CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-316-51081-0 — Mediating Cultural Memory in Britain and Ireland
Leith Davis
Excerpt
More Information

Introduction

Mediating Cultural Memory in Britain and Ireland: From the 1688 Revolution to the 1745 Jacobite Rising explores the impact of the late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century media shift on the creation and shaping of cultural memory in Britain and Ireland. The period on which I focus represents a time when the political shape of the British archipelago was changing as well as a time when, as in the present day, the material practices of mediation and medial networks were also altering significantly. In this earlier era, however, the "new medium" was print, which was coming to take "center stage" within an "already existing media ecology of voice, sound, image, and manuscript writing."[1] It is the argument of this book that the Anglo-centric cultural memories that have come to dominate the United Kingdom over the past several centuries, and, more generally, the notion of cultural memory itself, have their origin in the consolidation (and contestation) of the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century British nation as it was becoming saturated by print.[2]

The chapters that follow offer close examinations of a series of crisis points that took place between 1688 and 1746 at various locations in the British archipelago: the Revolution of 1688 in England; the War of the Two Kings in Ireland (1688–91); the Scottish colonial enterprise in Darien that helped establish the conditions for the Acts of Union in 1707 (1695–1700); the series of conflicts throughout mainland Britain that constituted the 1715 Jacobite Rising; and the 1745 Jacobite Rising that

[1] Clifford Siskin and William Warner, "This Is Enlightenment: An Invitation in the Form of an Argument," in *This Is Enlightenment*, ed. Clifford Siskin and William Warner (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 10. See also Dmitri Nikulin, *Memory: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) and Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). I take the idea of "media ecology" from Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, "Print Culture," in *The Handbook of Communication History*, ed. Peter Simonson et al. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 181–95.

[2] On the phrase "print saturation," see the Multigraph Collective, *Interacting with Print: Elements of Reading in the Era of Print Saturation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018).

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-316-51081-0 — Mediating Cultural Memory in Britain and Ireland
Leith Davis
Excerpt
More Information

was launched in Scotland but that also included areas of England. The eighteenth century was a time when the relationship between "the state and the public" was changing fundamentally,[3] and these selected events represent episodes when the tensions in the nation came to the forefront, episodes that either changed or threatened to change the political organization of the three kingdoms within the archipelago. Jan Assmann suggests that "Events tend to be forgotten unless they live on in collective memory"; the reason for their "living on" lies in their "continuous relevance" in "an ever-changing present" in which they are remembered as "facts of importance."[4] Over time, the five episodes considered in this book came to "live on" in printed discourse, turned into "facts of importance" in "collective memory" because they served to affirm an English-centred sense of Britain as a nation based on individual liberty, parliamentary democracy, a benevolent monarchy – and the incorporation of any troubling elements. These five episodes became sites of memory, or *lieux de mémoire*, to invoke the terminology of the French historian Pierre Nora, while competing counter-memories were frequently silenced, fragmented or pushed to the cultural margins, although not without leaving impressions of their existence, as we will see.[5]

In his influential *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past* (1996), Nora offers the following definition of a *lieu de mémoire*: "any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community."[6] Nora proposes that *lieux de mémoire* "emerge in two stages": first "moments of history" are "plucked out of the flow of history"; then they are "returned to it," but in an altered state so that they are "no longer quite life [*sic*] but not yet entirely death, like shells left on the shore when the sea of living memory has receded."[7]

[3] Thomas Poole, *Reason of State: Law, Prerogative, Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[4] Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 9–10.

[5] Michel Foucault describes a counter-memory as a memory that "opposes history given as continuity or representative of a tradition" ("Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald Bouchard [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977], 160).

[6] Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman, eds, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), xvii. *Realms of Memory* is the abridged English translation of Nora's monumental seven-volume *Les lieux de mémoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984–92). See also Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *les lieux de mémoire*," *Representations* 26 (1989), 7–25.

