

I A NATURAL PHILOSOPHY OF NOSES

(Broken) noses cast a long shadow in *Tristram Shandy*, especially in the second instalment (vols. 3 and 4) of *Tristram Shandy*, which carries the marbled page. It opens with Elizabeth's prolonged labour and Tristram's eventual arrival into the Shandy family, when his nose is crushed during a bungled forceps delivery. Walter is left reeling, and throws himself prostrate on the bed in an exasperated fury, as Tristram explains:

No doubt, the breaking down of the bridge of a child's nose, by the edge of a pair of forceps,—however scientifically applied,—would vex any man in the world, who was at so much pains in begetting a child, as my father was,—yet it will not account for the extravagance of his affliction, nor will it justify the unchristian manner he abandoned and surrender'd himself up to.

To explain this, I must leave him upon the bed for half an hour,—and my uncle Toby in his old fringed chair sitting beside him. (3.30.144-5)

Tristram goes on to account for Walter's vexation by explaining that his father had dedicated much of his life to collecting books on the history and natural philosophy of noses. He departs from this scene of woe to explain that many generations of Shandys have suffered from anxieties around noses. Tristram begins with his great-grandmother, who had insisted upon a marriage article which allowed her a large jointure due to her fiancé having little or no nose. This long-running family concern with the facial member goes some way toward explaining Walter's staying in bed for the rest of the volume, and his peculiar bibliographical bent.

Walter's book collecting is passionate but it has been a challenge: despite the 'many millions of books in all languages, and in all possible types and bindings' which have been 'fabricated upon points not half so much tending to the unity and peacemaking of the world' (3.34.161), he can find very few written on the subject of noses. Those he finds are contradictory, like the works of Prignitz and Scroderus, the first of which argues that the size of one's nose reflects the capacity of one's fancy, and the other vice versa.<sup>1</sup> It

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<sup>1</sup> W.G. Day has shown that Sterne drew his references to Bouchet, Panocrates and Grangousier from John Ozell's footnotes to the nose passage in Rabelais's *Gargantua and Pantagrel*. 'Sterne and Ozell', *English Studies*, 53 (1972), 434-436.

is here, in the third volume of *Tristram Shandy*, which Sterne devotes almost entirely to medical books about noses, that he inserts his most startling innovation, the marbled page (fig. 4.1).

