

**Retaining popularity:
Studying eighteenth-century prominence of the Spectator with
computational methods**

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The Spectator by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele was a periodical that was originally published between 1711 and 1714, which handled varied subjects while aiming to advance moral and wit of its readers. The periodical was highly popular during its original run, and it stayed prominent throughout the century because there were new editions and books reusing its contents. Today the periodical stays prevalent as a source in the research of the eighteenth century and has been linked especially to the study of public sphere.

In this thesis I analyse the popularity of the Spectator in the eighteenth century and how it maintained its prominence through new editions of the periodical and anthologies using it. In my study I will assess which parts and themes of the paper lead to this popularity and how that should affect the way we consider the Spectator today. In addition to this I will consider the effect the publishers and especially the publishing dynasty of the Tonsons had on the success of the periodical.

The method of the thesis is mainly quantitative, and my arguments are based on analysis made with R programming language using English Short Title Catalogue and Eighteenth Century Collections Online datasets. The datasets, in the form they are used here, have been provided and formed by COMHIS group. Based on the data, I have been able to assess the quantity and quality of the editions as well as reuse of the Spectator. In addition to the computational methods, I have read the original papers of the Spectator to contextualize the reuse.

In this thesis I argue that the Spectator established its popularity during its original run and managed to retain it throughout the century. This popularity was mainly due to two styles of content. First type was instructional texts, which were often moral and religious in nature and the second literary criticism. The role of literary criticism is also important because it shows how the Spectator took part in creating the literary canon instead of just showing how the periodical itself became part of it. The exemplary style of writing also played a major role in the popularity of the Spectator.

In addition to the content the popularity of the Spectator was affected by the publishers of the periodical. When it comes to publishing the editions of the Spectator and reusing the literary criticism of the periodical, the Tonsons had an unquestionable effect on the field. Still, the reuse and especially reuse of instructional texts was a wider phenomenon affecting the whole field and can be seen across educational books of the time but cannot be attributed to individual publishers.

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Introduction

The Spectator by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele was a popular periodical during its original run of 1711-1714 and became an established part of the English canon during the 1700s.¹ Although today it is rarely read as a form of entertainment or moral guidance, the periodical has become an important source for historians studying the 1700s Britain. This is due to its moral and instructional texts, literary criticism and exemplary written style. The effect of the periodical to the style and canon of the latter half of the century seems to be even stronger than previously claimed. In this master's thesis try to answer the following questions regarding the popularity of the Spectator by using the ESTC and ECCO databases together with original texts of the periodical.

To start with, how was the publication history of editions of the Spectator during the 1700s? We know that the Spectator was popular during its original run and that it was published as compiled editions through the 1700s. What was the extent of this publishing and how did it change during the century?

Furthermore, how was the Spectator reused and what made it popular? By this I mean, outside of the full editions of the periodical, what were the parts of it that interested the readers to the extent of using it as part of their own texts or anthologies and what were those books like.

Lastly, we know that books do not gain popularity solely based on their content, but they are also affected by publishing and marketing. In the case of the Spectator, the publishing family of the Tonsons had a major impact on the periodical through the century. For this reason, I ask, how did the Tonson publishing family affect the popularity and reuse of the Spectator?

The approach of this thesis is mainly quantitative using primarily methods of digital history but combines them with qualitative reading of the original papers of the Spectator. The timespan I focus on is 1711-1800, starting from the publishing of the first Spectator papers and ending at the end of the century. This is dictated by the extent of the data used. The two datasets I have used, ESTC and ECCO, contain information on what was published during the 1700s and how the books reuse each other's texts.

¹ Bond 1952, 578-580.

I argue that the Spectator's publishing through new editions, anthologies and books reusing small parts of the periodical remained strong and stable across the century. There were two main groups of texts that contributed to this. First, there were moral and instructional texts, which were also often religious in nature and, second, the literary criticism. In addition to this the written style of the periodical had a major effect on the popularity. Even though these groups can be separated in the reuse of the Spectator, more often than not they are present in the same papers of the periodical rather than being completely different subjects. Lastly, I see the Tonson publishing family as an integral part of the publishing process of the Spectator. At the same time the reuse of the Spectator was a wider phenomenon in the publishing field of Britain, not restricted to the Tonsons.

The earlier research of the Spectator has focused primarily on the content of the periodical, rather than its publishing history. This type of research is often concerned with the initial publication of the Spectator. It is clear that the Spectator was a popular paper during its time, although the debate continues about the exact numbers of readers.²

The Spectator is often seen as a product of the first half of the century. During the period its style has been considered as exemplary, but the effect has been considered to fade away during the latter half.³ This might be a natural result of the Spectator being published during the early 1700s and not being the most prominent source in the study of the latter half of the century, but in this thesis, I will challenge this notion to some extent.

While the focus with the Spectator has been on the first half of the century, there have also been some papers considering the publication history of the paper after that. For example, Bernard has gathered a useful bibliographical catalog of the editions of the Spectator and Justice's research on the Spectator and distance education has provided valuable information about the pedagogical collections using the Spectator.⁴ Justice's notes of the use of the Spectator are quite similar to mine and his grouping of four major approaches to the Spectator as, "model for learning, writing and speaking", "literature", "embodiment of its time" and "moral agent" all can be identified through the reuse data too.⁵

² Cowan 2004, 346; Downie 2008, 266-268.

³ Fitzmaurice 1998, 312.

⁴ Bernard, 2019; Justice, 2005.

⁵ Justice 2005, 269.

Since the study of the *Spectator* has focused on the initial run and the full editions of the periodical, the view on it might not match the way the paper was actually read after the beginning of the century. The periodical was often used as part of other books and collections and even when published as a whole edition, it was often read in parts rather than from beginning to end.⁶ With the reuse data which allows us to know which entries were used in these books that did not consist purely of the *Spectator*, we get a new metric for measuring which properties of the periodical were important to its history and prominence.

The use of the *Spectator* in anthologies and other books also shapes the way we should think about the influence of the periodical. Unlike Laurence Sterne says in his classic novel *Tristram Shandy*:

“Shall we for ever make new books, as apothecaries make new mixtures, by pouring out of one vessel into another? Are we forever to be twisting and untwisting the same rope?”,

the literary borrowing and creation of anthologies creates “a new rope” from parts of many existing books rather than creating books with the same meaning again and again. The meaning of literature is not determined only by the content of the original text, but also by those who read it and reuse it.⁷ Acquiring knowledge on what people have read and used as an inspiration is very hard to reach in historical studies and while it might work with a single individual, on a grander scale it often becomes impossible.

With the ECCO data we can reach this active reuse of texts, which is a powerful tool when considering the meaning of texts and how they change. With anthologies and other reuse, the original text is taken out of the original context, which often changes the meaning the text has as well as the emphasis.⁸ For example, as I later discuss in more detail, the same texts of the *Spectator* were used in grammar books and religious anthologies. Even though the content has not changed, the purpose of the text is hardly the same. This kind of reuse might also change the active actors we should consider when talking about the history of these books. It is not just the original authors that matter, but also the editors and new authors using the texts.⁹

⁶ Justice 2005, 271-272.

⁷ Willis 2021, 4.

⁸ Benedict 2003, 248-252.

⁹ Justice 2005, 272.

The study of reuse through digital methods is an active field researching many different subjects, but with the Spectator this method has not been used to great extent.¹⁰ The study on reuse of the Spectator in general has been fairly limited. The importance of the periodical as part of educational books has been acknowledged as well as the use of the Spectator in editions of *Paradise Lost*, although the opinions vary on what was the actual effect the periodical had on the newfound interest in the poem.¹¹

The role of its authors has been a subject of debate when it comes to the Spectator. While during its first run of 1711-1712, both Addison and Steele wrote roughly the same number of papers to the Spectator, the presence of Addison has been emphasized.¹² Some studies claim this explicitly, but it is also visible through the research field, where most questions on the Spectator are examined through Addison's text.¹³ To this are also notable exceptions such as the study of epistolary exchange in the Spectator, which often focuses more on Steele.¹⁴

The Spectator might have been the project of Richard Steele and Joseph Addison, but the copyright was bought by Jacob Tonson and Samuel Buckley in 1712 and Buckley sold his share to Tonson 1714. Tonsons were a publishing dynasty in the 18th century. Jacob Tonson's (I) first publication was from 1678. Tonson partnered with his nephew, also called Jacob Tonson (II) from the early 1700s onwards. After the death of Jacob Tonson (II) the business left to his son, confusingly, also named Jacob (III), who carried out the business all the way until his death in 1767.¹⁵ The contribution of publishers is a less used approach, but one, which might help us find more ways to explain the canonization of a piece of literature, rather than just confining to the merits of the content itself. While that is of course important, the books were in the end commercial goods and it affected the way they were read.

The earlier research on the Tonsons' publishing the Spectator is limited. Tonsons activity as advertisers of the periodical during the early years has been noted, but there has not been systematic study of their marketing of the periodical.¹⁶ The Spectator has also been discussed as part of Tonsons' endeavors to preserve the copyrights of their products after the

¹⁰ E.g., Salmi et al. 2021.

¹¹ E.g. Justice 2005; Ross 1998, 213; Syba 2009, 615 - 616; Dugas 2006, 79.

¹² Bond 1987, xlv.

¹³ Bond 1987, lix; Watts 1999, 1.

¹⁴ As an example of such research, read e.g., Bannet 2005. For comparison between epistolary material used see Bond 1987, lix.

¹⁵ Geduld 1969, 8-21.

¹⁶ Bond 1987, lxix – lxxiv.

unfavorable ruling of the Copyright Act of 1710, which shows the effort they had on keeping the copyright of the periodical.¹⁷ These findings are in line with the argument of this thesis, since I see the Tonsons as a driving force as a publisher of the editions of the Spectator, but their presence is limited when considering the effect on the popularity of the periodical.

Next in this thesis I will discuss further about the data and methods used for the analysis. Following this there will be three chapters, each of which considers one of the research questions. First, I will lay down the framework of the popularity of the Spectator discussing the quantity of publishing the Spectator and how geography and legislation affected it. Then I will focus on the reuse of the Spectator and what were the elements of the periodical which made it so popular. In the third chapter, the focus shifts from the Spectator as a piece of writing to it as a commodity which was published and sold. I analyze what part did the Tonson publishing family and publishers in general have on the popularity of the periodical. This is followed by conclusions.

¹⁷ E.g., Hamm 2012.

Data and methods

In this thesis I have used two main sources in addition to the Spectator.¹⁸ First is the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC) data, which contains metadata of books written in English or published in English speaking countries before the 1800s. While the name of metadata might have a connotation that differs from “actual” data, it is data and provides relevant information through quantitative methods and can be used on its own in this style of research. It should be noted that harmonization of data is needed to tackle the challenges of the data, in order to answer the questions in a meaningful way.¹⁹ Second dataset is Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO) data, which I will often refer to as *reuse data*. This is because collections of the texts allow us to detect which parts of a text can be found from another text. Both datasets have been provided to me by the COMHIS group.

Before I continue with more in detail discussion about the datasets, it is important to note a common restriction between the two. Both datasets lack information about newspapers and are focused on books. Some papers like the Spectator itself can be found from the data, since they were gathered and published as a single entity, but that was not the case with all papers. This does not prevent the research but should be noted when considering the results of the study. The methods used here could and have been used on the newspaper data, for example, when studying the reuse of Finnish newspapers.²⁰

The ESTC contains “monograph and serial letterpress items” which are “Printed before 1801” in “the British Isles, Colonial America, United States of America (1776-1800), Canada, or territories governed by Britain, in all languages” or “in any other part of the world, wholly or partly in English or other British vernaculars”. False imprints claimed to fill these restrictions are also included. For items from 1701-1800 they include “Fully edited records ... with short titles, imprints which omit addresses, and some notes.” For this reason, ESTC is not a complete set when it comes to the Spectator, since it was also translated and

¹⁸ The data used in this project is not public, but the code for cleaning the data and forming the sets and the figures is and can be found from: <https://github.com/mikkosk/thesis-final> (March 3, 2022)

¹⁹ Lahti et al. 2021, 8.

²⁰ E.g., Salmi et al. 2021.

published outside of Britain. For this reason, this paper focuses strictly on the Spectator's publishing history and canonisation in England.²¹

It is also important to note that the ESTC data was not originally created for historical research, but rather “to preserve as much information of the original document and its physical creation as possible”. This approach is often different from that of quantitative analysis, since it emphasizes accurate representation of the physical object over correct knowledge. Lahti et al. offer as an example that misspelled names in the printed books are saved in the bibliographic data but can be challenging for quantitative approach.²²

ESTC is not a stable database in a sense that it is subject to new additions and changes. The analysis is made with HELDIG's student edition of the data.²³ Even if done with a newer version of ESTC it is unlikely that entries of the Spectator would have been increased in a way that would change the results significantly.

Using editions of the Spectator rather than the original run of the periodical changes the point of view of the study. Instead of assessing the initial effect of the periodical, the reuse of the texts tells us more about the longevity and the changing presence of the Spectator, as well as its effect on other publications. In the end, a publication does not only have an impact on the first read or during its first print, rather rewriting of the same text or text inspired by a book influences the original text as well as the text has an impact on the reader.²⁴

The way ESTC data is used throughout the thesis varies. In the first chapter it is used as the main source of analysis and in the second and third chapter it supports the ECCO data. Since the two sets of data handle mostly the same bibliographical entries, they can be linked together. This allows, for example, combining the information about the reuse from ECCO with the information about the publishers from ESTC.

²¹ About the English Short Title Catalogue, http://estc.bl.uk/F/PTTSJ2PPERHBC4P43KDDUVN6C6X891H3PGD5MXJKLGV462J4KL-32296?func=file&file_name=catalogue-options, ESTC home page, (Accessed April 22, 2021); For example of a translated edition published outside of Britain see entry number 1 in Bernard 2019, 2.

²² Lahti et al. 2019, 7.

²³ The process of creating the versions of the data used by HELDIG have been discussed more in depth in Tolonen et al. 2021b.

²⁴ Willis 2021, 4.

