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Self-Inscription Formats of Eighteenth-Century England:

Commonplace and Extra-Illustrated Books

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction

Of the requirements for the degree Master of

Library and Information Science

by

Julie Park

2019

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Self-Inscription Formats of Eighteenth-Century England:

Commonplace and Extra-Illustrated Books

by

Julie Park

Master of Library and Information Science

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Anne J. Gilliland-Swetland, Co-Chair

Professor Jonathan Furner, Co-Chair

Throughout the letter press era of the eighteenth century, manuscript ("written by hand") writing encompassed other techniques besides inscribing words on paper with pen and ink. Visual images, printed lines of text, and the blades used for dismembering and recreating books worked together with handwriting to produce different forms of writing by hand. This thesis examines the history of writing as a practice of documenting and archiving the self using mixed media formats throughout the eighteenth century. Its main objects of study are extra-illustrated books and commonplace books, interactive book formats that their owners created or kept to manage personally significant information and records. Bringing the intermedial writing practices of Britain's long eighteenth century to light through these two formats offers a historical framework through which to read the novel self-inscription methods used in today's personal digital archiving systems, and other twenty-first century forms of electronically-mediated memory and identity.

The thesis of Julie Park is approved.

Kirstie M. McClure

Anne J. Gilliland-Swetland, Committee Co-Chair

Jonathan Furner, Committee Co-Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019

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The Dunscombe Colt Fellowship awarded by the Georgian Group and the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies provided funding for me to conduct research at the Bodleian Library and Ashmolean Museum for this project, which is also the basis of my next scholarly monograph. I am grateful for this award, and the month it allowed me to spend in Oxford, examining the Sutherland Collection of extra-illustrated books.

Introduction

This thesis examines the history of writing as a practice of documenting and archiving the self using mixed media formats in the long eighteenth century (ca. 1660-1830). It looks at commonplace books and extra-illustrated books as interactive book types that were widely created or kept during the eighteenth century to manage personally significant information and records. It shows that throughout this historical period, creative methods of inscription flourished, serving as paper-based systems for shaping and creating selfhood. Writing is as much an act of making new meaning through the use of diverse materials, media and formats as it is one of documenting ephemeral events. The thesis demonstrates that manuscript ("written by hand") writing in the letter-press era encompassed other techniques besides filling up blank pages with words. Visual images, hand-drawn or printed lines and text, and paper folds work together to produce different forms of writing by hand. Bringing such intermedial writing practices to light from the eighteenth century offers a historical framework through which to read the novel self-inscription methods used in today's personal digital archiving systems and other twenty-first century forms of electronically-mediated memory and identity. By understanding that writing encompasses techniques of making and generating meaning that fall outside of traditional methods, we may better understand the motivations that lead us to write in the first place.

In the long eighteenth century, such techniques as collecting and selecting engraved prints to paste into preexisting books, formatting lines to create spaces for "keeping" particular types of information, and choosing how to populate blank spaces in notebooks pre-formatted in print comprised different forms of writing by hand. Forms traditionally treated as separate—such as print and handwriting, word and image—functioned as mutually

constitutive writing media. In examining such media, this thesis demonstrates that daily information and archival management was practiced not just through diverse forms of writing, but also as a consequence, for literate subjects, of living. By information management I mean efforts to organize and preserve records that are meaningful as information for more immediate, targeted purposes, and by archival management I mean efforts to organize and preserve records that are viewed as having more enduring value. Although archival theory has established that archives are "by-products of life" and its bureaucratic or human activities, the category of "life" and the specific nature of its relationship to the material forms that document and channel it have remained unquestioned and warrant further examination.

Building on anthropologist Tim Ingold's view that "mind and world" are bound "in an ongoing movement" that is "nothing less than life itself" which in turn "give[s] rise to the forms we see," this thesis situates writing as a historical practice of form that both records and communicates the state of being alive. For Ingold, "a written text, a painting or drawing, or a walk in the landscape...converge on a still more fundamental insight...[they] are but outward, sensible forms that give shape to the inner generative impulse that is life." Recognizing, after Ingold, that writing is but one of many activities that mediate the impulse to render immaterial entities into material, visible forms, the thesis investigates its function not just as a creative practice, but also as an archival one. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, I will argue, different writing formats registered the notion that writing was at once a method of "recording and making," and of "recording and making marks," to use Carolyn Steedman's definition for "the widest meaning of writing."[1] If writing channels life and its vital urges, it also preserves it by making records of it through various acts of mark-making. Eighteenth-century subjects embraced different media and formats for making the marks of being alive,

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[1] Carolyn Steedman, *Dust* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002) 5.

produced with the knowledge they would endure even in the absence of the life that created them.

Archives and writing are entangled with each other as vehicles of memory, creativity and information. They are also inextricable from the visual and the material worlds. At a basic level writing is an archival practice, for it ineluctably creates a record of an event, including mental ones, such as the formations of thoughts and ideas. The earliest forms of writing, or "proto-writing," were aids to memory, as in ancient Incan quipus and the Fertile Crescent's clay calculators for counting sheep from seven thousand years ago.[2] As repositories for "collecting traces of the past," archives bring form and information into intersection with each other.[3] Books that entail inscriptions by hand to complete or make them, such as commonplace books and extra-illustrated volumes, reveal that repositories can be understood as including not just institutional and architectural spaces, but artifactual and psychological ones as well. As I investigate where form intersects with information in each type of book repository, some of the personal and cultural stories that brought them into being will emerge. The blank notebooks, pre-formatted diaries and published books in which eighteenth-century subjects wrote, filled in and pasted their ideas, experiences and personal collections of engravings functioned ultimately as archives of individual memory

By considering writing as multimedia forms of inscribing the self, this thesis expands and reframes the central issues in Sue McKemmish's "Evidence of Me," her groundbreaking study of personal recordkeeping.[4] For McKemmish, "recordkeeping is a kind

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[2] Pierre Chaunu, foreword to *The History and Power of Writing*, Henri-Jean Martin, tr. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

[3] Steedman, 4.

[4] Sue McKemmish, "Evidence of Me…" *Archives and Manuscripts* 24:1 (1997): 37-44.

of witnessing and memory making, a particular way of evidencing and memorialising our individual and collective lives—'our existence, our activities and experiences, our relationships with others, our identity, our 'place' in the world."[5] Writing against the grain of received notions that binarize institutional and personal archives, she sees them as being on the same recordkeeping continuum insofar as both types of archives yield evidence. In doing so, she allows for a conception of archival recordkeeping that views it as a function of constructing individual identities. This thesis departs from McKemmish by pursuing the core relationships between archives, individual identity and recordkeeping through the different historical writing formats—emphasizing their material and graphic elements—that engendered them.

Chapter 1 explores commonplace books as storehouses for memories and information as well that are created out of blank notebooks. The prompt for this chapter was an early nineteenth-century commonplace book of three volumes belonging to Anthony Hedley, a clergyman with a keen interest in natural history and philology.[6] Hedley's notebooks are filled with elaborate hand-drawn tables designed to manage various bodies of information, from taxonomies of different animal species to the names of parish members to whom he had given bibles. They are also filled with correspondence. Notebooks such as Hedley's demonstrate how the commonplace book, like the extra-illustrated book, is a malleable writing format that was embraced in the long eighteenth century for its ability to store information, make memory and shape selfhood. At the same time that they store information, commonplace books are truly archival forms, for they are created over a long, undefined period of time, with

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[5] McKemmish, "Evidence of Me...In a Digital World," in *I Digital: Personal Collections in the Digital Era*, ed. Cal Lee (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2011): 117-147; 118.

[6] Anthony Hedley, Commonplace books, 3 vols (1808-1834). UCLA Charles E. Young Research Library, MS*170/452.

entries made according to the provocations of a particular moment. Information design played roles in the creation of commonplace books as managers and preservers of memory and the records of daily life. Commonplace books straddle the categorical boundary between records as information and records as archives that divide the different fields of library and information studies. This is to say, while the records of commonplace books served as sources of practical information for their owner during their lifetime, they also hold lasting archival value as records of the past.

Because it was created out of blank notebooks, the commonplace book offered more freedom for its owner to create a note-taking and making system that suited his or her specific needs, depending on how he or she used and organized its spaces. In this way, commonplace books are creations of individual design and call upon writers to be designers as well as scribes and writers. Innovators of the commonplace form such as the philosopher John Locke devised a widely-used index making system that allowed for fast retrieval of recorded information, thus ensuring that whatever was recorded could play an active role in enhancing the experience of daily life. Even as it makes reference to Locke's writings as a philosopher, and relates his ideas about commonplacing to his notions about the empirical mind, this chapter is concerned above all with understanding and revealing the significance of his "new method of making common- place-books," to use the language of his manual's title. To do so is to uncover the still underacknowledged significance of his contribution not just to memory studies, but also to information and design studies.

Whereas scholars such as Richard Yeo and Lucia Dacome have focused on the cultural attitudes toward memory and mental life that attended the practice of early modern notebook keeping, this chapter examines the critical role that information design played in the creation of commonplace books as managers and preservers of memory and the records of

daily life. Chapter one considers the design and layout of commonplace books, especially their grid formats, as a way to shed light on the way material forms negotiated the tension between commonplace books as information and as records (and thus between library and archival understandings) historically. I argue that that the grid's function of imposing order through line-making in the case of Locke's commonplace book design gives greater freedom of expression and engagement with life to the individual who makes and keeps records of her life. This argument departs from such interpretations of the grid as media theorist Bernhard Siegert's, which emphasize its political and colonial function of objectifying and subjugating entities that are placed into its framework.

The impulse to take apart a published book and interleave its preexisting pages with new ones to better suit one's notion of what will make the book more "complete" surfaces in the contemporary practice of extra-illustrating or "grangerising" books. Inviting book owners to leave visual markings in their own books, extra-illustrating books entailed supplementing printed pages with engraved illustrations that came from the extra-illustrator's own collection, or taken out of other books. Chapter two examines the extra-illustrated book as a means for rewriting printed words with pictures and in doing so, archiving the self through preserving one's interpretation of a given text with a personal collection of prints. The "choice engravings" that were selected document the book owner/maker's mental world, taste, and visual vocabulary. The chapter explores how extra-illustrated books function both as personal archives and as a multi-media mode of writing through integrating two forms of print: printed text with visual prints. It argues that the manipulation and re-arrangement of both forms of print produce a method of writing by hand that facilitates the deep inscription of the self in books written by others.

While extra-illustrated books bear similarities with scrapbooks, the critical distinction between them lies in the fact that scrapbooks do not attempt to disguise that their contents are super-imposed on their pages. Extra-illustrated books, on the other hand, assiduously hide their points of supplementation. Furthermore, scrapbooks are created out of blank books rather than those already filled with printed text. These distinctions are critical because they suggest the ways in which extra-illustration is a deeply revisionary practice: a book owner is in effect revising the very meaning of someone else's printed text through adding visual features to it, supplied by the resources of a personal print collection. Concurrently, the extra-illustrated book provided a space for displaying, housing and preserving print collections. In other words, extra-illustrated bookmakers modified lines of text provided by printed books to create personal archival spaces while at the same time producing visual narratives through them. A new form of writing was produced with the act of cutting up paper and pasting in engraved images. As such, a set of different techniques and objectives distinguished extra-illustration from putting pen to paper, which had its own elements of craftsmanship and was also situated in the visual culture of the early modern period.[7]

A particular focus of the chapter on extra-illustrated books is their relationship to antiquarianism and the work of cultural heritage. This chapter section will be appearing as an entry in a handbook on reenactment studies. In it, I evaluate eighteenth-century definitions of heritage and its significance as cultural remains of the past to antiquarians, whose books touring local sites where these remains could be found were often extra-illustrated. One extra-illustrated antiquarian tour book, Andrew Coltee Ducarel's *Anglo-Norman Antiquities* (1767), is

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[7] The writing models in penmanship guides were in fact images drawn—rather than "written"—by engravers. See Aileen Douglas, *Work in Hand* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017) and Julie Park, "Feather, Flourish and Flow: the Organic Technology of Eighteenth-Century Writing" in *Organic Supplements*, ed. Julie Park and Miriam Jacobson (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, forthcoming 2020).

the object of analysis in this chapter section. Even as antiquarian tour books included ample illustrations, they frequently became substrates for extra-illustration, suggesting the act of extra-illustration allows the book owner to rewrite cultural memory by providing her or his own visual version of it. The owner of Ducarel's book contributed further to the word and image systems of his illustrated book by adding extra illustrations to it, thus continuing the lines of cultural inheritance it creates while at the same time reenacting heritage.

Chapter 2 contributes to extant criticism by providing an archival perspective to extra-illustrated books, placing emphasis on the materiality of a practice that renders the act of remaking books simultaneous with the act of remaking cultural memory. It also examines the grounds on which one can claim the activity constitutes a form of writing if, as other scholars claim, it is an act of co-authoring a work that has already been published. Scholars also underscore extra-illustration as a method and record of reading. In contrast, I posit that extra-illustration is as much a practice of re-writing as it is of reading and annotating a printed book. Following the principles of the text that generated the activity, James Granger's *Biographical History of England*, extra-illustration presents a new form of literacy that combines visual images with textual inscriptions to reorganize and reenact historical narratives. I explore how the technique of making windows out of paper for prints that are to be interleaved into books serves as a material and formal basis of rewriting historical narrative from the perspective of the extra-illustrator. In effect, extra-illustration constitutes perspective itself with the material design of paper.

Taken together, the two essays that make up this thesis look at two different collection and recordkeeping formats that attempt to impose order on and preserve the materials of life while shaping and forming the self. These are endeavors that persist as necessary ones today, as the many digital programs, apps and social media sites that offer to do the same, such as

Evernote, Pinterest, Tumblr, Flickr, Omeka and others, suggest. By positioning

commonplacing and extra-illustrating as inscription and writing practices, and not just

collecting ones, I offer a historical background for the new forms of "life writing" that have

been emerging and are being used in today's culture. These contemporary forms also rely on

graphic and visual forms of literacy, from the use of emojis to the constant annotation and

reframing of previously published images that take place with retweets.[8]

      Different archival theorists maintain that the status of personal archives is an

especially vital one in the context of the internet and digital media. Richard Cox points out

that with the internet, "a new space for mounting or displaying personal archives, such as

blogging and personal photography galleries" has been opened.[9] Sue McKemmish claims that

the digital information environment allows records to be situated in "multiple or parallel

contexts" and "perform multiple roles" such as "the song as performance and oral record; the

diary as record and publication; a building as part of a historic site and part of an archive;

government records as part of personal, community, and public archives; a cave painting as

art and archive."[10] Yet, the early writing formats in this study held generic identities and

purposes that were just as multivalent and also capable of being situated in different contexts

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[8] See rhetoric and composition scholar Andrea Lunsford's work on the new forms of literacy being practices amongst undergraduates today for the Stanford Study of Writing Project: https://ssw.stanford.edu/. See also Cynthia Haven, "The New Literacy: Stanford Study Finds Richness and Complexity in Students'Writing," Stanford News. https://news.stanford.edu/news/2009/october12/lunsford-writing-research-101209.html (Accessed May 6, 2019) and Thessaly La Force, "A New Literacy?" *The New Yorker* September 1, 2009. https://www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/a-new-literacy (Accessed May 6, 2019). For studies of graphical forms of information and their prevalence in contemporary life, see Edward Tufte, *The Visual Display of Quantitative Information* (Cheshire, CT: Graphics Press, 1983) and Johanna Drucker, *Graphesis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014).

