

THE BRITISH BOOK TRADE IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD SINCE THE 1960s: A
PREMINARY REPORT TO THE OBSERVATOIRE DE L'ÉDITION CONTEMPORAINE

From the 1960s onwards intensified, systematic, and profitable penetration of the Anglophone mass-market required up-front capital which the traditional undercapitalised, partnership- and family-based book trade, depending on its slowly, even if steadily, moving back lists, could not by itself provide. But the recently deregulated world financial markets of the 1960s could and did so provide - initially Wall Street and powerful corporate interests in the 'communications industry' (not unconnected with the military-industrial complex) such as the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and Raytheon. These interests were motivated to buy out hard-pressed publishers and their copyrights, considering them to be, by stock market standards, distinctively undervalued yet secure investments that offered notional (though as it soon proved factitious) 'synergy' with the other elements in the industry: thus RCA took over Random House, briefly and not happily. After a number of hectic, high-profile, "bidding wars" on Wall Street, and with the patently "unbridgeable...gulf in management styles between broadcasting executives and hardware manufacturers on the one hand and the creators of intellectual properties on the other", the initiative in taking over traditional publishing houses passed into the hands of those better-focused, but nevertheless new and highly-capitalised, transnational corporations - increasingly, with the globalizing of the financial world, from outside the United States - which had constructed themselves, in part, from within the traditional book trade itself. Penguin was taken over by what had become Pearson Longman, as was Maskew Miller in South Africa. Harper in the USA and Collins in Britain were taken over by Rupert Murdoch's News

International, as was Angus and Robertson in Australia; Nelson by the Canadian Thomson Organisation; Ryerson in Canada by McGraw Hill; and members of the former elite core of British publishing, such as the Bodley Head, Jonathan Cape, Chatto and Windus, were taken over by Random House. But further, and significantly, given the pressures from global finance to secure home-market share in the new, largely Anglophone, cosmopolis (for example, the market in Germany for books in English), some major sectors of the traditional Anglophone book world have been taken over by non-Anglophone, yet likewise well-focused transnational groups. Such have been Hachette (taking over Grolier, the Orion Group of Weidenfeld, Cassells, Dent, and now Hodder Headline and Time Warner Books, making Hachette the largest publisher in Britain); Elsevier (Butterworth, Octopus, and Harcourt); Holtzbrinck (Macmillan and Farrar Straus); and Bertelsmann (Bantam Books, Transworld, and even Random House itself, as well as several British imprints brought from Elsevier, such as Heinemann and Secker & Warburg) (1).

In general, under the relentless pressure from the stock market and shareholders to maximize turnover there has been palpable change in the general culture of the book trade - no longer 'an occupation for gentlemen' distanced from the realities of the marketplace by practices such as the Net Book Agreement (abandoned in 1995). 'Publishers' have become 'chief executive officers', and often move from one group to another. In the case of Penguin, Peter Mayer moved in from Bantam and David Davidar has just moved from Penguin India to Penguin Canada. The marketing, accounting, and personnel 'management' functions rose in power vis-à-vis the editorial function. A steady flow of senior editors left established houses to join literary agencies, where they exercised their editorial talents by selling new as well as established authors

to publishers. Even so, given the book trade origins of the transnational groups themselves local editing and marketing enjoy substantial practical autonomy: thus Random House UK within the Bertelsmann group, and Orion within Hachette. Moreover, like the global financial market itself, the state of the book-trade merger - and de-merger - market is highly, and uncomfortably, volatile: the instability of mergers being due in large part to the inability of book publishing, even on a multinational basis, to sustain an annual return of over 15% on the original investment in copyright - the high market value of intellectual property notwithstanding (2).

Nevertheless a *modus vivendi* of sorts seems now under way not only at the corporate level nationally and internationally but also between transnational groups and the often equally new, specialist *niche* publishers locally. We have for example the Fremantle Arts Centre Press licensing to Penguin the volume as well as the paperback rights of the outstanding Australian 'original' of the 1980s, A.B.Facey's *A fortunate life*, which had by 1988 produced Penguin's best-selling Australian title (3).

