

A Book “Seen by Every Butcher & Baker, Cobler & Tinker”: Early English *Evelina* Rediscovered

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A Book “Seen by Every Butcher & Baker, Cobler & Tinker”:
Early English *Evelina* Rediscovered
SVETLANA KOCHKINA

Abstract: At the height of its popularity, Burney’s *Evelina* was frequently republished in English both in Britain by the copyright holder Lowndes and outside of its borders and the sphere of influence of British copyright law, notably in Ireland. This essay reveals that the only bibliography of Burney’s works by Joseph Grau (1981) did not correctly document the true extent of the novel’s production by these two most important sources supplying the book to Anglophone readers. It uncovers the number and variety of *Evelina*’s editions and reprints produced by the publishing house of Thomas and William Lowndes (15) and their Irish counterparts (7) for different segments of the English-speaking book market in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. *Evelina*’s corrected early publication history demonstrates a fuller and more complex picture of its reach to and popularity among the reading public in Britain and abroad, underestimated until now.

In her journal for March 26, 1778, Frances Burney records her visit to Bell’s circulating library, where her father was a subscriber, and details her “exceedingly odd sensation” upon hearing that *Evelina* was held by this institution:

[I]t is in the power of *any & every* body to read what I so carefully hoarded even from my best Friends, till this last month or two,— & that a Work which was so lately Lodged, in all privacy, in my Bureau, may now be seen by every Butcher & Baker, Cobler & Tinker, throughout the 3 kingdoms, for the small tribute of 3 pence. (*EJL* 3: 5)

While her aim when writing these lines was probably to record her own feelings of confusion and embarrassment, as the fledgling author was only getting used to hearing her novel, for so long her secret delight, publicly praised, Burney’s words accurately describe the imminent fate of *Evelina*. The book would become so popular and so often reprinted in the next two decades in such a variety of editions that indeed “every Butcher & Baker, Cobler & Tinker” could have had a chance to see it. The resounding success of *Evelina* provoked a tidal wave of editions and reprints not only in Great Britain but also beyond its borders as 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. While the Lowndeses were in full possession of *Evelina's* copyright in Great Britain, busily bringing to market their multiple editions and reprints while capitalizing on their monopoly and the popularity of both the novel and its author, a number of English-language editions were published outside the sphere of application of British copyright law in the United States, on the continent, and most importantly, in Ireland.

Until now,¹ the best available source of information about existing editions, reprints, and adaptations of *Evelina* has been Joseph A. Grau's bibliography of Frances Burney's works published in 1981, which includes editions of *Evelina* up to the 1970 reprint by Oxford University Press. However, the extensive Burney Collection at McGill University's Rare Books and Special Collections reveals that Grau is incomplete. Systematic searches in online library catalogs, electronic databases, and digitized publishers' catalogs further confirm that multiple editions and reprints of the novel are missing from Grau. A number of them are listed erroneously, with reprints wrongly attributed to particular editions, editions listed as reprints, and reprints as editions.² Alterations in the paratextual apparatus (the title of the novel, the form of the author's name, and the presence of illustrations) in *Evelina* or other works by Burney are not recorded in Grau either.

Significantly, two categories of these early English-language *Evelinas* have not been correctly documented in Grau's bibliography: those produced by its first publisher Lowndes and those printed in Ireland. The attribution of reprints to specific editions by Lowndes is not accurate, while three out of seven editions and the 1805 reprint of the 1791 edition are not listed in the bibliography at all. The second category, considerably and fascinatingly larger than that documented in Grau, contains the books produced in Ireland until the end of the eighteenth century. Grau identified only one Dublin-printed book, published in 1793. In reality, *Evelina* was published in Ireland in its second year on the book market (1779). Also, the number of editions and reprints produced in Ireland was considerably larger, amounting to seven instead of only one documented in Grau.

By improving our accounting of these English-language *Evelinas*, we can better understand the two most important sources supplying

the novel on the British book market. The publishing house of Lowndes, which held the novel's copyright in Great Britain (England, Scotland, and Wales), had the monopoly for the production of its authorized British editions for twenty-eight years beginning in 1778. At the same time, Irish publishers, outside the sphere of influence of British copyright laws until 1801, produced editions of *Evelina* to be legally sold in Irish and (possibly) American markets or to be smuggled into Great Britain as cheaper illegal alternatives to Lowndes's authorized editions. In the absence of widely available information on the existence of these ten English-language editions and reprints, the true extent of *Evelina*'s production in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century has been unknown; consequently, its reach to the Anglophone reading public within and beyond British borders has been underestimated until now. The knowledge of the existence of these *Evelinas* corrects the incomplete picture of its early spread and its popularity on the English-speaking market, contributing to a better understanding of the novel's reception.