[9] Richard Cox, *Personal Archives and a New Archival Calling*.

[10] McKemmish, "Evidence of Me...In a Digital World," 127.

as well. Nevertheless both Cox's and McKemmish's points help us consider how commonplace book keepers and extra-illustrators of the long eighteenth century might use today's digital technologies for similar record- and self-making purposes.

Such considerations allow us to trace a historical continuum between distinct forms of personal archival and information management across different centuries. The inventive writing techniques associated with the digital age were already features of an age in which print was a newly widespread technology, and paper was still the reigning substrate for inscription, communication and documentation. Writing as a multi-media practice that enables different mediations of individual selfhood in the course of one's life has a history. Just as we rely on digital technology today and its many formats for making meaning out of who we are and the way we live, so too did eighteenth-century subjects rely on their paper books, notebooks and print collections.

The ultimate destination I have in mind for this thesis is a book on the history of writing and self-inscription as a practice of life and living. In doing so, it will redefine the genre of writing known as "life writing," which has traditionally encompassed letters, diaries, memoirs and autobiographies. Other chapters in this project will be devoted to two other formats that were used for inscribing the self during the eighteenth century: pocket diaries and penmanship copybooks. These inscription formats, similar to commonplace and extra-illustrated books, channel the generative and creative impulse of life through the different forms of inscription they mediate. In addition to the section from chapter 2 of the thesis that is appearing in an edited collection, a version of the penmanship copybook chapter from this book project, centering on the organicism and materiality of eighteenth-century handwriting, will be published as an essay in a forthcoming collection I have co-edited.[11] My preliminary

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[11] Park, *Organic Supplements*.

ideas about pocket diaries have been set forth in a blog post I wrote for the Folger

Shakespeare Library as a long-term fellow in 2015.[12] I plan to continue my research of pocket

diaries in the Lancashire Archives as well as the National Library of Scotland and the National

Archives of Scotland as a visiting research fellow next summer at the Institute for Advanced

Studies in the Humanities at the University of Edinburgh.

I have seen more commonplace and extra-illustrated books than I could refer to or

discuss in this thesis. The repositories I visited and used for the project include the Special

Collections of the University of Edinburgh Library, the National Library of Scotland, the

Folger Shakespeare Library, Manchester Metropolitan University Library Special Collections,

the John Rylands Library, the Ashmolean Museum and the Bodleian Library. For my research

at the Ashmolean and the Bodleian last summer, I was awarded a Dunscombe Colt

Fellowship. This award specifically supports the study of material culture and architecture in

the long eighteenth century and is offered by the Georgian Group and the British Society for

Eighteenth-Century Studies. Locally, I used Library Special Collections of the Charles E.

Young Research Library of UCLA, the Louise M. Darling Biomedical Library History and

Special Collections, the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library and the Huntington

Library. I chose to write on extra-illustrated books and commonplace books for this thesis

because I wished to take advantage of local collections' rich holdings in these areas.

In exploring the interplay of print, engravings, lines and paper in commonplace

notebooks and extra-illustrated books, this thesis hopes to shed light on how personal

archival practice is embedded in everyday acts of self-preservation and self-creation that

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[12] Park, "Interiority and Jane Porter's Pocket Diary," The Collation. https://collation.folger.edu/2014/07/interiority-and-jane-porters-pocket-diary/ (Accessed May 6, 2019).

extend from the past to the way we live now. The historical and conceptual relationships between form, format and information, and their roles in mediating selfhood and memory warrant further examination. Analyzing different book-making and book-keeping forms as archival spaces of material design and visual rhetoric contributes towards revising histories of the modern self. Until recently, archivists have tended to view archives as belonging primarily to institutions. On the other hand, humanities scholars have traditionally used archives for the factual information they yield, or as illustrations for a greater argument. Ultimately, this thesis hopes to make a dual contribution—to humanities scholarship and to archival studies, thus creating a bridge between disciplines that have long shared mutual concepts and concerns, but still need to be brought into more direct and sustained relationship to each other.

Chapter 1. Commonplace Books: Making Lines and Indexes for Life

The commonplace book is a type of notebook in which excerpts from textual sources and other forms of information are copied, collected and stored. Organized according to theme, the excerpts are compiled during the course of the notebook owner's daily life. This practice of compilation originates from ancient Greek and Roman theories of commonplaces, a series of passages used to form a logical and rhetorical argument, and include sententiae, or pithy and wise sayings.[13] In the Middle Ages, collections of extracts from theological texts were known as florilegia (gathering of flowers), a name that suggests the organic quality of their formation. In the Renaissance, commonplace books were used by humanists as a means for reviving, studying and memorizing selections from ancient Greek and Latin literature.[14] Subsequent periods, from the seventeenth century onwards, saw a shift in commonplace book function whereby they were used as proxies for memory as opposed to prompts and aids for it.[15] Furthermore, they stored more mundane information encountered in daily activities, transactions and experiences, including contemporary literature passages, recipes, medicines and natural history tables. The commonplace book, especially in its more modern guise as a memory surrogate, allowed the paper notebook to become personal information storage systems that long predate the age of laptop computers, smart phones and spreadsheets.

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[13] See David Allan, *Commonplace Books and Reading in Georgian England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 35-38.

[14] See Ann Blair, "Humanist Methods in Natural Philosophy, The Commonplace Book," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53:4 (1992): 541-551.

[15] Richard Yeo, "Notebooks as Memory Aids: Precepts and Practices in Early Modern England," *Memory Studies* 1:1 (2008): 115-136.

The different formats that commonplace book owners used to organize and store information and their ideas demonstrate the creativity with which paper notebooks could be used to create portable repositories for personally meaningful information. Such self-devised design tools as the index in particular demonstrate how commonplace books call upon their owners to be their own information system designers, as well as writers, and not just readers and compilers. Whereas traditional understandings of commonplacing view it strictly as a reading practice, it in fact constitutes a form of writing.[16] That is to say, commonplacing generates and creates new meaning and ideas in the very acts of recordkeeping it performs. In its function of providing storage space for information and memory making in the course of day to day life, the commonplace book served as a versatile and innovative inscription format in the long eighteenth century.

Mark Making and Memory Formation

Eighteenth-century writers embraced the commonplace book as a vehicle for making the marks of being alive, and in doing so, making the passage through life a smoother one by making easier the recovery of memories. John Schenck, who in 1816 kept a commonplace book of the knowledge he acquired while at Columbia Medical School, articulated this notion of the relationship between writing as a record of life on one hand, and the demands that life presents for accessing those records on the other. He does so in recording his teacher's explanation for commonplacing's virtues: "What we write will make a strong impression upon the memory & may afterwards be referred to with advantage. Every physician should keep a commonplace book, in which he can note down any valuab[le] thought that occurs or any

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[16] See for instance Blair, who calls commonplacing a "method of reading," 541.

important facts he may meet with in practice."[17] Jean Le Clerc, in his commentary on John

Lock's commonplacing method, illuminates the broader relationship between one's ability to

store and access information through commonplacing, and one's impact in the world when he

observes: "some who otherwise were men of most extraordinary parts, by the neglect of these

things have committed great errors, which if they had been so happy as to have avoided, they

would have been much more serviceable to the learned world, and so consequently to

mankind."[18]

The notion that commonplacing played a critical role in the cultivation of the early

modern self is reinforced when considering that Locke, the most influential developers of

commonplacing technique, also propounded the view that the mind, including consciousness

and its faculty of memory, served as the locus of selfhood and personal identity.[19] The

following excerpt from Locke's *Essay* illustrates this idea:

> For since consciousness always accompanies thinking, and 'tis that, that makes
>
> every one to be, what he calls self; and thereby distinguishes himself from all
>
> other thinking things, in this alone consists personal identity, i.e.the sameness
>
> of a rational Being: And as far as this consciousness can be extended backwards

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[17] John P. Schenck, Notes of lectures upon the theory & practice of physic & obstetrics & the diseases of women & children/ Dr. Hosack, lecturer; New York 6th Nov. 1816 by John P. Schenck, 263 Wm. Street, New York, 1816-1817, Biomed History and Special Collections, UCLA, Ms. Coll. No. 382, v. 1.

[18] Jean Le Clerc, "Monsieur le Clerc's Character of Mr. Lock's Method, with his Advice About the Use of Common-places" in Locke, *A New Method of Making Common-Place-Books*, translated from the French (London: J. Greenwood, 1706), v. Clark Library Rare Books Stacks PR 3541.L57 N5.

[19] See Dacome, 605-606. For operative passages on the coterminous relationship between personal identity, consciousness and memory, see John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Peter H. Nidditch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 328-348.

to any past Action or Thought, so far reaches the Identity of that Person; it is

the same self now it was then; and 'tis by the same self with this present one

that now reflects on it, that the Action was done.[20]

Insofar as early commonplace books both facilitated and preserved personal memory, engendering the "sameness" and consistency of consciousness that Locke finds so critical, they functioned as physical repositories for the mind as well as the self. In doing so, they enacted the coextension between human mind and material artifact that philosopher Andy Clark has conceptualized in his notion of "the extended mind."[21] This is to say that the manner in which the commonplace book's contents were organized in turn organized the life and mind of the self that owned the book, creating a deep continuity between material design, perception, behavior and personal identity.

Storage Space

The organization that sustains the connections between these elements requires space as its medium. As Lucia Dacome puts it, commonplace books "instantiated a special relationship between the accumulation of knowledge and the organization of space."[22] Indeed, the "relationship between knowledge and space, the storing of information and its retrieval" have been features of commonplacing since the ancients.[23] The forms that such space take are as conceptual as they are material, which the word itself "common*place*" suggests (emphasis

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[20] Locke, *Essay*, 335.

[21] Andy Clark, *Natural-Born Cyborgs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

[22] Dacome, 604.

[23] Dacome, 610.

mine). Etymology indicates the same: the Latin *loci communes* derives from the Greek *koinoì topoi*. Scholar of European literature Ernst Robert Curtius defines the commonplace in the classical rhetorical tradition as a rhetorical tool for the acts of persuasion that are the core of oratory: "Essentially every oration (including panegyrics) must make some proposition or thing plausible. It must adduce in its favor arguments which address themselves to the hearer's mind or heart." [24] Commonplaces or topoi are "a whole series of such arguments, which can be used on the most diverse occasions. They are intellectual themes, suitable for development and modification at the orator's pleasure."[25] Echoing Quintilian's conception of *topoi* as "storehouses of trains of thought," Curtius viewed the commonplace as a "stockroom" that held "ideas of the most general sort—such as could be employed in every kind of oratory and writing."[26] Examples of commonplaces or topoi that might help an orator make his case or ply "the craft of speech" that is rhetoric were formulas of various kinds, such as "formulas of modesty, introductory formulas, concluding formulas," and topics of such rhetorical genres as consolatory oratory.[27]

As a book genre, the commonplace found a material structure for its conceptual function as a compilation of diverse pieces of information. The variety of subject matter and formats of manuscript commonplace books has made it difficult to form a precise definition of

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[24] Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), 70. See Erkki Huhtamo,"'An Almost Superhuman Task': E.R. Curtius and Topos Study" in the unpublished book manuscript, *How to Dismantle a Fairy Engine*.

[25] Curtius, 70.

[26] Curtius, 70, 79.

[27] Curtius, 79-80

the commonplace book.[28] At the same time such elasticity of definition and diversity of materials and compilation methods place the commonplace book in a lineage of other text- and book-based collections. Earle Havens notes that these are:

> album, almanac, anatomy, annal, annual, anthology, atlas, bestiary, bibliography, catalogue, chronicle, commentary, compendium, concordance, conspectus, diary, digest, encyclopedia, epitome, florilegium, gloss, jest book, letter book, lexicon, memoir, memorandum book, miscellany, notebook, omnibus, paraphrase, précis, rhapsody, scrapbook, *speculum* ("mirror"), syllabus, *sylva* ("forest"), synopsis, table book, *theatrum* ("theater"), thesaurus ("treasure chest"), *vade mecum* ("go with me"), variorum.

Making the manuscript commonplace book distinct from many of the book genres in this list is the fact that it was compiled "by individuals for private use" in the moment of their encounters with given texts or pieces of information they have "heard or otherwise come to the Notice of," as Richard Comleholm Bury put it in his commonplace book of 1681-83.[29] They are as much "bibliographical diaries," to use Havens's terminology and as such, a form of self-writing, for they are structured according to the "mental habits and intellectual interests of its compiler" at a particular point in time.[30] If concepts of space inhere in commonplaces, commonplace books capture the experience of the world itself as a space, for they constitute a

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[28] Earle Havens, *Commonplace Books* (New Haven: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 2001), 65.

[29] Richard Cromleholm Bury, Commonplace book, written about 1682-83, Beinecke Library, p. 5 reprinted in Havens, 64.

[30] Havens, 72, 65.

"'map' of a different universe of reading, occupied by the individual compiler within his historical moment."[31]

The classical concept of the commonplace as a storage space did not find its material realization only in the codex. The storage capacities of space were also found in the affordances of the paper sheet. The ability to make decisions about how to organize space on the page, to register even that the disposition and organization of information can turn the two-dimensional properties of paper into storage and retrieval spaces whose organization makes sense for its owner, are what render commonplace books products of individual design. Such exertion of individual creativity in spatial design can be seen in examples of commonplace books from the long eighteenth century, including in Locke's method and those based on it.

Locke's New Method of Making

Locke's system of indexing commonplace book entries was originally published in French in 1685 under the name "*Méthode nouvelle de dresser des recueils*" in Jean Le Clerc's *Bibliothèque Universelle*. It was translated into English in Le Clerc's *Observations* (London, 1697) and again, posthumously, as *A New Method of Making Common-Place-Books…* (London, 1706). Locke, a philosopher as well as a physician, was a prolific notetaker and notebook keeper. He tended to keep notes of medical and natural philosophy topics more than the traditional commonplace materials of classical and literary sources written by others.[32] For this reason his indexing method appears especially amenable to commonplace information about medicine and the

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[31] Havens, 65.