Likewise, mass-marketing pressures and opportunities have led to the correlative corporatisation of bookselling, typically in the form of chains and superstores such as Borders, Barnes and Noble, Waterstones (as, in Europe, FNAC, Meyer, and Hugendubel). Further, common financial and marketing pressures and opportunities have even led to a degree of feedback from corporatised bookselling into the publishing process, thus reversing a secular trend dating from the early nineteenth century. The most recent and revealing manifestation of the convergence of interest and power between corporatised publisher and bookseller

and (it would seem) reader, let alone author and agent, has been the virtually instantaneous issue of multi-million copies world-wide of *Harry Potter* and the *Da Vinci Code*, and on the other "by the mid- (4).

Lastly the pressure for the mass-marketing of, or at least mass-access to, the textual archive has led to the final replacement of national, state-financed, library autarky by cosmopolitan research and public library networking, on a cost-recovery basis: a realisation of the archetypal idea of the *bibliotheca universalis* in the new, mixed, high-tech, global economy (5)

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The essentially polycentric configuration of the 'new cosmopolis' (6) of the transnational groups is perhaps best illustrated by the leading case (again) of Penguin Books. Within the Pearson group, and its fundamental interest in capitalizing on the Penguin 'consumer brand' globally, Penguin has encouraged its branches on the former imperial peripheries to pursue serious editorial independence, riding on their profitable general reprint business. Thus the expansion of the Penguin list in Australia has been "the most dramatic example of an overseas-owned company's commitment to local writing". Similar developments in India have been no less perceptible, most recently and significantly the expansion of Penguin India into publishing in Hindi (and soon Marathi and Malayalam) (7). Such polycentrism not only increases the opportunities for 'local', indigenous authors to gain national and international recognition through book prizes, literary festivals, reading clubs, media tie-ins and so on: a recognition to which as

serious professionals, in this age of obsession with the common reader in the global market, they have to aspire (8). It also leads them 'beyond hybridity into the new vernacular cosmopolis (9).

NOTES

(1) E.de Bellaigue, 'Post-war Mergers and Acquisitions', in *British Book Publishing as a Business since the 1960s: selected essays*, London, The British Library 2004, pp.: 3-11

A.Greco, 'The Development of Modern Book Publishing Companies', in *The Book Publishing Industry*, second edition, Mahwah NJ & London, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2005, pp.51-87

(2) G.Graham, 'Multinational Publishing', in *International Book Publishing: an Encyclopedia*, ed P.G.Altbach and E.S.Hoshino, London, Fitzroy Dearborn 1995, p.247: "...the unacknowledged tide that has carried the corporations into many lands is the speed with which the English language has increased its dominance as the world's main commercial language"

P.Schuwer, 'L'édition à l'heure internationale', in *L'édition française depuis 1945*. ed. P.Fouché, Paris, Éditions du Cercle de la Librairie 1998, pp.446-7. See also J.-Y.Mollier et Collectif, *Où Va le Livre?*, Paris, La Dispute 2000, pp.284

The Structure of International Publishing in the 1990s, ed. F.Kobrak and B.Luey, New Brunswick (USA) and London 1992, pp.240

For the high market value of intellectual property based on copyright see E.de Bellaigue, *British Book Publishing as a Business since the 1960s*, p.2

For constantly up-dated, on-line 'profiles' of media conglomerates and their holdings see for example www.ketupa.net

(3). For A.B.Facey's *A Fortunate Life* see J.Brett, 'Publishing, Censorship and Writers' Incomes', in *The Penguin new history of Australian Literature*, ed. L.Hergenhan, Ringwood, Penguin Books 1988, p.462

(4) I.R.Willison, 'Massmediatisation: Export of the American model?', in *Les mutations du livre et de l'édition dans le monde du XVIIIe siècle à l'an 2000*. ed. J.Michon et J.-Y. Mollier, Montréal, Les Presses de l'Université Laval; Paris, L'Harmattan, 2001, pp.574-82

J.-Y.Mollier et Collectif, *Où Va le Livre?*

See also the websites for *Harry Potter* and the *Da Vinci Code*

(5) B.Lang, 'Bricks and Bytes: Libraries in Flux', *Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*", Vol. 125 no 4 1996, p.232; 'Developing the digital library', in *Towards the Digital Library: The British Library's Initiative for Access Programme*, ed L.Carpenter et al, London, The British Library 1998, pp.227-33