Since both datasets contain the same bibliographical entries, they both have similar problems separating between bibliographical variants and actual different editions of the same publication.²⁵ Best example for this in my data would be five different ESTC entries of the *Spectator* from years 1713-1714 which all are printed for Buckley and Tonson and contain overall very similar metadata. Three of these even claim to be the same edition of the periodical. How should cases like this be handled? With more narrow sets of data, such as the *Spectator* data in the first chapter, some manual cleaning has been possible, but on a bigger scale these problems are not possible to solve in a scope of singular thesis. Still, the problem of picking actual different editions from bibliographical variants is one that HELDIG works on, but which does not have a simple solution. One of the ways this has been tackled is by choosing research questions which are not too greatly affected by these kinds of problems in the data.²⁶

Survivability of published material is also a factor that affects the datasets. Not all publications survive from the 1700s to this day and not all publications survive with the same rate. For example, books that were in high use like children's books are notorious for poor survival rates. Suarez claims that 10% of all editions of 1700s cannot be found anymore²⁷ For that reason it is good to consider whether the ESTC represents the reprinting of the *Spectator* accurately. As a positive notion with the first chapter, it can be said that, since I am studying the whole *Spectator* and not the individual papers, the survival rate should be higher. The publications also mainly represent similar genres, but the *Spectator* was also used in collections with religious or educational purposes which might indicate that there could be more of similar publications that have not survived.²⁸ With the latter chapters and the ECCO data this problem is more apparent and harder to account for since the reuse is not present in only certain types of books. Although survivability affects considerably what is saved in these datasets, conscious decisions have also been made on what to include, for example with ECCO entries like almanacs have been excluded and with bibliographical metadata like the ESTC the process often leaves something out.²⁹

²⁵ Suarez 2009, 42; Tolonen et al. 2021a, 25-27; Tolonen et al. 2021b, 74-75.

²⁶ See for example Tolonen et al. 2021b.

²⁷ Suarez 2009, 40 – 48.

²⁸ See the ESTC ids T77507 & T188143

²⁹ Tolonen et al 2021a, 27-28; Lahti et al. 2019, 7-8.

Many aspects of the publications affect the survivability. When it comes to size, the 12mo and 8vo sizes are in the best position. Suarez also brings up a proposition that provincial printing could be underrepresented because the press runs would have been smaller, the size of the actual copies was usually smaller, and that there were not as many institutions that would have preserved them. These notions highlight the fact that this data with this method should probably not be used to say anything too exact about the publication history of the *Spectator*, but rather examine the larger trends.

Finally, one data driven problem one may have with the ESTC metadata is that the data itself may be flawed due to, for example, human error or lacking knowledge of the entry. For example, many imprints printed outside of England and illegally imported there might look like their London counterparts.³⁰ If taken at face value, these might be stored with false metadata to the dataset. In ESTC many of these false imprints have been identified and stored correctly.³¹ For my purposes, I will in most cases trust the metadata provided by the ESTC, since I do not have the access and resources to go through the actual entries. Similar errors can also happen also with any other record in the metadata. For example, publication years may differ from actual due to uncertain information or error somewhere in the process.³²

Metadata that is especially prone to these issues is the information about the actors related to the entries. This information is mainly gathered from the imprint of the books, but also some external data has been used. The quality of imprints also varies from complete information containing, for example, the name and the role of the actor to only a set of initials of the actor. COMHIS has processed the data so that a set of around 150,000 unique actors can be found from the data.³³ This helps works with publisher data, but it is still good to remember that individual imprints can contain wrong information or miss information altogether.

I have analyzed in this thesis mostly actors described as publishers in ESTC data, instead of authors, printers and booksellers, since the publisher data is the most consistent.³⁴ Although, publisher itself is also not a perfect term when modeling the book trade industry during the 1700s.³⁵ With the publisher information it is important to keep in mind that the field did not

³⁰ Suarez 2009, 50-53.

³¹ See for example the ESTC id T230781

³² Suarez 2009, 41—42; see for example ESTC id T89184 where everything suggest that the entry is published 1719-1720, but the metadata puts the publication year to 1789

³³ Tolonen et al. 2021b, 73-74; Lahti et al. 2019, 8.

³⁴ Tolonen et al. 2021b, 95-96.

³⁵ Raven 2003, 14.

stay the same during the whole century. The scale of publishing and the size of publisher cliques gets wider as the century goes onwards and so the nature of early century data will not perfectly match the late century.³⁶ Publishing congers grew in popularity towards the end of the century and the copyrights of entries could be shared by many people and might change hands quickly.³⁷

Large set of data allows the use of the imprint information of the publishers, but it should be acknowledged that with single entries of the ESTC this information might not be accurate, or the reality might be more nuanced. As an easy example of this, one can look at author data on ESTC and see that already dead authors are listed as actors, which is not incorrect, but shows that edges between actors created this way may vary in nature.³⁸ With publishers, there rarely are entries after their death, at least compared to authors, but, for example, with large publishing cliques it is apparent that the relationship between those are different to two individual authors.

In addition to possible faults in the data, there might be human error on my end when picking the smaller datasets from the full dataset and cleaning it. The information about the entries are scattered in different places. There might be additional descriptions in full records of ESTC that are not saved in the HELDIG version of the data and some information can be found from the actual digital copies. Between these sources and hundreds of entries, it is probable that individual mistakes have been made. There are also judgment calls that must be made, concerning what to include or exclude from data and what is considered the “same” publication in terms of this analysis.

Moving from ESTC to the ECCO data. In this thesis I often refer to the ECCO data as reuse data, but it is not inherently a set containing information about the reuse. The collection is “just”, according to owner of the collection Gale, a collection, which “contains every significant English-language and foreign-language title printed in the United Kingdom between the years 1701 and 1800” and contains “135,000 printed works, comprising more than 26 million scanned facsimile pages”.³⁹ ECCO does not contain every entry that is

³⁶ Hill et al. 2019, 206-209.

³⁷ Raven 2003, 5-15; Tolonen et al. 2021b, 97.

³⁸ With many popular authors this is very common. For Shakespear check e.g., ESTC id N11089

³⁹ Eighteenth Century Collections Online: Part I. <https://www.gale.com/c/eighteenth-century-collections-online-part-i>. Accessed January 31, 2022.

present in the ESTC, but rather around 60%.⁴⁰ This means that some reuse will be missed, since it cannot be detected, but the scale is large enough to allow making meaningful arguments about the publication field as a whole.

The actual reuse data has been formed based on the OCR texts of the ECCO data. The reuse information has been created using BLAST software, originally created for bioinformatics, but which allows detecting similarities with noisy data such as biological sequences or in this case OCR text.⁴¹ Same technology has been used earlier in history research, for example, to detect reuse in Finnish newspapers, but it is not a universal tool and adjustments have to be made to fit the used data. With this process there are challenges like the poor OCR, which makes it harder to detect reuse reliably.⁴² This thesis is part of the hermeneutic exploration done by the COMHIS, where knowledge of the data and single historical cases are intertwined and build the knowledge of each other.⁴³

The reuse data can be created from any entry in the ECCO. For my research, I have used mainly the 1720 edition of the Spectator.⁴⁴ There could be some differences in the editions and the OCR, but while working with full editions, the differences should be comparable so small that it would not have been useful to run the analysis on multiple editions.

The nature of the ECCO reuse data requires heavy grouping of the data since meaningful insight might be found from different layers of the data. The main information in the reuse data, are the

- length of the reuse
- the position of the reuse, both in the original text and the target text
- the content of the reuse

since these properties are reuse case specific rather than ECCO or ESTC entry specific, calculating these together by entry makes

⁴⁰ Vaara et al. "Eighteenth-Century English Versions of Pierre Bayle's Dictionary: A Computational Study." Introduction. Hackathon project. <https://dhhbayle21.wordpress.com/introduction>. Accessed January 31, 2022.

⁴¹ Vaara et al. "Eighteenth-Century English Versions of Pierre Bayle's Dictionary: A Computational Study." Introduction. Hackathon project. <https://dhhbayle21.wordpress.com/introduction>. Accessed January 31, 2022.

⁴² Vaara et al. "Eighteenth-Century English Versions of Pierre Bayle's Dictionary: A Computational Study." Introduction. Hackathon project. <https://dhhbayle21.wordpress.com/introduction>. Accessed January 31, 2022; Tolonen et al 2021a, 28-31.

⁴³ Oberbrichler et al. 2021, 229-231

⁴⁴ ESTC id T152252

- the numbers of reuse cases per entry
- the combined length of reuse cases per entry

important values.

False reuse is a real challenge with the ECCO data. When detecting reuse based on a text, which in this case is the *Spectator*, the algorithm will only detect which parts of the text are used elsewhere. It does not have information about the origin of the text and so if the parts of the *Spectator* are original or if the *Spectator* itself is reusing material. For example, in multiple texts across the *Spectator*'s volumes 4 and 5 Addison goes through Milton's poem *Paradise Lost* from the year 1667, consisting of 12 books, almost book by book. In many of these papers, a significant amount of the paper is used by direct citation of the poem.⁴⁵ This reuse is detected. If left uncleaned, it would be impossible to know if the book reusing this part of the *Spectator* is actually using the periodical or if it is just using the same part of *Paradise Lost* as the *Spectator* did.

To battle the problem of false reuse I have clustered similar reuse cases programmatically.⁴⁶ By doing so, it is possible to filter large amounts of false reuse by going through all cases of reuse and checking their publication year. If a cluster contains any entries before the publication of the *Spectator*, the whole cluster can be dismissed since it most likely contains content that was itself reused by the *Spectator*. With the *Spectator* I have chosen to filter all clusters containing entries before the year 1711. This leaves narrow room for error, since the *Spectator* was published until 1714. Even if the clusters were filtered by the year each paper was published, the data is not fine grained enough to compare publication dates and small errors could occur. For this reason, I had to manually remove some entries which clearly contained reused data from 1711-1714.⁴⁷

Clustering is not perfect, and it will not fix the problems caused by the reuse detection. Some clusters can be divided into two, or they might be missing entries. This may lead to mistakes in filtering or cause inaccuracies in quantitative comparisons. In other words, with this data it is not wise to be fixated on specific numbers since they might have small errors, but the scale of hits should be fairly accurate.

⁴⁵ E.g. The *Spectator* no. 303, 309, 315. 327

⁴⁶ Thanks to COMHIS for providing me with a clustering algorithm by Maciej Janicki.

⁴⁷ For example, Spec 628 is not filtered in the data, but most works reusing it are actually using parts of Addison's play *Cato, a tragedy* from 1712, which Addison reuses here.

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The Many Editions of the Spectator

In the first chapter I approach the popularity of the Spectator through the publishing history of the periodical and examine how the quantity of the publishing changed during the century. This is done by using the ESTC data. Here I am not concerned with the actual content of the periodical, but rather with the amount of publishing related to the Spectator. Through this approach I will show that the publishing of the periodical continued well into the latter half of the century across Britain. For this reason, the effect the periodical had should be considered throughout the century in different settings rather than just focusing on the coffee-houses of the early century. The areas the Spectator affected are discussed more in the next chapter.

As described previously, in the Introduction, the ESTC data contains metadata information for most surviving books published in Britain during the 1700s. This metadata contains information such as the title of the book, publishing year and place and actors related to the book, such as the publisher and the author. In this chapter I will focus on a specific portion of the ESTC, which contains pure editions of the Spectator and anthologies that rely heavily on it. I have also augmented the data with information from Stephen Bernard's bibliographical history of the Spectator when considering how to find the entries containing texts from the periodical as well as using it as a parallel to the ESTC data.⁴⁸

To form this data from the whole ESTC I used regular expressions to search for the entries from the whole dataset. In addition, some manual searching and cleaning of data and adding missing data was done. The decisions in case of adding anthologies were based on the title and the remaining title of the publications and where possible on the actual digital copy of the publications. While this method will only catch the most obvious cases of books using the Spectator, it offers a good comparison for the ECCO reuse data used in the following chapter, where the reuse can be more clearly defined. In the end, I was left with 213 distinct entries from 1711 to 1800, on which I will base the analysis in the first chapter.

⁴⁸ Bernard 2019, 1-25.

In this chapter, for the purposes of the analysis, data was assigned to four different groups. This helps to see if the results match even if data is selected with stricter or less strict assumptions and if different types of data form different patterns. The four sets are:

Plain data: Includes everything from ESTC and Bernard that is deemed to contain the Spectator. This is the base for other datasets. The way this data was formed is described in detail in the previous part.

Unique ESTC: Contains every ESTC entry that cannot be matched with an entry in Bernard's list. Since Bernard includes most of the full editions of the Spectator found ESTC, this dataset, proportionally, contains a lot of entries that are not pure editions of the periodical.

Bernard and ESTC: Includes all entries from ESTC that can be matched to bibliographical history of Bernard and all Bernard entries.

Pure Spectator: Only contains entries that seem to contain only the Spectator in its original form. Basically, complete editions or at least full volumes. These are manually picked so some mistakes are possible, even probable, but these should not affect the results too much.

The reason behind dividing the data in smaller groups is to try to catch errors in gathering and cleaning of the data. For example, if the data gathered by Bernard differentiates a lot of the ESTC data one would have to suppose that something is missing in either data. The differences between the sets might also be able to tell something about the publication history of the Spectator.

In addition to the Spectator data, I included two groups of data from ESTC to try to see which trends in the Spectator data are unique to it and which are only the result of the general trends in the British book trade during the 1700s. These two are:

Tatler: Includes editions and collected editions of the *Tatler* from the ESTC.

Whole ESTC: Includes all entries from the ESTC from the 18th century.

Tatler is an interesting parallel to the *Spectator* since it was a similar periodical written by the same authors Addison and Steele in 1709, just two years before the first run of the

Spectator.⁴⁹ The method for forming this set was similar to the process of creating the Spectator data. The *Whole ESTC* is, as the name says, the ESTC in full, without any filtering. It allows one to see what general trends of the (surviving) publications during the 1700s are. Without this data it would be hard to say if the changes in publication numbers during the century in the Spectator data are a result of the rising industry or if there is another reason, e.g., peak in interest towards the periodical.

One of the simplest forms of examining the publication history, and which lays the foundation for the argument that the Spectator retains its popularity during the 1700s, is the simple count of how many different editions of the Spectator or titles reusing it were published. As can be seen from Figure 1, the publishing of the Spectator editions stays relatively similar across the decade, with a few exceptional decades.⁵⁰ After the 1720s the first bigger change came in the 1750s and 1760s when the publishing amounts grew. These changes might be related to changes in copyright law and increase in the number of people publishing the Spectator. This issue is discussed further later.