Burney's first book made its debut on the market in 1778, published by Thomas Lowndes (1719–84), a bookseller, a founder and owner of a large commercial circulating library, and a publisher-printer. His business and the copyright for *Evelina* were later inherited by his son, William Lowndes, who joined the enterprise sometime before his father's death.³ *Evelina* was first issued anonymously, as Thomas Lowndes was himself unaware of the author's identity. The well-known story of the anonymous and secretive publication of the first edition is described in detail in Burney's journals. To relate it briefly, Burney, who served as her father's amanuensis and whose handwriting was known in the literary world, wrote the manuscript in a feigned hand to avoid being recognized by publishers. The feigned script was more angular and masculine in form as opposed to her usual more rounded and fluid cursive (*Memoirs* 2: 126–27; Doody xiii). She refused to reveal her name and identity even to prospective publishers, which cost her a chance to publish with the more prestigious James Dodsley and forced her to settle upon Lowndes (*Memoirs* 2: 128). The most famous and fashionable authors worked with publishers of the first rank, whose names alone functioned as a sign of quality for authors and the books; Lowndes was not one of those publishers. The Lowndes name would not taint his publications, but his circulating library, the destination of much of his

output, was not of the highest literary or intellectual merit. A shrewd businessman with a good knowledge of the contemporary reading public's tastes, he took a risk by publishing the novel of a new and anonymous author. To add to the mystery, Burney's brother Charles, who delivered the manuscript to the publisher, did it in the dark of evening, disguised in a heavy cloak and hat (*Memoirs* 2: 128-29). The secret was gradually revealed to a widening circle of family, relatives, friends, acquaintances of Burney, and admirers of *Evelina*, until it was eventually exposed to the general public in a satire by George Huddesford (*EJL* 3: 193n82).

In trusting his commercial instincts and agreeing to publish *Evelina*, Lowndes made one of the biggest coups in his career, having bought the copyright for the novel for a rather meager thirty guineas (twenty initially and ten for the 1779 reprints) from the young and inexperienced author, acting through the intermediary of her brother, Charles. Neither Frances Burney, on her first foray into the literary market, nor her brother, who provided similarly inept assistance with the sale of her other works, was a match for the sharp businessman, described even in the laudatory *Literary Anecdotes* as a "strong-minded uneducated man; rough in his manners" (Nichols 3: 646). Burney was not impressed by her interactions with Lowndes; he is widely believed to be the inspiration for one of Cecilia's guardians in Burney's second novel, Mr. Briggs, an uncouth vulgar miser, whose English is among the poorest in the novel (*Gentleman's Magazine* 327; Nichols 3: 647).

After the success of his first edition in 1778, Thomas Lowndes printed three more the following year.⁴ Publication numbers for 1778-79 are quite spectacular, amounting to 2,500-2,800 copies, which gives a good understanding of *Evelina's* initial popularity, the scale of its reprinting, and, consequently, of Lowndes's profits. In total, from 1778 to 1814, Thomas Lowndes and his son William published fifteen editions and reprints of *Evelina*, successfully taking full advantage of their copyright. Of the fifteen Lowndes *Evelinas*, three editions and one reprint are not listed in Grau. Also, two reprints of a rather curious 1791 edition were misattributed in the bibliography.

To market a book reprinted so frequently, Lowndes made use of a publishing practice common since the sixteenth century. As "novelty held a special attraction for book buyers," bookseller-publishers would often "maximize the sales potential of a book by reprinting an already

market-tested text but repackaging it with new and improved ingredients” (Olson 618), publicizing them on the title page. Often, publishers would not even make any changes to a text, simply labeling an edition “new.” Lowndes frequently and somewhat deceivingly exploited this attraction for all things new; after 1783, eleven of the publisher’s *Evelinas* have some variation of the statement “new edition” on the title pages, although no textual alterations or revisions were made.

If the story of *Evelina*’s anonymous publication is widely known, the perpetuation of Burney’s anonymity in the early English editions has not been previously documented. Although parsimonious in their remuneration to the author, Thomas and William Lowndes maintained the secret or at least the pretense of one by keeping Burney’s name off *Evelina*’s title pages throughout the twelve editions and reprints that they produced from 1778 to 1810. Even when disappointed that he was not chosen to publish Burney’s second novel, Thomas Lowndes only used a reference to *Cecilia* “lately published by the same author”⁵ but not Burney’s name in his 1784 *Evelina*.

By the time *Evelina* was published, the novel had become a market force in the literary world, the most widespread type of text to read for leisure and “one of the most economically important products of the book trade and the publishing industry” (Feather 61). Since royalty payments did not yet exist, novels were not a gainful genre for their authors, especially for women novelists, who “were frequently hoping to produce anything but the novels, which were not the most profitable form of publication” (Schellenberg 243). Nevertheless, as Burney’s interactions with Lowndes and the early publication numbers of *Evelina* show, English novels, both fashionable and popular, were already a profitable genre for their publishers, both British copyright holders and those operating in the legal gray area where British copyright laws were not enforceable.

Significantly, in 1778, *Evelina* appeared with the title *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady’s Entrance into the World*. In this form, both parts of the title, the title proper and the subtitle, describe the book’s subject without directly or indirectly signaling its novelistic genre. There is no indication that Burney discussed the novel’s title with Lowndes from her journals, which otherwise detailed all the publication circumstances. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, the title in the first edition of *Evelina* was probably created by Burney herself. Considering the preju-

dice against the novel by reviewers, as a lower and somewhat immoral genre, as well as Burney's own concerns about decorum and her wish to keep her public persona immaculately proper and respectable, this refusal to announce *Evelina* as a novel is not surprising.