[7] Nora and Kritzman, *Realms*, 7.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

Cambridge University Press
978-1-316-51081-0 — Mediating Cultural Memory in Britain and Ireland
Leith Davis
Excerpt
More Information

In his original formulation of the notion of *lieux de mémoire*, Nora paid little attention to the material conditions through which this "plucking" and "returning" were enabled. His ideas, however, have since been sharpened by a scholarly focus on the ways in which media "shape cultural remembrance in accordance to their specific means and measures."[8] Aleida Assmann and Linda Shortt assert, for example, that discussions of memory must "emphasize the important role played by the media and the institutions which store, preserve, display and circulate information" connected to those memories. Assmann in particular outlines how memories are stored for later re-activation, noting that different media possess different affordances, affordances that also change over time.[9] As Astrid Erll succinctly observes, "the medium is the memory."[10] In this book, as I describe in fuller detail below, I am interested in the affordances of printed texts, their "specific means and measures," which allow events to be "plucked" and then altered and returned to the "flow of history" so that they retain elements of their initial inscription even when they appear in different contexts. The initial inscription and storage of a site of memory through the medium of print, I contend, increased the possibilities for its preservation, display and circulation as well as impacting the range of its subsequent representations. *Mediating Cultural Memory* argues that the early eighteenth century constituted a unique moment for the intersections between print, memory and the nation in Britain; it was a time period which saw the forging of memories that continue to be drawn on even today to connect certain members – and exclude others – within a national community.

In the case of each of the five sites of memory analyzed in the chapters that follow, printed works were important in the process of memorializing events right from the beginning. Over the period that I examine, however, between 1688 and 1745, the role that printed texts played in articulating sites of memory changed, as the meaning of print itself shifted. During this time, the quantity and availability of printed works grew substantially,

[8] Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 115.
[9] Assmann suggests that "with the changing nature and development of the various media, the constitution of the memory will also be continually changing" (*Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011], 10–11). I use the term "affordances" here to mean "functional and relational aspects which frame, while not determining, the possibilities for agentic action in relation to an object" (Ian Hutchby, "Technologies, Texts and Affordances," *Sociology* 35, no. 2 [2001]: 444).
[10] Erll, *Memory in Culture*, 115.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-316-51081-0 — Mediating Cultural Memory in Britain and Ireland
Leith Davis
Excerpt
More Information

generating a new understanding regarding the processes of mediation.[11] The focus on mediation that accompanied this expansion of print also translated into a perception about how print could be deployed in the service of creating – or at times contesting – what were increasingly being understood as national memories. In other words, the comprehension by human agents that events would "live on," as Jan Assmann puts it, long after the events themselves were over came to impact the ways in which those events were articulated in the first place.[12] In "Remembering as Re-inscription – with a Difference," Catherine Belsey observes that our current sense of memory is in fact future-oriented: "we remember the past not simply as it was, but as it is or, more precisely, as it will turn out to have been, in consequence of our remembering it."[13] *Mediating Cultural Memory* argues that we can trace this new understanding of a future-oriented memory to the time period between 1688 and 1745, because we can observe during this time a growing consciousness regarding the place that sites of memory will occupy in the national future.[14] I begin my examination of this history of national sites of memory by comparing two texts that bookend the era under investigation and that reflect how the changes that took place in the media ecology of the British Isles in the first half of the eighteenth century impacted the way in which national memories were created and shaped. I move from a discussion of these two examples to a consideration of the methodologies informing this book, and then I conclude this introduction with a brief outline of the chapters that will follow.

"Living On" in 1688 vs. 1745

On November 1, 1688, William of Orange's fleet set sail from Hellevoetsluis in the Republic of the United Netherlands to challenge

[11] See Alvin Kernan, *Print Technology, Letters, and Samuel Johnson* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987); Paula McDowell, *The Invention of the Oral: Print Commerce and Fugitive Voices in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017); Michael F. Suarez, S. J. and Michael Turner, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 5, *1695–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[12] Assmann, *Moses*, 9–10.

