CENTRE AND CREATIVE PERIPHERY IN THE HISTORIES OF THE BOOK IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD, AND GLOBAL ENGLISH STUDIES: A PROPOS *THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF THE BOOK IN BRITAIN*

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Traditionally the idea of centre and periphery had been confined by and large to the fields of politics and economics. However in 1961 in a seminal paper the sociologist Edward Shils proposed the extension of the idea to various aspects of cultural history, and since then 'centre and periphery [have become] a very powerful heuristic set of concepts within archaeological, historical and other studies of society and ideology 1. Thus, for its grand project of revising the world history of culture the second edition of the Unesco *History of Humanity* depends on the idea of centre and periphery as a 'unifying theme'.[2]

Further: when dealing with the sea-borne empires characteristic of our formative early-modern period the Unesco editors insist that
    the global comparison and contrast [between empires and their peripheries
    which] is the essence of the enterprise … requires to be based on
    specialised secondary works … [such as] histories of the book.[3]
The history of the book, then, as a field of study has 'an unavoidable international and comparative dimension' (in the words of the Editor of this present volume.[4]). Moreover we live in

an age particularly sensitive to the confrontation (though not, essentially, 'clash' [5]) of cultures. These cultures, though initially perceived by each other as exotic, are nevertheless all inextricably text-based. They are therefore mutually intelligible, and negotiable, on the basis of (among other things) the material constraints of their common textuality.[6] So: we historians of the book find ourselves drawn towards the heart of the humanities, with their perennial mission 'to divest the objective world that stands opposed to us of its strangeness and … to find ourselves at home in it', Hegel's classic formulation of what one might call the project of total, global, humanism.[7]

Further still: for much of its history the British sea-borne empire can be distinguished from the Spanish and French empires by its relatively informal looseness: the British Empire was propelled more by trade, enthusiastic evangelical mission, and self-improving emigration [8], than by formal *étatisme* controlled by a metropolis and its *hégémonie culturelle*.[9] This looseness of the British Empire was particularly well suited to encourage what the Unesco history terms the 'creative role' of the periphery vis-à-vis the centre: a creative role which was mediated largely through various modes of textuality and the dynamism of their embodiment in print and other materialities.[10] It was these textual modes which embodied 'empires in the mind'; and their analysis might be said to connect with the new imperial history represented by the Oxford History of the British Empire, and its concern with

globalization and national cultures … area studies, literary criticism and cultural

studies…[and its concern]   to understand the end of Empire in relation to its

beginning … as part of the larger and dynamic interaction of European and non

-Western societies

thus avoiding traditional Eurocentrism. This concern might be said to converge with that of the newer generation of literary historians

looking at literature in the broad context of imperial and post-imperial

history…[not as] simply reflect[ing] political and social developments..[but where]

empire is approached as on many levels a textual undertaking – as are aspects of the

movements that emerged in opposition to empire[11]

And even further. The history of the creative role of its periphery – or perhaps better, peripheries - and their textualities enables us to entertain the idea of a more cohesive history of the book in the English-speaking world. As a consequence this enables us to think in turn of a cohesive field of global English studies and indeed, given the apparent predominance of the English language, of 'globalization in [recent] world history' as a whole. This strategy would be dependent on a more ecumenically directed historiography of the book and the other modes of textuality together with control of their vast but critically important archive, including pan-aboriginal oral 'texts' .[12].

Meanwhile awareness of their text-led creativity is encouraging what were the former peripheries themselves to produce a number of histories of the book which are by no means simple-mindedly nationalistic or exceptionalist (though to buy in otherwise still under-motivated researchers, most involve some form of state-cultural subsidy). Between 2004 and 2007 all three volumes of a History of the Book in Canada/Histoire du livre et de l'imprimé au Canada appeared , engaging with two centres – Britain and France – in its pursuit of a bicultural narrative. The first volume of A History of the Book in America – significantly subtitled The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World – was launched in 2000 and the third volume, The Industrial Book 1840-1880, in 2007 . The first volume of A History of the Book in Australia to be completed, covering the period 1891-1945 and subtitled - likewise significantly - A National Culture in a Colonised Market, appeared in 2001, followed in 2006 by the volume for the period 1946-2005, Paper Empires. Because of a perception that 'little of the basic

research had been done' New Zealand produced, at remarkable speed, a detailed exploration of existing studies on aspects of its print culture and inaugurated a series of conferences and seminars, linked to a well-funded project for the 'History of Print Culture in New Zealand.' First steps have been taken for the subcontinents of India and Sub-Saharan Africa (though in both cases, given the amount of their persistent multi-cultural and multi-lingual variety, appropriately inclusive national research agenda will be a complicated matter). This leaves for further, urgent consideration the West Indies, the Dependencies, and the British informal empire in Latin America, China, the Middle East and elsewhere, together with the British 'cultural hegemony' (alongside the French and later the American) in modern Europe 12a.

Finally, as regards the 'nations' of the now devolving British Isles, projects for Ireland and Scotland, complementary to and interlocking with the Cambridge History of the Book in Britain (1999-), are starting to appear, that for Wales having been published by the National Library of Wales as long ago as 1998. So, as my colleague David McKitterick said in his keynote address to the first conference on the History of Print Culture in New Zealand:

with projects afoot or talked of in Australia, South Africa, the United

States and Britain … the need for collaboration and consultation is all the

greater, so that a richer picture may emerge.[14]

My task here is to suggest how we might proceed to think of these projects together as a richer, more conceptually integrated whole or, in the words of the New Zealand project, how we might provide a

global account of print culture, [into which] New Zealand's [or Canada's

or Britain's, or America's] unique [sic] print history [can be] situate[d].[15]

Following the lead of the first Colloque in this series, we might begin to think of that anglophone global account as itself a distinctive, though not autonomous, component of a world history of the book - as one of the modern ecumenical book systems originating in Europe, alongside the French and the German.[16]

I have written 'suggest'. Given the inchoate state of the whole subject, together with the constraints of the lecture format, what follows was of necessity an essay; attempting to homogenize schematically areas of historical study hitherto largely disparate; a first step selectively based on the work of others, much of it, including the collaborative histories of the book in Britain, America, and Australia, still in progress, 16a. I have been particularly indebted to the prophetic thinking of the late Don McKenzie, recognized in his lifetime as *forse il maggior bibliologo vivente*,[17] initiator of the Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, and an influence on the organizers of many of the other histories of the book in the English-speaking world.

II

I begin with a summary of those volumes of the Cambridge History of the Book in Britain which cover , inter alia, the periods of the rise, establishment, and zenith of the British centre in the context of its peripheries [18]

The first published volume (Vol. III) deals with the period from 1400 to 1557. Britain was still, if decreasingly, an off-shore, cultural-political periphery of Western Christendom. Thus
      printing itself was an import from abroad. Its early practitioners were predominantly
      not natives of the British Isles; indeed, soon after the first books were printed here,
      foreign book artificers of all kinds were encouraged by statute to take up residence
.The volume ends with a foreshadowing of the process by which, following the other new nation states and sea-borne empires,

Britain was to become an imperial centre: a process in which book culture and print culture in general were to have an essential role:

> In the eighty years since Caxton had introduced printing to
> England the number of printers had increased dramatically
…

> [However] this was owing neither to improved technology,
> nor to greater literacy, but to religious and political
controversy …

> [It was the] political acumen, and especially the centralized
> nature, of English government [which] ensured that the
> printed word continued to advance the Crown's interest both
> at home and in Europe. Over the following decades the same
> techniques of propaganda exercised by government would
be

> deployed by new independent bodies, such as the Muscovy,
> East India and Virginia Companies, as they sought to
encourage

> investment and, eventually, colonization further afield. The
> outward expansion of England's empire was to be matched
by the

> inward expansion of the book-trade.[19]

The next volume (1557-1695) deals with the actual inauguration of the progress of Britain and its book trade from European periphery to imperial centre:

> The history of the book in Britain from 1557 [the year of the
incorporation

> of the Stationers' Company by Queen Mary] to 1695 looks
> like … a … progress in which a dominant Protestant
vernacular culture,