However, the initial title did not last long in Great Britain. Already in 1779, Lowndes published the second edition with a variant of this title, *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World, in a Series of Letters*. In this edition, Lowndes added a second descriptive subtitle that revealed not only the form (epistolary) but also suggested the genre of the work. "*In a Series of Letters*" unambiguously indicated that the book was a novel. At least since the time of Richardson's *Pamela* and *Clarissa*, a book about adventures or a life of a young woman, written in epistolary form, was clearly understood as belonging to the genre of novelistic fiction. In the 1779 third edition, Lowndes introduced another iteration of the title that further clarified the novel's genre by inserting the word "History": *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World* later became the most often used form found in forty-five percent of all editions of *Evelina* published up to the present.

In addition to the publication numbers for 1778-79, a testimony to the early market success of *Evelina* was Lowndes's decision to issue the 1779 editions with frontispiece illustrations, a costly endeavor at the time. He commissioned John Hamilton Mortimer (1740-79), best known for his historical paintings and scenes set in the Italian wilderness, "*whose gifts*," as Austin Dobson dismissively wrote in his preface to Macmillan's 1903 *Evelina* (xviii), "*according to the dictionaries, lay chiefly in the presentment of 'banditti and monsters.'*" Mortimer's illustrations, as was already customary by the late eighteenth century, were made to "visually encapsulate the themes of the text that follows" (Shevlin 43), reflecting the perception of *Evelina* as belonging to a distinct genre and promising a certain type of reading experience: the story of an unacknowledged nobleman's daughter, mixed with a satirical representation of manners in contemporary society. His illustration to the first volume was executed in the style reminiscent of the early-mid eighteenth-century vogue for pictures of ruins, often featuring tombs with inscriptions.⁶ It is a feminine figure in classical dress reaching out to a monument or tomb with the name Belmont (*Evelina's* father's name), a reference to *Evelina's* precarious social status as a young woman whose legitimacy was not recognized by her father and, hence, society. The frontispieces in the other volumes

illustrate two scenes in the novel that prominently satirize the disturbing crudeness of manners and cruel behavior that *Evelina* witnesses in society. On the plate to volume two, *Evelina* is shown helping a disheveled elderly Madame Duval climb out of a ditch into which she had fallen as a result of a practical joke by Captain Mirvan. On the frontispiece to volume three, an evil-looking monkey dressed as a fashionable fop is biting the dandyish Mr. Lovel, again at the instigation of Captain Mirvan.

It has been widely believed that the frontispiece plates were issued only for Lowndes's fourth edition (1779). However, in a letter to Burney, Lowndes stated that the plates were already commissioned for the book's third printing (*DL* 2: 481). Moreover, McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections possesses a copy of the second edition that also includes all three plates (see Figure 1). These facts alter the novel's publication history, indicating that Lowndes was so sure of its continued commercial success that he began the third reprinting and commissioned frontispiece plates at the cost of seventy-three pounds (*EJL* 5: 118), a substantial sum for the time, when his second reprinting had not yet been sold out.

The payment for the illustration was much more considerable than Lowndes ever paid Burney herself. Despite *Evelina's* continuous success and frequent reprinting, Burney never received any additional remuneration from its sales, which could be one of the reasons why she did not choose to print her second novel with her first publisher. Boldly, Lowndes tried to remonstrate with Burney, writing to her father after *Cecilia's* appearance in 1782 about her choice. He received a reply from Burney herself that could at best be called polite but firm in which she asserted her independence of any obligation to any bookseller and her right to choose and change them:

The Author of *Evelina* is much surprised that Mr. Lowndes should trouble himself to enquire any reason why he did not publish *Cecilia*: she is certainly neither under engagement or obligation to *Any* Bookseller whatever, & is to no one, therefore responsible for chusing & changing as she pleases. (*EJL* 5:118-19)

This perceived slight did not deter Thomas and William Lowndes from issuing a "new edition" of *Evelina* in 1783 (reprinted in 1784) with all three of Mortimer's frontispieces and essentially the same paratextual packaging as the previous one.