[13] Catherine Belsey, 'Remembering as Re-inscription – with a Difference', in *Literature, Literary History, and Cultural Memory*, ed. Herbert Grabes (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2005), 4.

[14] Alison Landsberg observes that memory "is not a transhistorical phenomenon . . . Rather, like all other modalities, memory is historically and culturally specific; it has meant different things to people and cultures at different times," often changing as a result of "technological innovation" (*Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* [New York: Columbia University Press, 2004], 3).

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-316-51081-0 — Mediating Cultural Memory in Britain and Ireland
Leith Davis
Excerpt
More Information

the right of the Stuart king, James II/VII, to rule the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland. According to Lisa Jardine, William brought with him a formidable force consisting of "twenty thousand highly trained professional troops" and "twenty thousand mariners and support staff."[15] At the same time as he was preparing for this military invasion, William had also been availing himself of the canny media skills of Gaspar Fagel, his English-trained Dutch advisor, and Gilbert Burnet, an ordained Church of Scotland minister and lawyer in exile at The Hague, in order to produce a pamphlet that would ensure that his "Intentions" regarding this "Expedition" would be "rightly understood."[16] In the *Declaration of His Highnes William Henry*, advertised as an explanation of the *"Reasons Inducing* [*the Prince*], *to Appear in Armes in the Kingdome of England*, William asserts that he seeks only to "*Preserv[e] the Protestant Religion*" and to restore "*the Lawes and Liberties of England, Scotland and Ireland*" by calling "*a FREE AND LEGALL PARLIAMENT*" (1). He calls into question the legitimacy of the recent birth of Prince James Francis Edward Stuart and stakes a claim for his right to succeed to the British throne along with his wife, Mary. Although he appears "*in Armes*," however, his "Expedition" is, he suggests, only focused on securing "the Peace and Happines [*sic*]" of the British nation (1).

In 1746 a different William, the Hanoverian Duke of Cumberland, crushed the Jacobite forces led by James II/VII's grandson Charles Edward Stuart at Culloden Moor. The battle lasted less than an hour, and it effectively ended a civil war that had come within 130 miles of London and had threatened the British state with a return to the Stuart monarchy.[17] Initial news of the victory was delivered to King George II by Cumberland's aide-de-camp, Lord Bury, by express on April 23, 1746, and then, three days later, a more detailed official dispatch from His Highness the Duke of Cumberland was printed "By Authority" as an eight-page pamphlet with a headline reading: "*Whitehall, April 26, 1746: This Afternoon a Messenger Arrived from the Duke of Cumberland, with the Following Particulars of the Victory Obtained by his Highness over the Rebels, on Wednesday the 16th Instant near Culloden*."[18] The pamphlet describes

[15] Lisa Jardine, *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (London: Harper Press, 2008), 4.
[16] *The Declaration of His Highnes William Henry* (The Hague, 1688).
[17] See Murray Pittock, *Culloden (Cùil Lodair)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
[18] *Whitehall, April 26, 1746: This Afternoon a Messenger Arrived from the Duke of Cumberland, with the Following Particulars of the Victory Obtained by His Royal Highness over the Rebels, on Wednesday the 16th Instant near Culloden* (London, 1746). Referred to hereafter as *Particulars of the Victory*.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press
978-1-316-51081-0 — Mediating Cultural Memory in Britain and Ireland
Leith Davis
Excerpt
More Information

the military impact of the conflict at Culloden, comparing the heavy loss of 2,000 "Rebels" with the 300 "kill'd wounded, and missing" of the "King's Troops" (3).