> and an emergent canon of English literature, were steadily
created

> and successfully displaced an earlier Latinate and Catholic
world

> looking towards Europe, a process which began in England
and then

expanded to Scotland, Wales and Ireland, and, later, to the new American

colonies. By the late seventeenth century, the resolution of the Stuarts'

struggles with anti-monarchical, republican and dissenting traditions through

the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688, together with the subsequent final lapsing

of the Licensing Act … [and the authority of the] chronically under-

capitalized … conservative and inward looking cartel … of the

Stationers' Company … in 1695, enabled English culture and literature,

increasingly presenting itself as a 'British' polity after the Act of Union

[with Scotland] in 1707, to develop its colonial markets, leading to the

eventual worldwide dominance of the English language. … Both population and

literacy increased … By 1695 book buying had long been a habit among middle

and professional classes … and printed news and ballads fed into the culture

of coffee houses and clubs, helping create public opinion as a recognizable force. … The book trade had become increasingly specialized and diverse, and entrepreneurial publishing by booksellers [exemplified by Tonson's collaboration with Dryden] had relegated printers to the role of

manufacturers. … [In particular] the publication of travel literature in the

last years of the century shows the shift from a peripheral, if creative,

position of cultural dependency [on the Continent] to the beginnings of a

self-sustaining industry, one whose future development was
intimately linked
to the imperial project of which travel literature was an
integral
part … all backed up by a burgeoning consumer economy.[20]

The next volume[21] will see the period from 1695 to 1830 in terms of
the conspicuous commercial-financial-cultural take-off of the
British Isles and the emergence of a recognizably modern British
book trade which was to involve Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dublin
as well as London as centres. It also involved the eventual
separation of entrepreneurial publishing from local bookselling as
well as from printing, based on an informal cartel of congers'
trading copyrights and sharing publishing, and on subscription
publishing, succeeding the formal, state-supported cartel of the
Stationers' Company.[22] This was further reflected in the rising
importance of British book exports to the colonies and the
establishing of publishing dynasties such as Longman, the Anglo-
Scottish John Murray, and Arrowsmith (maps). In general, the
volume sees the period in terms of the centrality and 'dynamism
of … print culture … vividly illustrat[ed by] the proliferation of
newspapers',[23] periodicals and magazines such as The Spectator
and The Gentleman's Magazine, new and capacious literary genres
such as the realistic and later (with Scott and others) the romance
novel, travel literature, encyclopaedias (Chambers, the Britannica),
scientific and learned publishing societies such as the Royal
Society, subscription and circulating libraries, and – eccentrically
from the European perspective – an archival *omnium gatherum*, the
British Museum. Print culture provided the main material support
for the public sphere characteristic of modernity. In particular its
agencies promoted the general diffusion of knowledge which
underlay British perceptions of the world in the Age of
Enlightenment.[24] Such agencies were essential for the cultural-
political *prépondérance anglaise* and its characteristic coffee-
house/club/'gentlemanly capitalist'[25] – as distinct from traditional
European court – culture: a *prépondérance* which, after the Seven

Years' War, rivalled that of France in Europe and, after 1815, in the rest of the world.

The penultimate volume[26] will cover the period of the zenith of the British Empire and its print culture, from 1830 to 1914. We can talk here of an increasingly imperial book, periodical and library system.[27] By the end of the nineteenth century the British book and periodical had become an industrial, mass-market product – 'the second revolution of the book', involving 'vertiginous and displaced experience' - that was distributed over much of the globe. The overseas markets were consolidated, for example by the expanding export of colonial editions of books, such as Murray's, Bentley's and Macmillan's, and the syndication of newspaper features to North America, Australia, India, and elsewhere throughout the British Empire.[28]. There were new kinds of intellectual and administrative centralization which included the encyclopaedic 'imperial archive'[29] of the British Museum Library as reformed by Panizzi and based firmly on legal deposit, including colonial legal deposit. All this contributed to, and was affected by, industrial, social and political change reflected in the general perception of mass literacy as an essential social tool, and included the creation of a more explicit and aggressive 'idea of Empire' by means of print culture in the shape of school textbooks, popular fiction, magazines, and newspapers. This push took the stage at the end of the nineteenth century with Joseph Chamberlain and the first British press baron, Alfred Harmsworth Lord Northcliffe, together with their European, American and Far Eastern contemporaries and competitors, all accelerating towards the global catastrophe of the First World War.[30]

III

To approach the final Cambridge volume we have first to bring into view the creative role of textual agencies on the anglophone periphery and the interlocking of the periphery, on increasingly more equal terms, with the centre. What follows is even more

provisional and schematic, necessarily foreshortened, and perhaps best seen in terms of three phases.

First, we have the origins of the overseas empire in transoceanic navigation, trade, exploration, and initial settlement, and their textual 'tools'.[31] There are at least six modes of textuality to consider here: maps; travel literature; newspapers, pamphlets, and almanacs; colonial official printing; overseas missionary printing; and, less precisely focused, imports and then local reprinting of staple British trade books. It is important to note that though these agencies were highly visible in this first phase they persist as major structural influences on cultural identity.

So far as maps are concerned it is obvious that they would be essential tools for navigation, exploration and initial settlement. However recent cartographical thinking suggests a far-reaching historical revisionism: that maps are by no means transparent and that the distinctively graphic and, so to speak, non-dialectical and dogmatic nature of map discourse 'gave its imperial users an arbitrary power that was easily divorced from the social responsibilities and consequences of its exercise'.[32] For example: as regards the comparatively blank spaces on early maps of Australia it has been said that

there was no readily available iconography which could indicate [prior]

nomadic inhabitance … there is the expectation … that … the 'enterprise and

ambition' [of the explorer and settler] will take the course of an energetic

emplacement of civilization. … A blank … intimates that there has been no

previous history.[33]

Specifically, one might say that it was the relative emptiness of the 1802 Arrowsmith map of North America - 'the single most important source of cartographical information available to Jefferson and Lewis' when preparing the Lewis and Clark

transcontinental expedition - which 'encouraged their dream of the passage'; and that

it was not unlikely that…Governor…Macquarie's… ambitions for the continental destiny

of the [New South Wales] settlement…were based on the American model' 34.
(Arrowsmith were also leading map publishers for Australia and Africa.35)
Further, where previous 'emplacement of civilization' was already thick on the ground, as in the case of India, such revisionist thinking has led some to see the 'imperial significance' of George Everest's Great Trigonometrical Survey

depend[ent] in part on … [its] configuration of the British rule of South Asia

as being scientific, rational, and liberal, in active opposition to Asian

rule, which it stereotyped as being mystical, irrational, and despotic.[36]

Similarly with travel literature. If at the imperial centre such literature 'engaged metropolitan reading publics with expansionist enterprises',[37] on the periphery 'explorer texts … [though still largely imported from the centre] shaped … experience and identity'.[38] For example, in the case of the Australian colonies Oxley's Journals of Two Expeditions to the Interior of New South Wales of 1820 and Louisa Ann Meredith's Notes and Sketches of New South Wales of 1844, both published in London by John Murray, helped shape what became 'the almost standard reaction' to the Australian bush as one of 'monotony and sombre melancholy'.[39] Again, in Sir John Barrow's An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa, first published by Murray in 1801, or William Burchell's Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa (1822/24),

people in the landscape are homogenised into icons or scapegoats … assurance is

given to the colonising power that the frontier can be stabilized.

In fact

Barrow [as] second secretary of the Admiralty and John Murray II, who became

the official publisher for the Royal Navy during Barrow's long tenure (1804-6,

1807-45) … and remained a close friend, [were] the chief figures in the

publication of early nineteenth-century exploration narratives and represent a significant partnership of imperial navy, imperial strategic thinking, and imperial book system. The consequent genre of 'travel-settlement' literature, for example Susanna Moodie's Roughing it in the Bush , represents   negotiation between publishing on the periphery – Moodie's original sketches appearing in the Montreal Literary Garland in 1847 – and another pillar of the imperial book centre, Richard Bentley, publishing in 1852 the complete book, which in subsequent Canadian reprints has become canonised as an expression of the characteristic Canadian 'garrison', or 'survival', mentality [40]

In this phase of exploration and initial settlement the prime function of the commercial newspaper across both centre and periphery was to help develop a global trading system based largely on London City companies[41]. But in addition, and importantly, on the peripheral frontiers themselves the material visibility as well as content of the newspaper, together with the pamphlet and almanac, helped hold together essentially new communities, in which the reader was 'continually reassured that the [still largely] imagined world' of colonial enterprise was nevertheless 'visibly rooted in everyday life'. In this respect Benjamin Franklin, as a successful newspaper, pamphlet and almanac publisher, was something of an archetypal cultural-political entrepreneur on the maturing periphery.[42]