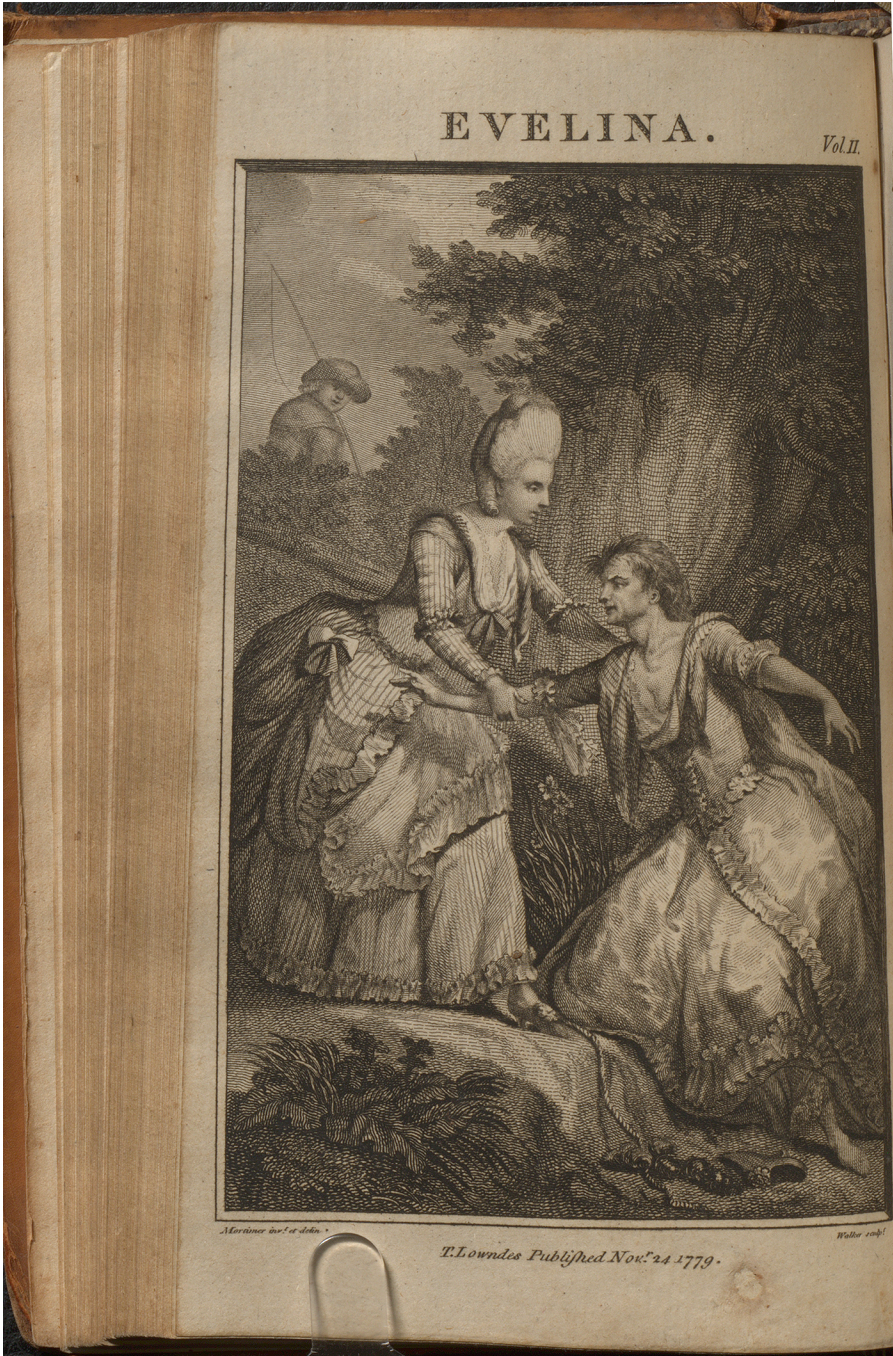


Figure 1⁷

Frances Elizabeth Fisher.

EVELINA,

OR, A

YOUNG LADY'S

ENTRANCE

INTO THE

WORLD.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS.

THE SECOND EDITION.

VOL. II.

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. LOWNDES, N^o 77, in
FLEET-STREET.

M.DCC.LXXIX.

In 1784, yet another “new edition” of *Evelina* appeared, again under the names of both Thomas and William Lowndes. This edition, missing from Grau, is of considerable interest. It was the first non-pirated *Evelina* printed in Great Britain in two volumes instead of three, which would have allowed the buyers to save on binding costs. The book also would have been more affordable as it did not contain Mortimer’s plates and was decorated only with two small generic woodblock vignettes inserted at the top of the page before the first letter of each volume. The existence of this more modest edition testifies to Lowndes’s desire to capture a less affluent segment of the market and to his awareness of such a market segment in the 1780s, which is also confirmed by the surviving Irish reprints produced at the same time. In this edition, Lowndes openly used *Cecilia*’s success to market *Evelina*, printing on the last page of each volume: “Lately published by the same author *Cecilia: Or, Memoirs of an Heiress*. In five volumes.” As his competitors Payne and Cadell were the ones who published *Cecilia*, Lowndes does not indicate in this marketing message the names of the printers, the cost, or where to buy it, mentioning it only to promote his own product.

After Thomas Lowndes’s death in 1784, William Lowndes kept reprinting *Evelina*, for which he still held the copyright, continuing to get returns on his father’s investment. In 1791, he published another two-volume *Evelina*, which was reprinted three times: in 1794, 1801, and 1805. The true scope of this edition was misrepresented in Grau. Only one of the three reprints (1794) was listed as a separate entry (I.A.12a); two others were attributed to wrong editions (I.A.5 and I.A.18), while the 1805 reprint was not included at all.