[32] Michael Stolberg, "John Locke's 'New Method of Making Common-Place-Books,': Tradition, Innovation and Epistemic Effects," *Early Science and Medicine* 19 (2014): 448-470; 450.

relatively modern subject of natural philosophy, giving the first-person, direct observations that often attended their study and practice a conveniently accessible home. As opposed to transcribing passages in order to memorize the received wisdom of long-dead authors, the commonplacer was by this point—in step with the new epistemology of empiricism inaugurated by Locke himself—noting the phenomena and information of her or his lived experiences as sources not so much for memorization, but for practical use. The affordances of Locke's indexing system, permitting a fluid and highly experiential approach to identifying and acquiring information, ensured this would be possible.

Rather than using heads that were created before compiling information—traditionally they might have been "Memoria," "Eloquentia," "Anima" and "Methodus"—Locke's system relied on an alphabetical ordering scheme that allowed heads to be created according to characteristics of the sources themselves as they were encountered.[33] With each letter of the alphabet, further ordering of such heads was granted by creating a place for any of them designated by the letter's pairing with a vowel—a, e, i, o, u—again, arranged alphabetically. The alphabetical assignments were made on a two-page index arranged by columns and lines that created a grid pattern (fig. 1.1). Its placement at the front of the book indicated its purpose as a spatial guide that functions much like an archival finding aid, insofar as it serves as a map—encoded by letters and numbers, as illustrated in Locke's own commonplace book index—for the user's movement through the information collected and stored across the many pages following it (fig. 1.2). In order to connect these pages with the information in the index, the pages were numbered. That this was an innovative step is made evident in the fact that other cross referenced compendia with index systems that appeared in print shortly after Locke's commonplace book making system was published did not. John

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[33] Allan, 51.

Harris's *Lexicon* (1704) and Chambers's *Cyclopaedia* (1728), for instance, were organized alphabetically by heads, but not page numbers.[34] For Locke, the goal of the index was efficiency. Even when the number in the index does not match exactly the resulting page on which the information item or excerpt falls, "it is much better to find out the passage within some few pages of the place, than to be at the trouble of turning over the whole book to find it, as you must do if the book has no index or where the index is not very correct."[35]

When ascribing to the traditional notion of what a commonplace book is—a continually emergent compendium of excerpts from the writings of others—it appears immediately to represent a form of what Patrick Wilson calls "bibliographical control."[36] As Wilson explains, control is a natural function of organization and yet they are distinct from each other. While organization is "a structural notion," control is "a functional notion." Furthermore, whereas "organization is something that things have or are given, control is something we have or wield over things." Even though in theory they are different, "in practice" it is impossible to talk about one without talking about the other, for it is by exploiting its organization that one has control over something.[37]

Likewise, commonplacers, in practice, exercise control over information that is personally relevant to them by organizing it. In doing so they exert, as suggested earlier, a form of control over their own lives that mediates at the same time their relationship to the

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[34] Alan Walker, "Indexing Commonplace Books: John Locke's Method," *The Indexer* 22:3 (April 2001): 114-118; 116.

[35] Locke, "Mr. Lock's Letter to Monsieur Toinard, containing a New and Easie Method of making Common-Place Books, an exact Index of which may be made in Two Pages" in *A New Method of Making Common-Place-Books*, 12.

[36] Patrick Wilson, *Two Kinds of Power* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 3.

[37] Wilson, 3.

world. Without such organization, not only would control be lost, but so would access. And without access, how might commonplacers ultimately benefit from the information they worked to inscribe in their notebooks in the first place? Le Clerc, registers this predicament when commenting on the need to be able to "find...without any trouble" what we need when "we extract any thing out of an author which is like to be of future use."[38] Indicating the extent to which the commonplace book's function of memory storage and retrieval was integrated in the flow of everyday life, Le Clerc compares information impossible to retrieve and apply with the uselessness of "a great deal of household-stuff."[39] So frustrating is the scenario, he invokes an old proverb: "that is the truest poverty, when if you have occasion for any thing, you can't use it, because you know not where 'tis laid."[40] Such remarks underscore the extent to which the value and meaning of information are personal and everyday matters whose effectiveness is contingent on its organization. And yet the question of organizational efficacy is a personal one as well.

Wilson sheds light on the highly subjective nature of assessing a bibliographical instrument's usefulness of organization and conduciveness to having bibliographical control when he comments:

> ...impersonal criteria cannot be counted on to reveal what is of supreme
> importance for any individual. There is nothing surprising in this: unless the
> work of indexing is done not only for me but on the basis of an intimate
> knowledge of my interests and requirements, the work cannot be guaranteed to

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[38] Le Clerc, ii.

[39] Le Clerc, ii.

[40] Le Clerc, ii.

identify what is important to me. No matter how intelligible the work, how clear the sense of its positions, and how well made, how reliable or trustworthy in the application of its chosen criteria, unless those criteria reflect my interests and requirements, the result cannot be guaranteed to pick out what is of greatest importance to me.[41]

Thus, indexing, while seeming to be an objective tool for providing access to a work, is essentially an act of "picking out" what is important. No such tool can be impartial. At the same time it can only be useful when applying criteria that are specific to an individual's needs and concerns.

No other book form demonstrates the fundamentally subjective aspect of indexing more than the commonplace book. Locke indicates the bespoke nature of his commonplace book method when revealing it was originally intended for his private use in his letter to Toinard. Demurely, he explains that in sharing the method with others "the Respect which One ought to have for the Public, would not suffer [him] to present it with an invention of so small an importance."[42] Referring to it as a method that originally spread by word of mouth amongst Toinard and his friends—who "found it very useful after a trial of several years"—he celebrates the impact it had on his own life: "It is needless for me here to relate what profit I my self have reap'd by the use of it for above twenty years."[43] If the usefulness of commonplace books depended on effective design, then a critical component of their organization—and indicator of their status as products of creativity—was the index.

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[41] Wilson, 101.

[42]Locke, "Mr. Lock's Letter," 2.

[43] Locke, "Mr. Lock's Letter," 3.

Index and Grid

Locke's instructions and account of how he makes his index underscore what is often

overlooked when regarding its reproduction in print: the index was originally created by

hand. While template versions of Locke's commonplace book design were produced by

commercial printers throughout the Georgian period, the index as it was originally conceived

by Locke was clearly a product of making, to echo the word used in the title of his guide:

> I take a white paper book of what size I think fit, I divide the two first
>
> pages which face one another, by parallel lines, into five and twenty equal
>
> parts, with black lead; after that, I cut them perpendicularly by other lines,
>
> which I draw from the top of the page to the bottom, as you may see in the table
>
> or index, which I have put before this writing. Afterwards I mark with ink every
>
> fifth line of the twenty first that I just now spoke of.
>
> [The other lines are made with red lead, but for conveniency one may
>
> make them with black lead, which is better for ruse than red lead.]

The above, in describing how Locke's index entailed drawing and marking lines in different

ink and lead colors in white paper books of different sizes, reveals the materiality of its

making. In other words, the excerpt shows how Locke used physical materials to respond to

the practical problem of relating the contents of mental life to the exigencies of external

circumstances at short notice, the ideal purpose of commonplace books. Locke's index making

embodies the creativity that Ingold associates with writing as an "inscriptive work of the

hand." For Ingold, such work involves an act of making that "works things out as it goes along"

while "intervening in the fields of force and flows of material wherein the forms of things arise

and are sustained." What results is an activity that "bind[s] mind and world in an ongoing

movement" that is "nothing less than life itself."[44]

Such a notion appears to go against the grid format of Locke's index, which presents a

modern appearance of graphic uniformity and rigidity. For media theorist Bernhard Siegert,

the grid is foremost a "cultural technique" whose "salient feature is its ability to merge

operations geared toward representing humans and things with those of government."[45] As

such, it is an "imaging technology" that projects—much like maps—"a three-dimensional

world onto a two dimensional plane."[46] The things of that world are *placed* into paper

inscribed coordinates created by series of lines intersecting repeatedly at vertical and

horizontal axial points. These coordinates comprise both the grid pattern and the "cells" in

which things as data/data as things can be stored. Hence, grids are graphic representational

systems that share a deep alliance with commonplaces and commonplace books in that they

are equally concerned with space and the act of putting things *into* their place. In doing so,

they yoke order with place.

Supporting this view is the fact that grids were historically a key feature in Spanish

maps of Middle and South American cities during the early modern era. In doing so grids

constituted an act of space writing—*topo*graphy—as a fulfillment of colonial aims. Siegert

points out that in the founding of Lima in 1535, for instance, its map was simultaneously a

"plan, register, and cadaster."[47] Organizing the city by plots of land according to a grid layout,

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[44] Tim Ingold, *Being Alive* (London: Routledge, 2011), 178.

[45] Bernhard Siegert, *Cultural Techniques* tr. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015), 97.

[46] Siegert, 98.

[47] Siegert, 107.

the plan was at once a visual representation of spatial design, inventory of inhabitants and ledger of real estate. Embodying what architectural theorist Robin Evans calls the "projective cast," the colonial plan, much like architectural the plan, depicts a space whose realization can only be found in the future.[48] Moreover, by "writing empty spaces" or observing "the ability to literally research a space for the unknown," the grid plotted not a real settlement, but a fictional one. The grid, in other words, served as a storage space for data that was unknown. In doing so, it turned persons "into data that can be stored for subsequent retrieval. It is along such lines that the grid facilitates "early modern colonial governmentality" by working "to objectify and subjugate" the "persons or things" that they put "in their place." In such acts, the grid makes manifest Heidegger's understanding of the term *"repraesentare."*[49] Accordingly, the grid helps form a "history of representation" that includes techniques of "facilitating the efficient manipulation of data" as well as "a history of the different modes by which…human beings are made into subjects."[50]

Siegert's view of the grid's capacity for forming subjects is clearly pitched towards subject formation as a process of subjugation. At the same time, the grid's ability to provide a location—or place—for entities creates identities for them. Making items identifiable by placing them in its spatial order, the grid not only creates identifiable spaces, but also, identifiable objects. This is a notion that derives from Leon Battista Alberti's grid technique in *De pictura* (1435), which decrees "[only] that which occupies its place is a representable

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[48] Robin Evans, *The Projective Cast: Architecture and Its Three Geometries* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995).

[49] Siegert, 103.

[50] Siegert, 98.

object."[51] One might infer that by being representable at all, an object achieves subject status. Yet, within the framework of a grid, subjecthood becomes inexorably an objectified condition.

Despite Siegert's approximations of the grid as an agent for bureaucratic restriction and domination, Locke's creation and use of the grid for his commonplace book index participate in the fluid and generative qualities of life. When viewed as an agent for governing the self rather than others—its essential purpose in commonplace books--the grid takes on a different cast. It does not so much impede the flow of life as facilitate it. By offering a methodical means for managing one's thoughts and the passage of one's consciousness so that they are retained and kept "at hand" for the future, the commonplace book is a source of self-sovereignty. One's mind and its contents, as Locke famously put it, are one's property. As such, they comprise both one's storehouse and sheet of white paper.[52] The view of the relationship between human understanding and the estate of one's mind as a condition of sovereign personhood arises when he refers to "this little World" of a human subject's "own Understanding," or nothing less than "the Dominion of Man."[53] Furthermore, as he declares in *Two Treatises of Government*, "every man has a property in his own person."[54]

In the case of commonplace books, self-government is directed mostly towards the management and retention of one's memory. Richard Cromhleholm Bury, in his

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[51] Siegert, 100.

[52] He writes "Let us then suppose the Mind to be, as we say, white Paper, void of all Characters, without any Ideas; How comes it to be furnished? Whence comes it by that vast store, which the busy and boundless Fancy of Man has painted on it, with an almost endless variety?" See Locke, *Essay*, 104. The idea of a "boundless" fancy resonates with the commonplacing project of offering a "binding" for it.

[53] Locke, *Essay*, 120.

[54] Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* and *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. Ian Shapiro (1689; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 111.

commonplace book of 1681-1683, cites it as the primary purpose of a commonplace book, going so far as to refer to it as a "succedanaeous memory." Locke himself, in his *Essay* (published in 1698, after Bury wrote his commonplace book) refers to "*Memory*" as "the Store-house of our *Ideas*," thus using language that renders material storage spaces indistinguishable from cognitive ones. Unlike angels, according to Locke, humans are incapable of holding several ideas at once in their minds. Instead, their ideas can only be had "by succession."[55] Thus, the necessity of having a "Repository, to lay up those Ideas, which at another time it might have use of."[56] Similar to Le Clerc's remark that the inability to retrieve the information one consumes amounts to a state of "the Truest Poverty" (see above), Locke defines stupidity as a condition in which one does not have the ideas "that are really preserved" in one's memory "ready at hand, when need and occasion calls for them." While Le Clerc's antidote is Locke's commonplace book making method, with which he has had "several Years [*sic*] Experience," Locke's is the possession of "*Invention*, *Fancy*, and quickness of Parts." With these faculties one possesses a "Memory" that furnishes the mind with "those dormant *Ideas*, which it has present occasion for, and in the having them ready at hand on all occasions."[57] While there appears to be no direct mention of commonplace books in his *Essay*, its depictions of memory answer to their description and the purpose of his design for them.

The grid format afford the means by which ideas are made to be "ready at hand, when need and occasion calls for them." By allowing space only for the most necessary information about the location of a passage, indicated by its codified reference letters (explained above)

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[55] Locke, *Essay*, 155.

[56] Locke, *Essay*, 150.

[57] Le Clerc, ii and Locke, *Essay*, 153.

and page number, the grid prevents the "loss of too much time" in labeling and locating an item.[58] The grid was used not just for the index, but also for each page in the notebook, creating a margin in which the word designated as the item's head is written "in pretty large Letters."[59] After filling the margin space with the head, Locke explains "I continue the Line in writing on what I have to remark. I constantly observe this Method, that nought but the *Head* appear in the Margin, and go on without carrying the Line again into the Margin. When one has thus preserv'd the Margin clear, the *Heads* present themselves at First Sight." [60] A page from R. King's commonplace book of 1783 based on Locke's model shows its owner followed Locke by drawing lines that created a margin for writing a single word or set of words for the heading and placed its corresponding information in a box adjacent to it (fig. 1.3). In using the grid for both the index and the heads, Locke's system turns the page into a storage box as well as a window, whereby ideas become items and "representable object[s]" that can be framed and seen.[61] Thus, access to one's compiled information is made more fluid, turning the commonplace book into an operable interface between oneself and the world. Through it, the ideas one needs for communicating, and processing information within the world as a person alive to present circumstances and knowledge acquired in the past are made "ready at hand."