Many of the first colonial newspapers, however commercial in interest, were at least sponsored if not owned by the local political authority; for example, The New-York Gazette, The Jamaica Royal Gazette, The Halifax Gazette, The Sydney Gazette, The Quebec Gazette, The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, and The New Zealand Advertiser and Bay Islands Gazette. They were thus an integral part of the whole project of 'an artificially imposed order in the wilderness'[43] mediated likewise through the local printing of official proclamations, declarations and notices. Yet if official patronage (as well as collateral missionary enterprise, as we shall note later) were the sine qua non of introducing and establishing printing on the periphery the interaction of official printing with the local newspaper resulted in a distinctive colonial culture of print, with an autonomous and creative – McKenzie would have said 'commercially and culturally promiscuous' – dynamic, which was implicit in the 'generative' nature of printed textuality.[44] This dynamism and the distinctively aggressive rhetoric it promoted had politically self-directing implications, expressed in growing localized, creole opposition to the imperial centre and its colonial representatives. For example, in the home colony of Ireland we have Charles Lucas's The Censor versus the Dublin Corporation; in the American colonies, Isaiah Thomas's Massachusetts Spy versus Governor Hutchinson; in Bengal, Hicky's Bengal Gazette versus Warren Hastings; in Australia, William Charles Wentworth's The Australian versus Governor Darling; in Canada, William Lyon Mackenzie's Colonial Advocate and Ludger Duvernay's La Minerve versus the Lieutenant Governors and the Loyalist elites ("Family Compact", "Château Clique"); in New Zealand, S. M. D. Martin's Southern Cross versus Governor Hobson; in South Africa, Thomas Pringle, John Fairbairn, George Greig and The South African Commercial Advertiser versus Governor Somerset; and in the African Gold Coast, 'James Hutton Brew … the father of mass-produced newspapers which served as a forum for literary protest … [for] future leaders of political opinion in the country, such as J E Casely Hayford and J Mensah Sarbah'.[45] Such volatility a later official

witness on the American Far Western frontier, William Tecumseh Sherman, was to characterize, feelingly, in terms of 'the usual newspaper war … too common to new countries'[46]. In short, on the early periphery, official printing and the colonial newspaper and pamphlet failed, by themselves, to convert local communities into effective confederation, either politically or culturally. We might see this anomalous state of affairs epitomized in Thomas Jefferson's pilgrimage in political self-direction through colonial and post-colonial print culture:[47] from the pamphlet A Summary View of the Rights of British America, through the 'official' Declaration of Independence, to his attempt, and failure, as Third President of the United States, to establish a 'national republican newspaper'[48] in the face of a newspaper press anarchy which remained endemic on the periphery. (Later, in Africa, such a long-term secular trend might be said to have produced the composite figure of the indigenous mission-trained, yet oppositional, 'author-politician-journalist'   associated with, among others, Nelson Mandela [49]).

Indeed we might say that more pregnant with the future was overseas missionary printing and publishing. The original intent of missionary enterprise in 'translating the message' may have been to override and to delocalize indigenous oral cultures with European, inner-directed 'civilization' in North America, Australasia and, later, Africa; or to 'modernize' the classical textual cultures of India and China.[50] Yet indigenous Americans, Australasians and Africans from 'the other side of the frontier'[51] adapted the dynamism of printing to their own purpose of indigenous self-determination: what McKenzie, in connection with the Treaty of Waitangi, called 'the continuing reciprocities of speech and print'.[52] In the case of Africa, in addition to citing hymn-books as 'a performance genre rapidly assimilated into African Christian life', Isabel Hofmeyr identifies 'magical practices around books, [for example] the idea of "miraculous literacy", [as] a recurring motif in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century African Christianity'.[53] Moreover especially in Africa, translations

of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress were a key influence in the development by indigenous peoples of self-fashioning vernacular literatures.[54] Well into the twentieth century the more entrepreneurial missionary presses, such as the Glasgow Missionary Society's Lovedale Press,[55] collaborated with mission-trained authors in the publication of indigenous texts that was common to the 'mission empire' as a whole;[56] as did the more self-consciously post-imperial Colonial Office literature bureaux, and the commercial presses which succeeded the bureaux after independence. For example, the first novel in English by a black South African, Sol T. Plaatje's Mhudi, was (substantially) edited by the Revd R. H. W. Shepherd at Lovedale in 1930 but then projected, in its original form, onto the emerging globalized market, and canonized, by Heinemann Educational and its African Writers Series in 1978. In Australia the early stories of David Unaipon, the first aboriginal man of letters (and much else), were published by the Aborigines Friends' Association at their Point McLeay mission, Unaipon's educational and then professional base.[57] We might even hazard the speculation, following a remark of Northrop Frye's reviewing the literary history of Canada, that there is just something of a structural analogy here with the denominational rather than specifically missionary Methodist Book and Publishing House of Toronto. Started in 1829 in a 'less developed' country (comparing Canada with its American neighbour)[58] by the formidable educational politician, the Reverend Egerton Ryerson, the House, later the Ryerson Press, became one of the country's main 'cultural publishers' of a distinctively Canadian literature.[59] Its two pre-eminent publishers and editors, the Reverends William Briggs and Lorne Pierce, were nevertheless possessed of a generalized, one might say quasi-secularized, missionary drive – envisaging, in Pierce's words, 'a great new republic of readers'[60] – which was in principle not altogether unlike, though incomparably better circumstanced than, Shepherd's mission at Lovedale

However, it was the import of the staple books of the British trade that would be the major agency in initially establishing cultural , as distinct from political, authority in the new settlements - among 'middle class societies, led by lawyers and officials [and ministers, with their] sense of isolation and rootlessness… [in] a "howling wilderness" ' 60a: in short, realizing 'the possibility of imaginative attachment to a land of exile…[that was part of] the great initiative of what is called the first British empire' 60b. Such imports in due course led to something of a functional distinction, first noticeable in Cambridge and Boston Mass, between local booksellers importing largely 'for the learned and the gentry' 60c and local printers and their need to enlarge and secure a more democratic `English-language market share through unauthorized reprinting of staple British books, a development likewise greatly pregnant with the future, as we shall see 60d.

IV

Following the volatile dynamism of settlement print culture our second phase concerns the need to consolidate effective authority on the periphery [61]. Authority, we have suggested, was a cultural as well as a political matter. Its consolidation has been thought of in terms of the mission civilatrice of 'anglicization' which in the case of the American colonies continued even after the American Revolution/War of Independence of 1776.[62] To put it in the wider context of the cultural expansion of Europe as a whole, anglicization has been thought of in terms of 'moral enlightenment'[63], what Sir George Grey, a notable proconsul of the Empire, termed in an almost Jeffersonian phrase the 'supremacy – not of tyranny, but of intellect'.[64]

In the light of its eighteenth-century origins we can see anglicization as an extension of the gentrified coffee-house and club culture of the nascent British imperial centre.[65] The Jefferson family has been characterized as 'frontier gentry' and Jefferson

himself as 'essentially a man of the eighteenth century, a very intelligent and bookish slaveholding southern planter … [with a] desire to become … the most enlightened gentleman in all of America'.[66] Even 'the delegates who attend[ed] the Federal Convention [of 1787] conceive[d] of themselves as eighteenth-century gentlemen of letters'. We can say the same of, later, the Wentworths, the Charles Nicholsons, the Redmond Barrys and the early Australian elite, or the Thomas Pringles in early Cape Town, or the Loyalist elites ("Family Compacts") in the British North American colonies, or the eighteenth-century Irish Ascendancy ('an echo of colonial Virginia').[67] We have the learned societies, magazines, and subscription and commercial libraries paralleling the Royal Society, The Spectator and The Gentleman's Magazine, the Spalding Gentlemen's Society library and the like 67a . After the Dublin Philosophical Society and The Dublin Weekly Journal we have, for example – and again archetypically – Benjamin Franklin and his American Philosophical Society, his Library Company of Philadelphia, and his General Magazine and Historical Chronicle. In the politically more stable British Empire of the next century we see initiatives in cultural consolidation by colonial governments. In summary we may cite Governor Dalhousie's Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Dalhousie College, and his protegé David Chisholme's Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal; Governor Darling's Australian Subscription Library, the Philosophical Society of Australasia and The South-Asian Register; Governor La Trobe, Sir Redmond Barry, and the Melbourne Public Library; Governor Somerset's South African Library and The South African Journal of Thomas Pringle and John Fairbairn ('the Franklins of the Kaap', in Fairbairn's words);[68] Governor Grey, the reconstituted South African Library, and Auckland Public Library, the New Zealand Society and Chapman's New Zealand Magazine; the Asiatic Society of Bengal, its Asiatick Researches, and Governor Elphinstone's Institute in Bombay; and – though indecisively – in the British West Indies with their often absentee, 'reluctant' Creole plantocracy, The Jamaican Quarterly Journal and Literary Gazette, Conducted by a

Society of Gentlemen (1818-19) 69. However, and in the long run, despite these efforts at cultural gentrification – and unlike French colonials and their acceptance of Parisian hégémonie culturelle - the home-colonial Irish speak, bleakly and subversively, of 'a chronic condition of cultural and intellectual dependence on English metropolitan ideas and fashions',[70] as the Australians have spoken, laconically and memorably, of the 'cultural cringe', and the Canadians, soberly, of the 'colonial mentality'.[71]