The 1791 edition deserves particular attention because of its curious paratextual packaging (see Figure 2). It is a two-volume book that features, in addition to all the plates from the 1779 editions, a title page embellished by the publisher using nearly all the means available at the time. The title page, which resembles a font sampler page from a printer’s specimen book, is bewilderingly busy. The mixture of roman, gothic, and italic fonts in capitals, small capitals, and lower-case letters, all large, leaves hardly any white space. This typographical hodgepodge is accompanied by similarly bizarre illustrative matter. This edition includes not only all three of Mortimer’s plates (bound in-text and as frontispieces), executed in the style and taste of twelve years before, but also two new title-page cameo vignettes, which depict two of the most

sentiment-laden scenes in the novel: Evelina taking the pistols from her illegitimate half-brother, Mr. McCartney, to prevent his suicide (volume one); and the first highly emotional meeting between Evelina and Lord Belmont, her estranged and erring father (volume two).⁸ The sentimental scenes enacted by the characters in contemporary settings and attire reflect the new taste for romantic readings and post-revolutionary-style fashions, visually modernizing the book. They clash oddly in overall tone, style, and time period with the earlier plates, in which ladies still wear towering rococo hairstyles and pannier skirts, and bewigged male characters are engaged in crude humor and violence. If the vignettes were commissioned to make the book appear more contemporary to the early 1790s audience, the inclusion of the expensive plates from the 1779 editions could only be attributed to William Lowndes's determination to maximize the return on his father's investment. These conflicting desires for the book's produced mixed results. Instead of updating the book or keeping it true to its original look and feel, the publisher created a *mélange* of illustrations and fonts, lacking cohesiveness and devoid of a unified editorial idea.

As incongruous as the 1791 edition was, it heralded, as Teri Doerksen has argued, the beginning of a marked shift in the representation of *Evelina* in its illustrative matter, moving from a satirical novel of manners to "a more conventionally French-Revolution-era narrative of that sympathetic sensibility" (478).⁹ The subsequent illustrative history of the novel shows that, since the 1791 edition, English and foreign publishers shifted from depicting episodes of violent humor to illustrating emotional, sentimental, and romantic scenes, which reflected changing reader tastes. This edition was also the first one in *Evelina*'s publication history where a publisher included illustrations with contemporary fashions as a tactic to modernize the book. The publishers used this technique of subtly revising the novel by updating the fashions in all subsequent illustrated *Evelinas* until the late nineteenth century.

In 1808, three years after the last reprint of the 1791 edition, William Lowndes published an *Evelina* with a contrasting look that evoked the earlier 1784 edition. Reprinted in 1810, it is an unadorned two-volume set with no illustrations and a visually restrained title page, inexpensive to produce and suitable to include in a circulating library or to market to readers of limited means. By that time, Irish, continental, and Scottish publishers had already produced *Evelina* in similar plain



Figure 2

EVELINA
OR
The History
of
A YOUNG LADY'S
ENTRANCE
INTO
THE WORLD

A NEW EDITION

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II



L O N D O N .

Printed for W. Lowndes N^o 77. Fleet Street.

MDCCXCI.

packaging. Lowndes, who no longer had the advantage of copyright protection, had to compete with the others on the market to maintain the revenue from the still profitable novel and capture some of the demand for plain editions. The main point of interest in this book is the title. It is in this edition that Lowndes introduces another modified form of the novel's title, *Evelina: Or, the History of a Young Lady's Introduction to the World*, replacing the word "Entrance" with "Introduction," which would soon be picked up by other publishers and become the predominant form to the nearly total exclusion of all others from 1810 to 1890.

The publishing house of Lowndes made three last appearances in the novel's publication history in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Lowndes was one of thirty-seven publishing houses that issued *Evelina* in the canon-setting literary series, the *British Novelists*, in 1810 (reprinted in 1820). The other two post-copyrighted editions of *Evelina* produced by Lowndes in collaboration with Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown in 1814 were not recorded in Grau. They are both unillustrated; one is a duodecimo on plain quality paper, similar to many other *Evelinas*, while the other is an attractive, light, well-printed trigesimo-seculo (32° or 32mo) printed on thin but good-quality paper in tiny but sharp, clear, and legible type.

The salient aspects of these two editions are that they are the only ones produced by Lowndes that contain an editorial preface and name Burney as the author of *Evelina*. Her name is not printed on the title page, but the books contain a preface, "the account of the author," of which Burney's name serves as the title. The "account of the author" was the second English editorial preface to *Evelina* (following the one in the *British Novelists*). It is worth noting that Lowndes chose to title the preface "Madame D'Arblay," instead of "Miss Burney" as featured in the *Novelists*. The preface focuses on biographical details, reprinting only at the end, as some sort of literary analysis, the one-and-a-half page excerpt from Barbauld's essay written for the *Novelists* and three laudatory reviews published in 1778.