Layout

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[58] Le Clerc, iv.

[59] Locke, "Mr. Lock's Letter," 6.

[60] Locke, "Mr. Lock's Letter," 6.

[61] The term comes from Siegert's description of Alberti's grid technique. See Siegert, 100. Siegert's citation is Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, tr. Rocco Sinisgalli (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 49.

The grid for both the index and individual pages comprises not just a format, but also, what is known in graphic design as a layout. Information designer Robert Waller argues that layout is "an important infrastructure for reading and writing" that is intimately connected to "a range of fundamental issues concerning the nature of text, documents, writing and reading."[62] Layout, one might say, spatializes information, turning each page into a topography of knowledge, which King's commonplace book exemplifies, with a different cell created for each piece of botanical information on one of its pages (fig. 1.4).[63] Commonplace books based on Locke's index and head making method and grid layout are quite distinct from those created from literary extracts, in which poems, prose passages and subjects were selected beforehand and indexes that appear at the end after the book was filled.

The word "finis" at the end of the index for a commonplace book of poetry and prose in different hands indicates the book's close-ended method of creation (figs. 1.5 and 1.6).[64] The illustrated commonplace book of 1799 in the Manchester Metropolitan University Harry Page Collection —filled with watercolors and sketches—shows the owner creating the index order not based on alphabetized heads, but by page number after all the pages were filled in (fig. 1.6).[65] Such commonplace books appear meant to be given as gifts or shared with others,

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[62] Robert Waller, "Graphic Literacies for a Digital Age: The Survival of Layout," *The Information Society* 28:4 (2012): 236-253; 236, 237.

[63] R. King manuscript writing in *A new common-place book, in which the plan recommended and practiced by John Locke, eq., is enlarged and improved*. John Nicolson: Cambridge, England, 1783. Huntington Library, HM 79057.

[64] Index pages from Commonplace Book, Verse and prose selections, with emphasis on the eighteenth century, in various hands, ca. 1725-1800. Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA, 170/96.

[65] Index from Common place book, mixed entries, some watercolours calfbound, 1799. Harry Page Collection, Manchester Metropolitan University Special Collections (MMU), 221.

whose entries were not necessarily inscribed and created during the moments that prompted them, as blank sheets with author's names such as Lavater noted to reserve spaces for their excerpts suggest. The commonplace book's hand-ornamented page announces its contents and purpose: "Extracts in Prose Selected for the Amusement of Old and Young" (fig. 1.7).[66] The distinction between these different forms of indexes indicates how critical the grid index layout is for commonplace books that were meant for daily use rather than entertainment.

Layout plays a vital role not only in how information is framed and organized, but also in how it is understood and perceived. Waller maintains that while such disciplines as literary studies have emphasized the formal analysis of text, no such attention has been paid to the form of literacy that documents of all kinds require, which is "*prose literacy + graphic literacy*" (italics in original)[67] Such forms of information production are integral to modern, everyday life, for they are used on a routine basis and demand efficiency in the way they are understood and used.

Writing as Line-Making

Commonplace books themselves constituted an everyday genre, and within the eighteenth-century context, became increasingly valued for the efficiency with which they could be incorporated into the speed and rhythm of one's daily life. At the same time, they entailed a literacy that used a form of reading and writing not based on an alphabet-derived language. This hybrid form of literacy involves knowing how to understand and effectively employ text in relationship to such graphic forms as tables, grids and the very lines drawn to create them.

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[66] Title page from Common place book, 1799, MMU, 221.

[67] Waller, 247.

Historian of lettering Nicolette Gray reminds us that with calligraphy, "the same sort of line which writes also draws, there is no longer any boundary." Lettering is "moving and expressive line." [68] Ingold, building on Gray, makes the case that writing is not so much an act of verbal composition, but rather an act of line-making.[69] In doing so, the false separation between writing and drawing that was purportedly enforced by the growing dominance of typography might be removed.

Gray and Ingold are both inspired by and refer to Paul Klee's conception of a line that has "gone for a walk": "'an active line on a walk, moving freely without goal. A walk for a walk's sake.'"[70] Lines that proceed in this fashion are not the lines of engraving or typography, but the lines of "a freely flowing, cursive script."[71] This is a line that is "drawn" and "that moves."[72] One might say that such lines enact graphically and inscriptionally the conceptual "lines of becoming"—following Deleuze—that describe the "open-ended" process of life and its "impulse…not to reach a terminus but to keep on going."[73]

If the grid format appears visually and conceptually to restrict open-endedness, the economy and consistency of notation it demands facilitates the flexibility of subject matter within the book. Heads are created and established as they occur, not as they are dictated by

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[68] Nicolete Gray, *Lettering as Drawing* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 1, 2.

[69] Ingold, *Lines: A Brief History* (London: Routledge, 2007), 122.

[70] Paul Klee, *Notebooks, Volume I: The Thinking Eye*, ed. Jürg Spiller, trans. Ralph. Manheim (London: Lund Humphries, 1961), 105.

[71] Ingold, *Lines*, 129.

[72] Gray, 9.

[73] Ingold, *Being Alive*, 83. Ingold cites Deleuze's work in Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, tr. Brian Massumi (London: Continuum, 2004), 224-225.

what prior commonplace books excerpted. The commonplace book of 1783 belonging to R. King and following Locke's method, shows a well-filled index, with every page covered by topics ranging from agriculture, plant medicine, dye recipes, an account of hunger and excerpts from Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws*, to slavery, taxes, beauty, standing armies, the discovery of glass and the luminousness of the sea. Most of the entries are based on direct observation and experience or the experiences of others rather than excerpts from books. Diagrams of agricultural machinery and their parts were drawn as well as the faces of people encountered in daily life for self-taught physiognomic analyses. Clearly, the grid format of the index and entry pages allowed more digressive and expansive lines to be drawn that followed the passage of this commonplacer's life than might have been otherwise. The grid lines in relationship to the text lines—broken at times by flourishes and fancy penmanship—and the channels of exploration and expression they enables constitute lines of writing. They also constitute the lines of one person's life and thoughts, for no one else could have written the commonplace book but its owner, R. King.

John Bacon's eighteenth-century commonplace book models a non-grid based form of index making that makes creative use of different tools for mental control and organization.[74] Such tools included paper, scissors, pins and ink, which issue lines of reading and writing that are distinct from those engendered by Lockean commonplace books. Compiling medical and scientific observations alongside passages from sources on general topics, such as taste, poetry and history, the mixed nature of Bacon's commonplace book contents certainly requires an index both to organize it and render it a usable source of information. Apart from Galen and Hippocrates, almost every figure mentioned appears to be a major eighteenth-century cultural

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[74] John Bacon, Medical commonplace book of John Bacon, 1775, Biomed History and Special Collections Cage Manuscripts, Ms. Coll. no 618, FEM Franklin E. Murphy, M.D. Collection.

figure, such as Edmund Burke and Henry St. John, 1st Viscount Bolingbroke. Whereas "On the Study and Use of History, by Ld. Bolingbroke" appears on page 1, "Putrefaction, remarks upon, by Dr. Hunter," appears on page 58. Certain aspects of its organization appear to be modeled on Locke, such as the placement of an index at the front of the book and the insertion of page numbers. Yet, Bacon made his notebook more his own by creating a hand-cut tabbed index (fig. 1.8). The uneven cut lines, pin pricks made to guide the lines of cutting and hand-written letters reveal not only the hand-crafted nature of the index, but also the care with which Bacon made and kept his commonplace book. Not just a tool for storing medical knowledge, it was a repository—and index—of selfhood.

Whereas all books are meant to be touched, opened, and "moved through" page by page, not simply looked at, commonplace books, with their indexing systems, especially enlarge on this assumption. And yet Bacon's index amplifies this notion even further by eschewing Locke's table format for one that places headings on separate pages that are divided by and labeled with each letter of the alphabet. Locke created his design precisely to obviate the need to turn more pages than necessary, explaining "the reason why I always begin at the top of the back of the page which face one another, rather than a whole leaf is that the heads of this class may appear all at once, otherwise you must be at the trouble of turning over the leaf."[75]

Instead of Locke's subject headings, Bacon used title and author headings. By giving each letter of the alphabet its own page, as opposed to its own series of cells, Bacon was able to use fuller discursive descriptions for headings, as well as provide more space for additional entries. A certain intimacy issues from the increased tactility afforded by Bacon's index design, with more pages needing to be touched and "leafed" through in order both to make it,

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[75] Locke, "Mr. Lock's Letter," 7.

and to reach the right letter when using it, even with the creation of tabs. Stopping abruptly

after page 61, the incomplete status of Bacon's commonplace book is a mysterious and

haunting reminder of the way commonplace books register both the creative impulse of life

and its open-ended nature, whose ending can never be predetermined or calculated.[76] Yet, as

this chapter has suggested, the layouts and tools for navigating the pages within

commonplace books form the pathways for living, processing and remembering the life that

made it.

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[76] For descriptions of life as open-ended and driven by the generative impulse, see Ingold, 83, 178, 198, 208.

Figures
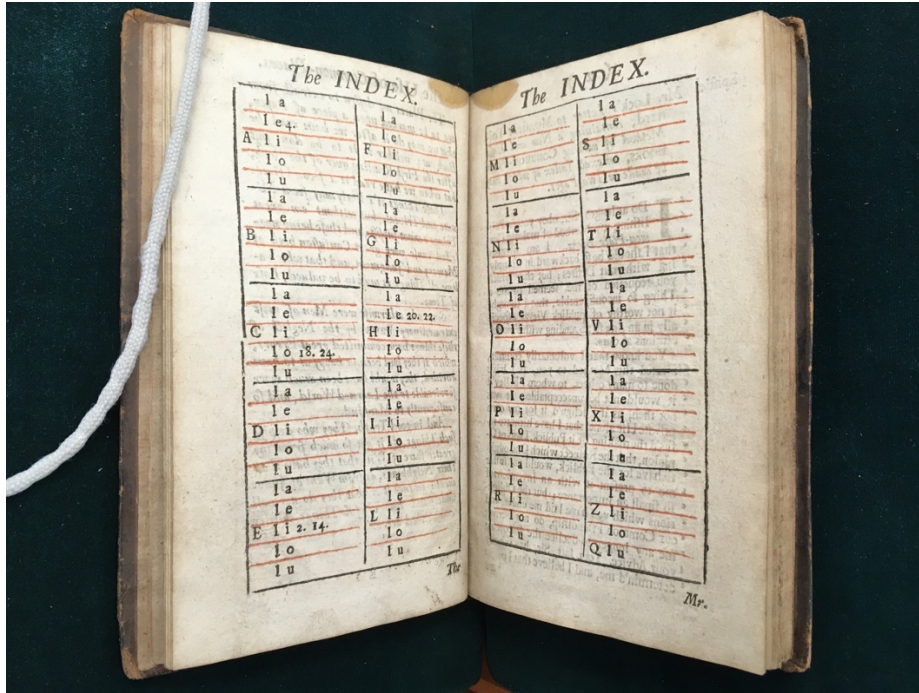
Fig. 1. 1. Locke's commonplace book index, printed in Locke, *A New Method of Making Common-Place-Books*, translated from the French (London: J. Greenwood, 1706). Huntington Library.
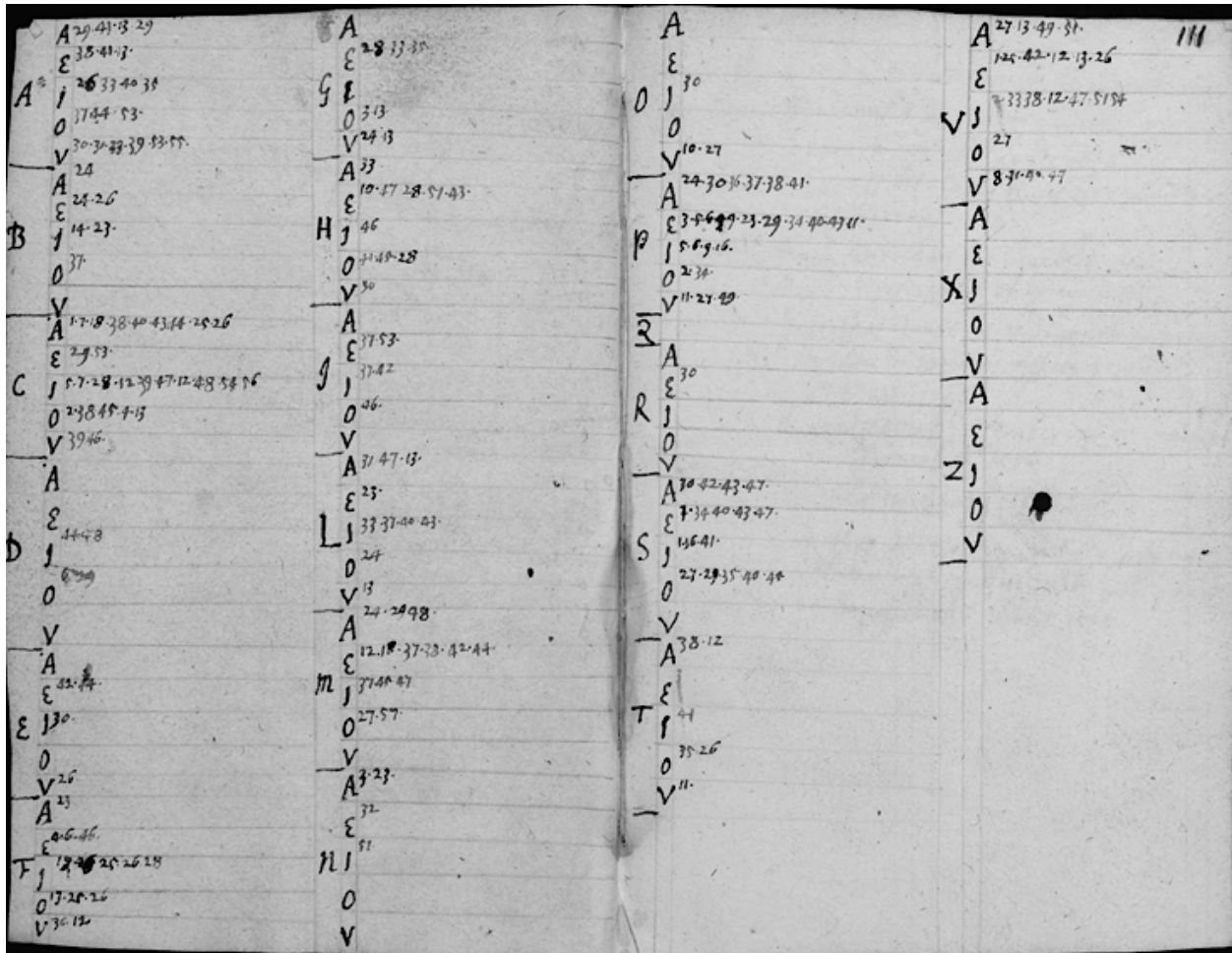
Fig. 1.2. Index from John Locke's own commonplace book. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Locke f. 18, 110-111. Reproduced from Michael Stolberg, "John Locke's 'New Method of Making Common-Place-Books': Tradition, Innovation and Epistemic Effects," *Early Science and Medicine* 19 (2014): 448-470; 454.