Nevertheless, and equally in the long run, we might say that print culture was permanently embodied and ordered in a textual archive deriving from the more deliberate 'creative role' of the periphery vis-à-vis the centre. The archive was constituted by private as well as by institutional libraries and was fed among other things by the expanding reprint book trade (typically the novels of Sir Walter Scott).[72] It secured, in Grey's (again) Jeffersonian words:

    outposts on the frontier of civilization … not only by military force, but

    by museums, libraries, and schools for civilizing the people … planting

    posts of an Anglo-Saxon fence which shall prevent the development of the New

    World from being interfered with by the Old World.[73]
The textual archive formed a central agency of what has been seen, in retrospect,   as the peripheral 'counterfrontier', aiming

    not only to help man grow … or kill his living but also to put this man in

    communication with the traditions of his kind and thereby secure to his

    descendants the benefits of the free mind.[74]

Such was the case with Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson planned to give the Congress of the new United States first refusal of his library after his death[75] (one thinks of the intention of Sir Joseph Banks, his semi-private collection, and the imperial archive of the

new British Museum), though in fact it was eventually sold to the Library of Congress in part to pay off his gentlemanly debts. Likewise we have, as already noted, the collections built up and then presented to the public in the Cape Colony and in New Zealand by Sir George Grey.[76] In Australia we have Sir Charles Nicholson, the first great book collector and co-founder of the University of Sydney and its library. We have Sir Redmond Barry, founder of the Melbourne Public Library on the lines of the British Museum, and then the influence of 'the British Museum and Melbourne model of a fixed and separate State reference library'[77] on the State Library of South Australia and elsewhere. These pioneers on the counterfrontier were followed by a second generation of more bibliophilic (though still public-spirited) book collectors, new city rentiers such as, conspicuously, James Lenox in New York, David Scott Mitchell in Sydney, and Alexander Turnbull in Wellington. In this the colonies and dominions of the Empire were, as has been said of Australia, 'not creating anything distinctive, but simply following in the footsteps of the archetypal new society, the United States'.[78]

The archetypal newness of society and culture represented by Jefferson and the United States was distinctly ambivalent in its effect. Jefferson believed in the inevitable progress of the human spirit as embodied in print:

the light which has been shed on mankind by the art of printing has eminently

changed the condition of the world … and, while printing is preserved [that

light] can no more recede than the sun return on his course[79] and in the short term this gave his politics, like those of his philosophe contemporaries such as Condorcet, their 'abstract and literary quality' (in Tocqueville's phrase), leading to the considerable frustrations of Jefferson's presidency. We might say there are analogies with Grey in this respect.[80] In the longer term, however, it is the autonomous dynamic of print, particularly when archived and assimilable by the 'free mind' on the counterfrontier,

which enabled that mind to resist what Henry James called 'a superstitious valuation of Europe'.[81] The liability to cultural cringe, self-confessedly always present (say) in Australia, could be resisted on the basis of free access to the archive, for example by Marcus Clarke and Christopher Brennan, associated with the Public Libraries of Melbourne and Sydney respectively, or in Ireland, for example by James Joyce, associated with the National Library of Ireland.[82] Such is an aspect of 'the complex fate', as Henry James termed it, not only 'of being an American'[83] but also of being anywhere on the periphery. It was confronting this complexity that proved central to the creative role of the periphery in beginning to shift the balance of cultural power away from the centre; and as the periphery 'wrote back', in part on the basis of its developing archive, complexity itself developed into text-led 'hybridity': a deep process exemplified in the case of India by the role of the local archive and reading public in indigenizing the classic liberating genre of print culture, the novel [84] . This brings us to our third phase.

<center>V</center>

The leading role of the post-Civil War United States in the shift in the balance of cultural-political power within the English-speaking world began to emerge with the Jacksonian Revolution of 1828, a revolution bringing

   changes in social, political, and intellectual life…more profound, though announced with less brio, than the
   original Declaration of Independence…[and creating] the first mass electorate…[Moreover] when the
   inhabitants of the other British…colonies of settlement – in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand – emerged to
   political self-awareness in the 1840s and 1850s, they also displayed rather similar mentalities to those of the
   United States 84a.

A characteristic boom in local newspaper production, famously J.G.Bennett's populist New York Herald, joined the book trade in

the unauthorized reprinting of British texts, principally Scott and Byron but soon also Dickens and others, to produce a whole 'culture of reprinting, [which] represent[ed] the Jacksonian form of national culture' 84b . This involved a challenge to the colonial gentlemanly culture exemplified by the subscription library based on book imports 84c. By the 1850s, with 'the tremendous growth in book production, of which [by then] a large and increasing proportion was works by Americans … [the] situation had altered radically' [85] **We might say that the United States was about to assume the character of a second centre vis-à-vis other peripheries, particularly in the case of exports to Canada 85a.**

The ground of this shift in the balance of power was not only the more systematic, constantly increasing immigration from the British Isles (and Europe) following the Napoleonic Wars. There was also the creation of an effective, continental market heralded by the start on the Erie Canal in 1817 and consolidated after the Civil War by an innovatory transcontinental railroad complex. Although more than somewhat buccaneering this complex was nevertheless the matrix of modern corporate business management.[86] Within the matrix 'emerg[ed] … a national book trade system' with 'new [printing] machinery – much of it invented, designed, or manufactured in the United States'.[87] The managerial and technological élan of what became the leading player on the periphery was to be a major factor in the further development of print culture world-wide.
.
Moreover although 'English texts, and even imported books, continued to be an important part of the American book trade'[88] they began to answer less than before to the needs of the free mind on the counterfrontier. Thus Walt Whitman:

　　Lying by one rainy day in Missouri to rest … I … pondered the
　　thought of a poetry that should in due time express and supply
the teeming

region I was in the midst of. … One's mind needs but a moment's deliberation

… to see clearly enough that all the prevalent book and library poets, either

as imported from Great Britain, or follow'd and doppel-ganged here, are

foreign to our States, copiously as they are read by us all. … Will the day

ever come … when those models and lay-figures from the British islands … will

be reminiscences, studies only? The pure breath, primitiveness, boundless

prodigality and amplitude … of these prairies … will they ever appear in, and

in some sort form a standard for our poetry and art?[89]

The resulting quest for a national literature,[90] as distinct from a miscellaneous quantity of 'works by Americans', was largely a matter of attempting to come out from under 'the long shadow of Sir Walter Scott' (and others), and this as much in the remaining British colonial territories, including India, as in the United States - all becoming restless elements within 'a great world-wide cultural empire' 91.

The quest for a national literature was undertaken by local authors in collaboration with a new generation of culturally enterprising local publishers and bookmen. In the United States, after the generation of Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper 'gravitating toward Scott' and 'making their reputations in England' 92, we have the generation of Nathaniel Hawthorne, the new Boston publishers Ticknor and Fields, literary promoters and anthologists such as Evert A.Duyckinck, and a new high-cultural magazine, The Atlantic Monthly. These were the factors essential for an American 'Literary Renaissance' that was at least structurally, if loosely, comparable for example to the 'Bengal Renaissance' with its high-cultural authors, 'humanist publishers', and magazines   (thus Bankim's journal Bangadarshan), and to the

invention of Hindi 'literary print culture' associated with Bhartendu Harishchandra and his circle in Benares, and, later, to the Australian nationalist literary circle around the Sydney Bulletin and the publishers Angus and Robertson 93

Even so, the 'spiritually earnest reformatory experimental', mainly East Coast author (particularly Melville and Whitman), if in retrospect central to the American Literary Renaissance, was initially 'deactivated'. This might be said to have been in part due to the problem of distributing general trade books through traditional-style retail outlets in a relatively new, culturally and socially as well as geographically `distended society', and creating at reasonable speed a national reading public that was suitably sophisticated for the likes of Melville and Whitman.[94] On the other hand the grass-roots, 'missionary' schoolbook such as Webster and McGuffey took on an enlarged and distinctive role in book publishing and distribution initiative, evolving into a mature textbook trade that underpinned the mass electorate. (This was globally so, for example in the now more democratically imperial centres, most notably with Hachette in France and – as we shall note below - Longman, Macmillan, Nelson and others in Britain, as well as in the more thoroughgoing Jacksonian democracy of the United States). The role included American predominance in the early textbook as well as reprint trade of Upper Canada, even though resisted by such as Egerton Ryerson and the Methodist Book and Publishing House.[95] The textbook trade ranged from the McGuffey Readers, of which seven million copies were sold between 1836 and 1850, to the college-level textbook, and 'with the increasing systematization of public education [after the Civil War]… the enormous and lucrative trade in text books and other educational works … was handled by special agents authorized by local school boards rather than by retail bookshops' [96]

At the same time the American Literary Renaissance was reactivated in a more realistic, though necessarily in a more elitist, way by the likewise epoch-making introduction of high-profile

marketing through more traditional channels - 'literature as a form of merchandise' - at the hands of Ticknor and Fields, particularly after the takeover of the Atlantic Monthly in 1859, and their 'manufacturing' of Hawthorne   'into a Personage'. Around such initiative emerged a distinct 'socially structured world of reading and writing', a 'literary high culture' – 'Northeast' , 'genteel', 'patrician', 'Brahmin' - particularly after the Civil War with characteristic 'friction' with the market exemplified by Henry James and the Atlantic Monthly.   Indeed it helped mold 'America's imperialistic culture in the later nineteenth century   [represented by] the builders of monumentalized cultural institutions…museums, orchestras, libraries, and schools' 97.