The opening biographical sketch, somewhat surprisingly from the publishing house that issued the first edition, repeats the same false anecdote that Burney was seventeen when she wrote the book, adding a sentimental description of the disclosure of the author's identity to her family: "The young lady, overcome with delight, affectionately threw her arms round her father's neck and avowed herself the author" (3).¹⁰ With

its distinctly saccharine overtones, the preface subtly but perceptibly 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 gives some details of Burney's other works, the preface begins by identifying her as 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 tactfully omits the exact nature of her Court position as Keeper of the Robes that, even though prestigious, was a source of many vexations if not humiliating experiences to Burney, referring instead to "a situation about the Queen" (4). It describes Burney as a model young woman, quite in line with the emerging ideal of the angel in the house. She had an "aversion to every kind of publicity" and "greatly resembled the amiable and charming character attributed to her heroine" (4). It emphasized Burney's retiring and almost pastoral married life in which she "employed some of her leisure hours in fancy work, afterward disposed of at Leatherhead Fair for the benefit of the poor" (5). Such a sentimental and decorous portrayal of the author served to underscore her eminently respectable character and, consequently, the suitability of her eighteenth-century novel for the nineteenth-century audience beset by their newly found sensitivities.

While the Lowndeses were in full possession of *Evelina's* copyright in Great Britain, busily bringing onto the market their multiple editions and reprints and capitalizing on their monopoly and the popularity of both the novel and its author, a number of English-language editions were published in Ireland in the legal gray area, outside the sphere of application of British copyright law. Some of them were openly pirated, issued under false London imprints probably to be sold in England. Others were produced for local and possibly American readership with Dublin openly acknowledged as the place of publication. Until now, bibliographical sources have identified only one Dublin-printed *Evelina* published in 1793 (Grau I.A.12), though there were seven Dublin editions and reprints. In reality, Burney's novel began its journey on Irish soil much earlier than recorded in Grau. As early as 1779, *Evelina* was printed in Dublin "for Messrs. Price, Corcoran, R. Cross, Fitzsimons, W. Whitestone, Chamberlaine, Williams, J. Hoey, W. Colles, E. Cross, Burnet, Walker, C. Jenkin, White, J. Exshaw, J. Beatty, and G. Perrin."

The appearance of Irish editions of *Evelina* attests to the novel's fame. Since the *Copyright Act* of 1709, publishing rights and the publishing business in Great Britain were mostly concentrated in the hands of London members of the trade. As the *Act's* authority did not extend to Irish publishers, they had been "conducting a brisk trade in reprints of London novels" since the mid-eighteenth century (Suarez 665). However, only popular books that would sell well, and fiction and poetry far less often than other genres, would have had the "honor" of being legally reprinted for Irish and American markets, as well as illegally in England at a much lower price than their English counterparts.¹¹

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 the *Copyright Act* of 1801, extending British copyright rules and regulations to Ireland, which signaled the end of the Irish trade in cheap reprints. In 1780, 1784, 1785, 1793, 1794, and 1800, six other *Evelina* editions followed rapidly, five of them not in Grau, besides the 1793 reprint. Irish publishers capitalized on Burney's growing popularity and renown as these editions were published in the years of Burney's greatest fame when *Cecilia* and *Camilla* made their much-anticipated appearances.

A bibliographical examination confirms that the 1780, 1784, 1785, 1793, and 1800 reprints are largely reissues of the 1779 Dublin edition, while the 1794 edition is different. Two among these *Evelinas*, published in 1785 and 1794, stand apart and deserve particular discussion, being, according to all bibliographical evidence, model examples of reprints produced in Ireland to be sold illegally in England (see Figure 3). If the other Irish editions had been destined for legal publication on the Irish or American markets, these two *Evelinas* are undoubtedly pirated productions. The title page of the 1785 reprint misleadingly states, "London: Printed and Sold by Booksellers," while the bibliographical evidence indicates that it is a reprint of the 1784 Price's *Evelina* with a cancelled title page. Similarly, the 1794 edition has the non-descriptive imprint, "London: Printed for the Booksellers," which as, as with the 1785 edition, was not even remotely possible as Lowndes was still in full possession of *Evelina's* copyright at the time. The "Printed for the booksellers" imprint is an unmistakable sign of a pirated book destined for the lower end of the English book market that was conceivably produced by Irish publishers.