L.Chapman and F.Webster, 'Libraries and Librarians in the Information Age', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland Vol 3, 1850-2000*, ed A.Black and P.Hoare, Cambridge, University Press, 2006, pp.639-53

For a retrospect of the first component of the archival network, the *English Eighteenth-Century Short-Title Catalogue*, see I.Willison, 'The English Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue in the Context of the International Programmes for Universal Bibliographic Control and the Universal Availability of Publications, in *The culture of the Book:*

Essays from two hemispheres in honour of Wallace Kirsop, Melbourne:
Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand 1999, pp.64-75

(6) A phrase I adapt from Sheldon Pollock's 'a new cosmopolitanism',
'India in the Vernacular Millennium: Literary culture and polity, 1000-
1500', *Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Science*,
Vol. 127 no 3 1998, p.70; cf his 'Cosmopolitanism and Vernacular in
History', in *Cosmopolitanism*, ed. C.A.Breckenridge et al, Durham &
London, Duke University Press 2002, p.46

(7) E.de Bellaigue, 'Penguin,' in *British Book Publishing as a Business*
since the 1960s, p. 59

J.Brett, 'Publishing, Censorship and Writers' Incomes', p.462.

See also G.Dutton, *A Rare Bird: Penguin Books in Australia 1946-
96*, Ringwood, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books 1996, pp.xii 297; J.Aynsley
and L.L.Jones, *Fifty Penguin Years*, Harmondsworth, Penguin 1985,
pp.142; D.Davidar, 'The Beautiful South', *The Bookseller*, 2 November
2001, p.36. For Penguin India's expansion into Hindi etc publishing,
see the references in www.google.co.uk, s.v. 'Penguin India'.

(8) R.Todd, *Consuming Fictions: The Booker Prize and fiction in Britain*
today, London, Bloomsbury 1996, pp.83, 283

G.Huggan, *The Post-Colonial Exotic: Marketing the margins*, London
and New York, Routledge 2001, pp.xvi 328, especially pp.105-123;
'Prizing otherness: a short history of the Booker'

M.Bradbury, 'The Sixties and After, 1960-1979'; 'Artists of the
Floating World: 1979 to the present'; 'An Afterword from the Nineties',
in *The modern British novel*, London, Penguin Books 1994, pp. 335-462

For a major alternative career path for 'local' authors see for example V.Dharwadker, 'The Dominance of the Diaspora', in *Literary cultures in history: reconstructions from South Asia*, Berkeley, University of California Press 2003 pp.253-59; and, in general, see B.King, 'Markets', and V.Dharwadker, 'Writers, Readers, and Publishers', in *New National and Post-Colonial Literatures: An introduction*, ed B.King, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996, pp.14-16, 62-65; and B.King, *The Internationalization of English Literature*, Oxford, Oxford University Press 2004 ("The Oxford English Literary History"). Volume 13 1948-2000, pp.xii 386

(9) C.R.K.Patel, 'Beyond hybridity', in *The Cambridge History of American Literature*, Cambridge, University Press 1999, vol 7, pp.671-5.

B.King, 'England's New English Literature: 1990-2000', in *The internationalization of English literature*, pp.224-321

Also consider, as an example, the phenomenon of 'Indo-chic' writers and writing (G.Huggan, *The post-colonial exotic*, p.59)

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27-3-07

THE ORIGINS, DEVELOPMENT, AND PRESENT STATE OF MULTINATIONAL PUBLISHING
IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD

The sheer textual voracity characteristic of the populist press and magazine following the American Civil War was in part fed by new, transoceanic instrumentalities such as the literary agent, the newspaper syndicate, and the American lecture-tour agent (126). These instrumentalities brought authors from all over the English-speaking world (including Hardy, Conrad and other British high-cultural authors) into a complex of increasingly interactive book trades which had been characteristically under-capitalized, family- or partner-based, and dependent on their back-lists, but which around the turn of the century found themselves forced, in centre as well as periphery, to rely more and more on an aggressively marketed front-list of likewise populist "best sellers", ** the celebrity aspect of which might be said to have been signaled by the international **as well as national reception of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Such was in the first instance principally the case in the United States and its book trade which was steered, as were other energetic yet 'distended' areas of business and industry, by the burgeoning **London-New York financial market, led by the 'gentlemanly capitalist' J.Pierpont Morgan. Morgan's corporate restructuring in 1896-1899 of the classic family firm Harper Brothers, then facing bankruptcy, and Harpers' subsequent systematic publishing of best sellers such as Zane Grey can be seen in retrospect as a paradigmatic turning point, involving more defensive manoeuvres to strengthen the capital base in ownership of copyrights such as the cartelization represented in Britain by the Net Book Agreement of the new publishers' association (127).