Fig. 1.3. Index from the print/manuscript commonplace book of R. King in *A new common-place book, in which the plan recommended and practiced by John Locke, eq., is enlarged and improved*. John Nicolson: Cambridge, England, 1783. Huntington Library.

Fig. 1.4. Excerpt from the print/manuscript commonplace book of R. King in *A new common-place book, in which the plan recommended and practiced by John Locke, eq., is enlarged and improved*. John Nicolson: Cambridge, England, 1783. Huntington Library.

Figs. 1.5 and 1.6. Index pages from Commonplace Book, Verse and prose selections, with emphasis on the eighteenth century, in various hands, ca. 1725-1800. Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA.

Figs. 1.7 and 1.8. Index and title page from Common place book, mixed entries, some watercolours, 1799. Harry Page Collection, Manchester Metropolitan University Special Collections.

Antimony, Dr. Huxham's præperation of that Mineral, with his remarks upon it, v. 4

Air, Observations upon v. 8

Alœtic Pills, w. remarks by Dr. Cullen v. 3

Anasarca, a remedy for v. 13

Ascites, a remark upon it by Dr. Mead. v. 13

Arbor Diana by Monsr. Homberg v. 44

Air, a method of purifying it 48

A method of purifying foul air in deep Wells 48

Arsenic, remarks upon 48

Fig. 1.9. John Bacon, Medical commonplace book of John Bacon, 1775, Biomed History and Special Collections Cage Manuscripts, Ms. Coll. no 618, FEM Franklin E. Murphy, M.D. Collection.

Chapter 2. Extra-Illustrated Books: Paper Windows to Heritage

In the case of extra-illustrated books, the lines of movement through life made in the act of gathering ideas and incorporating material from other sources into a book of one's own involve using mixed media and engaging with cultural heritage. Starting around 1770, it became a pastime in Britain for owners of books concerning historical biography, local history and travel, as well as works by Shakespeare, to supplement their textual content with pasted-in engravings from other sources. These prints were meant on a certain level to illustrate visually what was being described in words. Yet they also demonstrated the book's ultimate function as a storehouse and album for a personal print collection. As such, extra-illustration expands not just the size of the book, but also heighten its multidimensional identity as a textual object, material object, and visual object.

Books transformed in this way appealed primarily to antiquarians, men whose love for the past inspires them to study its material remains, whether in artifacts or buildings. Extra-illustrated books devoted to antiquarian pursuits are as oriented around *topoi* as commonplace books are. Such *topoi* include the ancient places and topographies that are part of the common heritage of British subjects, as well as the subject matter that interested antiquarians the most. Insofar as it entails making new room for external visual objects inside preexisting books in print, extra-illustration is as much an endeavor of textual place-making as the commonplace book is. Yet, it also contributes self-consciously to the production of cultural heritage. Heritage was not just preserved but created in the owning and expanding of the extra-illustrated book, which in turn was not merely metamorphosed by a single reader but also handed from one to the other down a line of bibliographic inheritance.

Almost by definition an antiquarian practice, extra-illustration was both a "novel method of enjoying texts on England's past" and a symptom of "the prevailing perceptions

and popularization of antiquarianism" during the eighteenth century.[77] More than this, it was

also the closest that textual study came to historical reenactment, demonstrating how people

in the Enlightenment practiced a form of heritage that enlisted a craftsmanlike intervention

and participation in the re-writing of historical texts. In so doing, extra-illustration was also an

archival form of writing the self, making visible the marks of such ephemeral and private acts

as reading, and creating the material openings for their further transmission

[This chapter is divided in two parts in order to distinguish the portion that was

written for an external publication. The first part is appearing as a short essay in a

forthcoming interdisciplinary collection on reenactment studies, and looks at extra-

illustration as a heritage reenactment practice.[78] The second part considers extra-illustration

as a word and image based form of literacy, as well as a paper format for rearranging and

preserving cultural memory. The chapter concludes by examining the window format in

which extra illustrated prints are traditionally mounted as a perspectival device that innovates

the space of the page while establishing the extra-illustrator as the author of the book she in

effect rewrites through maneuvers of cutting, pasting and rearranging.]

Part I. Extra-Illustration as Heritage Reenactment

To refer to eighteenth-century extra-illustration as a form of historical reenactment is partly

to situate it in relationship to today's cultural heritage rituals of performing the past as a

present reality. Bolsover, a 17th-century castle in Derbyshire, England, managed by English

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[77] Lucy Peltz, "The Extra-Illustration of London: the Gendered Spaces and Practices of Antiquarianism in the Late Eighteenth Century," in M. Myrone and L. Peltz, *Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice 1700-1850* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 115.

[78] "Extra-Illustration as Heritage Reenactment" in *Reenactment Studies Handbook*, ed. Vanessa Agnew, Jonathan Lamb, and Juliane Tomann (London: Routledge, 2020).

Heritage and built on the site where a 12th-century medieval castle once stood, has recently

incorporated historical reenactment into its programming as a method of engaging wider

public interest and drawing more visitors. Exploiting the site's medieval past, English Heritage

employees stage knights' tournaments where visitors are presented with the opportunity to

"immerse" themselves "in medieval life in the encampment," meet "people from the Middle

Ages" and "try on a knight's armour" themselves.[79] This form of medieval reenactment, along

with a seventeenth-century one in which "Cavalier" horsemen costumed in high boots and

feathers bring "to life" the castle's Riding School, appear to demonstrate bald commercialism.

Yet the impulse to make believe that the heritage site's environment is situated in a

long ago past was in fact indulged by one of its original owners as a fundamental form of

pleasure afforded by inhabiting a historical setting. In the 17th century, Sir Charles Cavendish

(Bess of Hardwick's son and William Cavendish's father) recruited architect Robert Smythson

to reconstruct the dilapidated castle as a Norman keep. The building's "fanciful, impractical

turrets, battlements, lodges" and "battlement walkway" encouraged inhabitants and visitors to

imagine they were entering the age of chivalry.[80] Created as a holiday home and place of

entertainment, "the Little Castle" at Bolsover was the architectural embodiment of

seventeenth-century fantasies about life in the Middle Ages. Throughout the reigns of James I

and Charles I, tournaments were still held. William Cavendish would continue with John

Smythson (Robert's son) the work begun by his father Charles of building and designing the

Little Castle. Purportedly, he referred to it as his "little romance," an acknowledgement of the

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[79] English Heritage, "Knight's Tournament at Bolsover Castle," https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/whats-on/bolsover-knights-tournament-25-27-may-2019/ (Accessed 3 February 2019).

[80] Lucy Worsley, *Cavalier* (London: Faber and Faber, 2007), 45.

fact that for his father, Bolsover gave architectural expression to the days of chivalry imagined in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590-6) and Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furiosio.* (1532).[81]

As Bolsover demonstrates, cultural heritage sites perform today the reenactment that was already part of its history. Yet more interesting is the way in which heritage can emerge through a process of reenactment, which in turn is executed through the use of different materials, from human bodies and actors in costume to clay bricks, glass and ironwork. The antiquarian practice of extra-illustration in the eighteenth century, of supplementing printed books with one's personal collection of engravings, was a form of preserving cultural heritage. In this, heritage is both reenacted and preserved through the rearrangement of paper, printed words and images of historically significant sites and personages in terms that were strongly architectural. Books rather than buildings are its medium, but the imaginings of distant places and people are just as vivid in extra-illustration, material resources are used just as creatively, and new spaces for recalling the past are built just as inventively.

Defining Heritage

Heritage is constituted by "material remains" of the past, or history rendered not in the information gleaned from textual documentation but in the traces left by material culture and its diverse material forms. The fields of conservation and archaeology inform us that heritage is any material entity that is changed by human modification or interaction.[82] These include

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[81] David Durant, *The Smythson Circle* (London: Peter Owen, 2011), 171.

[82] See Ellen Pearlstein, (in preparation) "Introduction for Section 1. Terminology and History of Change" in Ellen Pearlstein, ed. *Getty Readings in Conservation. Conservation and Stewardship of Indigenous Collections: Changes and Transformations*, Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.

monuments, churches, tools, landscapes, gardens, books and manuscripts, costume, pictures. Heritage is also located in embodied practices, such as storytelling, rituals, performances and festivals. And not just human-formed buildings or enacted rituals; heritage includes natural environments, such as marine sites and forests, as initiatives in UNESCO's World Heritage program indicate to us. In this way heritage may be further defined as an act that continues the process of viewing, shaping, handling, preserving, and enjoying material substances that we believe were similarly treated by earlier generations. In contemporary life, heritage has become linked to sites of tourism and consumerism, as a visit to Williamsburg, Virginia in the United States or Blenheim Palace—a recently named UNESCO World Heritage Site—in the United Kingdom remind us. In this sense, heritage is, as Rodney Harrison puts it, "the formally staged experience of encountering the physical traces of the past in the present."[83]

The primary dictionary definition for *heritage* identifies it as land or property that is inherited, a meaning derived from the old French *eritage.* Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia: Or, an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (1728) affirms the legalistic meaning and usage of heritage by presenting it not as its own entry, but within the entry for "inheritance," which is defined as "a Perpetuity in Lands and Tenements to a Man and his Heirs." The remainder of the definition indicates that "heritage," like "descent," is one of the means by which land and tenements come into someone's possession:

> this word...is not only understood where a Man hath *Inheritance* of Lands and
>
> Tenements by Descent or Heritage, but also every Fee-Simple and Fee-Tail,

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[83] Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (London: Routledge, 2013), 1.

that a Man hath by Purchase, may be said to be by *Inheritance,* for that his Heirs

may inherit after him.[84]

Here, heritage is a method and a means of transfer by which a relation of the human to

material circumstances is created and defined from one generation to the next. These

sedimented transfers constitute its history and its consciousness of itself. However, David C.

Harvey has discerned that in its bias towards the present, the study of heritage today "tends to

hide a much deeper temporal scope in dating heritage activity," erasing its "rich historical

contextualization."[85] The solution he proposes is to desist from repeating the oft-told story

that heritage as we know it came into being in Great Britain and Ireland with the passing of

the Ancient Monuments Act in 1882, preceded shortly beforehand by William Morris's

founding of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) in 1877. Instead of "a

particular modernist strand of heritage from a 19th-century icon," Harvey prefers a history of

the "heritage process" broadened "over the longer term."[86] By situating the extra-illustration

of antiquarian books in the eighteenth century as a critical form of heritage activity, this

chapter answers Harvey's call for efforts to construct a heritage chronology that began well

before 1882.

Heritage and Antiquarianism

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[84] Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopaedia: or, an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (London, 1728).

[85] David C. Harvey, "Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 7:4 (2001): 319-338; 323-324.

[86] Harvey, 326.

Central to the life of heritage in cultural history is the relationship between architecture, land and text, which is enshrined in the homophone *monument/muniment*, the stone memorial and the documentary archive in ancient houses. In eighteenth-century Britain in particular, heritage in the guise of antiquarian pursuits played a prominent role in cultural life. The social type of the antiquarian emerged, who, in contrast with the allegedly less systematic virtuoso of the prior century, formed collections of antiquities based on rigorous measures of classification.[87] Such antiquities included animal bones, monumental inscriptions, fossils, arrowheads, marbles, medals, and coins. "At the heart of the antiquarian discipline," Rosemary Sweet explains, "was the need to compile, compare and contrast."[88] By means of such antiquarian-motivated endeavors as collection (of fragments and curiosities), reproduction (of manuscripts), preservation (of architecture) and exhibition (of artifacts in a museum), the local population and the nation became aware of what belonged to them as heritage.[89]

Antiquarian texts focused on local places, including the repositories of records in towns, parishes and counties, or the more solid traces of rulers and families, such as collections of coins, heraldry, funerary inscriptions, marriage articles and title deeds.[90] The locales chosen were mainly in Britain, and areas significant to British history, such as Normandy (see below). When arguing that antiquarians were proto-archaeologists, Stuart Piggott points out that the fundamental distinction between history and archaeology lies in

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[87] Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), 9.

[88] Sweet, *Antiquaries*, 9.

[89] Sweet, "Antiquaries and Antiquities in Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34:2 (2001): 181-206; 182.

[90] Sweet, *Antiquaries*, 5.

the kind of evidence each favors—written *versus* material and tangible. Whereas "'historical research'" derives from "obtaining knowledge of the human past from written records," archaeology turns to "material remains" for the same purpose.[91] Thus, antiquarianism, with its focus on records of the past that are materially manifest, is highly sympathetic to the historical reenactment practices of heritage, from latter day performances of druidic ceremonies to the restoration of Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill with its original stucco formula and Renaissance stained glass panels.

Instead of antiquarianism at second hand, extra-illustration actively delegated the reader's imagination in the pursuit of material corroboration and supplementation. The agent for this activity was Oxfordshire clergyman James Granger's "methodical catalogue" of the portraits of notable English figures in history, *A Biographical History of England* (1769). Published without illustrations, his book unwittingly encouraged readers to add their own engraved portraits to copies of his book (discussed below). For this reason the practice is now also known as "grangerizing." Referred to in its early stages as "illustrating," the activity became extremely popular and its practitioners moved on to other types of antiquarian books, including tour books.

Tracing heritage to its antiquarian roots shows that it was a medium for imaginative creativity from its outset. While antiquarian tours such as William Stukeley's were sympathetic to picturesque objectives and stimulated the fancy of the traveler as eyewitness, other written accounts associated with sites of antiquarian interest demonstrate how the textual forms of documenting heritage involved imagination at a different level. I will next look closely at a particular example of an extra-illustrated antiquarian text and its material use as a means by which heritage is treated as a material construction and inheritance of another

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[91] Stuart Piggott, *Ruins in a Landscape* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976), 2.

kind. It is a practice not only of visiting and studying old sites pivotal to national history, but

also of writing and rewriting, reading and rereading, and making and remaking texts that

attempt to preserve the experiences and imaginings of such sites.