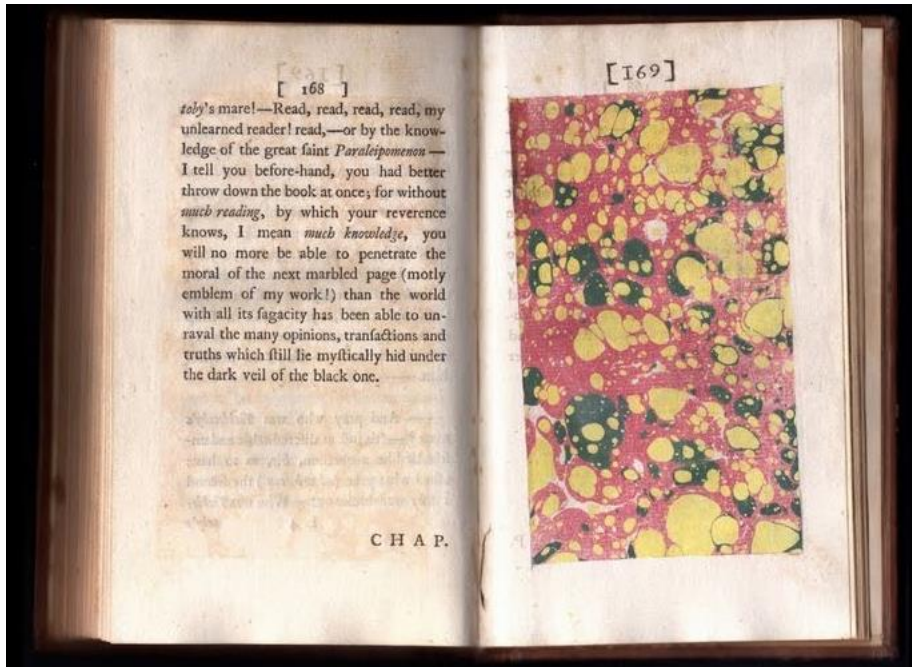


FIGURE 4.1: MARBLED LEAF IN THE FIRST EDITION OF *TRISTRAM SHANDY*, VOL. 3 (1760). IMAGE COURTESY OF THE LAURENCE STERNE TRUST.

It is introduced as follows:

-- Read, read, read, read, my unlearned reader! read--or by the knowledge of the great saint Paraleipomenon--I tell you before-hand, you had better throw down the book at once; for without much reading, by which your reverence knows I mean much knowledge, you will no more be able to penetrate the moral of the next marbled page (motley emblem of my work!) than the world with all its sagacity has been able to unravel the many opinions, transactions, and truths which still lie mystically hid under the dark veil of the black one. (3.36.168)

Reading, *Tristram* suggests, will enable his readers to understand the remarkable coloured leaf. His repetition of the imperative 'Read, read, read, read', perhaps indicates that it is a certain kind of reading--extensive, compulsive, (ac)cumulative--that will provide the key: reading like Walter Shandy.

Readers have long been fascinated by the marbled page. Walter Scott was one of the earliest to publish his interpretation of the leaf, in his introduction to *Tristram Shandy* for Ballantyne's Novelist's Library (1821-24). He read the leaf as an instance of Sterne playing the harlequin, with the black and marbled

pages functioning as affected performances by the author.<sup>2</sup> More recently, diverse and entertaining interpretations of the page have emerged. The most frequent is that the marbled page, like other visual devices in Sterne's works, expresses what text cannot accurately capture. Everett Zimmerman's reading of Sterne's representation of biblical criticism includes a statement that the black and marbled pages are a comment on the book as a human body, whose 'very bodily status allies it with the grave'.<sup>3</sup> And nowhere are bodies more bookish than in volume 3 of *Tristram Shandy*. J. Paul Hunter sees the marbled leaf as an allusion to the intertextual relationship between fictional texts and graphic illustrations.<sup>4</sup> Despite these diverse interpretations of Sterne's marbled page, scholars do seem to be unanimous on its status as a self-reflexive, bookish device. In fact, the most frequent reading of the marbled page is as a joke on marbled endpapers, with Sterne comically accelerating the reader's sense of closure by bringing forward an image of completion.<sup>5</sup> As Peter de Voogd has shown, marbled endpapers were not popular in England before 1770, though Sterne very likely had access to editions from continental Europe, which had commonly used marbled endpapers long before this time.<sup>6</sup>

W.G. Day, Peter de Voogd and Diana Patterson have undertaken the most thorough bibliographical and interpretative studies of Sterne's marbled leaf, foregrounding the device as a highly significant moment in this novel and in the history of book design more broadly. Day's bibliographical study of the page will be further explored below. In a reading of the page which situates Sterne's page within a context of painting, de Voogd argues that the marbled leaf illustrates *Tristram Shandy*, the whole work, in its full complexity, which 'like the marbled page, is seemingly haphazard, the child of contingency, accidental, utterly dependent on the whims of chance and circumstance'.<sup>7</sup> Diana Patterson's articles and PhD thesis provide a comprehensive overview of the history of paper marbling and three ideas for what Sterne's page might represent: a series of puns; an anti-counterfeiting device; and, like de Voogd, a symbol

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<sup>2</sup> Walter Scott, 'Preface to Sterne', *The Novels of Sterne, Goldsmith, Dr. Johnson, Mackenzie, Horace Walpole, and Clara Reeve*, vol. 5 (London: Hurst, 1823), xvii.