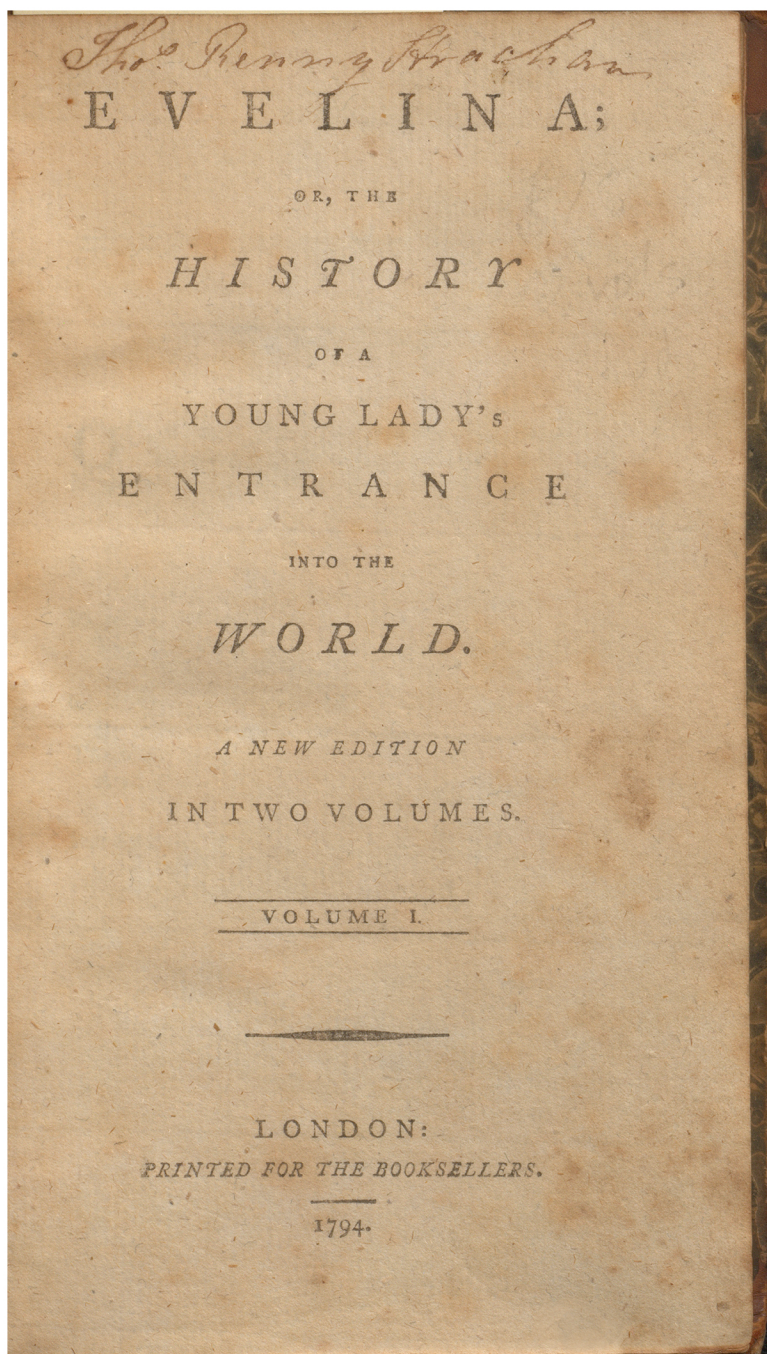


Figure 3

Eighteenth-century Irish reprints of popular English novels, regardless of legality, were produced as cheap alternatives to the more expensive authorized editions printed by British copyright holders. In these circumstances, their affordability was the main selling and marketing tool. The Dublin-printed *Evelinas* are an excellent example of the low production quality typical of these reprints, which, combined with the absence of copyright payment, allowed them to be sold more cheaply than the authorized editions. They are not illustrated, as reprinting of the frontispiece plates would have added considerably to their price, and are not decorated with woodblocks or ornaments. The books are printed on low-quality paper—thick, rough, sometimes even containing visible wood particles—and in a type that is smaller, less legible, and set closer with smaller leading and narrower margins than in British editions. Also, typical for books of this kind, the Dublin-printed *Evelinas* are published in two volumes, enabling the customers to save not only on the book itself but also on its binding, since they would have had to bind only two volumes instead of three.

Incidentally, resetting the text to make it a two- instead of a three-volume book necessitated changing the numbering of the letters, which starts at Letter I at the beginning of each volume. Consequently, in the 1779 Dublin edition (and in its subsequent reprints), all the letters after the Letter XXXI in volume one are numbered differently as compared to their numbering in Lowndes's three-volume *Evelina* published the same year. In 1779, this renumbering would have produced some curious confusions in discussions between readers of authorized and pirated editions if they tried to refer to the letters' content by their numbers.

The paratext of the Dublin *Evelinas* demonstrates some curious particularities that are not found in Lowndes's editions published at the same time. Six of them kept the novel's original title, *Evelina: Or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World* although it had been changed by Lowndes as early as 1779 to gesture towards the book's novelistic genre. The decision to keep the original title, or rather not to change it, could be explained by the Irish publishers' lack of need for that particular marketing device since they were operating in a shared cultural space where Burney's work was known but not available on the market at a reasonable price. The affordability of their product would suffice to sell it with little necessity for any other enhancements.

Other important paratextual elements of the novel, Burney's preface and dedications, were changed in the Dublin-produced books. Only the 1779 and 1794 editions include Burney's verse dedication to her father, her dedication in prose *To the Authors of the Monthly and Critical Reviews*, and her authorial preface *In the Republic of Letters*. In the five subsequent reprints of the 1779 edition, Burney's prefatorial paratext was gradually eliminated. The publishers did not reproduce the ten-page *To the Authors* and *In the Republic* in the 1780, 1784, and 1785 reprints and omitted all three prefatorial pieces in the last two (1793 and 1800). As these reprints were destined for a less affluent and, as the publishers believed, a less discerning readership, a possible motivation for their omission could have been the publishers' desire to shorten the text. Omitting the prefaces would have made the book seem less highbrow and would enable readers to plunge immediately into the action of the novel without any lengthy textual interludes. However, the decision to cut the amount of prefatorial matter was made most likely to reduce costs. Paper was an expensive commodity, and the savings on ten pages on a print run of, for example, 500 copies were not inconsequential. Thus, to produce and sell more affordable books, Irish publishers eliminated all that could be eliminated. As the only publishers providing affordable editions of Burney's still popular novel, they were quite at liberty to save on expensive paper by removing Burney's prefatorial paratexts.