Yet the problems of rapport with a truly national audience in its 'prodigality and amplitude' required another and different socially structured world of reading and writing, a 'domestic [as distinct from 'high] literary culture'. Such were   the writers and readers of more broadly focused and gendered magazines, as distinct from books and as national successors to the original community-building, local newspapers.
   By the end of the 1840s…a large national reading public…still not so much a "mass" readership
   as an audience of educated middle-class readers, often women...had been developed by the most
   successful literary magazines, notably Graham's Magazine and Godey's Lady's Book in
   Philadelphia…the magazine writer had become perhaps the most characteristic American literary
   figure, and the tastes of magazine readers were coming to determine the most characteristic
    modes of American literature 98.
(The Canadian equivalent would be the Montreal Literary Garland in which, as we have seen, Susanna Moodie's Roughing it in the Bush first appeared)

In due course, with the steady surge in wealth-creating immigration and managerial élan in the classic 'Age of Energy' after the Civil War it was the magazine, still 'domestic' though now heavily illustrated with technologically sophisticated artwork and commercial advertising and distributed through newsstands and department stores, rather than through retail bookshops [99] which established itself as both 'reflector' and 'interpreter' of national life [100] in the distended society 101. Conspicuous were the Curtis Corporation's significantly titled Ladies Home Journal and The Saturday Evening Post – publisher of Jack London's The Call of the Wild – and McClure's Magazine – publisher of Ida Tarbell's History of Standard Oil. [102] This hegemony of the magazine was repeated, though on a smaller scale, in Canada despite - or because of? - American proximity and penetration, for example, Maclean's, formerly The Busy Man's Magazine [103] ; in Australia The Australian Journal, the assertively 'nationalist' Sydney Bulletin, publisher of Lawson, Furphy and Brennan, and the [Ladies] Australian Home Journal)[104;] and in New Zealand The New Zealand Graphic and Ladies Journal, The New Zealand Illustrated Magazine [105]

Again at the same time - and ominously - there was established a third 'major subsystem' in the American cultural system of prodigality and amplitude. This was the truly mass readership of 'great empires of mass-circulation fiction' based on the 'dime novel' and 'pulp fiction' (so called because 'printed in formats and materials associated with newspapers') that were both conspicuously formulaic and generic– detective, western, etc –and as such 'strongly link this material to the film and television industries of the twentieth century, suggesting that this [sub]system had its historical sequel in a modern mass culture no longer based in print'. A structurally similar stratification can be seen in the case of the Bengal Renaissance and its context in Bengali print culture .This tripartite 'stratification of culture', pioneered in the United States, foreshadows the more self-conscious division into 'high-brow', 'lowbrow', and 'middlebrow'

(already beginning to be picked up in American journalistic comment of the time) that was characteristic of the first sub-phase of our story after 1914 and was not unconnected with the increase in the distribution of dime novels and pulp fiction, in Europe as well as Britain.105a

A final element in the creative role of the periphery in this second phase was the Library of the United States Congress as led by Herbert Putnam after 1899. A contributor to the Atlantic Monthly and director of the Boston Public Library Putnam was a product of the high, 'imperialist' culture of the Northeast . Backed by a supremely restless President, Theodore Roosevelt, he took the Library of Congress out from under the shadow of the British Museum to develop the first of a new type of national library. This type no longer merely archived the textual heritage in-house but also 'outreached' to other research libraries and, with a firm boost from another Rooseveltian 'pragmatic idealist', Andrew Carnegie, to public libraries, all dispersed across the by now continent-wide counterfrontier .[106] In a new, majestic building the Library of Congress embodied the high-cultural aspirations of the Age of Energy[107], advertising the emergence of the United States and its book world as a Great Power.[108]

In the meantime, with the growing cultural as well as political stability and business and financial élan of the Victorian Empire and the effect of its new overseas communication technology (steamship, telegraph) in 'mitigat[ing] "the tyranny of distance"' the British book trade was able to retain, indeed increase, its presence vis-à-vis American and local competition in the other former colonial peripheries such as Australia and even eventually in Canada, despite the latter's contiguity with the energetic United States.[109] This continued to be so even as these peripheries sought and obtained a degree of federation and cultural self-determination (Canada in 1867; Australia in 1901) albeit, and

critically, with a much smaller demographic and entrepreneurial base than the United States. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, with the greater formality of Empire and economic dependence on its centre,[110] the British book trade had developed into the imperial textbook, trade book, reference book, and magazine marketing system noted earlier (in magazines, most famously The Illustrated London News, Blackwoods and Punch). The system even included reprinting and exporting increasingly popular American titles, whether authorized or unauthorized. Thus was constituted 'an imperial space … served … dominated and defended by London publishers' and, significantly, by local colonial booksellers 'collud[ing] to maintain … [the] dominance of … London-based companies [against any attempts at independence by local publishers] in English-language settler societies including Canada, South Africa … New Zealand …Australia'.[111]

This steady development was followed by the imperial system setting up its own local distributing agencies and, later, formal branches - to begin with largely concentrating on textbooks, and in due course themselves publishing a significant proportion of local authors.[112] Indeed, as an aspect of the lengthy transition from an 'imperial' to a 'commonwealth' and eventually 'internationalizing' mentality, publishers in London began to liberalize their earlier hegemony and give nationalist writers emerging on the periphery full access to the anglophone ecumene as coequals for example, the collaboration between Edward Garnett, editor at T. Fisher Unwin, and Henry Lawson, a key figure in Australian literary nationalism, or that between Garnett and William Butler Yeats, leader of the Irish literary revival. In the early twentieth century we have Charles Whibley at Macmillan and Rabrindanath Tagore (who won the Nobel Prize), and then the later Yeats 'and a brilliant Irish succession'.[113] On the periphery itself there was the long march of local, post-Jacksonian, largely textbook-based publishers and printers towards 'a national culture in a colonised market', *l'édition … entre l'autonomie*

culturelle et les logiques marchandes.[114] This again was common to Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and even Ireland, as well as Australia. Examples were Angus and Robertson and the literary promoters J. J. Archibald and A. G. Stephens at the Sydney Bulletin;[115] in anglophone Canada, the Ryerson Press and several new publishers who had learned the trade at the Methodist Book and Publishing House such as McClelland and Stewart; in Quebec, Lévesque, Pelletier and others;[116] in New Zealand, Whitcombe and Tombs;[117] in South Africa, Juta and, after the trauma of the Boer War, Maskew Miller and Afrikaans publishers such as Nasionale Pers ('building a nation from words');[118] and in Ireland, Maunsell and the Irish literary revival.[119]. Nevertheless, in addition to the continuing export from Britain of the colonial editions and 'libraries' of metropolitan texts mentioned earlier – conspicuously those of Murray, Bentley and Macmillan[120] – the cultural empire was sustained even more effectively by the export of metropolitan textbooks – Nelson (particularly in Canada),[121] Longman and Macmillan (again), together with the 'Irish National readers', Cassell, and later the Oxford University Press and Heinemann.[122] Such textbooks introduced British public/grammar-school curricula into the prestigious schools of the late-Victorian periphery: for example, Melbourne Grammar School, Upper Canada College, Toronto, Aitchison College, Lahore, Fergusson College, Pune, Trinity College, Kandy, Auckland Grammar School, Diocesan College in South Africa, Wolmer's, Kingston, and the Raffles Institution, Singapore. Ironically, though aiming to produce 'facsimiles … of public school culture' among the local élites, such textbooks in fact helped to create the highly literate and volatile professional classes, ranging from politicians to writers, which eventually formed the leadership of the multi-racial Commonwealth as successor to the late-Victorian Empire[123]

Turning to the archive we may see that the comparative stability of the later British Empire actually inhibited the development of national libraries on the post-colonial, outreach pattern of the Library of Congress. On the counterfrontier the development of

the archive remained within the distinctly and enduringly decentralized regional structure of spatial expansion: for example, the prominence of the 'Public' Libraries of the state of Victoria in Melbourne and of New South Wales in Sydney, the South African Library, and the Auckland Public Library, all still 'inspired by the British Museum Library'.[124] Here national libraries on the model of the Library of Congress were only set up with the final supersession of the British Empire and Commonwealth by American cultural-political leadership after 1945, although this leadership had been anticipated by various American Carnegie Foundation Reports on the local library systems in the 1920s and 1930s: in Canada (the Ridington Report) , Southern Africa (Pitt/Ferguson), in Australia (Munn/Pitt), and in New Zealand (Munn/Barr).[125] The National Library of Canada was not established until 1953, Australia's not until 1960, New Zealand's not until 1966, and South Africa's not until 1999 . Moreover relations between these new Library of Congress-style national libraries and the by then mature British Museum-style regional/state libraries have been inevitably somewhat problematic.