<sup>3</sup> Everett Zimmerman, 'Tristram Shandy and Narrative Representation', *The Eighteenth Century*, 28.2 (1987), 140.

<sup>4</sup> J. Paul Hunter, 'From Typology to Type: The Agents of Change in Eighteenth-Century English Texts', in *Cultural Artifacts and the Production of Meaning: The Page, the Image, and the Body* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1994), 53.

<sup>5</sup> James Swearingen, *Reflexivity in Tristram Shandy: An Essay in Phenomenological Criticism* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1977). This interpretation is also offered by Diana Alexandra Patterson, "'The Moral of the Next Marbled Page" in Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*', PhD thesis (University of Toronto, 1989), 90. Peter de Voogd disputes this interpretation in 'Laurence Sterne, the Marbled Page, and the "Use of Accidents"', *Word and Image*, 1 (1985), 285.

<sup>6</sup> Patterson, 'The Moral of the Next Marbled Page', 31; De Voogd, 285.

<sup>7</sup> De Voogd, 285.

of the book as a whole.<sup>8</sup> What is not disputed in these studies of Sterne's device is that Sterne was likely drawing upon the frequent appearance of marbling in the bookbinding process (if not as endpapers).

Contributing to scholarly consensus on the marbled page as a binding joke, this chapter for the first time historicises the marbled page metaphor as a satiric device in literature before *Tristram Shandy*. It situates Sterne's remarkable visual device within a history of colour book illustration dominated by scientific works of the kind treasured by Walter Shandy. It also recounts the history of marbled paper, commonly recognised as book binding material but lesser known as medical packaging for nostrums prescribed to treat wounds and ailments. As a colour illustration in the instalment of *Tristram Shandy* addressing a wounded nose, the colour and dimensions of the marbled leaf holds parallels with colour-illustrated medical books and distinctively-packaged branded remedies. Sterne's marbled page, therefore, references a full range of paper materials seeking to theorise, diagnose, and treat malfunctioning bodies.

## II COLOURED BOOK ILLUSTRATION

The most startling element of the marbled page to the eighteenth-century reader would have been the fact that it is coloured. At mid-century, readers and would-be purchasers were most likely to encounter colour on title-pages, and that colour was almost always red. Red ink was reserved for the title-pages of prestige volumes, printed in smart red characters in a claim for status, as in the first editions of Chamber's *Cyclopaedia* (1728) and Thomas Shaw's *Travels in Barbary and the Levant* (1738), and the title-pages of such classic literary volumes as Pope's *Works of Shakespeare* (1723-5), John Baskerville's 1762 edition of Horace, and many of Tonson's editions of Dryden's works. As Janine Barchas has argued, aside from the 1724 and 1738 editions of Daniel Defoe's *Colonel Jack*, coloured (red) ink was rarely applied to unknown fictional texts,<sup>9</sup> though it was more familiar on publishers' rubric posts, where one copy of a title-page might have been so printed to arrest the attention of passers-by. In *Epistle to Arbuthnot* (1735), Pope explores the red typography of advertising as a poetic signifier for literary fame:

What though my Name stood rubric on the walls,

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<sup>8</sup> Patterson, 'The Moral of the Next Marbled Page'.

<sup>9</sup> Janine Barchas, *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), 60.

Or plaister'd posts, with Claps in capitals?  
[...]  
I sought no homage from the race that write;  
I kept, like Asian monarchs, from their sight.<sup>10</sup>

Despite the posters, or 'Claps', highlighting his name in red capitals, Pope seeks no fame, 'no homage from the Race that Write'. In the *Dunciad*, he singles out publisher Bernard Lintot's rubric post as a masthead for disposable fiction:

Hence springs each weekly Muse, the living boast  
Of Curl's chaste press, and Lintot's rubric post,  
Hence hymning Tyburn's elegiac lay,  
Hence the soft sing-song on Cecilia's day,  
Sepulchral lies, our holy walls to grace,  
And New-year Odes, and all the Grubstreet race.<sup>11</sup>