Extra-Illustrating Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities

The object under question is an extra-illustrated copy of *Anglo-Norman Antiquities Considered in*

a Tour Through Part of Normandy (1767) by Andrew Coltee Ducarel (1713-1785). The folio-sized

(12 x19.25 inches) book's beautiful light brown calf binding with elegant gold ornamentation

and the Beckford family crest can be easily attributed to one of its owners, the famed novelist

and connoisseur, William Beckford (1760-1840).[92] As a text, Ducarel's book exemplifies the

antiquarian genre of travel writing, making apparent its antiquarian leanings in its accounts

and images of antique seals, coins, monuments, castles and cathedrals largely related to

William the Conqueror (c. 1028-1087), as well as its topographical descriptions of Caen and

Rouen. Though in a different country, Normandy had many relics of England's ancient past

for Ducarel to discover. As the inhabitants of Normandy themselves claim, according to

Ducarel, "when the English were obliged to forsake that province, they left behind them many

valuable treasures."[93] The book's copperplate engravings, including those that originally came

with the book, and those that were added to it, illustrate those treasures.

On one hand, Ducarel presents his tour as a serious archaeological excursion in which

he sets out to 'view and examine such ancient remains as might tend either to illustrate the

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[92] Andrew Coltee Ducarel, *Anglo-Norman Antiquities Considered in a Tour Through Part of*
Normandy (London, 1762), UCLA Library Special Collections, PR4092.A1 D85. Beckford is well-
known as a textual annotator, as well as the possessor of "remarkably beautiful" books from
"excellent binders." See Heather Jackson, *Marginalia* (New Haven: Yale University Press,
2002).

[93] Ducarel, i.

history and antiquities of the province, or to point out and characterize the piety, valour, and magnificence, of our ancient kings and nobility." On the other, his tour and the written account of it serve as an archival act of memory-making: "the design therefore, of the following sheets, is to lay before the reader such observations as I made when on the spot, and to preserve the memory, at least, of several remarkable monuments of Anglo-Norman antiquity, which, either from their great age, or the disregard and inattention of their present possessors, are in danger of being intirely destroyed."[94]

That Ducarel was self-conscious about the preservational aspect of his book makes its survival centuries later, with its memories of his direct encounters with still intact Anglo-Norman antiquities, moving. It is fitting that an author with such an archival impulse was not only a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries (founded in 1707), but also a librarian at the Lambeth Library, and an archivist of state papers. Many members of the Society of Antiquaries throughout the eighteenth century held positions as librarians and archivists. These positions included keeper of records in the Tower (George Holm), librarian to the earl of Oxford (Humfrey Wanley), keepers at the British Museum (Samuel Ayscough, Richard Penneck and Francis Douce), and Historiographer Royal (Thomas Madox).[95] It is impossible to tell, Sweet observes, whether record keepers and archivists forged their careers out of a desire to "satisfy antiquarian leanings," or if the men became antiquarians as a consequence of their occupations.[96]

Among the prints that are clearly extra-illustrated (the borders outlined with glue traces on the back of some of the pages on which they appear help reveal them) in the

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[94] Ducarel, ii.

[95] Sweet, 2004, 48-49.

[96] Sweet, 2004, 49.

Beckford copy of Ducarel's book are three nearly identical images of the Cathedral Church of Rouen described on page 12 of Ducarel's text, Ducarel's frontispiece portrait, and an illustration of a section of the Bayeux Tapestry that appears in the book's appendix. The technique of supplementation, by which a print produced separately would be glued onto a new page and bound into a book, is called "tipping in." In Beckford's copy of Ducarel's *Anglo-Norman Antiquities,* there are 27 plates that are bound or "tipped" in, with a number of prints noted in the catalog as missing, both original and added. The tipped in pages, though, are not all necessarily the extra-illustrated ones, for a printed list at the back of the book providing directions for the placement of designated engravings indicates what was usually the case with printed books of the period: its engraved plates were not part of the original printer's gatherings and were meant to be added separately when having the book bound. Yet, the basic procedure of extra-illustration is one of altering the original composition of a book, whether in the process of adding new engravings before sending it to a binder, or dismantling the original binding and putting it back together to incorporate the additions.

There are two possibilities for who it was who created the extra-illustrated version of Ducarel's *Anglo-Norman Antiquities* that is in the holdings of UCLA's Special Collections. Six owners are listed in the library catalog entry for the book, beginning with Benjamin Thomas Pouncy (d. 1799) and ending with Charles K. Ogden (1889-1957). Beckford, after Pouncy, was the book's second owner. Because the book appears in Beckford's binding, it is safe to assume that its extra-illustration was performed either by him or by Pouncy. An inscription written in a neat eighteenth-century round hand on the fly-leaf of laid paper (part of the original gathering) states with a hint of pride that the book was given to B.T. Pouncy, the first owner, by the author, "Dr Ducarel," on July 31, 1778 (fig. 2.1). While it is thrilling to imagine someone as renowned as Beckford as the book's extra-illustrator, it is in fact more interesting to

consider that it was Pouncy, in possible consultation with Ducarel himself, who chose and inserted the extra prints for his gratefully received presentation copy. If he was not responsible for grangerizing Ducarel's book, it is evident that Beckford had enough regard for the extra-illustrated copy at least to buy and have it beautifully bound or rebound for his own library.

Regardless of which owner was responsible for the extra-illustrated prints, their status as interlocutors with the text is clear. Meaning, their presence in the book furthers the dialogue between word and image already initiated by the original plates. The language of Ducarel's guide cries out for visual supplementation, for it is highly descriptive of the spatial and material details belonging to the buildings and topography that he encountered in his tour of Normandy. For example, about the landscape of Caen he writes: "The ramparts of the town are covered with trees, which form most delightful walks, and, together with the vast length of the cours, the great plenty of water, and the abundance of beautiful outlets, yield the eye a pleasure which it does not often enjoy in flat countries, or where the prospect is much limited."[97] The sentence reminds us that eighteenth-century tours of antiquities gave visual pleasures, above all.

And yet the careful insertion of an owner's corresponding prints from his own collection into the book suggests the pleasure was extended to a tangible one as well. An example of this tactilely emitted "echo" of the book's visual supplementation of Ducarel's writing appears in the two identical small engravings (fig. 2.2) of the Abbey of St. Stephen described on pages 50-52 and already illustrated by the book's original engraving. Extra-illustrations not only yield further pleasure to the eye, but also gives the book owner an opportunity to contribute to the book's word and image system of providing information,

[97] Ducarel, 49.

making place and meaning and preserving memory. The effect is one of visual and material

doubling—an act of reenactment that demonstrates heritage is passed down as much through

the material creation and recreation of texts as it is through passing the text itself from one set

of hands to another, eventually landing in the heritage institution of the library, the

traditional residence of antiquarians themselves. In such an institution, the extra-illustrated

copy of Ducarel's book demands to be read as a heritage document—that is, read not so much

for the information it yields textually, but for the material traces of its prior owners who have

creatively worked to recreate its meaning in the present as a flexible record of the past.

Part II. Paper Memory: Extra-Illustration as the Art of Writing

When reading an extra-illustrated book, one is compelled to read the book from two

perspectives, the author's and the book owner's. At the same time, one can make very little

sense of the added images on their own without reading the text with which they are meant to

correspond, developing a new understanding of the subject matter in doing so. Not just the

interpretative experience, but also the phenomenological experience of the original book is

transformed too, as extra-illustrations adds volume to its body. Whereas the Pouncy/Beckford

owned copy of Ducarel's *Anglo-Norman Antiquities* presents a modest and more intimate effort

of extra-illustration, other surviving examples amply suggest the practice engaged more

ambitious interventions from readers, especially those who desired a means for displaying

their collections. The extra-illustrated copy of John Evelyn's *Memoirs* (1819) that belonged to

the Earl of Derby, held by the Clark Library, for instance, expands a book of originally two

volumes to five.[98] The nineteenth-century bibliographer Thomas Frognall Dibdin provides a

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[98] John Evelyn, *Memoirs, Illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Evelyn*, 2nd edition (London: Henry Colburn, 1819), Clark Library, f PR3433.E5Z7 1819* copy 2. The catalog record for this copy indicates it is "copiously extra-illustrated with over 400 portraits, views, etc."

yet more outrageous example of the radical expansion that extra-illustration can entail when he relates how "a late distinguished and highly respectable female collector, who had commenced an ILLUSTRATED BIBLE, procured not fewer than *seven hundred prints* for the illustration of the 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, and 25th verses of the 1st chapter of Genesis."[99]

In enlarging the size of the book, extra-illustration changes the way one moves through the text. Pages with images are inserted where there were none before, expanding and slowing down time in doing so, since proceeding through the text's original narrative demands tactile and visual encounters with new pages of heavier weight at times than the original ones. In addition, new interleavings are often oversized and folded into the book in order to fit inside of it, requiring the reader to change her rhythm of reading words and looking at images to focus on the process of unfolding. Yet, the disruption is one that can introduce wonder over the scale of the image, the significance of the subject its scale suggests, or simply the beauty and novelty of the print itself. For instance, the genealogical tree print of "The Royall Progeny of the Most Famous Kinges of England," found inside the Sutherland Clarendon, appears to bear the organic qualities it represents conceptually. The sheet bearing portrait roundels of English rulers that are nestled in a network of tree branches and leave grows when unfolded well beyond the length of the elephant sized volume in which it is inserted, onto the table in the Ashmolean Museum Print Room, where it can be seen (fig. 2.3). Similarly, the gorgeous mezzotint portrait of a nobleman tipped into the Clark Library's extra-illustrated copy of Evelyn's *Memoirs* impresses upon the reader the notion that its subject's social status exceeds the proportions of the volume that contains his image, introducing a visual nuance to Evelyn's diary entry about him (fig. 2.4).

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[99] Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *Bibliomania; or Book-Madness; A Bibliographical Madness* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1842), 497.

The members of the Multigraph Collective, authors of *Interacting with Print*, describe the process of encountering foldouts as one that "requires the reader to touch and view the book as a material object, suspending...whatever train of thought was under way to focus on manual manipulation." The "spatial and temporal relation to the bound book" is "immediately shift[ed]" with the presentation of an oversized sheet. Indicating the subjectivity of the reading process and varying ways in which one might experience visual materials, the Multigraph Collective finds the shift in focus and mode of touch intrusive: "the processes involved—touching, looking, paying attention—thus work against absorption in the text, much less reverie or revelation." [100] Whether they induce the wonder of discovery or irritation in the reader, it is fair to say that the foldouts heighten through creating tactile and visual impressions the awareness that extra-illustration entails greater interactive engagement with textual objects. Interactivity continues to take place well after the act of making the extra-illustrated volume. Furthermore, foldouts reinforce the sense that extra-illustration augments the book's multidimensionality, and challenge the notion that textual experience and documents are linear, flat and based on words alone.

Given all this, one might say that an extra-illustrated work is as much the creation of the book owner as it is of the original author, mediated by the manual skill of a hired book trade worker who ultimately binds and secures the new folds and interleavings with leather, gilt and stitching. The physical procedure of extra-illustration has not been well documented, but the cut lines of prints, glue marks showing different methods of affixing engravings to backing sheets, and penciled in notes and numbers on the back of those sheets indicating where prints should go provide some clues. When extra-illustration first emerged as a popular

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[100] The Multigraph Collective, *Interacting with Print* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 295.

late eighteenth century activity, its production was undertaken in private households, as the

labors of Catherine and Elizabeth Bull for their father's volumes indicate.[101] Later,

craftspeople in bookbinder businesses were more usually hired to do the work. The domestic

origins of early extra-illustration efforts suggests the deeply personal and tactile level of

connection extra-illustrators and those close to them had with the materials of their creations,

as well as the care taken to learn the skills for rearranging and preserving prints and texts into

new books of their own.

The word that many scholars use for describing the interventions that extra-

illustrators make into published books is "co-authorship."[102] According to Gabrielle Dean, "the

basic impulse of the Grangerite" is "to gain intimacy, as a reader, with the author, subject, and

'body' of the book, to the point of becoming a self-appointed co-author or publisher."[103] While

scholars are in agreement over the term of co-authorship, little consideration has been given

to what such a term means in relation to the intermedial qualities of extra-illustration. On

what basis can one apply the role "author," a term primarily used for textual works, to an act

of creation that uses images as well as words? Is one still writing—as well as authoring

something—when cutting and pasting visual objects onto a page, or having these acts done for

you, as opposed to forming words on it with a tool?

Granger's *Biographical History*, the work that set off the late eighteenth-century craze

craze for extra-illustration, supplies not so much definitive answers to these questions, as an

opportunity for understanding the background for them. Granger did not intend to have his

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[101] Peltz, 5.

[102] See Peltz, *Facing the Text*, 186-187, the Multigraph Collective, 301.

[103] Gabrielle Dean, "'Every Man His Own Publisher': Extra-Illustration and the Dream of the Universal Library," *Textual Cultures* 8:1 (Spring 2013): 57-71; 68.

book of 1769 be the start of what would become a popular pastime throughout the rest of the eighteenth century, into the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth. He did not even intend to have people begin to paste and interleave engravings into books, let alone his book, as a form of interacting with the past. And yet much of what he recommends and emphasizes in his preface develops a unique system of expression and knowledge organization that link the visual with the textual as a way to reinforce cultural memory. Furthermore, Granger's emphasis on visuality as situated in engravings is a means by which ideas and information might become materialized, and thus more retainable by memory.

The book was intended above all to be a guide both to help readers become knowledgeable buyers in an expanding print market, as well as more absorptive and insightful students of British history. The full title of Granger's book is *A Biographical History of England, from Egbert the Great to the Revolution: Consisting of Characters disposed in different Classes, and adapted to a Methodical Catalog of Engraved British Heads* (figs. 2.5 and 2.6). As the title suggests, Granger created a taxonomy of historical portraiture based on the subjects and their biographies, rather than on the engravers.[104] For a culture whose enthusiasm for novels promoted the genre's rise around the same time period, the interest in historical subjects as characters is understandable. Highly structured and hierarchical, Granger's taxonomy was divided into 12 classes ordered according to social status and influence. Within each class, portrait subjects were arranged chronologically. Whereas Class I consisted of Kings, Queens and other members of the Royal Family, Class XI consisted of "Ladies," and XII of those who were "remarkable from only one Circumstance in their Lives," including "deformed Persons, Convicts, &c."[105] In between were Officers of State, Peers, Archbishops and Bishops,

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[104] Peltz, *Facing the Text*, 37.

[105] James Granger, *A Biographical History of England* (London: T. Davies, 1769), a1r-a1v.