This interactivity raised the American trade to substantial and recognized parity with the British imperial book and periodical system. We have for example a London/New York axis represented by Macmillan's New York office (129), Harper Brothers' London office (129) as well as the aforementioned transatlantic operations of the leading newspaper syndicates and literary agents (130). The emergence of the United States and its book and magazine trade to parity also reinforced changes in literacy and marketing in late Victorian Britain. It assisted, and was assisted by, the "prodigious expansion of the periodical press...[and] consolidation of the popular publishing industry" (131) associated with the first British press baron, Lord Northcliffe, and the brave new world of mass-communication societies, *Massenkommunikationsgesellschaften*, that was to be characteristic of the post-imperial centre as well as of what was to be no longer the periphery. Northcliffe was in many ways "an importer of American methods" (132).

This interactivity between the American and British trades towards the end of the 19th century brings us to the decline and eventual fall, cultural as well as political, of the British Empire after 1914 and the replacement of the traditional centre-and-periphery system. However in the long view the system was replaced not so much by any American takeover of the centre as by what we might think of as a polycentred largely Anglophone (though in India and Africa also polylingual) cosmopolis. Here Northcliffe-style Australian and Canadian, as well as American and British, 'media moguls' for example Rupert Murdoch and Roy Thomson have played a major role, now followed by Europeans such as

Bertelsmann and Hachette, (133). Further, arising from the revolution in media technology we see *le livre concurrence* or, as McKenzie put it *the renewed dominance of the visual image as a communal possession, the new icons of television and film, the renewed complementary role of sound as the commonest communal medium for imparting and receiving information.*

The hegemony of print culture begins to merge into that of an engulfing multi-media culture (134). It would seem we have had three sub-phases.

First, in the earlier years of the twentieth century friction with a relentlessly enlarging mass market resulted in a degree of alienation of a 'Modernist' elite from popular reading and publishing (135). This was construed by later Modernist critics in terms of a conflict between 'mass civilization' and 'minority culture' (*culture de masse and culture savante*) (136). This alienation we might see as a fragmenting of the former relatively coherent public sphere, *fragmentierte Teilöffentlichkeiten*, a 'stratification of reading publics ...as never before' into highbrow, lowbrow, and middlebrow, reinforced by the paralyzing aftermath of the first World War and the Depression (137). At the highbrow level the mediation of the Modernist attack - however elitist - had to be through "the realities of cultural production within complex modern societies". It was led by transatlantic minority magazines such as *The Little Review: a magazine of the arts. Making no compromise with the public taste*, and was sustained largely under the leadership of New York cosmopolitan, "so-called Jewish publishing houses" such as Liveright, Huebsch, Seltzer, Knopf, and Bennett Cerf and Donald Klopfer at Random House (138). These New York houses seem to have been stronger than the Modernist houses in London, such as Leonard and Virginia Woolf's Hogarth Press, publisher of T.S.Eliot's *Poems* of 1919 in "fewer than 250 copies". Seltzer "between 1922 and 1924...made Lawrence more money than he had ever earned before", and it was Random House which published the first general trade edition of Joyce's *Ulysses* in 1933, only later issued in London by Allen Lane and his brothers at the Bodley Head (in opposition to the other partners) (139). On the more distant former peripheries we have the more isolated minority magazines and presses such as, in Australia, Norman and Jack Lindsay's *Vision* and P.R.Stephensen and Norman Lindsay's *Endeavour Press*; in South Africa, Roy Campbell and William Plomer's *Vorslaag*; in New Zealand, *Phoenix* and the Caxton Press; in India the Kallol circle in Calcutta (140). At the middlebrow level, during the 'long weekend' between the two World Wars, the conservatism - or 'sloth'? - of mainline publishers, maintained largely by the Net Book Agreement, sought further market consolidation by direct-mail discount practices such as the Book Society, its selection committee including self-consciously middlebrow authors such as Walpole and Priestley, and following the trail of the American Book of the Month Club. At the same time there emerged from the earlier partial liberalizing of the imperial book system 'a healthy array of...more adventurously "modern" publishers", in established as well as new firms and with distinct editorial rather than marketing drive, ranging from (as we have noted) Charles Whibley as reader at Macmillan and Edward Garnett (now with the new firm of Jonathan Cape), Charles Prentice at Chatto and Windus, to Eliot himself, as a sign of growing convergence of middlebrow and highbrow, joining the new firm of Faber and Faber in 1925 and in 1939 publishing *Finnegans Wake* jointly with Huebsch (now The Viking Press) in New York (141). At the lowbrow level popular publishing was more ***self-consciously and aggressively commercialized by book and