Another interesting decade is the 1780s when the numbers plummet but are back up in the 1790s. What causes this? At least, the American War affected the industry, because the business model of publishing had become more dependent on other fields of industry.⁵¹ The number of entries in ESTC as a whole did not decrease in the 1780s, but the trend of the growth is not as strong as it was in the 1770s and again in the 1790s. The drop in the Spectator data might seem drastic, but with only 10 to 20 entries per century, as can be seen from Figure 1, even small fluctuations may cause this, although it is probable that there are also other factors behind the drop.⁵²

Even though both changes during the middle of the century and the 1770s have possible explanations that stem from outside of the commercial interests of the public, the changes are relatively small, and it is possible that they could be explained by just the public's interest and natural fluctuation of publication. As discussed later, books were published for a reason and as commercial products, so even if there are other reasons also affecting the publishing numbers, they still tell something about the people's willingness to buy the title.

⁴⁹ Newman 2005, 11.

⁵⁰ Raven 2003, 1.

⁵¹ Raven, 11.

⁵² Figure 1; Kivistö 2022e.

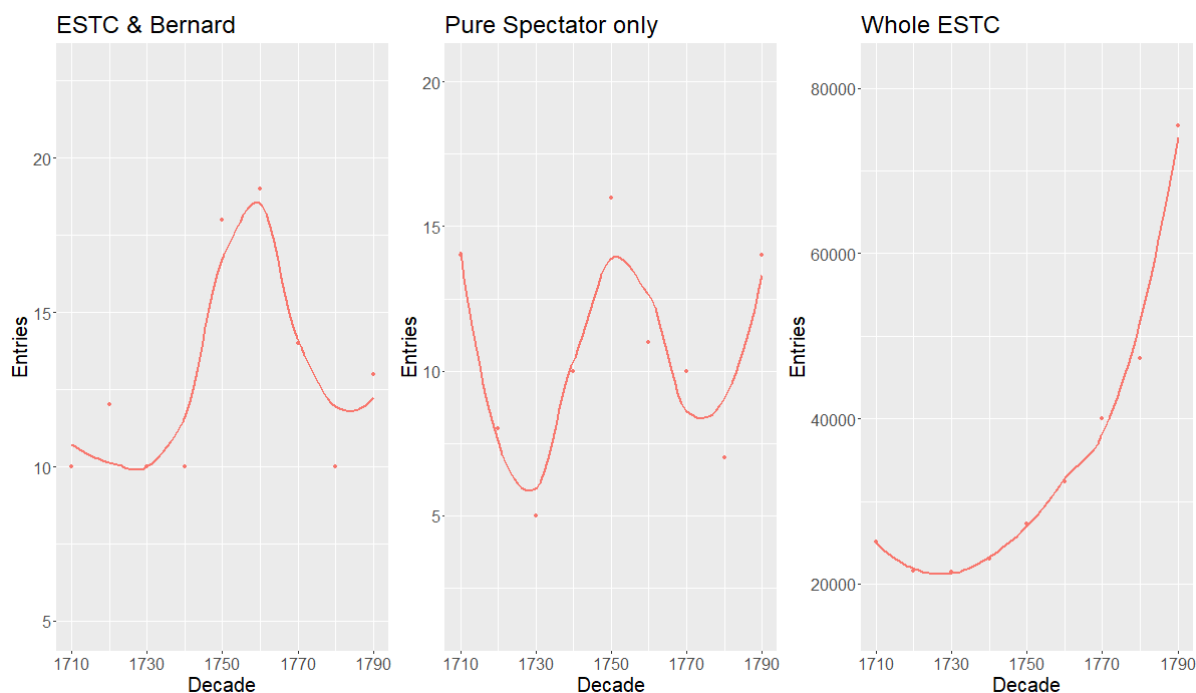


Figure 1. Unique publications count

There is no single point of canonisation with the Spectator. Rather the initial popularity of the periodical seems to retain through the century. When considering the relationship of reprint numbers of the Spectator and its status, it should be noted that it was popular during its initial run, Addison having counted “on 60,000 to 80,000 readers for each issue”.⁵³ In other words, the number of entries rose during individual decades like the 1750s and it became even more popular than it initially was, but because of its initial success, it is hard to see this as a definitive change in its status. If the rise in popularity came from new groups of people reading the periodical and not because of the general trend in the industry, this change could be seen as more substantial. This remains a speculative question in this paper, since the data used is not sufficient for answering it.

The number of editions of the Spectator are a good indication on how popular the periodical was, but it paints a very broad picture of the reasons behind it. Another element of the data that describes the role of the Spectator during the 1700s century is how it was read and used. The Spectator was published as complete editions but also only parts of it were used in other publications and selected editions. Even with the complete editions, the Spectator was rarely read this way and rather consuming small excerpts at the time was more typical.⁵⁴ Through

⁵³ Cowan 2004, 346.

⁵⁴ Justice 2005, 271-272.

the years the texts have been reused in many ways and the focus of reuse has varied. Some publications have focused on the *Spectator* as a periodical and others on other aspects such as an author or a common subject, for example, religion.⁵⁵ This theme is talked about in greater detail in the next chapter.

The way the *Spectator* was published during the 1700s follows the overall trends of the century. In the beginning of the century the number of distinct publishers was small, and they published multiple entries across multiple decades. During the decades the trend changes and more and more publishers are introduced, and they don't publish as much or as long as their counterparts during earlier decades.

The change from individual publishers publishing multiple entries to publishers publishing less titles or doing so in bigger groups establishes the change in the way the *Spectator* was published during the century. In the beginning of the century single publishers would, with high likelihood, publish multiple entries during the same decade and publishing congers were rare. This changes during the century. For example, in the *ESTC and Bernard* section of Figure 2. the number of entries per publisher in the 1770s dropped under 1.⁵⁶ This can be the result of just new publishers entering the industry, but also that publishers worked in bigger groups. This of course raises the question if this is solely because more people were actually contributing to the publishing effort or whether there are changes in who was deemed as a publisher or how publications were credited. This ratio is probably actually even lower. As described in the introduction, the publishing cliques got bigger during the latter half of the century and became more common. In the case of the *Spectator* the number of cliques stays relatively the same, even decreasing until the rise of the 1770s.⁵⁷ The size of organizations is a more significant factor with the *Spectator*. These numbers are not included in the *ESTC*, but if one takes a look at Bernard's list of editions it seems apparent that during the latter half of the century more groups with over three people start to appear while in the first half most groups consist of two or three people.⁵⁸ This follows the general trend of shared copyright during the 1700s, which allowed many people to share financial risk of publication.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ *ESTC* id T97981; *ESTC* id N24149

⁵⁶ Figures 2; Kivistö 2022h.

⁵⁷ Kivistö 2022j.

⁵⁸ Bernard 2019, 2-11.

⁵⁹ Raven 2003, 15-17; Rose 2009, 124.

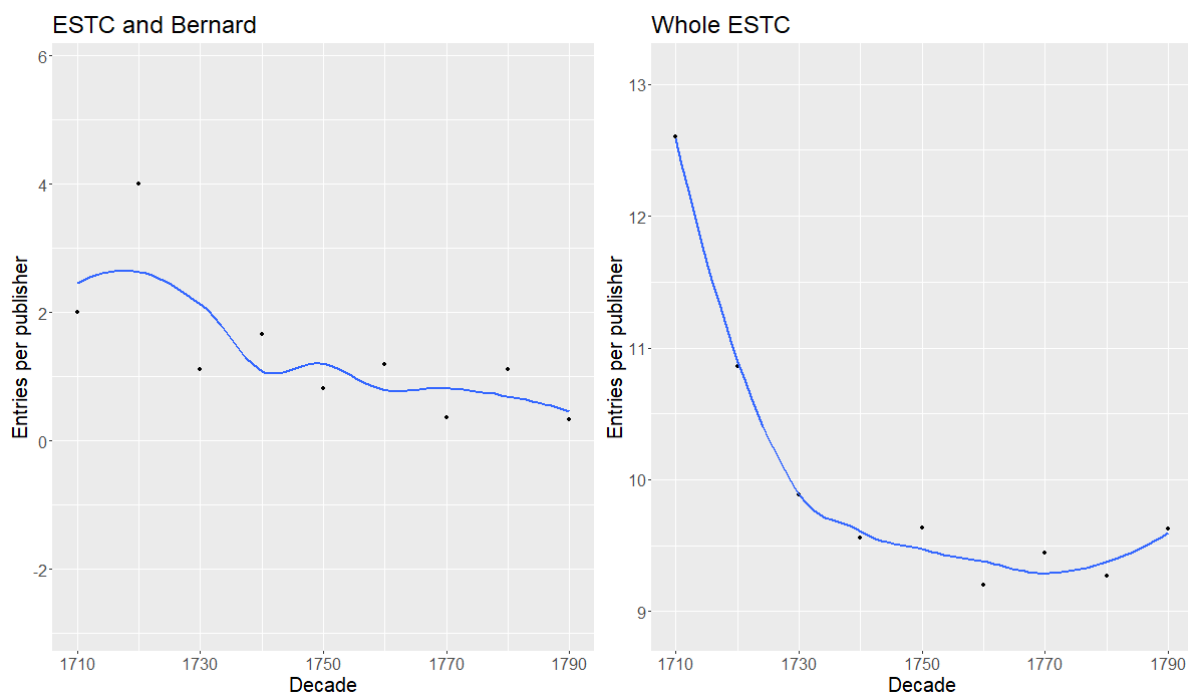


Figure 2. Entries per publisher

The changes in the way the *Spectator* was published is largely affected by the change in copyright laws. These changes allowed different publishers to publish intellectual property earlier held by certain publishers more freely. First the Copyright Act of 1710, which affected England and Scotland, limited the copyright for old publications to 21 years and for new publications 14 years with a possible extension of another 14 if the writer was still alive. Although even after this, large London publishers were quite successful at defending their position publishing the old publications with actions such as lowering prices and appealing to courts. In Scotland the change was received differently and especially from the 1740s on the reprint of popular titles grew.⁶⁰ The courts in England were somewhat favorable to big London publishers, but this changed in 1774 with the case of *Donaldson v Beckett*. The House of Lords decided against the injunction of Donaldson, a Scottish bookseller reprinting popular authors like Shakespeare, which meant that “the limited duration of copyright was finally established”. This also led to the end of the old system of publishing, where owning shares of popular copyrights and having inner circle connections were the keys to success.⁶¹

In Ireland the legislation was different. There was no similar law as the Copyright Act of 1710 in England and Scotland. Technically the publishing was highly controlled until 1730,

⁶⁰ Rose 2009, 119-121.

⁶¹ Rose 2009, 122-124.

but in practice it was quite free during the 1700s. It was also not illegal to reprint titles whose copyright was still owned by a publisher in England or Scotland. Importing those titles to Great Britain, on the other hand, was. Illegal importing happened, but in relatively small amounts. Similar honorary copyright system as in Great Britain was present in Ireland, which stated that the first person who prints or has an intention to print a manuscript has the right to publication of that title.⁶² There are different views on how well the system worked, but it seems “that the system worked well enough for London and Dublin booksellers to be able to collaborate on a regular basis for the exchange of copy”.⁶³

The change in legislation is important for the publication history, but it does not explain everything or reflect directly into the data. As we saw from the sheer number of editions in Figure 1, the first decades after the changes do not cause big spikes in the data, rather the change remains quite subtle.⁶⁴ With the *Spectator* the change starts in the 1750s although the highpoint of changes in data related to publishers is in the 1770s as can be seen from the count of new and distinct publishers in Figure 3.⁶⁵

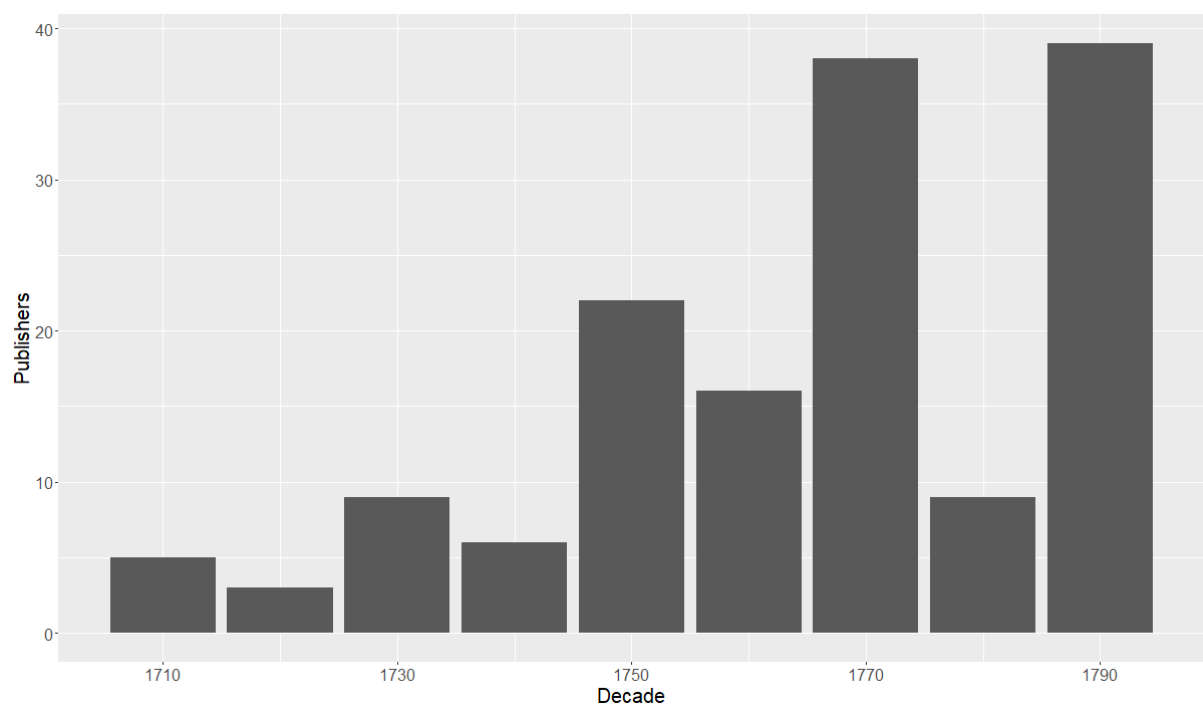


Figure 3. Count of distinct publishers each decade

⁶² Benson 2009, 366-371.

⁶³ Bonnell 2009, 702; Benson 2009, 370.

⁶⁴ Figure 1.

⁶⁵ Figure 3; Kivistö 2022f.

One possible reason why the changes of the legislation, especially the Copyright Act of 1710, are not displayed immediately in the data is the reason that the big London publishers, who had owned the rights to the publications before the limited copyright ended, still fought for the perpetual copyright in and out of court against the breakers of the honorary copyright. The Tonson publishing family who are the most important publishers of the periodical during the first half of the century are discussed in more detail in following chapters.