In his notes to these lines in the second edition of the *Dunciad Variorum* (1729), Pope reminds us that Lintot 'usually adorn'd his shop with Titles in red letters'.<sup>12</sup> However, this satire of rubrication as a cheapening device is context-specific, with Pope deriding rubric posts all the while that the title-pages of his *Rape of the Lock* (Lintot, 1714) was printed in red ink. Through disparaging red typography Pope simultaneously called attention to his own canonical status. The title-pages of the *Rape of the Lock* were not just red on the rubric post, but in every copy, highlighting Pope's name, the title of his poem, 'London', and Lintot's name, and undoubtedly catching the eye. In a move which perhaps echoes Pope's disdain for rubrication in the *Dunciad*, Sterne tucks away the marbled page in the middle of the third volume of *Tristram Shandy*; the leaf is altogether more demure than existing practices of printing coloured ink in literature. Lintot used red ink to catch the eye of the reader and to indicate literary value. Sterne's earliest purchasers would not have known that the work included an expensively produced colour image. Purchasers of the first edition of *Tristram Shandy* would not have known about the marbled page, especially given its position in the volume, suggesting that elaborate advertising strategies were unnecessary given Sterne's sudden and meteoric rise to

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<sup>10</sup> Alexander Pope, 'Epistle to Arbuthnot', *The Major Works*, ed. by Pat Rogers, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), 343, lines 215-20.

<sup>11</sup> Pope, *Dunciad Variorum*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (London, 1729), 57, 1.37-42.

<sup>12</sup> Pope, *Dunciad Variorum*, 57, l. 38.

fame.<sup>13</sup> Sterne's lavish investment in four coloured inks for the marbled page is therefore a defiant statement about the value of his work. The marbled page in *Tristram Shandy* rewards sustained attention at the same time as it demonstrates his capacity to continue innovating and surprising his audiences within a work which had been experimental from its very beginning.

Whilst Sterne was not the first author to include coloured ink within his work, books sold with colour illustrations in this period were luxury collectables.<sup>14</sup> Novels were rarely illustrated at all in their first editions and mass-produced colour illustrations of literary works were a much later invention.<sup>15</sup> The two genres in which colour illustrations would be most commonly found were books of science and fine art. Readers would know from the newspaper advertisements of a title, and sometimes its title-page, whether to expect colour within the pages of such a work, and colour was added on to the price of the book at the point of purchase. This is mainly because coloured images required extra effort and financial investment on the part of the book's publisher or designer. Elizabeth Blackwell's *A Curious Herbal* (1737-39), for example, boasted beautiful illustrations of medicinal plants and was sold at two prices, one price for the plain text, and another to have it hand-coloured by Blackwell herself. Blackwell's *Herbal* was unusual in that it was coloured from original specimens in the Chelsea Physic Garden, instead of from artworks. The text was stamped with the approval of the Society of Apothecaries and advertised as 'useful' by the Royal College of Physicians, who provided a testimonial for the publication. According to the college, it was colour that made the *Herbal* particularly useful, better enabling readers to identify the plants depicted in the volume. Coloured images were never a surprise in eighteenth-century books. To include coloured ink and not advertise the fact was a lavish act of book design which necessitated additional financial risk if the volumes did not sell.

With almost all colour book illustrations from incunabula to the eighteenth century, colour was added after the fact. The most common means of producing coloured pages in books in this period was

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<sup>13</sup> Siv Gøril Brandtzaeg, M-C. Newbould, and Helen Williams, 'Advertising Sterne's Novels in Eighteenth-Century Newspapers', *The Shandean*, 27 (2016), 27-58.

<sup>14</sup> Sarah Lowengard, 'Colour Printed Illustrations in Eighteenth-Century Periodicals', in *Book Illustration in the Long Eighteenth Century: Reconfiguring the Visual Periphery of the Text*, ed. by Christina Ionescu (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2011), 58.