periodical houses such as Mills and Boon and D.C.Thomson marketing highly formulaic genres such as romance and crime for sale to, inter alia, the proliferating cheap commercial libraries, and as regards style and content 'gravitating' towards the newer mass media the Hollywood film (142).

Second, enduring the Depression of the 1930s and finally established with the reconstruction of the global financial system in the 1960s and 70s (143) there was the grand enterprise of actually synthesizing mass civilization and minority culture to produce a "culture for democracy" (144), involving the enterprise of synthesizing print and the media. After benefiting greatly from the constraints of the Second World War - inhibiting commercial competition - as well as from wartime cultural aspirations, the new wave eventually spread throughout the English-speaking world, and beyond, producing fundamental changes in the professional and financial structure of the book trade which we might say concluded the agenda set by Morgan before the interruption of the First World War and the Depression (145) If in the media the enterprise began with Reith and the BBC, in the book trade it had begun with the paperback marketing "revolution" of Penguin Books launched in 1935 by Allen Lane and his brothers as they diversified from the by then conservative and ailing Bodley Head, founded by their uncle, John Lane (146). In the wake of the classic American practice of mass distribution through department and drug stores and newsstands as well as bookstores (147) Penguin Books successfully marketed its paperbacks not only in traditional book shops but also in the suburban high-street chain store relatively new to Britain (initially Woolworths). Critically, when compared with traditional reprinting, Penguin mass-marketed not only reprints of elite and middle-brow writing but also, through its Pelican and Penguin Special series, original non-fiction writing of catholic yet topically relevant range, and moving eventually into original hard-copy publishing under the Allen Lane/The Penguin Press imprint and thereby extending its copyright base. Much depended on the unprecedentedly effective marketing brand image, the Penguin logo, and distinctive typographical house-style, based on Morisonian doctrine, that created a virtual sub-culture (148), a "vast modern university", reestablishing a relatively coherent public sphere (149). The effectiveness of the push, commercially as well as culturally, provoked the steady vertical integration of paperback and traditional hard-cover publishing across the trade beginning in 1946 with the Pan consortium of Macmillan, Collins, and Heinemann capitalizing on their in-copyright back lists (150). Books thereby regained a more central, and profitable, role in our volatile multi-media culture not only in Britain and in the United States, (where the paperback revolution had been taken up and greatly reinforced by Pocket Books, the wartime Armed Services Editions, Bantam Books, and the like (151)); but also - and not least through Penguin's powerful logo-based branch-distribution system - in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and India (152).

However, and thirdly, such intensified, systematic, and profitable penetration of the Anglophone mass-market required up-front capital which (as we have noted) the traditional undercapitalised, partnership- and family-based book trade, depending on its slowly, even if steadily, moving back lists, could not by itself provide. But the newly *-reconstructed world financial markets of the 1960s could and did so provide - initially Wall Street and powerful corporate interests in the