London was the hub of publishing in England and so was the case with the *Spectator*, although both Ireland and Scotland were active. Ireland especially from the 1720s until 1770s and in Scotland after the 1740s. Publishing in England, outside of London, on the other hand, was rare. Only the 1790s are different, having relatively high percentages of publications from the provinces. This can be seen from Figure 4, where the percentage of published editions by decade on each location is seen.⁶⁶

The relative importance of Ireland and Scotland in publishing the *Spectator* is largely explained by Tonsons ability to protect their copyright, as successful as it was in England, was not as successful outside of it. Since it was hard to defend the copyright, it is possible that some of the London publishers authorized publications in Ireland, but at least I have not found any sign of this.⁶⁷ Against the Scottish there were more actual actions taken and for example, the case of *Tonson v. Collins* links to the quarrel between publishers in London and Scotland.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Figure 4; Kivistö 2022i.

⁶⁷ Gomez-Arostegui 2010, 127-129.

⁶⁸ Deazlet, 2008.

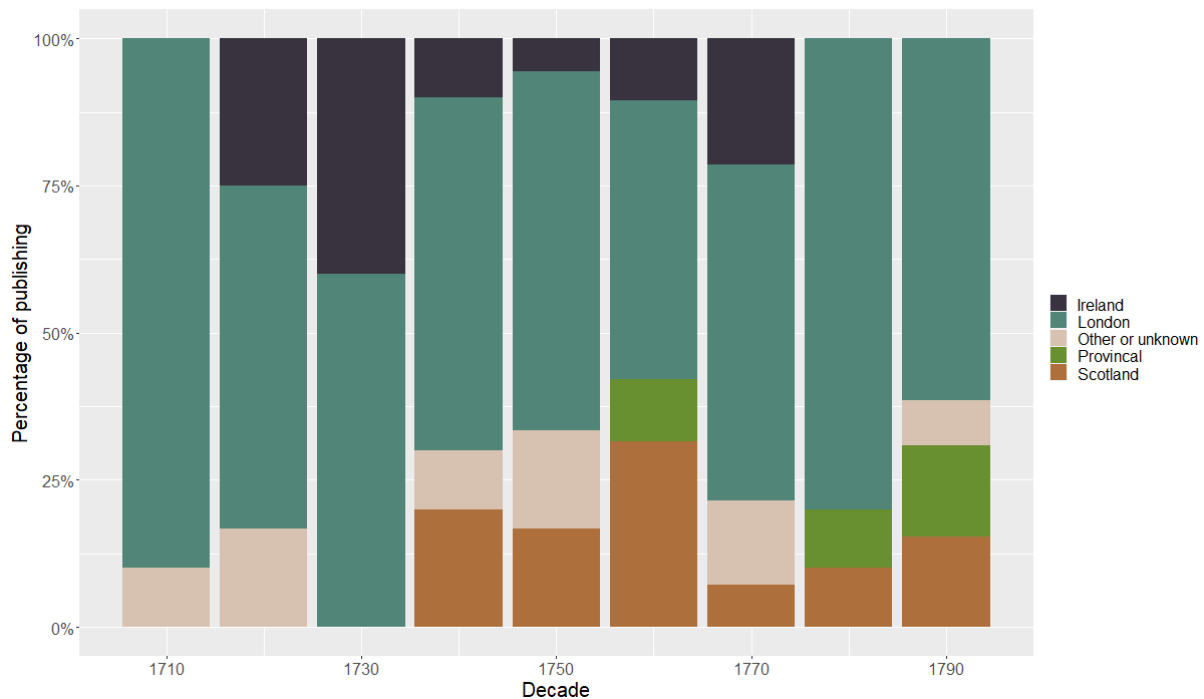


Figure 4. Percentage of publications by location

Publishing and readership are not the same thing and while the publication numbers allow us to see the general trend of popularity and make some geographical analysis, it cannot be directly used to claim where the books were actually read. Especially provincial readership and sales, as well as printing and publishing, were rising during the 1700s.⁶⁹ This suggests that even if the *Spectator* was not published in provinces, its readership might still have grown.

Legislation and the honorary copyright system do explain largely why we do not see that many new publishers entering the field before the latter half of the century, but it does not alone explain why more people decided to publish the *Spectator* once it was legal. It is not believable that people wanted to publish books just because it was not against the law. So why did more and more people try to publish the periodical?

Most obvious explanation seems to be monetary reasons. As discussed earlier, during its original release the *Spectator* was a highly successful magazine and reprints of popular titles was the source of steady income for publishers.⁷⁰ Not all publishers were successful in getting their share of the marketplace. Big London publishers protected their product, even

⁶⁹ Raven 2003, 3-12.

⁷⁰ Bonnell 2009, 699.

after the legislation had changed and it was not guarded by the law anymore. This could explain why so many of these later publishers only published single publications.

Monetary reasons were probably the most prominent reason to publish the reprints, the data also suggest that the *Spectator* had value as a literary piece. As earlier described, texts from the *Spectator* were used in many other texts as well. The *Spectator* was popular, and it is likely that the mention of it was monetarily a good thing for a publication. In the end, association with the *Spectator* was so powerful that people who were associated with it might address this fact, for example, in their other publications.⁷¹ It should also be seen as a sign that the morals the periodical represented, and its writing style was appreciated.

One might ask, does it matter what motivated the publishers in their publishing? Yes and no. Publishers and readers do not exist isolated from each other. Even if publishers were only motivated by money to publish the *Spectator*, the rising numbers of publications tell us that people were reading them. Why were people so interested in reading the *Spectator* is an important question for the popularity of the periodical. It is possible that demand came from outside of the publishing industry and the publishers just answered this demand or it is possible that the publishers saw a new market for the *Spectator* which created demand. Another possible scenario is that publishers pushed the *Spectator* to their clients to create demand or to reach a wider audience for other reasons. General trends suggest the mixture of both a rising number of readers and more effective ways of selling books to the public, for example, by selling retail.⁷²

⁷¹ Bond 1987, lvii.

⁷² Raven 2003, 1-12.

From God to Criticism: Reusing the Periodical

Like with the ESTC data, the popularity of the Spectator is also visible through the ECCO reuse data. As described in the Data and Methods, the ECCO reuse data contains information about the books during the 1700s which reused the texts of the Spectator. This allows us to answer questions such as, what parts of the periodical were reused, in which type of entries did they reuse it and who were the actors behind the reuse. Whereas the ESTC data allows one to inspect the metadata of the 1700s English books, the ECCO data allows one to make more fine-grained assessments of the use of the Spectator's original texts both quantitatively and qualitatively.

With ESTC data I divided the data in four groups to see if the trends hold up even if the initial assumption of what entries contain the Spectator changes. With ECCO I used a similar approach, but with different reuse lengths. The way texts are reused could be divided into several groups. With this I have tried to capture the difference between reuse of whole papers of the Spectator and the citation of the smaller parts of the periodical. This is not a comprehensive division between different styles of reuse and there are interesting subgroups between these ones as well, for example, the difference between reuse with citation and without is an interesting subject, which is left untouched here.⁷³

I have used three subgroups each with tighter filtering. First group has all data after clustering, as discussed in the introduction. With the second group additionally all the full editions are removed. And third has books containing only entries with less than 2500 characters of reuse. This should show if there are significant differences in use between those books that reuse whole papers of the periodical and those using only parts of it. This division is based on the length of an average number of the Spectator. The length of the papers mostly ranges between 5 000 - 15 000 characters.⁷⁴

Since the reuse contains very different reuse cases in nature, the grouping of the data is necessary to see different layers of information. If we would take all the data and just look at the biggest numbers all we would see are the tens of editions of the Spectator that we already found from the ESTC data, since they are more or less exact copies of the same text and thus

⁷³ Edelstein, Morrissey & Roe 2013, 219

⁷⁴ Since the length of the whole Spectator is around 5000000 characters and there are 635 numbers, the average length of a paper is a little less than 8000 characters, but there are variations. For example, Spectator 454 is about 11000 characters long and 456 only around 6000.

contain most and longest reuse cases. For example, in the data from the 1720s edition of the periodical, with the full editions of the Spectator included, 58 most used entries are full editions, only to be followed by a collection of Joseph Addison's works.⁷⁵ In that data more than 75% of the reuse (by character length) come from the other Spectator editions.⁷⁶

Reuse detection used here does not give us a perfect picture of how the Spectator was used as a source for new text. It is widely accepted that the Spectator inspired many similar publications and even spurious continuations.⁷⁷ To give a scale, Maidment notes that "Within the next two decades, close to a hundred new periodicals exploited the essay-sheet model established by Addison and Steele".⁷⁸ A line should be drawn between the use of a model of a successful periodical and how its ideas actually shaped the texts, but this still shows that people were reading the Spectator and using it as an influence.

Not all texts inspired by the Spectator were periodicals. Other texts include, for example, versions of stories from the Spectator which were turned to verse by the readers or texts such as *The life of Doctor Benjamin Franklin; written by himself: together with Essays, humorous, moral, and literary, chiefly in the manner of the Spectator*.⁷⁹ Where the reuse of the text is easier to quantify, this is much harder, since it is not possible on a large scale to say what was inspired or affected by the Spectator and what was not. Still, these offer at least interesting anecdotal evidence of the importance of the periodical, suggesting that the morals and the style of the Spectator represented were accepted by many.⁸⁰

Getting back to the actual reuse data. Most clear case of "reuse" is a new edition of the same book. As we saw from the ESTC data earlier, the Spectator reached tens of editions across the 1700s. We can also see this from the reuse data, where most of the ESTC entries can be found.⁸¹ Reuse data does not tell much more about the edition of the Spectator that ESTC did not already unveil. Since the reuse data shows which parts of the text were used again, comparing editions of the same work will, in most cases, show that the editions are quite

⁷⁵ First 57 entries are editions of *The Spectator* when arranged by the sum of the reuse lengths; Kivistö 2022c.

⁷⁶ Kivistö 2022d.

⁷⁷ Bond 1987, lxxvi; Tierney 2009, 486-487.

⁷⁸ Tierney 2009, 486-487.

⁷⁹ ESTC id T22174; ESTC id W17003.

⁸⁰ Bond 1987, xcv.

⁸¹ From 98 of editions in ESTC or Bernard's data 57 are found from ECCO data. This does not mean that ESTC nor ECCO data is faulty, rather that ECCO does not include as wide a group of 18th century books as does the ESTC; Kivistö 2022d.

identical.⁸² Of course, not all editions are exactly the same due to bibliographical restrictions, alterations during publishing and challenges with OCR.⁸³

Reuse data confirms the idea from the first chapter that the Spectator retains its popularity through the 1700s. In fact, it seems that the trends of reuse are very similar, but more extreme. Reuse peaked during the mid-century, as with the full editions, only to drop significantly during the 1780s and start to recover after that as can be seen from Figure 5.⁸⁴ Even though reuse data does not shed more information to the editions of the Spectator, it does help us find the books that used the Spectator in similar fashion to the full editions, which escaped the data groups in the first chapter created by manual searches. With this I mean books that reused large portions of the Spectator unchanged and often even used its name in the title. These are books such as *The beauties of the Spectators, Tatlers, and Guardians* and *The works of the late Right Honorable Joseph Addison*. For comparison, a full edition of the Spectator contained about 5 million characters. Another edition of the Spectator would match with almost all of those 5 characters, while *The works of the late Right Honorable Joseph Addison* would contain about 2 million characters and *The beauties of the Spectators, Tatlers, and Guardians* around 700,000 characters.⁸⁵

⁸² The lengths of the Spectator entries vary from 1 million to 5 million characters, but 41 out of 53 contain over 4 million suggesting that they contain most of the periodical's contents; Kivistö 2022d.

⁸³ From some entries only certain volumes have survived or are included. Check e.g. ESTC id T89014, which only contains the latter half of the Spectator.

⁸⁴ Figure 5; Kivistö 2022g.

⁸⁵ Kivistö 2022d.

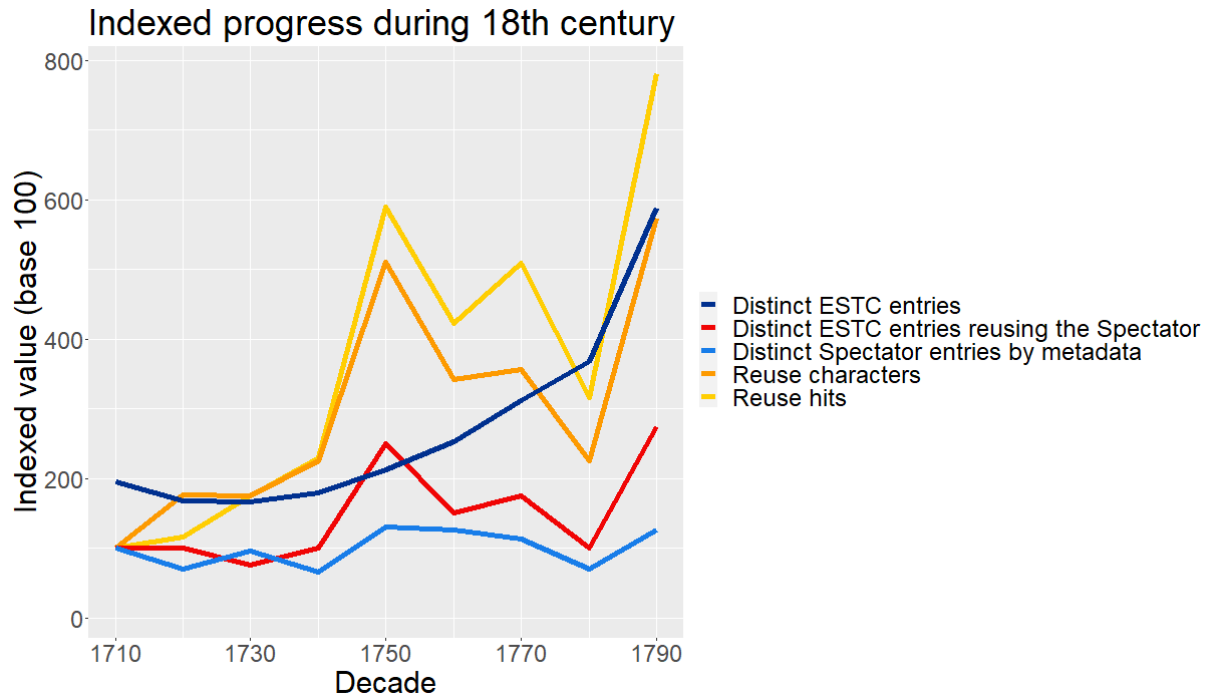


Figure 5. Indexed progress of reuse numbers compared to distinct entries

It has become apparent that the Spectator was popular through the whole 1700s, but what were the leading factors? Were some parts more influential than others? I have mainly considered this question through the amount of reuses each number of the Spectator has and focused on the 50 most reused papers from both groups of the longer reuse cases and shorter reuse cases, which were described earlier in the chapter. It is important to note however, that there are no clear groups of important numbers of the Spectator and unimportant. One can see from Figure 6, where the amounts of reuses per number of the periodical have been sorted in order from most to least, that the dispersion is not linear, but that it also is not divided into two groups of important and not important numbers.⁸⁶ Out of the 50 most used numbers in both categories 26 are common between the groups and out of the 74 total numbers 60 are in the most used third of both groups.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Figure 6; Kivistö 2022b.