Interestingly, the eighteenth-century Irish *Evelinas* demonstrate several characteristics also present in its early American editions (all listed in Grau): low-paper quality, closely set type, narrow margins, absence of illustrations, the original title form, and abridged Burney's prefatorial paratext. There was a relative scarcity of new and popular books in the American colonies (and former colonies) at the end of the eighteenth and early in the nineteenth century, so any reprint of these works would sell, regardless of their quality and the presence or absence of any paratextual enhancements. Indeed, for both eighteenth-century Irish and American publishers, there was no pressing need to increase their products' attractiveness as their *Evelinas* were sold to a nearly captive market with few or no alternatives available in that price range and in their respective locations.

The publication of *Evelina* in 1778 marked the beginning of the end of a rather disreputable phase in the novel's history as a genre as Burney's book "legitimised the novel as an aesthetically and morally acceptable form" (Pearson 127). At the height of its popularity, from the final decades of the eighteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century, *Evelina* was frequently and widely published in English both in Great Britain and outside of its borders, in Ireland, in the United States, and on the continent. The knowledge of the full extent of the number and variety of English editions produced by Lowndes and his Irish counterparts, hereto unknown, enriches our understanding of the novel's publication history, demonstrating a fuller and more complex picture of its reach to the English-speaking reading public than previous bibliographical sources suggested, showing that a copy of *Evelina* could have indeed be seen by "every Butcher & Baker, Cobler & Tinker" of the time (*EJL* 3: 5).

NOTES

¹The current paper stemmed from a larger study of *Evelina*'s publication history from 1778 to the present, undertaken as a Ph.D. project. While its complete results are communicated in the thesis, *Evelina: A Life-Story of a Book, Told by Its Paratext*, and in a forthcoming book, this article reports in detail on one of the findings made in the course of the study, namely newly documented early English editions and Irish reprints of Burney's novel.

²It was established that in total, from 1778 to the present, there have been 171 *Evelinas* published in twelve languages and scripts (one hundred editions, sixty-eight reprints, and three dramatizations). Of them, seventy are not listed in Grau: forty-three editions, twenty-six reprints, and a dramatic adaptation in Dutch published 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 the seventy newly documented *Evelinas*, fifty-one fall within the bibliography's time range, while nineteen were published after 1981. Also, the existence of eight *Evelinas* listed in Grau was not confirmed. Lastly, of the twenty-seven existing translated *Evelinas*, only eleven were listed in Grau (seven French, two German [one full-text and one dramatic adaptation], one Dutch, and one Russian), while twelve were omitted, and four more published after 1981 (seven French editions, two in Spanish, one Dutch dramatization, and one of each English Braille, Danish, Italian, Polish, Romanian, and Swedish).

³For further information on Lowndes, see Cole, "Do You" 212-34; "Lowndes, Thomas"; Nichols 646-47; Raven 163; and Schürer 329-57.

⁴A special mention must be made here about the distinction of editions versus reprints of *Evelina*. Lowndes reissued Burney's novel four times, in what he termed four editions from 1778 to 1779. By contemporary bibliographical standards, if the second and the third of Lowndes's editions could be called editions, as the second edition has significant textual differences and the third one not only corrects some typos and misprints but also was issued under a considerably altered title, the fourth edition would be considered a reprint. However, as it is an established custom to refer to all of them as editions, this present paper follows that practice.

⁵See *Evelina* (1784).

⁶See Fowler 165-67.

⁷The images included in this article are reproduced from the copies held by and with the kind permission of McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections.

⁸The vignette for volume two was made after one of the water-color illustrations to *Evelina* by Burney's cousin Edward Burney.

⁹The bibliographical examination has shown that, in fact, in the 1791 edition the sentimental cameos did not replace the illustration depicting the violent episode with Madame Duval. The plate was retained in this edition and its subsequent reprints; it was bound not as a frontispiece but as an in-text illustration before page 174 of volume 1. In pre-industrial early editions, plates were often cut out to be sold as separate prints or were lost during rebinding, so the omission of the plate with Madame Duval in the copy of 1791 edition examined by Doerksen could have been accidental. Nonetheless, adding these sentimental cameos was doubtless a sign of the shift that continued in the later editions.

¹⁰Quoted from *Evelina* (1814).

¹¹Excellent overviews of the Irish book trade before the nineteenth century are offered in Cole, *Irish Booksellers* and Pollard. Useful sources on reprint and pirating practices of the second half of the eighteenth century are Feather, *History* 62-63; Feather, *Provincial Book Trade* 2-12; Lennon 74-88; and Rezek 28-30.

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