<sup>15</sup> The earliest known printed colour images in books emerged in the 1460s and were made from one colour ink only. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, Complete in One Volume (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1979), 567.

the post-printing technique of hand-colouring, freehand or with stencils, undertaken by a range of people including professional colourists, printers, binders, purchasers and owners.<sup>16</sup> It was mostly an optional extra, but three remarkable scientific works from the first half of the eighteenth century were distributed solely in coloured form. These were Eleazar Albin's *A Natural History of Birds* (1731–38), Mark Catesby's *Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands* (1731–43), and James Smith's *Flower Garden Display'd [...] and Coloured to the Life* (1732), the text for which was written by Richard Bradley. Catesby was the first to use folio-sized hand-coloured engravings and he is celebrated now for placing animals and plants within elaborate backgrounds.<sup>17</sup> A regular contributor to the Royal Society, one of its members loaned Catesby the capital to produce the book, and in 1733 Catesby himself was elected a fellow. This reflects not only his skill in ornithology but also his mastery of coloured ink, through which Catesby was better able to express and disseminate specialist knowledge of the natural world; colour afforded scientific works higher value in terms of their utility. The title-page of Timothy Sheldrake's *Botanicum Medicinale* (1759) highlighted the efficacy of colour, proclaiming that 'The colours of every Part are minutely described; for Utility it must be esteemed preferably to any HORTUS SICCUS extant'. They should buy the *Botanicum*, he hints, in its coloured rather than plain state.<sup>18</sup> It was 'Designed to promote Botanical Knowledge, prevent Mistakes in the Use of Simples in compounding and preparing Medicines, to illustrate, and render such Herbals as want the just Representation in their proper Colours more Useful'.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Lowengard, 57; 60.

<sup>17</sup> Amy R.W. Meyers et al, eds., *Empire's Nature: Mark Catesby's New World Vision* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1998).

<sup>18</sup> According to the title-page, the prices (unbound) were as follows: royal coloured 6-0-0, plain 3-0-0; small coloured 3-0-0, plain 2-2-0. Timothy Sheldrake, *Botanicum Medicinale* (London: Millan, 1759).

<sup>19</sup> Sheldrake appealed to consumers to buy the more expensive version of his text by arguing for improved understanding through colour and pointing out what he felt to be an inadequacy in Linnaeus's system, his omission of colour. Linnaeus had not dealt with colour partly because the specific shades and tones of plants were dependent upon the place in which they grew but also because of the difficulty in reproducing identical tints of ink. See Karin Nickelsen, *Draughtsmen, Botanists and Nature: The Construction of Eighteenth-Century Botanical Illustrations*, New Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer, 2006), 15. Sterne and his contemporaries had no choice but to deal with the instability of coloured inks. Only after his death would colour become more standardised. In 1769 German botanist Jacob Christian Schaeffer devised his *Plan for a Universal Relationship of Colours; Or Research and Model for Determining and Naming Colours in a Way that is Useful to the General Public*. Schaeffer proposed his own taxonomy for systematically naming and identifying colour in order to aid natural science in identifying the colour properties of plants or insects. He designed hand-coloured charts with accompanying recipes for the accurate production of specific shades of ink in a method anticipating today's Pantone system. Jacob Christian Schaeffer, *Entwurf einer allgemeinen Farbenverein; oder Versuch und Muster einer gemeinnützlichen Bestimmung und Benennung der Farben* (Nurnberg, 1769). See Nickelsen, *Draughtsmen*, 18.