⁸⁷ Kivistö 2022n.

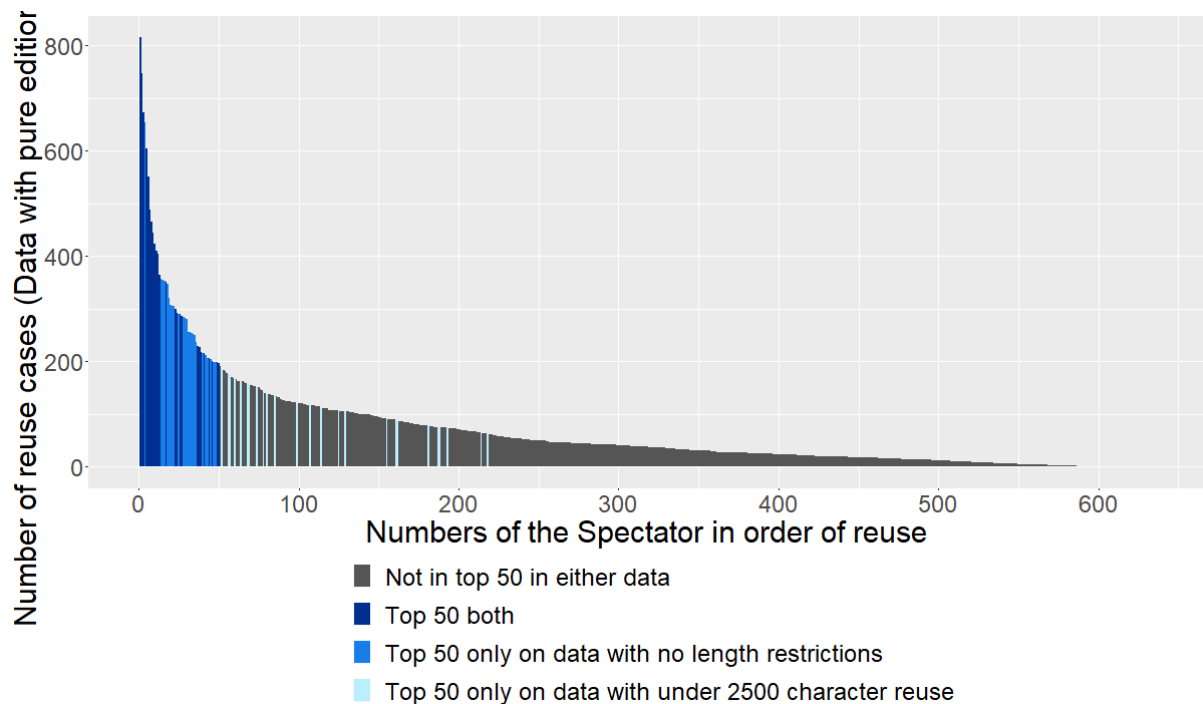


Figure 6. Distribution of hits in different numbers. Ordered by most hits.

Based on the themes of the most popular papers, I would suggest that there are two groups of texts that make the Spectator what it is known for during the 1700s. First are the moral and instructional papers, which often incorporate religious themes and second are texts containing criticism and analysis upon other texts.⁸⁸ It can't be overemphasized that these are not mutually exclusive. From the most used numbers, I examined the themes and tried to pinpoint those which made them interesting for authors reusing them. Grouping data this wide is not a simple task and it is something that is present in many digital humanities works.⁸⁹ Many of the groups that could be identified, also overlap with each other. The challenges with grouping the texts of the Spectator can be summed up quite well by the example set by Mills when describing Addison's role in Scotland:

He could be recommended as a guide on the issue of the character of female education ; an authority on defining 'wit'; a proponent of the necessity of revelation for true morality; as 'one of the greatest critics', second to none including Longinus; as an inimitable writer on medical matters or the pleasures of gardening; an authority on the replacement of

⁸⁸ For instructional text, see e.g. , The Spectator no. 195 and 387. For criticism, see e.g. The Spectator no. 39 and 357

⁸⁹ See for example, Edelstein, Morrissey & Roe 2013, 222-223

the letter ‘s’ in words formerly ending in ‘eth’ ; as an insightful commentator on the relationship between language and national character; a fecund source of affecting imagery; the likely source of the phrase ‘impartial spectator’ ; the inspiration for the early Gothic sense of architecture; as writing an exemplary historical epic; as informing the ‘apposite arrangement of words’ for translating the bible; as a guide for exercising use of heathen deities as causes when explaining historical events; pointlessly referenced during the Court of Session’s deliberation of *Hinton v. Donaldson* (1773)⁹⁰

The themes of politeness, morals and religion were often linked to each other in Addison’s texts and in the 1700s generally.⁹¹ For this reason, it would also be anachronistic to try to separate the themes to completely separate groups, even though in some texts one of these themes might be more emphasized than others. Like Addison himself puts it in the *Spectator* number 571, his work will consist not only of “Papers of Humour and Learning”, but also “Essays Moral and Divine”. Thus, showing the parallel between the religious and moral content and entertaining content.

While the meaning of the popular papers is clearly defined by original content in them, it should also be considered what books were reusing the *Spectator* and how it defines the meaning of the papers in the canon. As Benedict has argued, anthologies strip the texts from their original context and put them in another one, often highlighting “genre, topic, and style” and later in the century specific authors.⁹² Of course, the *Spectator* is not a typical work in that sense to begin with, since the texts of the periodical are already mostly separate from each other and by multiple different authors. Still, the context between full editions of the *Spectator* and other texts using it is very different. The way texts are reused also does not just change the way they were read during history, but also the way we look at the works today.⁹³ For this reason it is relevant to know not just the source of reuse but also the target.

Getting back to the groups of popular texts. The first group, instructional texts, contain several properties that make them popular among reuses. First property is the moral instructions, such as the papers numbered 381 & 387 about “Cheerfulness” by Addison

⁹⁰ Mills 2021, 2-3.

⁹¹ E.g. Mills 2021, 1-3; Fitzmaurice 1998, 312; Ylivuori 2019, 10.

⁹² Benedict 2003, 250-251.

⁹³ Willis 2021, 4.

where he talks about nature of cheerfulness and its advantages over mirth. As Addison says, he considers it “*a Moral Habit of the Mind*” and not just a state of mind of the reader, but also how it affects their relationship with others and god.⁹⁴ Another similar paper where Addison takes a state of being and considers it through his moral lens can be found from number 399, where he considers hypocrisy and its harmful effects on a person.⁹⁵ These are not linked to moral aspects just by the themes of the number, but also by which books are reusing them. Among the entries reusing these numbers arise books like *The moral miscellany*, *Miscellanies, moral and instructive, in prose and verse* and *The Pleasing instructor: or, Entertaining moralist*.⁹⁶

The moral instruction often overlaps with how one should act and contains observations on how to live a good life. In the most popular entries of the periodical, it manages to give advice on, for example, how to eat and drink, behave in marriage, and strengthen your mind.⁹⁷ It is noteworthy that the style of the instructional texts in popular numbers and in the Spectator in general is not quite as direct as in many conduct books of the time and rather observational.⁹⁸ The marriage of morality and conduct is also highlighted through the instructional books that reuse the material from the Spectator. These are often presented as very general self-improvement books.⁹⁹

In the Spectator religious themes are associated with morality and conduct. For example, in the series of papers considering the pleasures of the imagination the last one of the three is reserved on how God is the ultimate reason behind the pleasures.¹⁰⁰ Although many of the papers incorporating the religious themes are popular because of this mixture of the moral and religious, there are also separate papers that are important mostly for their religious content. For example, papers considering the nature of “Godhead” and immortality of the soul are mostly important because of their use in religious books. These include a collection of Addison’s religious text called *The Evidences of the Christian Religion*, which a large number of editions itself raises some papers to be popular in the reuse data, as well as many

⁹⁴The Spectator no. 381, 387.

⁹⁵ The Spectator no. 399.

⁹⁶ Multiple editions exist. See e.g. ESTC ids T118537, T118857, T16301

⁹⁷ The Spectator no. 195, 254 and 453.

⁹⁸ For example, in *The polite academy, or school of behaviour for young gentlemen and ladies* 1760, 17-21, this directness goes as far as creating a numbered list on good conduct. This is, of course, directed to younger readers and their teachers, so they are not strictly comparable, but the difference in output stands.

⁹⁹ *The young gentleman and lady instructed in such principles of politeness, prudence and virtue* and *The young gentleman and lady's monitor*. Multiple editions exist. See e.g. ESTC ids N46318, T129169

¹⁰⁰ The Spectator no. 411-412.

less popular works such as *A system of divinity* and *The Christians magazine: or, the Sunday's entertainment*.¹⁰¹

Hymns written by Addison that accompany some of the observations form a group of their own.¹⁰² Rogal has concluded these five hymns to be part of "the best selections of sacred poetry", while he finds Addison's secular poetry lacking. This thesis will not comment on that, but his comment on the popularity of Addison's poetry might be true according to the sheer numbers of reuse of these hymns.

The irony of Joseph Addison's achievement as a poet is that scholars and students of the period may be hard put to recall the title of a single poem. Yet, a conscientious church-goer has little difficulty recognizing Addison's hymns – although he probably has no idea of their composer's general reputation.¹⁰³

These hymns are of course partly popular due to their religious content and because they could be used in many different hymn books such as *Psalms and hymns for divine worship*, but also because they were seen as poetical content fit for poetry anthologies, for example, *A Select collection of modern poems*. Although this highlights the themes and style that made the Spectator popular it also raises a question. Since the most popular numbers seem to be papers which contain several reusable properties, like in this case the religious theme, poem and appreciated style, does that mean that the less used papers with only a certain element were not as influential or important, or were they just not as reusable? Do these numbers tell which ideas and themes were most influential because of the Spectator or which papers matched the ideals of the 1700s the best?

As a contrast to more instructional content, another type of content that is popular in the most used papers is the criticism. The Spectator, and especially Addison have been seen play a crucial role in the change of criticism during the 1700s.¹⁰⁴ The Spectator's criticism changed not only the mode of the criticism, but also the role of the critic. The model of the Spectator's criticism has been seen as a more "reader-oriented approach to interpretation" and focusing

¹⁰¹In ECCO data one can find 18 different editions of *The Evidences of the Christian Religion* each containing over 100000 characters of reused material. E.g. N28942. For the other two see e.g. ESTC ids T101148 and P2926; Kivistö 2022d.

¹⁰² E.g. The Spectator no. 441 and 465

¹⁰³ Rogal 1970, 8.

¹⁰⁴ Youngren 1982, 268.

more on a wider array of beauties rather than a single author.¹⁰⁵ The periodical also blurred the role of the critic and created a interaction with readers of the periodical and this way created “a field of work through which critics and their readers could access and amend a growing canon of interpretations ... that would be used later in the century to develop and debate various canons of literary work”.¹⁰⁶ This type of content is especially interesting because it highlights both the type of text that made the *Spectator* popular but also different works and authors that were promoted by it.

In these criticisms there are clearly authors and works that play a bigger role than others, of which Milton and especially his poem *Paradise Lost* are a prime example of. Important part is that Addison’s notes upon *Paradise Lost* are not used only together with the full *Spectator* editions, but also on its own. This is highlighted by the books that reuse these papers. For example, the notes upon *Paradise Lost* are mostly reused as a preface of editions of the poem, but also at times published separately or as part of instructional books on criticism.¹⁰⁷ Earlier research has seen at least the canonization project of Milton successful, Ross going as far as claiming that “Perhaps no single campaign of canonization in all of English criticism has ever been waged so successfully as Addison’s consecration of *Paradise Lost*.”¹⁰⁸

Considering reuse data generated from the 1667 edition of *Paradise Lost*, it is hard to see that the *Spectator* had a defining role in making the book as popular as it was, but it is not impossible. I compared the overall trend of reuse amounts of the *Spectator* and *Paradise Lost*. Both reached their highpoint during the middle century only to stoop in the 1780s and start making a comeback during the end of the century.¹⁰⁹ This is not a proof of anything specific, but a good indication that at least it could be possible that the *Spectator* influenced *Paradise Lost*.

I also compared the popularity of those excerpts of *Paradise Lost* used in the *Spectator* to the whole book. The results do not distinctly tell us that the *Spectator* influenced reuse of *Paradise Lost* but it is possible. Figure 7 shows the development in the distribution of the reuse of *Paradise Lost*. The higher the number, the greater portion of the reuse cases are from

¹⁰⁵ Syba, 2009, 619.

¹⁰⁶ Trolander & Tenger 2005, 195.

¹⁰⁷ The notes were published independently on *A criticism and notes upon the twelve books of Paradise lost* (e.g., ESTC id N27264); As an example of reuse outside of *Paradise Lost* see e.g. *Elements of criticism* (e.g., ESTC id T32597).

¹⁰⁸ Ross 1998, 213 – 214.

¹⁰⁹ Kivistö 2022k.

those parts of the texts which were featured in the Spectator. While there is a clear jump in numbers after the initial run of the Spectator from 1720s to 1740s, the decades of the Spectator's highest popularity in terms of published editions and reuse during the middle of the century lead to decrease in numbers.¹¹⁰ It should also be noted that the numbers of the early 1700s are not unprecedented and similar numbers can be found during 1600s before publication of the Spectator. In the end, it is possible and probable that the Spectator had some effect on the rise of Paradise Lost during the early century, but it is not clear.