'communications industry' (not unconnected with the military-industrial complex?) such as the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and Raytheon. These interests were motivated to buy out hard-pressed publishers and their copyrights, considering them to be, by stock market standards, amateurishly underexploited and undervalued yet secure investments which offered notional (though as it soon proved factitious) 'synergy' with the other elements in the industry: thus RCA took over Random House, briefly and not happily. After a number of hectic, high-profile, "bidding wars" on Wall Street, and with the patently "unbridgeable...gulf in management styles between broadcasting executives and hardware manufacturers on the one hand and the creators of intellectual properties on the other", the initiative in taking over traditional publishing houses passed into the hands of those better-focused, but nevertheless new and highly-capitalised, transnational corporations - increasingly, with the globalizing of the financial world, from outside the United States - which had constructed themselves, in part, from within the traditional book trade itself. Penguin was taken over by what had become Pearson Longman, as was Maskew Miller in South Africa. Harper in the USA and Collins in Britain were taken over by Rupert Murdoch's News International, as was Angus and Robertson in Australia; Nelson by the Canadian Thomson Organisation; Ryerson by McGraw Hill; and members of the former elite core of British publishing, such as the Bodley Head, Jonathan Cape, Chatto and Windus, were taken over by Random House. But further, and significantly, given the pressures from global finance to secure home-market share in the new, largely Anglophone, cosmopolis (for example, the market in Germany for books in English), some major sectors of the traditional Anglophone book world have been taken over by non-Anglophone, yet likewise well-focused transnational groups. Such have been Hachette (taking over Grolier, the Orion Group of Weidenfeld, Cassells, Dent, and now Hodder Headline and Time Warner Books, making Hachette the largest publisher in Britain); Elsevier (Butterworth, Octopus, and Harcourt); Holtzbrinck (Macmillan and Farrar Straus); and Bertelsmann (Bantam Books, Transworld, and even Random House itself, as well as several British imprints brought from Elsevier such as Heinemann and Secker & Warburg) +++++.

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of over 15% on the original investment in copyright - the high initial market value of intellectual property notwithstanding (154).

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To conclude. The essentially polycentric configuration of the 'new cosmopolis' (158) of the transnational groups is perhaps best illustrated by the leading case (again) of Penguin Books. Within the Pearson group, and its fundamental interest in capitalizing on the Penguin 'consumer brand' globally, Penguin has encouraged its branches on the former peripheries to pursue serious editorial independence, riding on their profitable general reprint business: a reincarnation of the classic creative role of the periphery, we might say. Thus the expansion of the Penguin list in Australia has been "the most dramatic example of an overseas-owned company's commitment to local writing". Similar developments in India have been no less evident, most recently and significantly the expansion of Penguin India into publishing in Hindi (and soon Marathi and Malayalam) (159). Such polycentrism not only increases the opportunities for 'local', indigenous authors to gain national and international recognition through book prizes, literary festivals, reading clubs, media tie-ins and so on, typically agent- and editor-driven: a recognition to which as serious professionals, in this age of obsession with the common reader in the

global market, they have to aspire (160). It leads them "beyond hybridity" to "the new vernacular cosmopolis"(161), with a complementary reverse trend being the book-trade version of the general marketing strategy of "glocalisation": for example the Canadian transnational Harlequin/Mills and Boon and its locally edited and translated variants (ranging from Swedish to Mandarin Chinese) of the original English texts of its formulaic romance fiction (162).

And yet. Taking the long view we might reflect that while this newest surge in the corporate management and technology of text production has led at last to a full and deep cultural globalization "touch[ing] every corner of the world" (163) such a globalized public sphere can be in practice claustrophobic, indeed frenetic: a matter of hyperactive authorship and publishing, of "jostle and buzz" and "celebrity" (164), lacking a truly still centre. We might even speak of a "massive degradation...[of] the public sphere...a media universe of endless fashion" (165)

(126) C.Johanningsmeier, *Fiction and the American Literary*

Marketplace: The role of the newspaper syndicates

J.Hepburn, *The Author's Empty Purse and the Rise of the Literary Agent*, London 1968, pp.135

P.Waller, 'Lecture Tours', *Writers, Readers, and Reputations: Literary life in Britain 1870-1918*, Oxford 2006, pp.575-614. See also Index, s.v. America, United States of

(127) J.Tebbel, 'Best Sellers', *The Expansion of an Industry, 1865-1919*, New York & London: A history of publishing in the United States II, 1975, pp.644-54

M.Winship, 'The Rise of a National Book Trade System in the United States, 1865-1916'.

R.H.Wiebe, 'The Distended Society'.