Secretaries of State, Men of the Robe, Men of the Sword, and other professional groups. National heritage, according to Granger's taxonomy, yoked biography and social status not only with portraiture, but also as engravings, with materiality.[106]

By emphasizing the physical features of historical subjects and the different media used to represent them, Granger indicates his main interest lies both in antiquarianism and cultural heritage, not just history. In the first paragraph of his preface he writes: "In every age and nation, distinguished for arts and learning, the inclination of transmitting the memory, and even the features of illustrious persons to posterity, has uniformly prevailed....The old Egyptians preserved a mummy, for the same reason that the Greeks cut a statue, or painted a portrait."[107] Within this lineage, Granger places the eighteenth-century English portrait engraving as an exemplary medium for remembrance: "no invention has better answered the end of perpetuating the memory of illustrious men."[108]

Like commonplace book subject headings, the engraved portraits were called "heads" and made most meaningful and legible when placed within a format or framework, such as Granger's system. Unlike commonplace heads, though, the heads of extra-illustrated books are not mediated by handwritten text, but by print engravings that have their own pedigrees based on their creators. In other words, unlike the commonplace book grid system in which a "three-dimensional world" is projected "onto a two dimensional plane" via categorical heads, extra-illustrated books house actual three-dimensional objects in the form of original portrait heads. And yet, much like the logic of commonplace book grid systems, Granger's approach to

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[106] Peltz, *Facing the Text*, 37.

[107] Granger, a2r.

[108] Granger, a2r.

print engravings is one of substituting a portable, conceptual world for a full-scale one. He writes, "in a collection of this kind, the contents of many galleries are reduced into the narrow compass of a few volumes; and the portraits of such as distinguished themselves for a long succession of ages, may be turned over in a few hours."[109]

The other purpose of "attending such an assemblage" and "methodical arrangement" is to induce an "effect" on the memory, thus turning print engravings and their strategic organization into vital media for historical reenactment. Here, memory is rendered as a narrative experience whereby "we see the celebrated contemporaries of every age almost at one view, and by casting the eye upon those that sat at the helm of state, and the instruments of great events, the mind is insensibly led to the history of that period." The "methodical collection" of engraved portraits forms a language, for it "will serve," he proposes, "as a visible representation of past events, become a kind of *speaking chronicle*, and carry that sort of intelligence into civil story" (emphasis in original).[110] Through images and "short and accurate inscriptions," the collection will provide "in a manner almost insensible, real and useful instructions." Furthermore, it will "delight the eye, recreate the mind, impress the imagination, fix the memory, and thereby yield no small assistance to the judgment." Using the word "synchronism," Granger describes an additional benefit as one in which the "personal history of the illustrious in every rank," along with their heads, when arranged according to their proper chronology in history as well as social status ("respective stations"), they will "be remembered in the several periods in which they really flourished."[111] Here, Granger positions the visual image as an integral component in the creation of historical

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[109] Granger, a3v.

[110] Granger, a3v.

[111] Granger, a4r.

narrative and the effort not just to summon it from a distance, but to reenact it within both a historical timeframe and the spatial frame of pages in a book. Through synchronism, the act of turning over each page that displays the heads of historical figures connected to each other by the same moment in time becomes an occasion of reenacting that moment.

The Bull Granger

With the bibliographic assonance of heads already suggested by commonplace books, as well as his own recommendations to join portraits with "short and accurate inscriptions," it is not surprising that while Granger himself never envisioned that the engravings he helped readers select be joined to his or any other book in print, one reader, an MP for Newport in Cornwall named Richard Bull did. Bull, a novice collector, was so earnest about following Granger's suggestions, he used the recommended prints as actual illustrations to Granger's text. The extant correspondence between them—kept in the bound letter book created by Bull and now in Eton College—establishes that Bull created his books in consultation with Granger, as well as his process of collection and arrangement. From 1769 to 1774, Bull had expanded Granger's book of 4 quarto volumes into thirty-five folio volumes, plus a portfolio containing miscellaneous prints. Approximately 14,500 prints and drawings are contained across the now boxed volumes and portfolio, housed in the Huntington Library, and known as the "Bull Granger."[112]

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[112] Richard Bull, Extra-Illustrated Biographical History of England, London? 1769-1774, Huntington Library, 283000. The former Chief Curator of Rare Books at the Huntington Library, Alan Jutzi, had made the decision to remove the Bull Granger volumes from their deteriorating red leather bindings and store them in individual archival boxes. Their oversized dimensions made it difficult to turn the pages without damaging them, and monitoring readers proved difficult. The bindings themselves have been saved and can be called up if desired. While such preservation concerns are understandable, critical facets of the artifact, its heritage and identity as a book, have been lost. An encounter with the Bull

More than double the size of Granger's original volumes, the individual pages are not

so much placed onto Granger's pages in themselves as they are new homes for them.

Granger's catalog entries are clipped and placed beneath portraits, with engraved ornamental

links connecting them. The engraved links, a signature feature of Bull's extra-illustration

layouts, create not only a sense that word and image are being bound together, but also, that

the visual images are the full-bodied objects they represent. Printed images of coins that are

sometimes displayed next to the portraits reinforces this sense of artifactual volume (fig. 2.7).

In an antiquarian spirit, while asserting that engravings could overcome the deficient

information supplied by coins, Granger nevertheless recommended the study of ancient coins

and medals as an important source of historical knowledge (promoting a work by Ducarel on

the subject in doing so).[113] The extra-illustrated page becomes a pedagogical space or

exhibition case as it displays the relevant items for the subject that might supply further

information about it.

   Further transformation of Granger's text takes place in Bull's visually exuberant and

architectural title page, lettered and drawn with Gothic ornamentation by his daughters,

Catherine and Elizabeth, who also did the manual work of cutting and pasting his prints and

the accompanying text by Granger. Bull called his work "Series of Engraved British Heads

from Egbert the Great to the Revolution" rather than *Biographical History of England, from

Egbert the Great to the Revolution*. Furthermore, rather than an authorial byline that attributes

the work to Granger, the byline claims, using language that evokes archival processing today,

"the Whole COLLECTED and Ranged in CHRONOLOGICAL Order By *R.B*" (fig. 2.8). The

Granger now is a process of moving through a stack of archival prints stored in a box, rather
than one of turning pages inside a book.

[113] Granger, a3v, b1r, b3v

very rearrangement of Granger's original title conveys not so much an act of co-authorship, but an act of appropriation that mediates the contents of Granger's text through the perspective of a wholly different creator.[114] The ultimate turn in the visual rhetoric of authorship is the prominent placement of the Bull family coat of arms at the bottom of the page. As a collector, even one who deferentially availed himself of Granger's expertise, Bull was asserting his authority, creativity and interpretation of materials. Collecting after all, as a "self-aware process of creating a set of objects conceived to be meaningful as a group," is also "a means of fashioning and performing the self via material things."[115]

By placing and unfolding the contents of his print collection in relation to a textual narrative he processed and ordered through his own perspective, he was practicing a form of literacy espoused by Granger himself that integrates image with text. William Loring Andrews, prominent American book collector at the turn of the twentieth century, approximated the intermedial literacy system specific to extra-illustration when describing its practitioner as "one who burns the midnight oil, poring over old prints and reading them into his books."[116] Thomas Frognall Dibdin, famed turn of the nineteenth-century English bibliographer and gregarious explicator of "bibliomania," called attention to the craftsman aspect of this system, as well as the interchangability of word with image as units of illustration when he referred to one of its methods as "bringing together, from different works, [by means of the scissors, or otherwise by transcription] every page or paragraph which has

[114] For a discussion of extra-illustration in the context of textual annotation and its history, see Jackson.

[115] Sharon Macdonald, "Collecting Practices," in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. Sharon MacDonald (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006): 81-97; 82, 85.

[116] William Loring Andrews, *Of the Extra Illustration of Books* (London: Zaehndsdorf Cambridge Works, 1900), 7.

any connection with any connection with the character or subject under discussion." He elaborates, "this is a useful and entertaining mode of illustrating a favourite author, and copies of works of this nature, when executed by skillful hands, should be deposited in public libraries."[117] Also suggesting that the project of extra-illustration is an architectural one, Dibdin refers to the acquisition of certain choice prints as forming "the foundation materials of a Grangerian building."[118]

Making Windows Inside Books

Dibdin's architectural metaphor applies to one of the formal and technical features of extra-illustrated books, the individually made paper windows through which the prints are often displayed. Even without these windows, created through a process called "inlaying," the margins of the page surrounding a pasted in print often appears to be its frame, as if it were a window. Earlier techniques of extra-illustration entailed simply pasting the print directly onto the backing sheet, creating unnecessary bulk and buckling in doing so. Inlaying was developed to prevent this. Though the documentation of early extra-illustration technique has been sparse, there are later sources that explain or demonstrate the inlaying technique.[119]

After selecting sheets of paper that match the color and size of the text block in a chosen book, one is to cut the print down to the desired size in relation to the leaf. The outer

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[117] Dibdin, 499-500.

[118] Dibdin, 496.

[119] See Daniel Tredwell, *A Monograph on Privately Illustrated Books; A Plea for Bibliomania* (Brooklyn: Fred. Tredwell, 1881), 20-21. For the inlaying demonstration video that accompanied the Huntington Library exhibition of July 27-October 28, 2013, "Illuminated Palaces," see https://vimeo.com/70518465. For further inlaying instructions with accompanying photographs, see the catalog for the Folger Shakespeare Library exhibition of January 28-Mary 25, 2010, *Extending the Book: The Art of Extra-Illustration*, ed. Erin Blake and Stuart Sillars (Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2010), 10-11.

edges of the print are shaved off at a bevel with a special blade. Openings are made into the plain paper leaf a quarter of an inch wider than the shape and size of the print, using the same beveling technique at the edges. The beveled edges of the print and paper window are fastened together with paste. This technique of making two surfaces connect at an angle is known in woodworking and architecture as "chamfering." It is fitting that such structural intricacy is an element of the form of books that late nineteenth-century bibliographer Daniel Tredwell called "illuminated palaces."[120]

The chamfered window-making technique can be seen in the Sutherland Clarendon, another monumental production of extra-illustration that rivals the Bull Granger in importance.[121] Archivists refer to the act of moving physical records to new folders and boxes as "rehousing." In the case of the Sutherland Clarendon, an act of rehousing took place that moved a book of 4 folio size volumes to one of 61 elephant folio size volumes, with 18,724 drawings and prints by 1,457 artists (known) inside them.[122] In doing so, to return to a theme that began this chapter, new ownership of cultural property and heritage was established. As objects belonging to cultural heritage institutions, the volumes are now stored in glass-covered bookcases made specifically for them in the Ashmolean Print Room, where they line the back wall, behind the attendants' desks. While the re-sizing measures alone signal the vigor with which Clarendon's book was transformed and rehoused by its extra-illustrator (Charlotte is viewed as having done the bulk of the work), the windows that were created for

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[120] Tredwell, 16.

[121] Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, 3 vols. (1702-4), extra-illustrated by Alexander Hendras Sutherland (1795-1820) and Charlotte Sutherland (1821-39) in 61 elephant folio volumes, the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

[122] They are now bound in 98 volumes and 5 portfolios. The number of prints and drawings comes from Jackson, *Marginalia*, 191.

the numerous added prints and displaced textual extracts indicate most definitively its new authorship and its re*vision* (emphasis mine).

The custom-made window sheet for the title page of the Sutherland Clarendon recalls the property marking effect of the grid format that was discussed in the prior chapter (fig. 2.9). While the grid allows the commonplacer to render ideas and information into identifiable objects that are akin to and later retrievable as her stored possessions, the extra-illustrated window suggests not just that the objects falling within its boundaries are defined by it, but also that they are subjected to its perspective. The window frame, in other words, establishes that a single, subjective point of view determines how the title page is seen, and the extent to which it can be seen, in a way that the frameless title page does not (figs. 2.9 and 2.10). Indeed, for Alberti, the window was a metaphor for picture making itself and its status as a product of "perspectival rendering," to use film theorist Anne Friedberg's terms.[123] An alternate conceptual model for Alberti's window model for perspective was the "veil" or *velo*, which was in fact a grid-like veil through which the three-dimensional world might be translated into a two-dimensional one.[124]

At the same time that they produce a sense that the leaves of an extra-illustrated book are being mediated through a particular viewpoint, the blank pages with openings cut into them turn pages into windows that are akin to today's computer screens. The multiple images of the same historical personage or the same building—as seen also in Beckford's Ducarel— that fill up the interleavings of extra-illustrated books follow Granger's principle that the more "variety of prints of the same person," the more "the true likeness may with more

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[123] See Anne Friedberg, *The Virtual Window* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006), 38.

[124] Friedberg, 38-39.

certainty be determined."[125] The visual repetition of the same heads and buildings stored

inside the extra-illustrated book not only mediates a version of historical reenactment on

paper, as revealed earlier, but also turns the book into something like a database (fig. 2.11). As

such it is a paper environment where, like the commonplace book, pieces of knowledge are

stored for later use, though, as has been pointed out, at times through acts of mutilating other

books for their prints. But with these tactile interventions, the drama of historical synchrony is

staged and experienced, and views to cultural memory are both preserved and passed down

with each act of cutting and pasting, and of facing and turning the page.
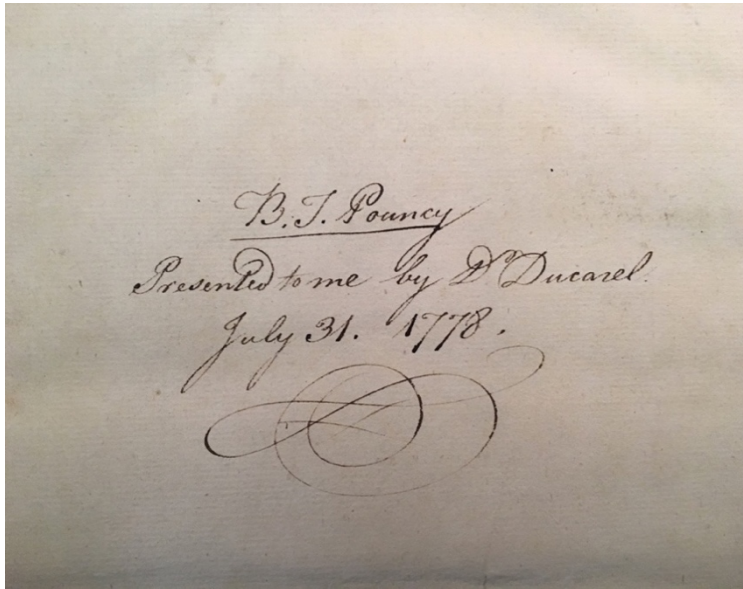
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[125] Granger, b2r.