Canonizing Paradise Lost and the Spectator's role in it should be considered from another perspective also. It could be that whereas the parts chosen by Spectator did not rise as individual parts, the whole text was made more popular, which would cause the proportion of these specific parts to drop. One fact that highlights the role of the Spectator in the reuse of Paradise Lost is its prominence in the entries reusing Paradise Lost. With Paradise Lost there are less entries that use large parts of the book than there are with the Spectator. The most prominent entries seem to be mainly collections of poetry and instructional books on writing and reading and among these the Spectator. This goes to show that even though it is clear through different editions of Paradise Lost and Addison's notes upon them how intertwined Spectator was with it, it is hard to find numerical proof that Spectator actually affected the printing and reuse of it.

¹¹⁰ Fig.7; Kivistö 2022k.

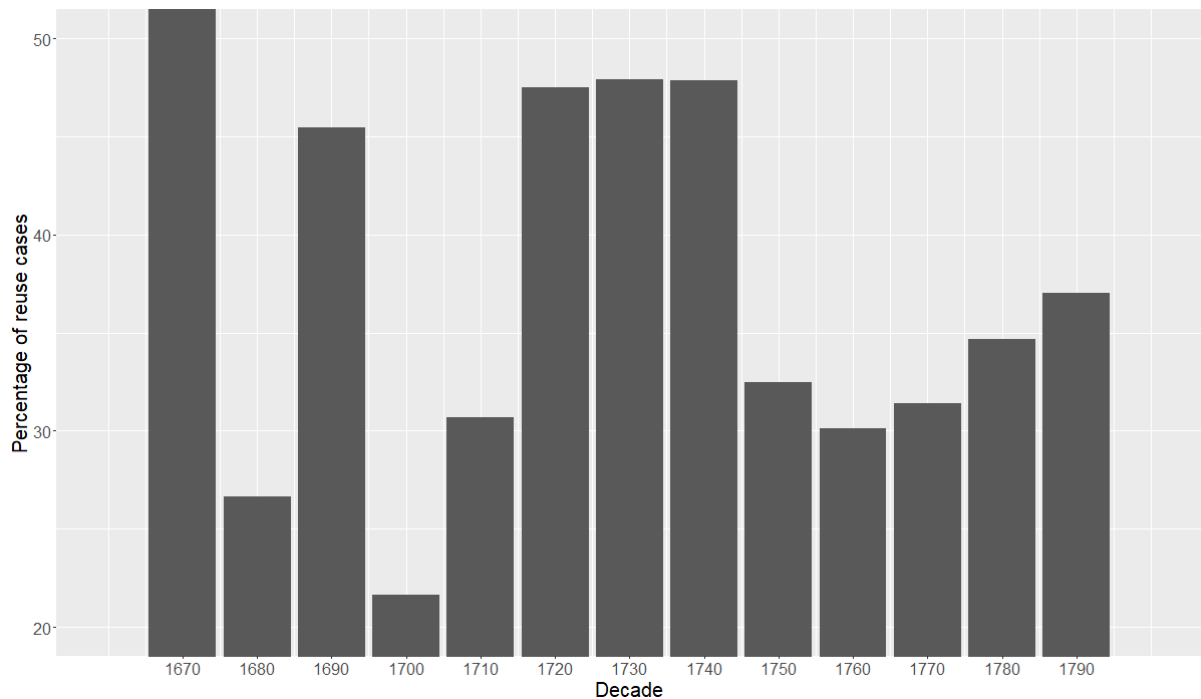


Figure 7. Paradise Lost percentage of reuse of parts which were also reused by the Spectator compared to all parts reused.

Shifting the focus back to the Spectator. In the popular numbers, there are not many similar criticisms that raise only one specific author or work as Addison does in Milton's case. Rather one can find papers considering whole genres of literature that work in similar manner. The clearest way these are represented is in Addison's paper on tragedies and fables.¹¹¹ These authors are also often showcased as examples of the Spectator's view of exemplary literature. Many of these include ancient writers such as Horace, Aristotle, Homer, and Virgil, but also newer English authors have a place in the Spectator's world. In addition to Milton, who seems to hold the highest spot in the Spectator's hierarchy, Dryden and Shakespeare are relatively often mentioned or used as an example but also Otway and Spencer to a lesser degree.¹¹² This seems to be mostly in line with the earlier research which has emphasized the Spectator's "simple and elevated" taste, which has been even seen as the starting point of the mid-century shift to more exclusive form of canon, even though the Spectator's own project was trying to achieve quite the opposite.¹¹³ When it comes to specific authors such as Denham, Waller, Donne and Chaucer, which Kramnick claims to be replaced

¹¹¹ The Spectator no. 39, 183.

¹¹² E.g. The Spectator no. 39, 77, 183, 413.

¹¹³ Kramnick 1998, 48-64.

by the likes of Milton or to be against the personal ideals of Addison are rarely seen in the numbers of the Spectator.¹¹⁴ In general though, the Spectator references a lot of other authors and works, so too harsh conclusions should probably not be made based on single mentions.

References to other texts and authors are also visible in other types of papers than those focusing mainly on criticism, which further shows that trying to put the texts of the Spectator to groups is more useful as a tool than it reflects the texts.¹¹⁵ As with Milton's case, it is clear that many of the standards held by the Spectator were also shared by others, since the texts are reused in high numbers and maybe even more importantly reused together with the original works. This is the case with, for example, the works of Horace, Sappho and Aesop.

Often the texts the Spectator itself reused and commented on were popular on their own, but people were also interested in what the periodical had to say on them. This is shown in the data when comparing the clustered data, where the clusters before 1711 have been removed and data where they are intact, as explained on Data and Methods part of the Introduction.

If a book was popular and people were interested in what the Spectator had to say on it, there should be hits on both sets of data, filtered from clusters containing hits before the time of the Spectator and unfiltered. Hits on unfiltered data tell us that overall there were authors using the original text and hits on filtered data, which contains the original text from the Spectator that surround the reuse, show that the Spectator's commentary of the subject was reused. For example, the aforementioned numbers containing notes upon Paradise Lost are one of the most used on both lists.¹¹⁶ I would argue that since the number of reuse cases are high on both, it indicates that the work itself was popular and people were interested in what the Spectator had to say on it. If the number of cases would be high on filtered data but low on unfiltered data, it would indicate that no one was reading the original book and so the Spectator did not manage to affect how it was used. If the number of cases were high on unfiltered data, but low on filtered data, it would suggest that the book was popular, but the Spectator did not manage to become a part of the discourse on that book. These are general assumptions, and it is, for example, possible that people were inspired to read a work of literature from the Spectator and never mention that in the future. Still, I would say there are

¹¹⁴ Kramnick 1998, 43;77.

¹¹⁵ For example, in paper 411 about the pleasures of imagination Addison uses his change to compare the descriptions of Homer and Aristotle

¹¹⁶ Kivistö 2022m.

examples at least from the latter type of “failure”. Maybe most clearly this is seen on passages of the Bible and apocryphal books, which the Spectator quite often uses.

Bible verses are one of the most reused pieces of texts in the data and the Spectator also uses them often in their papers. Other authors quite rarely reuse these papers.¹¹⁷ As discussed earlier, this is not because no one was interested in what the Spectator had to say about religion, but it seems rather that the Spectator’s comments on the Bible were less interesting, which is not surprising since its passages are often used as examples of different subjects rather than it being the main subject. An exception to this could be variations of Bible passages, such as a version of Psalm 114 in number 461.¹¹⁸ Although, its popularity is likely linked also to the themes of poetry and easily reusable material discussed earlier.

Another interesting example of this is Ballad of Chevy-Chase, which was treated quite similarly to Paradise Lost in numbers 70 and 74. While the ballad itself was highly reused, Addison’s commentary on it was not, even though the texts have been used as part of some editions of the book or ballad collections, it did not penetrate to be a common part of them.¹¹⁹ Interestingly there are also some similar numbers that contain parts of Milton’s poems that are also not commonly used.¹²⁰ This would suggest that the way numbers were reused were not related only to the author, but also the content of the text.

When considering the popularity of the Spectator, politics cannot be completely ignored. The way Addison and Steele have been connected to whigs, makes one question whether the political nature affected the popularity. Unfortunately based on this analysis it is hard to give a definitive answer. There are at least two routes that one could approach this problem. First, one could consider the entries using the periodical and see if entries related to whigs use the periodical more than their tory counterparts. While it is not easy to determine the content of the book solely on its metadata, it is even harder to consider its political affiliation. In other words, this is not an approach possible without more information about the authors and publishers. Second, one could try to determine if the popular numbers of the Spectator are politically inclined than those not reused. This too is a difficult approach. Since general subjects such as politeness are not exclusively whig or tory ideas, it is not simple to determine that a specific group of papers are used because of their political content, which is

¹¹⁷ Kivistö 2022a; e.g. The Spectator no. 177, 464.

¹¹⁸ The Spectator no. 461.

¹¹⁹ See e.g. ESTC ids T10016, T146588

¹²⁰ The Spectator no. 89, 472

not matched by those that are not used as extensively.¹²¹ Even if this was possible, still the context of the reuse would matter, which is not reachable with analysis used here. As an example of these, I examined the reuse of the Spectator in the *Craftsman*, a newspaper which ran from 1726 to 1752 and has been seen more connected to Tories than the Spectator. In the whole run of the Craftsman there were only four reuses of the periodical, but many of which actually spoke of it in a positive manner.¹²² This emphasizes the problem. Is the rare usage sign of Tories not wanting to use the Spectator or are the positive comments sign of approval of the content? The question is interesting, but one that could benefit from a study of its own.

Until now I have mainly highlighted the contents that made the Spectator popular, and the type of content the Spectator wanted to present to the world. Now I shift my point of view to the style and language of the Spectator, which is arguably at least as important to the role of the Spectator, which it played during the 1700s. This is most apparent from the books that are reusing the Spectator, rather than the actual contents of the papers, which mostly do not contain straight instructions on how one should use the English language. Inclusion in collections, for example in *Elegant extracts*, which emphasize desirable text, is also a sign of the importance of language, but I think an even more fitting indication is the number of instructional books considering grammar, rhetoric and speaking.¹²³

Across the 1700s the Spectator was used in many different entries that claim to teach its reader about how they should speak or write.¹²⁴ The Spectator even managed to be included in some books geared towards people outside of English-speaking world such as *An essay on a methodical English grammar for the Swedes* and *Grammaire angloise comparée avec la grammaire Française*.¹²⁵ Most importantly these texts do not contain only parts of the Spectator that contain instructions on writing, but rather varying texts of different types. Number of papers with varying themes from discretion to fame are presented.¹²⁶ While the style and language of the Spectator is here considered as a one component of the

¹²¹ Peltonen 2005, 391.

¹²² Kivistö 2022i; ESTC id T131335. Papers 89, 352, 418 and 444.

¹²³ ESTC id T130937

¹²⁴ These include entries such as *Lessons in elocution*, *Lectures on rhetoric and belles lettres* and *A short introduction to English grammar*. See e.g. ESTC ids T205513, T167933, W3284

¹²⁵ See e.g. ESTC ids T210486, T117594

¹²⁶ The Spectator 73, 225

popularity of the Spectator it should be noted, that like morality and politeness, the language and politeness are also intertwined during the 1700s.¹²⁷

When considering the popularity of the Spectator and its factors I have presented the most apparent groups of entries that reused the periodical. Different collections using large bodies of texts, Christian magazines, books and essays focusing on religious content, instructional books for adults and children alike reusing content focusing on morals, politeness and good life, and grammar and rhetoric books using parts from across the whole periodical. This is the type of content that allowed the Spectator to become important in English canon. There was also a lot of miscellaneous content reusing the Spectator that is hard to group and does not appear in as big a scale but is rather interesting. As an example, Addison's text on senses was used in *A complete physico-medical and chirurgical treatise on the human eye* and Steele's text on Art of Painting is used in *Ambulator: or, A pocket companion in a tour round London*.¹²⁸ So even if the Spectator's role was defined by its style, criticisms and instructional content, its effect on literature was even wider.

The Spectator was a shared project of Addison and Steele, but when it comes to the popular numbers of the periodical their roles are not the same. From the 72 of most popular papers combined in both full reuse cases and short reuse cases, 61 are by Addison and only 11 by Steele, others or unknown.¹²⁹ According to Bond, out of the 555 original papers both Addison and Steele wrote 251.¹³⁰ Adding to that the 80 papers of the eight volume mostly by Addison it is clear that the number of papers by both Authors are not quite comparable, but it also does not fully explain the huge difference of the popularity. This seems to match the overall consensus in the current research field, where Addison's position is often emphasized over Steele's with some exceptions, such as the research on epistolary content in the Spectator.¹³¹ Few papers compare this directly, but Addison's role is often emphasized.¹³²

The numbers of reuse really illuminate the difference, but I think they might also gear the numbers towards Addison unfairly. For this there are at least three reasons. First, collections of Addison's texts were not removed from the data, like the editions of the pure Spectator

¹²⁷ Watts 1999, 1.

¹²⁸ The Spectator no. 411, 226

¹²⁹ According to Morley 1894.

¹³⁰ Bond 1987, xlv.

¹³¹ As an example of such research, read e.g., Bannet 2005. For comparison between epistolary material used see Bond 1987, lix.

¹³² E.g., Watts 1999, 14; Bond 1987, xcvi - cvi

were. Inevitably this leads to additional hits on numbers by Addison. Second, which is related to the first issue, is the popularity of Addison. Addison's role in the 1700s literary culture seems to be stronger than Steele's which might cause more uses on his texts. And third, the nature of Addison's texts seems to be easier to reuse than Steele's text.

Addison's usage of clearly defined themes, poetical content and criticism on popular books has arguably more reuse value than Steele's papers, which rely largely on usage of letters, which might be harder to fit in other texts. While Addison's role seems to be unquestionably stronger in the reuse of the Spectator, it is important to acknowledge these problems to avoid the conclusion from the numbers that only Addison's role in the Spectator was important and since it ties to the question of the relationship between reuse and effect of text. This does not only emphasize the challenges of this study, but also brings questions on the assessment of historical importance of sources in historical studies. Should, for example, researchers of the Spectator in the future use quantitative tools to help them assess the effect the periodical has on the larger trends? Is it important how much a certain number of the Spectator was reused to qualitative study of the periodical?