As official responses to specific challenges to the current political leadership, these documents were designed to communicate the importance of the event they describe for posterity ("to all men," as the *Declaration* asserts [1]). Both texts encouraged collective identity at a time when a military conflict was exposing the lack of cohesion at the heart of the nation. The *Declaration* appeals to the "Laws, Liberties and Customes," but "above all" to "the *Religion* and worship of God" as these have been "established" in the nation, and it references previous national events, including the signing of the "*Magna Charta,*" in order to unite Protestant readers (2–3). The news pamphlet on the *Particulars of the Victory*, too, encourages collective identification, as it contrasts the "wild Manner" of the "Rebels" with the superior order and discipline of the government troops (2). Most importantly for the purposes of this book, both the *Declaration* and the *Particulars of the Victory* were conveyed through printed narratives which were subsequently re-presented in whole or in part in other printed texts. Both texts "plucked" moments out of the "flow of history" almost at the moment of their occurrence, inscribing them in print and enabling further sharing of their specific content in different contexts.

A comparison of the material circumstances surrounding the initial printing and dissemination of the *Declaration* and the *Particulars of the Victory*, however, reveals essential differences, differences that impacted the possibilities for the recirculation of those texts and that remind us of the importance of considering the issue of mediation in any discussion of cultural memory. Printed works in seventeenth-century England were tightly regulated by means of the Licensing Act that was established by Charles II in 1662. The publication and dissemination of William's *Declaration* therefore had to be carefully arranged to avoid detection by the authorities. The contents of the *Declaration* were initially kept secret even from supporters of William's cause. As Jardine notes, copies were "carried to (and concealed in) key locations across England and Scotland," then released "simultaneously at all these places" as well as locations in mainland Europe as William's fleet set sail.[19] The distribution of the *Declaration* was made easier by the fact that political upheaval after the invasion resulted in a temporary chaos in "the various agencies and

[19] Jardine, *Going Dutch*, 29.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press
978-1-316-51081-0 — Mediating Cultural Memory in Britain and Ireland
Leith Davis
Excerpt
More Information

procedures for controlling printed matter," as Lois Schwoerer notes.[20] The rapid and widespread release of the *Declaration* was an unprecedented media event in Britain, and once in power, William took pains to make sure that nothing similar would occur again by restoring licensing restrictions and press censorship.[21]

The *Declaration* was widely reprinted throughout 1688 and 1689, in London and Edinburgh as well as places further afield such as Boston. Bundled with additional materials such as proclamations addressed "To all Commanders of Ships and all Seamen that are now imployed in the English Fleet" and "To all the Officers and Souldiers in the English Army" as well as "A Praier for the present Expedition," the *Declaration* was republished at least twenty-one times in four languages during the early period after William's "appearance" in England.[22] It continued to play a significant role in justifying William and Mary's assumption of royal power, as it provided a template for the Declaration of Rights,[23] and was reprinted both in full and in condensed form in numerous works in the early eighteenth century that sought to establish the history of the 1688 Revolution.[24]

Between the time when William planned his assault on the coast of Britain and the period when the Duke of Cumberland was dispatching the account of the victory at Culloden, the material practices of mediation and the media landscape in Britain changed significantly. In 1695, in part because of party conflict in Parliament, the Licensing Act was allowed to lapse, signaling the end of pre-publication censorship and limitations on numbers of presses in England. This easing of restrictions, combined with increasing literacy rates and a steadily developing production and distribution system for printed works, encouraged what Michael Suarez and Michael Turner have referred to as "the efflorescence of a comprehensive

[20] Lois G. Schwoerer, "Propaganda in the Revolution of 1688–89," *American Historical Review* 82, no. 4 (1977): 858.

[21] Geoffrey Holmes and Daniel Szechi, *The Age of Oligarchy: Pre-industrial Britain 1722–1783* (London: Routledge, 2014), 194. I draw the term "media event" from William Warner, *Licensing Entertainment: The Elevation of Novel Reading in Britain, 1684–1750* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 178.

[22] Jardine, *Going Dutch*, 31.