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But in the end the sheer textual voracity characteristic of the transcontinental
press and magazine system following the American Civil War was in part fed by new, transatlantic instrumentalities such as the literary agent, the newspaper syndicate, and the American lecture-tour agent.[126] These instrumentalities brought authors from all over the English-speaking world (many now forgotten, as well as such as Wells and Hardy) into a complex of increasingly interconnected book trades. These had been characteristically under-capitalized, family- or partner-based, and dependent on their back-lists, but which around the turn of the twentieth century found themselves forced, at centre as well as periphery, to rely more and more on an aggressively marketed front-list of populist 'best sellers'. The transnational celebrity aspect of this might be

said to have been signaled by the virtually global reception of Uncle Tom's Cabin (1852).

Such was, in the first instance, principally the case in the United States and its book trade which was steered, as were other energetic yet distended areas of business and industry, by the burgeoning London/New York financial market led by the latter-day gentlemanly capitalist J. Pierpont Morgan. (On the basis of 'their combination of Wall Street expertise and Anglophilia', J.P.Morgan & Co.were appointed sole financial agent in the USA for the British Government in the first World War) . Morgan's corporate restructuring in 1896-99 of the by then classic family firm Harper Brothers, then facing bankruptcy, and Harpers' subsequent systematic publishing of best-sellers like Zane Grey, can be seen in retrospect as a paradigmatic turning-point in our story. However, to begin with this involved essentially more defensive manoeuvres to strengthen publishers' capital base in ownership of copyrights, such as cartelization represented in Britain by the Net Book Agreement (1900) of the new Publishers Association, Booksellers Association, and Society of Authors, and the more formal stabilizing of transatlantic copyright and reprinting, following the first global ordering of intellectual property rights through the Berne Convention of 1887. [127]

This degree of interlocking marks the arrival of the American trade to a degree of parity with the British imperial book and periodical system. We have, for example, a London/New York publishing axis represented by Macmillan's New York office,[128] and Harpers' London office,[129] as well as the transatlantic operations of the leading newspaper syndicates and literary agents (Tillotson's; Watt, Pinker, Curtis Brown) [130]. In many ways American parity represented convergence with the mass literacy and marketing characteristic of late-Victorian and Edwardian Britain: specifically, the 'prodigious expansion of the periodical press … [and] consolidation of…the popular publishing industry' [131] associated with Northcliffe and his contemporaries. It

represented the brave new world of mass-media businesses that was to be in turn characteristic of the post-imperial centre as well as of what was to be no longer the periphery. Among other things Northcliffe can be thought of as 'an importer of American methods'.[132]

<div align="center">VI</div>

The final volume of The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain will cover the decline and eventual fall, cultural as well as political, of the British Empire after 1914 and the final replacement of its centre-and-periphery structure. However the structure was replaced not by any American takeover of the centre (the cinema and the Hollywood studio system would be a special, if major, exception) but by what we might regard over the long run   as a polycentred, largely anglophone cosmopolis (within the cosmopolis India and Africa being also deeply polylingual). Here Northcliffe-style Australian and Canadian, as well as American and British, 'media moguls'– for example, Rupert Murdoch and Roy Thomson have played a major role. They were followed by European multinational businesses needing enlarged market-share in the new Anglophone cosmopolis,   for example   Bertelsmann and Hachette.[133] Further, arising from the long revolution in media technology we see *le livre concurrencé* or, as McKenzie put,

the renewed dominance of the visual image as a communal possession, the

new icons of television and film, the renewed complementary role of sound

as the commonest communal medium for imparting and receiving information.

The already-threatened hegemony of print culture begins to merge into that of an engulfing, electronic multimedia culture, 'the third revolution of the book'.[134]

It would seem that in the course of the twentieth century we had three historical sub-phases. First, by the earlier years of the century friction with a relentlessly enlarging mass market had led to a

marked degree of alienation of a new, Modernist élite from popular reading and publishing[135], dramatized retrospectively as a conflict between 'mass civilization' and 'minority culture', *culture de masse and culture savante*.[136] Such alienation we might see as a further fragmenting of the public sphere (*fragmentierte Teilöffentlichkeiten*), a further 'stratification of reading publics … as never before' into highbrow, lowbrow and middlebrow, reinforced by the paralysing aftermath of the First World War and the Depression.[137] At the highbrow level the actual mediation of the Modernist push, however élitist, had nevertheless to be through 'the realities of cultural production within complex modern societies'. It was led by transatlantic and expatriate cross-Channel minority magazines and books, such as The Little Review: A magazine of the arts. Making no compromise with the public taste, and was sustained largely under the leadership of a new generation of New York cosmopolitan, 'so-called Jewish publishing houses' such as Liveright, Huebsch, Seltzer, Knopf, and Bennett Cerf and Donald Klopfer at Random House.[138] These New York houses seem to have been stronger than the Modernist houses in London such as Leonard and Virginia Woolf's Hogarth Press (publisher of T. S. Eliot's Poems of 1919 in an edition of 'fewer than 250 copies'). Seltzer 'between 1922 and 1924 … made Lawrence more money than he had ever earned before', and it was Random House that published the first general trade edition of Joyce's Ulysses in 1933, only later issued in London by Allen Lane and his brothers at the Bodley Head (in opposition to the other partners).[139] In Canada we have the McGill Fortnightly Review and the Graphic Press in Ottawa. On the more distant former peripheries we have the more isolated minority magazines and presses, such as: in Australia, Norman and Jack Lindsay's Vision, and P. R. Stephensen and Norman Lindsay's Endeavour Press; in South Africa, Roy Campbell and William Plomer's Vorslaag; in New Zealand, Phoenix and the Caxton Press; in India, the Kallol, Kabita and Parichay circles in Calcutta; and across the West Indies, agents of modern cultural nationalism such as Kyk-over-al (Guyana), Focus (Jamaica), Bim (Barbados) [140]

At the middlebrow level, during the 'long weekend' between the two World Wars the conservatism – or 'sloth'? – of mainline publishers, maintained largely by the Net Book Agreement, sought further market consolidation by large-scale discount practices, such as the Public Library Agreement of 1925 and the Book Society founded in 1929 (following the trail of the mail-order American Book of the Month Club), with its selection committee including self-consciously middlebrow authors such as Hugh Walpole and J. B. Priestley. At the same time however there emerged from the earlier partial liberalizing of the imperial book system 'a healthy array of … more adventurously "modern" publishers', in established as well as new firms, endowed with a strong editorial rather than marketing drive, among other things promoting the Irish, Scottish and Welsh literary renaissances. They ranged from Charles Whibley as reader at Macmillan (as we have already seen), Edward Garnett (now reader with the new company of Jonathan Cape) and Charles Prentice at Chatto & Windus, to Eliot himself, joining the new firm of Faber & Faber in 1925 as a sign of the growing convergence of middlebrow and highbrow, and who in 1939 published Finnegans Wake jointly with Huebsch (now at the Viking Press in New York)[141].