Lastly in this part of the thesis I want to address the time span of the data. It is not self-evident that the way it was used remains the same during the whole century. Some research suggests that the Spectator's influence was strongest during the first half of the century.¹³³ To test this, I divided the data into two parts. Reuses from 1720-1770 and 1770-1800. This was chosen because of three reasons. First, Jacob Tonson, the great-nephew of Jacob Tonson the elder died in 1767, which could cause major changes in the reuse style. Second, if the changes were to happen during the latter half of the century, they should be visible by the 1770s. Third, the number of reuses during these periods is so close that they are comparable. The former period contains 24224 and latter 24506 hits in filtered data. Of course, it is possible that there are changes during individual years and decades, but when considering larger trends, it is not significant.

The comparison between 1720-1770 and 1770-1800 amplifies the argument of the first part of this thesis, by showing that the reuse during both timeframes is very similar in overall nature and so the Spectator status is somewhat consistent. When looking at the charts of most used numbers, the main trend of reuse remains the same. From the 50 most used numbers 29

¹³³ Fitzmaurice 1998, 312.

can be found from each and the rest are all located in the 215 most used numbers in both groups. Median difference in these being only 31 spots.¹³⁴ The type of entries using the Spectator seems to remain relatively the same, which is to be expected since the type of content reused remains the same, although this is harder to show quantitatively without valid metadata on each entry's content. Even with such data, further qualitative analysis would be needed to determine if the tone remains the same, since it is possible that the way the Spectator is discussed changes during the century.

In this part of the thesis, I have framed the Spectator as a highly reused periodical, whose role in the canon was determined by Addison's moral and poetical texts as well as his criticism. In addition to this, the style of language in the Spectator was one of its notable features. Through its reuse the Spectator did not just become a part of English canon, it also attracted attention to other writers and works such as Addison. In this part I have taken for granted that the cause for the Spectator reuse was its remarkable content and style, but in the following part I will approach it as a part of a publishing dynasty's catalog.

¹³⁴ Kivistö 2022o.

Publishers and Popularity

Popularity of the *Spectator* was not shaped only by its authors, but also by its publishers. Content of a literary piece of work, no doubt, affects how the book is received, but the less intellectual and artistic sides of publishing a book often have an impact too. In this chapter I argue that the publishing family of the Tonsons and their collaborators were key actors in publishing the editions of the periodical and took advantage of their wide catalog of entries when reusing it. While I argue that the Tonsons' reuse of the *Spectator* in their other popular entries was beneficial for the publishing, I do not see it as a systematic process through their whole catalog, but rather use of natural compatibility between entries such as the *Spectator* and *Paradise Lost*.

While I focus on the Tonsons in this chapter, I also consider the publishers they worked together with as well as other bigger actors of the field. My analysis does not try to recreate the networks of the *Spectator* trade, but rather settles for assessing individual publishers and at times the degree of collaboration a publisher had with the Tonsons. This approach still shares similar challenges with studying networks. For example, the problem of group identity, prevalent in network research, which states that information does not spread similarly across all the nodes is important here too.¹³⁵ I have determined that there is collaboration between the Tonsons and another publisher if there is a book entry where they are both listed as a publisher. This might seem like a homogenous way of determining the edges between publishers, but since the ESTC data is not perfect and the time scale is so large this kind of collaboration inevitably consists of a varying form of collaboration, which were discussed in more detail in Introduction.¹³⁶ For this reason I have tried to abstain from making too strong claims based on these relations. I have also focused mainly on the time span of 1720s to 1760s, since that is the most predominant era of the *Spectator* publishing by the Tonsons and a more comparable time span than the whole century, due to the changes in publishing style towards the end of the century.

We know that the Tonsons held tightly the *Spectator* and published many editions of it, but that does not enlighten us much of the effect Tonsons had on it. We can see that the piece was popular, but that does not prove causation. Did the Tonsons affect the success of the

¹³⁵ Edmondson and Edelstein 2019, 12-16.

¹³⁶ For a more in-depth explanation of problems with ESTC networks check Hill et al. 2019.

Spectator or were they just profiting from the popularity of the periodical, since that must have enticed them to publish new editions. The early editions by, for example, Irish publishers, allow us to speculate if the periodical would have succeeded in the same way without such prominent publishers.¹³⁷ To understand the possible actions the Tonsons took to increase the sales or the interest of the public through reusing, I will take a closer look at the reuse data and the publishers behind the reusing entries.

This chapter was inspired by the reuse of the Spectator in the editions of *Paradise Lost* written by Milton and published first by Tonsons with Addison's notes on it in 1749.¹³⁸ The notes had already been published separately by Tonsons as early as 1719.¹³⁹ I was curious to see if this kind of cross reusing was systematic in the works of Tonson and those they worked with. With *Paradise Lost* and other works of fiction, the possibility for publishers to add reused text was limited. With this style of books, using older text was mainly done by the original author and editorial reuse was possible in prefaces and appendixes. With collections and other anthologies, the possibilities were more numerous for publishers, even if that meant that the original purpose of the text changed through the reuse.¹⁴⁰

Within the reuse of the Spectator there are clear indications that the Tonsons reuse their own materials again knowingly and in a way the reader can identify the origin of the text. While the behavior of reusing texts without citing or context was not uncommon, it is hard to consider its effect on the popularity of a book.¹⁴¹ With Tonsons the most clear and numerous entries using the periodical are collections based on popular original works, such as *The beauties of the Spectators, Tatlers, and Guardians*, books using the Spectator as an attachment, like *Paradise Lost* and especially collections of the authors of the Spectator, such as *The works of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison, Esq* or *The works of Alexander Pope Esq*.¹⁴²

The way the Tonsons reuse the Spectator is very natural. The collections and other works where it is used are easy to link to the content and themes the Spectator itself presents. For example, *Paradise Lost*, *The works of Shakespeare: in eight volumes* and *Fables of Aesop and*

¹³⁷ For early editions printed elsewhere, check e.g., ESTC id T126250 and T230781.

¹³⁸ Kivistö 2022q; ESTC id T133934

¹³⁹ Kivistö 2022q; ESTC id T59213

¹⁴⁰ Justice 2005, 272. Benedict 2003, 250.

¹⁴¹ Edelstein, Morrissey and Roe 2013, 214-215.

¹⁴² ESTC id T89167 and T5446.

others are all pieces of literature that are discussed in the periodical.¹⁴³ Only a few entries leave one wondering on what is the role of the Spectator in the book and. This is the case with, for example, *The universal dictionary of trade and commerce*.¹⁴⁴ In other words, there is no systematic process of trying to market the Spectator through the whole catalog of the Tonsons, but rather a process of matching linked entries together.

The style of Tonsons' reuse stays similar across the years. There are some changes across the decades, but these can be explained mainly by individual entries in the catalog rather than systematic change. For example, in the 1720s and 1750s through 1760s the amount of reuse cases was much higher due to entries using a big amount of the whole periodical, such as the works of Joseph Addison.¹⁴⁵ Similarly the number of entries reusing the periodical almost doubles during the 1750s and 1760s from around 10 entries a decade to close to 25 entries a decade, but this can be mostly explained by the multiple editions of *Paradise Lost* and collections of works of Alexander Pope, which could signal a raise in interest towards the Spectator and the style it represented, but is hard to directly link to it.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ ESTC id N26030 and T186248. Shakespeare and Aesop are both mentioned multiple times in the original periodicals. See e.g., 541 and 183.

¹⁴⁴ ESTC id T152347.

¹⁴⁵ Kivistö 2022q.

¹⁴⁶ ESTC id T133934 and T5446; Figure 8.

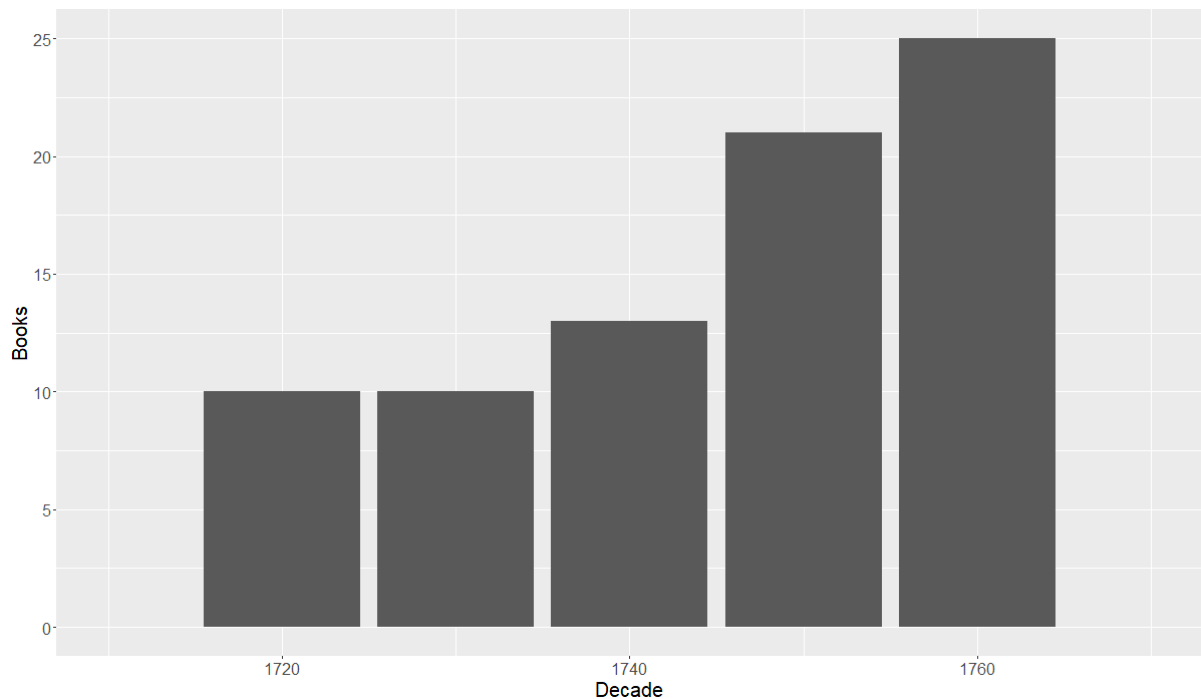


Figure 8. Books published by Tonson reusing the Spectator

While there is no systematic change in how the Spectator was reused during the centuries, it seems that the content reusing the Spectator held its place during the 1700s as part of Tonsons' catalog. During the 1720s and 1730s more books were published by the Tonsons than during the 1750s and 1760s and still less books reuse the Spectator. For example, in the 1730s the percentage of the books published by Tonsons reusing the Spectator was 2.6% while in the 1760s this had risen to 9.0%. The 1740s is an interesting outlier featuring the same level of reuse cases to 1720s and 1730s, but since the total number of entries is so low the percentage of reuse is as high as 8.4%.¹⁴⁷ Still, single entries and their multiple editions caused considerable increases in numbers of reusing the Spectator.

To understand the scale of Tonsons' publishing and the meaning of the amount of reuse, I will next compare Tonsons to other bigger publishers of the decade. I have compared the reuse numbers of the Tonsons to those of other publishers of the same time who have published over 100 entries according to the ESTC data.

Tonsons reuse of the Spectator was large compared to the average. Out of the 203 publishers in ESTC which have over 100 entries during the years of 1720 to 1770 the largest percentage of books reusing the Spectator by a publisher is 13.6% while the mean is 3.1% and median

¹⁴⁷ Kivistö 2022q.

2.8%. Compared to this the numbers of the Tonsons: J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper (11.3%), J. and R. Tonson (8.9%), Jacob Tonson (4.6%) and even S. Draper, who worked with Jacob and Richard Tonson (12.0%).¹⁴⁸ These numbers are very high compared to the average, though it is good to remember that there are probably factors that widen the gap more than just selective reuse. Not every publisher published content where it would make sense to use the *Spectator* and not everyone had the freedom of the copyright to use the periodical as they pleased. In the end, the reuse of the *Spectator* by the Tonsons most likely was not explained by common reuse of the time but was increased by the ownership of the text and its close connection to their other work.

While the position of the Tonsons as avid users of the *Spectator* was clear, it was not unique. There are a handful of other actors who met similar numbers to those of the Tonsons. For example, B. Collins, with 13.6% reuse rate of the *Spectator* and H. Lintot with 10.0%.¹⁴⁹ Although, the individual percentages are not that important. What is important is that even though the Tonsons were important figures in publishing the periodical, they did not rank above everyone else in reusing the texts in other books. On the other hand, while that is true, Tonsons still are one of the most reusing actors, even if not that clearly as one could expect.

For comparison to these numbers, the same numbers for *Paradise Lost* are a lot lower. For example, J. & R. Tonson only reach 3.3% while the mean is 1.5% and median 1.2%.¹⁵⁰ So similarly to the *Spectator* numbers the Tonsons are clearly above average, but not in the league of their own. This is in line with the argument that Tonsons' catalog encouraged reuse. With these numbers one could also speculate whether the mutual reuse of the *Spectator* and *Paradise Lost* helped one or the other more, but it is a slippery slope. Although it seems that the *Spectator* was more popular among other publishers, it does not necessarily tell us about the importance of the books, but possibly, once again, their reusability. The *Spectator*'s content was more varied by subjects and by sheer length, so not much should be claimed on these numbers about that.

Tonsons were avid publishers and users of the *Spectator*, but collaboration with them does not seem to equate with more usage of the *Spectator*. I compared the number of entries published together with the Tonsons to the percentages of entries reusing the *Spectator*. To

¹⁴⁸ Kivistö 2022q.

¹⁴⁹ Kivistö 2022q.

¹⁵⁰ Kivistö 2022q.

determine if something was published together, I used the ESTC information about publishers to see if multiple publishers were listed and if one of them was a Tonson. When comparing the percentage of collaboration with the percentage of reuse of the *Spectator* no correlation can be seen, and the reuse seems to be similar regardless of whether the publisher has a lot of collaboration with the Tonsons or not.¹⁵¹ At least with this metric the influence of the Tonson's did not affect the way other people reused the *Spectator*.

Even if collaborators of the Tonsons did not use the periodical more, they seem to have used it differently. While the number of reuses does not seem to be affected by the share of collaboration, the length of the reuses does seem to be, on average, a little higher with publishers doing more work together with the Tonsons.¹⁵² This is in line with the reuse style of the Tonsons which includes a lot of longer reuses of the periodical and probably is affected by the collaborators ability to reuse longer texts within the copyright system.

