letters.
01/01/2017		<i>Passion, Wit and Politics: Fanny Burney and Mme de Stael</i>	Juvenile biography, by Elise Lauber-Sparre (S.l.: Austin Macauley).
01/01/2019		<i>Frances Burney and the doctors</i>	<i>Frances Burney and the doctors: patient narratives then and now</i> , by John Wiltshire (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press).

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