At the lowbrow level popular publishing was even more aggressively commercialized and focused by book and periodical houses, such as Mills & Boon and D. C. Thomson, marketing the highly formulaic genres (romance, crime, juvenile etc) for sale to the proliferating cheap commercial libraries. Moreover, as regards style and content they gravitated towards the newer mass media such as the Hollywood film,. an element of Americanization reinforced by the more substantial direct import of 'pulps' and 'pulp fiction' from the First World War onwards .[142]

Second, emerging from the Depression and established during the Second World War[143] there was the virtual missionary enterprise of synthesizing mass civilization and minority culture to produce a 'culture for democracy'. After benefiting greatly from the marketing constraints of the Second World War and its aftermath – delaying effective middlebrow (though not lowbrow 'pulp') competition – as well as from initially serious wartime mass-cultural aspirations, the new wave eventually spread throughout the English-speaking world and beyond, producing fundamental changes in the professional and financial structure of the book trade[144]. These, we might say, realized the agenda set by J.P.Morgan before the interruption of the First World War and the Depression.[145] If in the media the enterprise began with Reith and the privileged monopoly position of the BBC, in the middlebrow book trade it had begun with the cheap paperback marketing 'revolution' of Penguin Books, launched in 1935 by Allen Lane and his brothers as they distanced themselves from the by then ailing and conservative Bodley Head founded by their uncle, the culturally enterprising John Lane.[146] In the wake of the classic American practice of mass distribution of dime novels and the like through department and drug stores and newsstands Penguin Books successfully marketed its paperbacks not only in traditional bookshops but more adventurously in the suburban high-street chain store relatively new to Britain (initially, Woolworths and its American-style 'five and dime' pricing strategy - 'nothing over sixpence') [147] . Critically, when compared with traditional reprinting, Penguin mass-marketed not only reprints of élite and middle-brow writing but also, through its Pelican and Penguin Special series, original non-fiction writing of catholic yet topically relevant range. In addition to the favourable wartime and immediate postwar cultural and political climate much depended on a likewise catholic marketing brand-image, the Penguin logo and distinctive typographical and presentational house-style (based on the doctrine of Stanley Morison, like the more aggressively focused brand image of Victor Gollancz), that incarnated a virtual sub-culture [148]: a 'vast modern university', in

effect helping to re-establish a relatively coherent public sphere.[149] The effectiveness of these initiatives, commercially as well as culturally, provoked a steady vertical integration of paperback with traditional hard-cover publishing across the trade, beginning in 1946 with the Pan consortium of Macmillan, Collins and Heinemann exploiting their in-copyright back-lists.[150] Books thereby regained a far more central, and profitable, role in the volatile multimedia culture not only of Britain and the United States (where the paperback revolution had been taken up, and magnified, by Pocket Books, the wartime Armed Services Editions, Bantam Books, and the like)[151] but also – and not least through Penguin's powerful, logo-based, branch-distribution system – in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, India, and now China.[152]

But thirdly, such intensified penetration of the anglophone mass market required up-front capital which (as we have noted) the traditional under-capitalized, family- and partnership-based book trade, depending on its slowly, even if steadily, moving back-lists, could not by itself raise. However the newly reconstructed world financial markets of the 1960s onwards could and did so provide – initially Wall Street and powerful corporate interests in the communications industry such as the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and Raytheon. (This was an aspect, one could say, of America's Cold War-time 'costly but creative symbiosis between the military-industrial-academic complex and the entrepreneurial consumer culture' 153). These interests were motivated to buy out hard-pressed publishers and their copyrights, considering the copyrights to be, by stock-market standards, amateurishly under-exploited and undervalued assets, yet potentially secure investments which offered notional (though as it soon proved factitious) 'synergy' with the other elements in the industry. For example RCA took over Random House, though briefly and not happily. After a number of hectic, high-profile bidding wars on

Wall Street, and with a patently 'unbridgeable … gulf in management styles between broadcasting executives and hardware manufacturers on the one hand and the creators of intellectual properties on the other', the initiative in taking over traditional publishing houses passed into the hands of those better-focused, often multimedia corporations which had grouped themselves in part from within the traditional book trade itself. Penguin was taken over by what had become Pearson Longman, as was Maskew Miller in South Africa. Harper in the USA and Collins in Britain were taken over by Rupert Murdoch's News International, as was Angus & Robertson in Australia; Nelson by the Canadian Thomson Organization; Ryerson by McGraw-Hill; and members of the former élite core of British publishing, such as the Bodley Head, Jonathan Cape and Chatto & Windus, were taken over by Random House. Further, and significantly, given the pressures from global finance to secure market-share in the new, largely English-language cultural cosmopolis , some major sectors of the traditional anglophone book world have been taken over by non-anglophone, yet likewise well-focused, transnational groups. Such have been the French Hachette Livre (taking over Grolier, the Orion Group of Weidenfeld, Cassells, Dent, and now Hodder Headline and Time Warner Books, making Hachette Livre at he moment the largest publisher in Britain); the Dutch Elsevier (Butterworth, Octopus, and Harcourt); the German Holtzbrinck (Macmillan and Farrar Straus) and Bertelsmann (Bantam Books, Transworld, and even Random House itself, as well as several British imprints brought from Elsevier, such as Heinemann and Secker & Warburg) .[154]

VII

We come to the present scene. In general, under the continuing and it would seem permanent pressure from the global stock market and shareholders to maximize turnover and profit, there has been a remarkable, and for some alarming, sea-change in the professional culture of the book trade, particularly in Britain. No

longer an occupation for gentlemen protected from the realities of the market-place by such domestic practices as the Net Book Agreement (removed in 1995), publishers have become 'chief executives', and can move from one 'group' to another as well as within a particular group. In the case of Penguin, Peter Mayer came from Bantam Books to become chief executive, and David Davidar moved from Penguin India to Penguin Canada. The marketing, accounting, and personnel 'management' functions have gained in power within the group vis-à-vis the classic editorial function. Senior editors leave established houses to join increasingly multimedia-orientated literary agencies, where they exercise their editorial talents by mentoring and selling new as well as established authors through bids to increasingly multimedia-orientated publishers, and by recruiting students from university creative writing courses. Even so, given the book-trade origins of many of the transnational groups themselves, local editing and marketing can enjoy substantial day-to-day autonomy provided they meet the demands of the bottom-line: thus Random House UK within the Bertelsmann group, and Hodder Headline within Hachette. On the other hand, like the global financial market itself, the state of the book-trade merger – and de-merger – market is highly, and uncomfortably, unstable. The instability of mergers is due in large part to the inability of book publishing, even on a multinational and multimedia basis, to sustain the expected annual return of over 15% on the original investment in copyright – the high initial market value of intellectual property notwithstanding.[155]

Nevertheless a modus vivendi of sorts seems now under way not only at the corporate level nationally and internationally, but also between the groups and the often equally new, often directly or indirectly subsidized, niche publishers specializing in what are now, in the first instance, marginal genres such as poetry and minority or local-interest fiction. Small, alternative presses have been have been of critical importance in initiating the multicultural 'internationalization of English Literature' that took off in Britain

in the 1980s, as well as enabling the necessary 'neo-colonial' appropriation, by metropolitan publishing groups (and their marketing élan), of the counter-cultures in the newly devolving regions: for example Irvine Welsh's Trainspotting and 'a newly perceived "literary renaissance" in Scotland'. Out in the cosmopolis, a conspicuous cross-over between niche and general trade publishing was the Fremantle Arts Centre Press licensing to Penguin Australia the hardback as well as the paperback rights of the outstanding Australian 'original' of the 1980s, A. B. Facey's A Fortunate Life, which had by 1988 become Penguin's best-selling title.[156]

Likewise, mass-marketing pressures and opportunities have led to the correlative corporatization, and change in professional culture, of bookselling. Typically this has taken the form of chains and supermarket stores (such as Borders, Barnes & Noble, Wal-Mart (USA), Indigo Books and Music Inc (Canada), EMI Waterstones, Borders, Wal-Mart/ASDA (UK) and, in Europe, FNAC, Meyer and Hugendubel), all squeezing the traditional independent, local bookseller, and indirectly the public library, mainly by bulk discounting and relentless centralized promotion following the end of the Net Book Agreement and its like. Indeed, common financial and marketing pressures and opportunities have even led to a degree of 'editorial' feedback from the front-line of corporatized bookselling into the publishing decision-process itself, thus reversing a fundamental relationship dating from the early nineteenth century. The most recent and revealing manifestation of the convergence of interest, and power, between publisher, bookseller and indeed reading public, let alone author and agent, has been the virtually overnight sale world-wide of millions of copies of first issues of the Harry Potter books.[157]

Lastly, 'consumer'-led pressure (or apparent pressure) for the mass-marketing of, or at least mass access to, a rapidly proliferating and transforming textual archive has led to the steady, and final, replacement of library autarky by cosmopolitan,

distributive, digitized, home-computer linked, networking on a direct or (through advertising) indirect cost-recovery basis: a re-engineering of the bibliotheca universalis in the new, mixed, high-tech global economy, with far-reaching implications for the further advancement of both learning and civility.[158]

VIII

To conclude the whole narrative, provisionally.