While the reuse outside of whole editions is relatively unaffected by the influence of the Tonsons and even the reuse of the Tonsons themselves is not that extraordinary the publishing of the full editions does stay in the hands of the Tonsons and their associates during the 1700s. Until the 1760s the Tonsons were part of almost all editions of the *Spectator* published in England and mostly published them alone, while only single editions were published with outside help or by others as can be expected from the trouble, they went to preserve their copyrights.¹⁵³

The copyright was defended not only in the court of law, but also in the eyes of the public, for example, this was the case of Robert Walker starting to publish editions of Shakespeare, whose copyright was held by the Tonsons, leading to public written conflict among the parties on the announcements and advertisements in the newspapers.¹⁵⁴ Still, the defense also happened in the court, for example in the case of *Tonson v. Collins*, where Tonson sued Collins for selling Scottish pirate copies of the *Spectator*. The case later turned out to be staged, Tonson being willing to pay Collins.¹⁵⁵ Still, this shows how long the copyright holding publishers were willing to go after the legislation was no longer on their side. *Tonson v. Collins* taking place as late as 1760-1761 shows that the change in copyright was really a

¹⁵¹ Kivistö 2022q.

¹⁵² Kivistö 2022q.

¹⁵³ Kivistö 2022q.

¹⁵⁴ Hamm 2012, 95-97.

¹⁵⁵ Yamada 2021, 36-37.

process and not just two dates that affected the industry immediately. Even during the last decades of the century, after Jacob Tonson III had passed, at least 75% percent of editions were published by publishers who the Tonsons had formerly worked with.¹⁵⁶

While the portion of the *Spectator* published by the Tonsons is impressive, the trend of Tonson holding tight on their copyrights does not seem to be unique to the *Spectator*. In fact, when examining big authors Tonsons published, such as Milton, Addison, Shakespeare and Dryden, in almost all cases the trend of the number of entries published by Tonsons follows the number of entries published by all publishers as can be seen from Figure 9, where the drop with the *Spectator* is much more apparent than with, for example, works of Addison or Shakespeare.¹⁵⁷ This is quite predictable especially during the start of the century, when the copyright is clearer, but the numbers do seem to follow even during the latter half of the century. So while the Tonsons clearly kept the copyright of the periodical, its prominence in their catalog did not increase or even hold its place especially well when compared to other big entries.

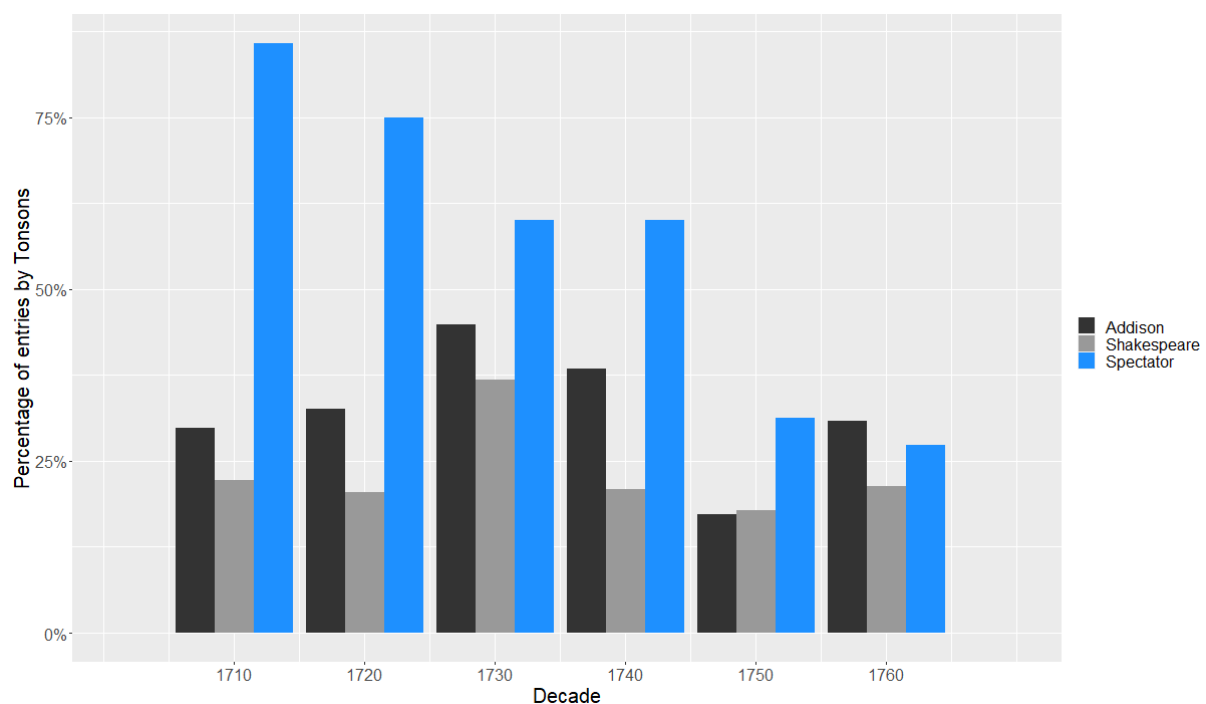


Fig 9. The portion of entries by prominent authors in ESTC published by all publishers compared to the portion of the same entries in the Tonson catalog.

¹⁵⁶ Kivistö 2022q.

¹⁵⁷ Figure 9; Kivistö 2022p.

Circling back to the Tonsons' reuse of the Spectator, in the second chapter of this thesis, I argued that different instructional entries were an integral part of the reuse of the Spectator. In the reuse by the Tonsons these kinds of entries are missing. Disregarding a handful of essay collections such as *Essays on education*, the reuse is really focused on collections and reprints of their other popular entries such as *Paradise Lost* and *The Guardian*.¹⁵⁸ This emphasizes the argument that the reuse of the Tonsons was not actually very innovative or aggressive. Considering Tonsons effect on the Spectator, there was an important style of books that were part of growing the prominence of the periodical, which was not filled by the Tonsons. The question becomes, who did supply these kinds of books.

There does not seem to be a single or even a handful of publishers that were responsible for instructional content, on the contrary, it was a wide phenomena piercing the whole field of publishing. To achieve an overall picture of publishing instructional texts, I went through the catalog of the biggest reusers of the Spectator and their published titles reusing the periodical. As a trend, it seems that it was common for many publishers to publish editions of a few grammar books or other instructional books, which adds up to a larger collection of instructional books reusing the Spectator. For example, B. Collins, one of the biggest users of the Spectator, seems to be one of the publishers actively publishing this type of content, publishing entries such as *The polite academy* and *A museum for young gentlemen and ladies*.¹⁵⁹ But he, like other publishers publishing more instructional entries, was not limited to only those entries, even when considering only titles reusing the Spectator. Similarly, there does not seem to be indication that only people strongly associated with the Tonsons were publishing these entries. For example, according to ESTC data, the aforementioned B. Collins did not publish any entries together with the Tonsons.¹⁶⁰

These observations show that the way the Tonsons reused the Spectator does not fulfill all the styles of entries, which I claim made the periodical so popular. Even if the Tonsons were an integral part of the periodical's history, there are also other publishers who advanced its popularity during the 1700s. This analysis could certainly be advanced further by doing more thorough grouping of the entries to instructional books as well as constructing the networks

¹⁵⁸ For *The Guardian*, See for example ESTC id T97923 and for *Essays on Education* id T130263

¹⁵⁹ See, for example, editions ESTC id T118268 and N35223.

¹⁶⁰ Kivistö 2022q.

of the Tonsons and publishers of instructional books. This way data could be achieved which could be used upon further analysis than done here. That is although out of the scope of this study. Although, I don't think that this overthrows the prominence of the Tonsons and their effect on the Spectator, it does raise a question on the importance of the instructional books for the canon. This is interesting, especially for the digital methods of historical research since these methods make it easier to handle this type of data on a larger scale. Surely, the Spectator was a book of great renown on its own, but would it have had as lasting an effect, if it was not shared in these types of books also?

Conclusions

In this thesis I have approached the Spectator and its popularity in 1700s Britain through quantitative methods and argued that the periodical is a work that defines the morals, literature and style of the century from its initial run of 1711-1714 to the end of the century.

I have shown that the history of the Spectator does not consist just of the initial run of the periodical, but also the editions compiling the whole periodical play an integral role on how it was perceived as well as anthologies and other books reusing the periodical do.

The reasons for the popularity of the Spectator are varied. Firstly, the subjects of the Spectator had a considerable effect, which has been often discussed also in previous research. While the content of the periodical was varied, I argue that there were two main groups of texts that rise over the others. Moral and instructional text, which often were also religious in nature, form the first group. These texts were popular especially because they were used in instructional books. The other group consists of criticisms and notes on other works of literature, like Addison's notes on *Paradise Lost*. Their popularity is based on their reuse as attachments in other books, often the ones the periodical was commenting on. These criticisms are also important because they show which authors and works the Spectator itself tried to canonize. Addison's and Steele's interest towards classical writers Homeros and Vergilius as well as newer writers like Milton and Dryden are noteworthy and should be noted when discussing the creation of English canon.

At least as big a reason for the popularity, which is also tied directly to the content, was the style of the Spectator. The texts of the periodical, mostly regardless of the subject, were used as part of writing and speaking books suggesting that the style of the periodical was desirable and exemplary. This is an important notion because the use of the Spectator in these books continued through the whole century, which challenges the idea of the Spectator's prominence being geared mostly towards the first half of the century. The content of the Spectator was not the only thing that helped it gain and retain popularity. In addition to literary achievement the authors and publishers of the Spectator had a considerable effect.

Addison's role has often been emphasized when it comes to the Spectator and according to my research this role is well earned. The reuse of Addison's papers is considerably wider than Steele's. The difference is so remarkable that it should be considered when assessing the effects of the Spectator as a whole. Although this is important for the study of the Spectator it

also suggests that popularity of Addison outside of the periodical probably had a considerable effect on the Spectator's prominence.

Lastly, I argued that the publishers of the Spectator and the books using its texts also shaped the periodical and its popularity. The periodical was inherently tied to the effects of the copyright law and changing field of publishing due to its continuing success and its copyright being owned by the publishing dynasty of the Tonsons. The Tonsons held tightly to their right to publish the periodical even after the legislation did not support it which affected the way the full editions of the Spectator were published. With the reuse of the periodical the effort was much more collective, and the material spread through different publishers, even those not linked to the Tonsons.

In general, this thesis has been a general overview of the popularity of the Spectator through the 1700s. The aim has been to assess the old arguments more qualitative research has made on the Spectator, but to also open a new point of view to the reuse of the Spectator that has not been possible before in this scale. Although I think these aims have been in many ways achieved there are many directions the research could be continued.

The clearest direction would be to extend the research to newspaper data in addition to the current book data. In this thesis this was not possible, since this data is not yet available, but since the Spectator was initially a periodical itself it would be valuable to see how it affected its "own" field. This could also open up possibilities with more fine-grained study of the periodicals and their effect on the public sphere, which arguably one of the most discussed fields of study the Spectator has been linked to.

The study of the popular parts of the Spectator and the effect of publishers could also benefit from more focused research. In this thesis the way the parts of the Spectator and the books using it were grouped was quite broad and I believe that focusing solely on the question of popular parts of the Spectator, it would be possible to assess the important ideas of the Spectator more clearly. With the publishers a more structured network analysis together with a more complete knowledge of the publishing field would allow to expand the answers given here regarding the effect of the Tonsons and other publishers.

Sources

The English Title Catalogue. (ESTC) The metadata set of ESTC provided by COMHIS is used. Also the web-interface of the ESTC is used to access descriptions of some entries. <http://estc.bl.uk>. Where accessible, the digital versions of the entries mentioned in the ESTC have been accessed in some cases to assess the edition of the entry. Usually through ECCO or Google Books.

Eighteenth Century Collections Online. (ECCO). The data set provided by COMHIS, of which the reuse data is created.

The polite academy, or school of behaviour for young gentlemen and ladies. (1760).

Addison & Steele (1891) *The Spectator*, Volumes 1, 2 and 3 With Translations and Index for the Series. Edited by Henry Morley. (Spectator)

Code

The code in the thesis can be found from <https://github.com/mikkosk/thesis-final> and is publicly available although the data needed to run it is not. Following list contains a more precise list of files referred to in the thesis.

Kivistö (2022a) *Bible comparison*. https://github.com/mikkosk/thesis-final/blob/main/bible_unfil_fil.R

Kivistö (2022b) *Distribution of prominent numbers*. <https://github.com/mikkosk/thesis-final/blob/main/distribution.R>

Kivistö (2022c) *ECCO prominent entries*. https://github.com/mikkosk/thesis-final/blob/main/most_prominent_entries.R

Kivistö (2022d) *General values*. https://github.com/mikkosk/thesis-final/blob/main/general_values.R

Kivistö (2022e) *ESTC counts*. https://github.com/mikkosk/thesis-final/blob/main/estc_count.R

Kivistö (2022f) *ESTC distinct publisher counts*. https://github.com/mikkosk/thesis-final/blob/main/estc_distinct_publisher_counts.R

Kivistö (2022g) *ESTC & ECCO decade comparison*. https://github.com/mikkosk/thesis-final/blob/main/decade_comparison_to_metadata.R

Kivistö (2022h) *ESTC entries and publishers*. https://github.com/mikkosk/thesis-final/blob/main/estc_entries_per_publisher.R

Kivistö (2022i) *ESTC locations*. https://github.com/mikkosk/thesis-final/blob/main/estc_broader_location_per.R

- Kivistö (2022j) *Organisations*. <https://github.com/mikkosk/thesis-final/blob/main/organizations.R>
- Kivistö (2022k) *Paradise Lost*. https://github.com/mikkosk/thesis-final/blob/main/paradise_lost.R
- Kivistö (2022l) *Politics*. <https://github.com/mikkosk/thesis-final/blob/main/politics.R>
- Kivistö (2022m) *Prominence in Paradise Lost subgroups*. https://github.com/mikkosk/thesis-final/blob/main/paradise_lost_group_compare.R
- Kivistö (2022n) *Prominence in subgroups*. https://github.com/mikkosk/thesis-final/blob/main/spectator_group_popularity.R
- Kivistö (2022o) *Time comparison*. https://github.com/mikkosk/thesis-final/blob/main/time_comparison.R
- Kivistö (2022p) *The Tonsons and popular authors*. https://github.com/mikkosk/thesis-final/blob/main/tonson_publication_comparison.R
- Kivistö (2022q) *The Tonsons and reuse*. https://github.com/mikkosk/thesis-final/blob/main/tonsons_in_reuse.R

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