For Morgan etc see R.H.Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, J.Strouse, *Morgan: American financier*, New York 1999, pp.365-67, J.Tebbel, 'The

History of Book Publishing in the United States', *International Book Publishing: An encyclopedia*, ed. P.G.Altbach and E.S.Hoshino, New York, London, 1995, p. 154. For Morgan as 'gentlemanly capitalist', see P.J.Cain and A.G.Hopkins, *British Imperialism* p. 602. For the subsequent attempt of J.P.Morgan & Co itself to set up a "publishing trust", including *Harper's Weekly*, see Strouse, *op cit*, p.662.

See also R.Nile and D.Walker, 'The Mystery of the Missing Bestseller', *A History of the Book in Australia 1891-1945*, pp.235-54

For the Net Book Agreement see R.J.Taraporevala, *Competition and Its Control in the British Book Trade, 1850-1939, with Foreword and chapter on 'Retail price competition and the origins of the Net Book Agreement'* by B.S.Yarney, London 1973, pp. xvi 242

(128) E.James, 'Letters from America: The Bretts and the Macmillan Company in New York', *Macmillan: a publishing tradition*, pp. 170-91.

(129) E.Exman, 'The Harper London oOffice (1834-1900)', *The House of Harper*, pp.159-62

For the leading case of American "cultural penetration" of Canada in the British imperial and post-imperial context, see D.Mackenzie, 'Canada, the North American Triangle and the Empire', in *The twentieth century*, ed J.M.Brown and W.R.Louis, Oxford: The Oxford history of the British Empire IV, 1999, pp.574-596

(130) See C.Johanningsmeier, *Fiction and the American Literary Marketplace*, M.Turner, 'Reading for the masses', and J. Hepburn, *The author's empty purse*,

(131) J.McAleer, 'Popular Reading and Publishing, 1870-1914', *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain 1914-1950*, Oxford: Oxford Historical Monographs, 1992, pp.3, 7

P.Keating, 'Readers and Novelists', *The Haunted Study: A social history of the English novel 1875-1914*, London 1989, pp.ix 533: 439-45

P.D.McDonald, *British Literary Culture and Publishing Practice 1880-1914*, Cambridge: Cambridge studies in printing and publishing history, 1997. pp.vi 230

D.Reed, *The Popular Magazine in Britain and the United States*

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'Markets', and V.Dharwadker, 'Writers, Readers, and Publishers', *New National and Post-Colonial Literatures: An introduction*, ed B.King, Oxford 1996, pp.14-16, 62-65; and B.King, *The Internationalization of English Literature*, Oxford: The Oxford English Literary History. Volume 13 1948-2000, 2004 pp.xii 386

(161) C.R.K.Patel, 'Beyond hybridity', *The Cambridge History of American Literature*, Vol 7, 1999, pp.671-5.

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(162) M-F.Cachin and C.Bruyère, 'La Traduction au Carrefour des Cultures', *Les Mutations du Livre et de l'Édition dans le Monde du XVIIIe Siècle à l'An 2000*, pp.506-25

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(163) D.Denoon et al, *A history of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific*, p. 425.

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(165) L.Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism*, p.171,2

For recent intellectual history see M.Cowling, *Religion and Public Doctrine in Modern England. Volume III, Accommodations*, Cambridge 2001, p.694: "in populous modern societies, where printing and its successors are universal, opinions which have been enunciated severally over the decades jostle together so much without regard to the chronology of their provenance that one may properly speak of the historic English mind taking shape in the blur and fog of an indiscriminating contemporaneity".

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(166) J.J.McGann, *The Textual Condition*, Princeton 1991, p. 98

(167) For a classic *prise de position* see H.-J.Martin, 'Des Hommes et de la Liberté', in *Histoire et Pouvoirs de l'Écrit*, Paris 1988, pp.456-463

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For a recent example of the publishing of a book as a "media event" see www.google.com, s.v. "Harry Potter"

(168) S.Collini, *Absent minds: intellectuals in Britain*, Oxford 2006, p.496

(169) For the use of the concept of 'globalization' in scholarship in general, see for example *Globalization in World History*, ed. A.G.Hopkins, London 2002, pp.278

For a conspectus of the structural elements of 'global culture' see *Global Culture: Nationalism, globalization and modernity*, ed. M.Featherstone, London 1990, pp.411