Taking the long view we might reflect that this newest surge in the corporate management and technology of text production and distribution has led at last to full cultural globalization touching every corner of the world[159]. The essentially polycentric configuration of the new cosmopolis[160] is perhaps best illustrated by the leading case (again) of Penguin Books. Within the Pearson group and its fundamental interest in capitalizing on the Penguin consumer brand globally, Penguin has encouraged its branches in the former peripheries to pursue substantial independence, riding on their profitable general reprint-distribution business - the culmination of the creative role of the periphery, we might say. Thus the expansion of the Penguin list in Australia has been 'the most dramatic example of an overseas-owned company's commitment to local writing'. Similar developments in India have been no less evident, most recently and significantly the expansion of Penguin India into publishing in Hindi, Marathi, Urdu and soon in Malayalam.[161] Such polycentrism not only increases the opportunities for 'local' indigenous authors, without as well as within the British Isles, to gain international as well as national recognition through promotional book fairs, metropolitan book prizes, literary festivals, reading clubs, media tie-ins, and so on: a recognition to which as serious professionals, in this age of preoccupation with the common- reader-as-consumer in the global as well as local market, they have to aspire.[162] It might be said to lead them 'beyond hybridity' to 'the vernacular cosmopolitan`[163] with, however, a complementary trend being the book-trade

version of the general marketing strategy of 'glocalisation': for example, the Canadian multinational, Harlequin Enterprises (which owns both Mills & Boon in Britain and Silhouette in France) and its locally edited and translated variants - ranging from Swedish to Mandarin Chinese, and now Hindi - of the original English texts of its strictly formulaic romance fiction.[164]

However: for us as citizens as well as readers such a market- and media-driven globalized public sphere can be both claustrophobic and frenetic, even demoralizing: a matter of authorship, publishing, and reading that are hyperactive; a matter of 'jostle and buzz'; of 'celebrity'; of the 'breakneck economics ruling the "shopping mall" or "aesthetic supermarket" of late twentieth century publishing and bookselling', lacking any truly still centre 165. One might even – one does - speak more generally of a 'massive degradation … [of] the public sphere … a media universe of endless factitious fashion'; of 'the erosion of the structures of intellectual authority [by] the potency of the media'; of the 'mediated' author and the media-driven 'community of anxiety' (as the novelists have it); of *les mutations psychologiques brutales que l'actuelle révolution des médias provoque sur les manières de penser et les sensibilités de nos contemporains*; in short, of a 'far more disquieting global order of the present day' than at any time in the past history of the 'transforming role… [of] the medium of print', and script.

One might say that to find ourselves at home in this our 'textual condition'[167], with peace of mind – 'to locate, amidst vertiginous and displaced experience, what Matthew Arnold called a steadying idea' - means our acquiring the long and deep perspective of an historically informed media literacy, a history that pivots on 'communication', 'marketing' and 'archiving', ancient as well as modern.[168] Whether as authors, as

commentators, or again simply as citizens, such perspective and the intellectual c

ontrol it provides will enable us to have 'more realistic dealings with the media'[169]. In turn, such literacy will have to be integrated into the public culture of the new century through education – in the broadest sense – based on a history of the book and libraries that ranges not only globally but also across the concerns of the humanities as a whole: a source of new, essential, 'scholarly capital' [170], .

NOTES

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Based on a paper given at the second Colloque d'histoire mondiale du livre et de l'édition, devoted to the subject of 'Centre and Periphery in the World of the Book 1500-2000', held at Prato, June 2001.A revised version of the lecture was first published in Publishing History no 59, 2006 and has been subsequently further revised. The original structure and argument of the lecture has been retained.

1   E. Shils, 'Centre and Periphery', in The Logic of Personal Knowledge: Essays presented to Michael Polanyi on his seventieth birthday, 11th March 1961 (London 1961), pp.117-30. I used Shils's concept as one of the points of departure for a first brief reconnaissance of the territory: 'The History of the Book in Twentieth-Century Britain and America: Perspective and evidence', Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, 102:2 (Oct. 1992), pp. 353-77.
P. Bilde, 'Preface', in Centre and Periphery in the Hellenistic World, ed. Bilde et al. (Aarhus 1993), p.9.

2 From the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century, ed. P. Burke and H. Inalcik (Unesco History of Humanity: Scientific and cultural development, Vol. V; Paris and London 1999) [hereafter cited as From the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century], p.6. The volume includes sections on archives, maps, censorship and the like, under the rubric 'Communication and Information'

3   From the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century, p.117.

4   W. Kirsop, 'The Book in Australia seen from 2001', Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin, 18:4 (1994), p.216. In general, see his 'Metropolises and Frontiers:

Books in the English-Speaking World', English Studies in Canada, 25: 3/4 (1999), pp.483-97

5 S. P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order (New York 1996), pp.367. For a dismissive critique of the historical naivety of such 'civilizationalism' see S.Pollock, 'Civilizationalism, or Indigenism with Too Little History' in The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India (Berkeley, 2006), pp. 525-39 .

6 Cf. D. F. McKenzie, 'A Text-led European Imperialism', in Making Meaning: 'Printers of the mind' and other essays, ed. P. D. McDonald and M. F. Suarez, S.J. (Amherst, Mass., 2002), p.279. F.S.Peters, The Voice, the Word, the Books: The sacred scripture of the Jews, Christians, and Muslims (Princeton, 2007)

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9 J.-Y. Mollier, 'La Construction du système éditorial français et son expansion dans le monde du XVIIIe au XXe siècle', in Les Mutations du livre et de l'édition dans le monde du XVIIIe siècle à l'an 2000: Actes du colloque international, Sherbrooke 2000 (Sainte-Foy, Quebec., and Paris 2001) [hereafter cited as Les Mutations du livre], p.48. For a grand perspective on the history of the British Empire using 'gentlemanly capitalism' as a master

concept, see P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, British Imperialism, 1688-2000 (2nd edn; Harlow 2002).

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E.Boehmer, Colonial & Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors (2nd edn; Oxford 2005), p.5

12 Globalization in World History, ed. A. G. Hopkins (London 2002), especially pp.115-40; T. Ballantyne, 'Empire, Knowledge and Culture: From Proto-Globalization to Modern Globalization'. C.A.Bayly, 'Building Outward from the Body: Communications and Complexity', in The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914: Global connections and comparisons (Malden, Mass., 2004) [hereafter cited as The Birth of the Modern World], pp.19-21: 'The nineteenth century – variously called the "age of industry and empire" – was also the age of global communication. There was a massive expansion of book printing worldwide…The electric telegraph became and international system…[P]owerful forces for change and globalization had been working on human societies for centuries…It is from this time, however, that the forces for change…began to pick up speed dramatically'. See below the references to the work of Bayly and Sheldon Pollock as leading proponents of the new global perspective

For the first 'ecumenical' exploration of the history of the book in the Modern World see the three essays: D.Finkelstein, 'The Globalization of the Book 1800-1970', E.Hemmungs Wirtén, 'The Global Market 1970-2000: Producers', and C.Squires, 'The Global Market 1970-2000: Consumers', in A Companion to the History of the Book, ed S.Eliot and J.Rose (Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture, Oxford 2007) [hereafter cited as A Companion to the History of the Book] , pp.329-40, 395-418
For a note on the control of the archive, including pan-aboriginal oral textuality, see I.R.Willison, 'Towards an Agenda for Imperial and Post-Imperial Book History in India and Southern Africa', Publishing History, 60 (2006), pp.24, 26-7.
For 'pan-aboriginality' see A.Shoemaker, 'Paper Tracks: Indigenous literatures in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand', in New National and Post-Colonial Literatures: An introduction, ed B.King (Oxford 1996),   p.247, and D.Brown, 'Stories of Land, Land of Stories: Aboriginality, identity and belonging in South Africa and beyond', in To Speak of This Land: Identity and belonging in South Africa and beyond, (Scottsville 2006), pp.7-35. I owe this latter reference to Isabel Hofmeyr.

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15   University of Otago, Dept of English, Print Culture Project, Print Culture: Introduction, www.otago.ac.nz/nzpg/print/index, accessed 5/16/01, p.1

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32. Ballantyne, 'Producing states and empires: surveying', 'The cartographic imagination', 'Images of Global Empire', 'An Imperial Knowledge System', in 'Empire, Knowledge and Culture', pp.118-22, 129-30.
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P. Clarke, 'Celebrity!' in his Hope and Glory: Britain 1900-2000 (The Penguin History of Britain; London 2004), pp.418-28; Squires, Marketing Literature, passim.
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'Scholarly capital'. Thus Squires, Marketing Literature, p.59: 'The history of the book, in its role in recuperating transmission, reception and the desires that motivate them, is itself…an intending intervention that, through its representations, influences the process and hence the field itself. It is thus part of that very…'scholarly capital' that will occur in the analysis of contemporary literary fiction publishing'.