[23] See Lois G. Schwoerer, *The Declaration of Rights, 1689* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981).

[24] *A Collection of State Tracts: Publish'd on Occasion of the Late Revolution in 1688*, vol. 1 (London, 1705); Laurence Echard, *The History of the Revolution, and the Establishment of England in the Year 1688* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1725); Richard Steele, *The Crisis, or, a Discourse Representing, from the Most Authentick Records, the Just Causes of the Late Happy Revolution: With Some Seasonable Remarks on the Danger of a Popish Successor* (London, 1714).

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-316-51081-0 — Mediating Cultural Memory in Britain and Ireland
Leith Davis
Excerpt
More Information

'print culture' in Britain."[25] To summarize briefly what I examine more thoroughly in the chapters that follow, after 1695 print production flourished in a growing market system in England. Newspapers expanded onto the scene in the early years of the eighteenth century, their distribution enabled by an effective postal system and their dissemination amplified by a robust coffee-house culture.[26] The trajectory of media change was slightly different in Scotland and Ireland, as I indicate in several of the following chapters, but in general, these nations, too, experienced a marked growth in print productions. By 1746 there were well-established networks of print throughout Britain and parts of Scotland and Ireland, with newspapers and periodicals as well as books and pamphlets being printed at and circulating between London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin and a number of English and Scottish towns – as well as centres such as Philadelphia and Boston in the American colonies.

As a result of these developments, when the news pamphlet outlining the *Particulars of the Victory* at Culloden was printed in London in 1746, it entered a very different media environment than that through which the *Declaration* spread at the end of the previous century. In addition to being published "by authority" as a pamphlet, the *Particulars of the Victory* was issued in a special "*Extraordinary*" edition of the *London Gazette* and was also reprinted in virtually all of the news periodicals of the day, including daily newspapers like the *General Advertiser*, thrice-weekly newspapers such as the *London Evening Post*, weekly periodicals such as the *Westminster Journal, or, New Weekly Miscellany* and *Old England, or the Constitutional Journal* and monthly periodicals such as *The Scots Magazine, Containing, a General View of the Religion, Politicks, Entertainment, &c. in Great Britain*. Although it was not directly influential on any official parliamentary act as the *Declaration* had been, the text of the *Particulars of the Victory* was reprinted frequently in the subsequent histories of the 1745 Rising. Indeed, I discuss in Chapter 5, as well as being incorporated into pro-Hanoverian popular histories such as *The History of the Rebellion Raised against His MAJESTY KING GEORGE II. From Its Rise in August 1745, to Its Happy Extinction, by the Glorious Victory at Culloden, on the 16th of April, 1746* and *A Journey through Part of England and Scotland. Along with the Army under the Command of His Royal Highness the Duke of*

[25] Suarez and Turner, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 5, 2.
[26] See Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know about Itself* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014); Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005).

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-316-51081-0 — Mediating Cultural Memory in Britain and Ireland
Leith Davis
Excerpt
More Information

Cumberland, material from the news pamphlet was reproduced in works like *Ascanius; or the Young Adventurer, a True History*, a popular retelling of the events of the 1745 Rising which adopts a more sympathetic perspective on the Stuarts.[27] As we will see, traces of the *Particulars* even made their way into Tobias Smollett's description of Culloden in his *Complete History of England* (1757–58).[28]