Figures

Fig. 2.1. Presentation inscription inside William Beckford owned copy of *Anglo-Norman Antiquities Considered in a Tour Through Part of Normandy* by Andrew Coltee Ducarel (London, 1767). Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA.

Fig. 2.2. Extra-illustration prints of the Abbey of St. Stephen in Beckford's copy of *Anglo-Norman Antiquities Considered in a Tour Through Part of Normandy* by Andrew Coltee Ducarel (London, 1767). Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA.

Figs. 2.3 and 2.4. Oversized fold-out prints in the Sutherland Clarendon. Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (left) and John Evelyn, *Memoirs*, Vol. 2. Clark Library (right).

The Rev.ᵈ
Mr. James Granger.
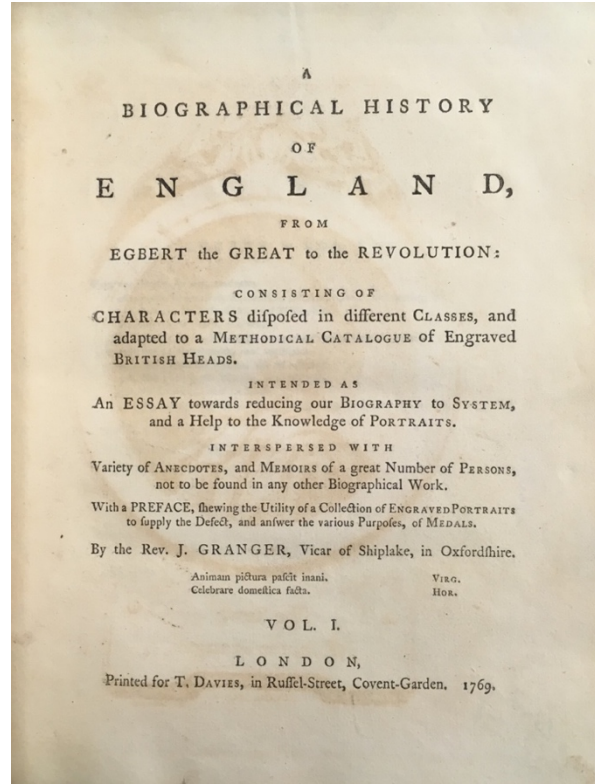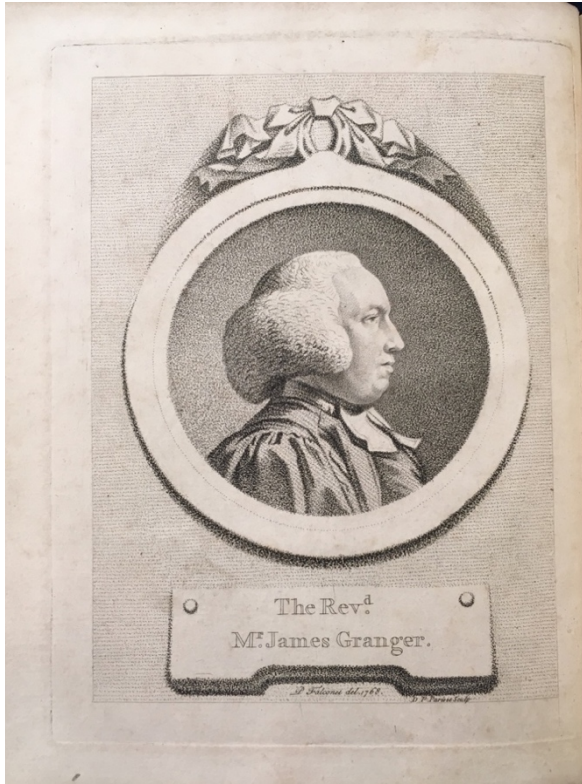
Figs. 2.5 and 2.6. Frontispiece and title page for James Granger, *Biographical History of England*. Huntington Library

Fig. 2.7. Page from the Bull Granger, Vol. 1. Huntington Library.

Fig. 2.8. Title page of Richard Bull's extra-illustrated copy of Granger's *Biographical History of England*, Vol. 1, 1769-1774. Huntington Library.
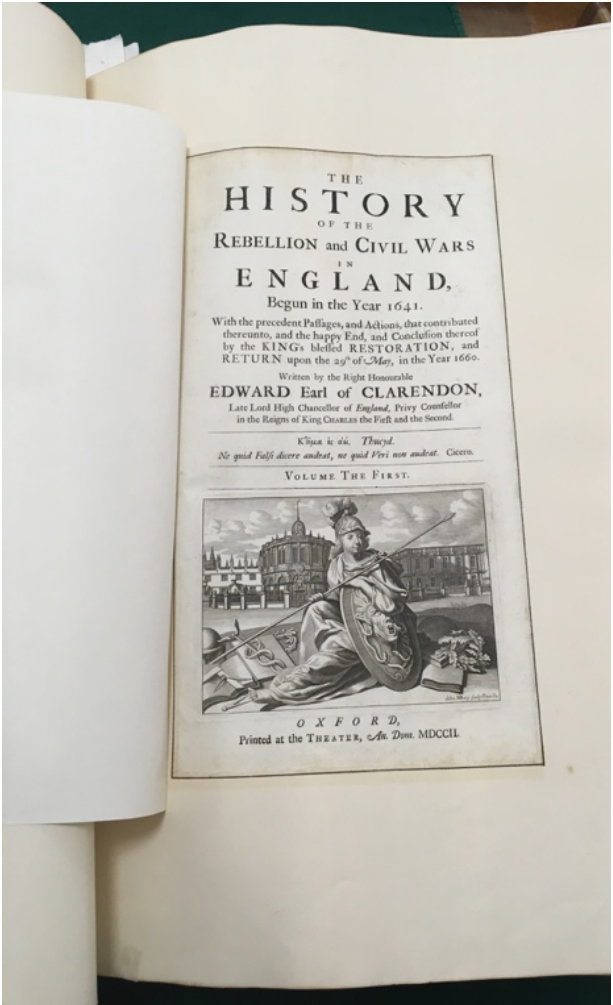
Figs. 2.9 and 2.10. Title pages for the Sutherland Clarendon (left) and for an original copy of Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, 1702 (right). Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

Fig. 2.11. Page from the Sutherland Clarendon, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

Afterword

I originally planned to end this thesis with a consideration of how the historical methods of organizing personal information in paper formats might compare with today's personal archiving methods in digital ones. Yet as I moved more deeply into my research, I changed my mind and decided that final thoughts should be devoted to paper, both its past and future. Opening and reading commonplace books of many kinds and looking through as many extra-illustrated works as I could for close to a year in different repositories had allowed me to see paper's function as a multi-faceted and surprisingly durable medium for managing, storing, preserving, organizing and processing personal information. The materiality of the self-inscription formats I was researching—residing in the texture, weight, color and smell of paper, as well as its diverse formal manifestations as folds, flaps, tabs, gatherings, windows and pages—indicated how much more there is to discover about paper's qualities as a medium. Future research on this project points towards understanding paper's materials and conceptual qualities better, and the forms of selfhood it has helped to develop, and will continue to help develop, even as institutions and individuals today have "gone paperless."

In the eighteenth century, paper was a medium not just for documentation, but also for vital mental processes of organization, imagination, calculation, and reflection. The many inventive ways that paper was used throughout the eighteenth century show that certain forms of knowing, thinking and indeed, living can only take place with and on paper. The example of paper usage that made this most clear to me were the pages in a commonplace book from circa 1760-1769 identified as belonging to "Miss Fall."[126] Containing mainly food

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[126] Miss Fall, Miss Fall's commonplace book and cookbook: manuscript approximately 1760-1769, Huntington Library, 642098.

recipes—savory and sweet, from mock turtle and ginger wine to almond custard—and medical ones, it was also used as a copy book for practicing penmanship and arithmetic, and keeping financial records. The book and all its pages worked hard for its owner as a commonplace volume. It bore many types of inscription, including accomplished flourishes and cyphering, as well as information, such as emotional records in the form of poems reflecting on the death of friends. Even the remaining segment of a torn out sheet of paper was used as a surface for writing along the spine axis a reminder about brewing sassafrass tea in a teapot. Most impressive was the tactile way the notebook owner manipulated paper to do her accounts. Folding a page along the vertical axis several times to create columns, she was able to create lines that were more subtle than ones created by ink, allowing the beauty of her penmanship to spread fully (fig. 1). The folding of paper to create lines, one can argue, counts as writing as much as the drawing of lines with ink or pencil does. Ultimately, the folding of paper to create lines helped her use her mind, and to see and feel what she was doing.

The fact that paper is a historical tool for writing can tell us much about the most ephemeral and mysterious aspect of human experience—how one thinks—makes it a critical topic for further examination. Working with paper is also what allows lasting records for those thoughts to be made, even as it helps bring those thoughts come into being in the first place and stay inside one's mind longer. Between 1681-1683, commonplacer Richard

Cromhleholm Bury (introduced in chapter 1) explained the connection between writing, thinking and remembering, seeing continuity between the things of one's world and the things of one's mind, as well as the continuity between one's mind, manuscripts, and body:

> Memory is greatly assisted by a rationall Method, & writeing Common place books partakes of both, being not other than A Methodicall Writeing of things, wch would also have noe connexion between them. Method in placeing your books in yor. study, and Method in disposing of yor. notions, both in yor. Head & manuscripts, will Render all most usefull, as being more ready at hand uppon occasion. And writeing (which is the picture of words, as words are the clothing of notions, & notions the Images of things) fixes all, both in the thoughts, by affording a stronger impression for the soul. In ye state of conjunction with the body, doe need & delights to make use of, Externall helps; The hand of Experiments, ye eyes of Diagrams, doe most easily, & distinctly, communicate knowledge to us. Now in writing, both hand & eye, have something Analogous hereunto... To derogate from this Recording use of writeing, is not only wittless, but graceless, & an affront to the holy Scriptures of truth...[127]

Depicting commonplace book writing by hand as a method of embodied learning and remembering, Bury makes clear the practice makes one not only devout but also a more engaged and mentally aware being in the world.

In more modern language Thomas Downes wrote in 1814 that "the practice of illustrating...is attended with so much amusement and information, by familiarizing the

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[127] Richard Cromleholm Bury, Commonplace book, written about 1682-83, Beinecke Library, p. 5 reprinted in Havens, 64.

memory with persons and things, which would otherwise escape observation, that it is justly deemed an employment worthy of the leisure hours."[128] Here, Downes concurs with Bury in his implied assessment that the interaction with paper entailed by extra-illustration sharpens the mind, making one both more alert to "persons and things" and able to remember them.

Both men of the long eighteenth century, reflecting on the paper practices and forms of writing this thesis has examined, also provide a historical context for answering questions asked by Abigail J. Sellen and Richard H. R. Harper in their study of today's "paperless office."[129] Among them is understanding what is being given up when paper is rejected for digital alternatives, and why its properties allow certain activities to take place and not others. What they identify as most salient are the tacility and interactivity of paper, which in turn produce forms of knowing and understanding that are deeper than digital experiences with the same material. Furthermore, the tactility, portability and flexibility of paper allows "the interweaving of reading and writing" as well as ease in annotating documents in ways the digital format cannot.[130] These functions have been definitional to commonplace book and extra-illustrated book making, which critics have frequently described as forms of annotation and reading. Yet, insofar as they are forms of reading, they are also forms of writing, a duality that the paper medium allows.

A commonplace book from 1800 in the Harry Page Collection of Manchester Metropolitan University brings both paper and virtual worlds together with its pages filled

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[128] Thomas Downes, *A Copious Index to Pennant's Account of London* (London, 1814), iii. Quoted in Peltz, 222.

[129] Abigail J. Sellen and Richard H.R. Harper, *The Myth of the Paperless Office* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002).

[130] Sellen and Harper, 13, 76.

with trompe l'oeil scraps of handwritten and hand colored paper scattered on their surfaces as if they were tabletops (fig. 3.2).[131] In addition to combining paper and the virtual worlds, the pages in this manuscript volume combine the commonplace book and the extra-illustrated book. The trompe l'oeil sheets of paper containing material that would otherwise be a commonplace entry (charades, rebuses, riddles, excerpts from poems) appear to be extra-illustrated scraps "added" and piled on to the book's native pages. Existing both as paper and the desire to be paper, the commonplace book combines word and image as well; as trompe l'oeil inscriptions, one could argue that the writing covering the different faux scraps of paper are as much products of drawing as they are writing. The commonplace book, by faking the appearance of holding scraps of real paper, inadvertently demonstrates the affordances of paper, which is that paper is easy to pick up, touch, hold, and interact with if you want to look more closely at it. Since the scraps are not really scraps that can be picked up, but drawn onto the page as if they were, one has to turn the book itself around to read what is on them. One sometimes misses being able to read the rest of a poem because it is being "covered" by another scrap of paper whose fake status makes it impossible to move out of the way. By virtue of simulating it in a trompe l'oeil miscellany and showing what is lost when without its actual presence, this commonplace book is a rich tribute to paper, the worlds it creates, and the acts of creativity and memory making it facilitates as a still critical medium for writing and living. This thesis has revealed that the material space of the page is a dynamic realm for knowledge organization, information management as well as archival storage and retrieval.

Further insights gained from writing this thesis include the understanding that the status of records as information and of records as archives are continuous and overlapping

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[131] Album of verses, riddles and paintings, 1800. Harry Page Collection, Manchester Metropolitan University Special Collections, 2.

with commonplace and extra-illustrated books. They are self-consciously coextensive in the case of commonplace books, which were used for both immediate knowledge retrieval and long-term remembrance. And whereas extra-illustrated books might be created with an eye towards their ultimate status as collections, they compiled historical information that was also significant for its heritage value. Ultimately, this insight over the overlapping status of records led to the greater awareness that both types of formats demonstrate how memory and commemoration are a part of life and being alive in the present, not just the past. Even in the case of extra-illustrated books, which appear immersed in the past, the purpose is to reanimate it for the present. Ultimately, commonplace books and extra-illustrated books demonstrate that people write to organize their lives, articulate and advance a purpose, and to make marks on life. If writing is a practice of mark making, it is also one of marking life, showing that one has lived as well as showing one how to live, remember, and be alive to one's life in the present, through the different forms and formats of paper.

Fig. 3.1. Page from Miss Fall's commonplace book and cookbook, circa 1760-1769, Huntington Library.

Fig. 3.2. Page from Album of verses, riddles and paintings, 1800. Harry Page Collection, Manchester Metropolitan University Special Collections

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