The expanded availability of print meant that a particular account of an event, once inscribed in printed text, could be circulated more widely and more frequently in 1746 than in 1688 – with implications for the consolidation of national identity. In her influential work *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives*, Aleida Assmann divides cultural memory into two categories: "stored" memory, which consists of "an amorphous mass of elements," and "functional memory," which "emerges from a process of choosing, connecting and constituting meaning."[29] I would add to Assmann's argument to suggest that, as print came to dominate the media landscape in the early eighteenth century, those memories inscribed in printed form assumed greater authority and became more likely than others to be "chosen" from the vast array of memories associated with an event and subsequently re-activated. The work of Elizabeth Eisenstein can be usefully applied here. Investigating the implications of the shift from manuscript to print after Gutenberg, Eisenstein argues that "typographical fixity" and "duplicative powers," in particular, lent printed works physical as well as conceptual permanence. In addition, Eisenstein asserts that the increased use of printing in the early modern era had the effect of "amplifying and reinforcing old ones" as authors "jointly transmitted certain old messages with augmented frequency even while reporting on new events or spinning out new ideas."[30] Although Eisenstein is referring to an earlier period in the development of print, I extend her comments to a consideration of the period covered in this book when the expansion of the print marketplace, including the burgeoning newspaper and periodical markets, enabled more frequent duplication

[27] *The History of the Rebellion Raised against His MAJESTY KING GEORGE II. From Its Rise in August 1745, to Its Happy Extinction, by the Glorious Victory at Culloden, on the 16th of April, 1746* (Dublin, 1746); *A Journey through Part of England and Scotland. Along with the Army under the Command of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland* (London, 1746); *Ascanius; or the Young Adventurer, a True History* (London: Printed for G. Smith, 1746).

[28] Tobias Smollett, *A Complete History of England, Deduced from the Descent of Julius Cæsar, to the Treaty of Aix La Chapelle, 1748*, 4 vols. (London, 1757–58), 4: 673–75.

[29] Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*, 137.

[30] Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 127.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-1-316-51081-0 — Mediating Cultural Memory in Britain and Ireland
Leith Davis
Excerpt
More Information

"of the identical version" – or nearly identical versions – of texts. In an early eighteenth-century context, the initial printing of "messages" connected with particular sites of memory helped inscribe them in specific ways that allowed more opportunities for their selection and recollection over time.[31]

Reciprocally, as *Mediating Cultural Memory* also argues, the association of those inscribed "messages" with the cultural memories of important national episodes also served to elevate the status of print within the media ecology. In critiquing what he perceives as Eisenstein's technological determinism, Adrian Johns asserts that the characteristics of print that Eisenstein describes had to be developed "over generations and across nations."[32] This book suggests that one way in which human agents developed a consciousness of the affordances associated with print was through reading printed works connected with national memories. As I illustrate in Chapter 1, for example, the narration of the 1688 Revolution through the publication of printed documents issued by James II/VII and William of Orange served to elevate the status of print during a time of media transition. Similarly, as Chapter 3 suggests, in the unfolding saga connected with the articulation of the Scottish colonial venture at Darien, print came to take on the authority previously associated with manuscript letters. Attending to the inscription of cultural memory in print throughout this time period offers a way of bridging the gap between Eisenstein's and Johns's perspectives, between print and the agents who employed it and contributed to its meaning.

As sites of memory could be inscribed and re-inscribed, they came to be seen as "portable," in Ann Rigney's term, able to be reprinted in contexts very different from those in which they originally appeared.[33] But the uncertainty and uncontrollability surrounding the potential uses of printed texts subsequently generated an increasing anxiety over how printed works could be consumed in different contexts. The concern became not just

[31] Ann Rigney suggests that cultural memory "is continuously performed by individuals and groups as they recollect the past *selectively through various media* and become involved in various forms of memorial activity" ("Plenitude, Scarcity and the Circulation of Cultural Memory," *Journal of European Studies* 35, no. 1 [2005]: 17).

[32] Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 2.

[33] Rigney suggests that literary narrative texts "help stabilize and fix memories in a certain shape," serving as "portable monuments, which can be carried over into new situations" ("Portable Monuments: Literature, Cultural Memory, and the Case of Jeanie Deans," *Poetics Today* 25, no. 2 [2004]: 381). As those texts are read and reread over time, she argues, the specific "images of the past" that they reflect "are at once re-activated and adapted to the new context in which they function" (388). I extend Rigney's observations beyond literary narrative texts to texts in general.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org