In these rare editions of texts intended to be sold ready-coloured in every copy, standardisation was more easily achieved. Producers of botanical works, for example, could make sure that any hand-coloured image was checked against the original painting for consistency. But differences remained in all coloured images due to different interpretations of the surrounding text, different levels of skill, and access to inks, despite scientific works loudly claiming that standardised shades of ink meant more accurate scientific knowledge. Scientific authors longed for a uniform means of producing colour image. But at mid-century, it was difficult, time-consuming and expensive to machine-print images made from multiple colours. The earliest polychrome techniques were initially developed not for book illustration but to create prints of famous artworks. They required overprinting to create a single coloured image, and they were inspired by new understandings of colour production arising from the growing popularity of Isaac Newton's *Opticks: or, A Treatise of the Reflexions, Refractions, Inflexions and Colours of Light* (1704), which argued for the primacy of the colours red, yellow and blue. After Newton, artists and printers began to believe that every colour could be represented using a foundation of just those three colours. Jacob Christoff Le Blon pioneered his trichromatic printing process in Amsterdam in around 1710, which involved overprinting different copper mezzotint plates inked by hand in blue, yellow and red (in that order) to create one multicolour print of a famous painting,<sup>20</sup> democratising access to unique pieces of art and supplying the growing demands of print collectors on the continent. This was essentially an early form of today's CMYK printing process, the invention of which he announced in his 1722 dual-language publication, *Coloritto*, in English and French. Like Le Blon, English printer John Baptist Jackson also experimented with colour printing to satisfy the eighteenth-century demand for reproductions of classic oil paintings. Jackson also overprinted blocks but used wood instead of copper, and instead of three plates used four or more.<sup>21</sup> His single-sheet reproduction of Rembrandt's *Descent from the Cross* (1738), for example, is printed from four blocks in yellow, grey, and two shades of brown.<sup>22</sup> Despite his innovation, Jackson remained unpopular,

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<sup>20</sup> Bamber Gascoigne, *Milestones in Colour Printing 1457-1859: With a Bibliography of Nelson Prints* (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1997), 8.

<sup>21</sup> John Baptist Jackson, *An Essay on the Invention of Engraving and Printing in Chiaro Oscuro* (London: Millar, 1754), p 8. For examples, see the 24 celebrated Venetian paintings reproduced in Jackson's *Titiani Vecelii, Pauli Caliarrii, Jacobi Robusti, et Jacobi de Ponte, opera selectiora a Joanne Baptista Jackson Anglo, ligno calata, et coloribus adumbrata* (Venice: Batista, 1745).

<sup>22</sup> Metadata from John Baptist Jackson, after Rembrandt van Rijn, 'Descent from the Cross' (1738), National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, accession number Kainen 1962, no. 13, 2012.92.523. Jackson, *Essay*, 5. In his *Essay*, which included eight polychrome plates, Jackson staked his claim as the first English colour printer. He saw himself as recovering the Renaissance practice of chiaroscuro, boasting that 'an Art recovered is



and his manifesto did not endear him to the art community; it criticised his rivals and ignored the experiments of practitioners such as Le Blon, who had initiated the incorporation of colour printed images into books and received a patent for colour printing.<sup>23</sup> The earliest known colour mezzotint image is one of Le Blon's anatomy images, a 'Dissected human testicles and penis showing the symptoms of an infection with gonorrhoea pinned to a board'.<sup>24</sup> It was printed to be bound with a popular pamphlet on venereal disease composed by Jonathan Swift's physician, William Cockburn. *The Symptoms, Nature and Cure of Gonorrhoea* (1713) went through four editions and was translated into French and some early editions included a similar black and white engraving of a dissection.<sup>25</sup> Le Blon's image would have increased sales of Cockburn's text, making it highly collectable, and he was commissioned by Nathaniel St. André to produce a full series of colour anatomy prints, but this project collapsed.<sup>26</sup> When Le Blon died, his former student, Jacques Fabien Gautier (later Gautier d'Agoty), successfully fought off other students and rivals to have the privilege of colour printing transferred to him.<sup>27</sup> Gautier continues to hold a sensationalised reputation for his titillating colour-printed anatomies, which show corpses as if they were living, depicted in sexually-suggestive poses with their skin peeled back and organs showing.<sup>28</sup> But he innovated in the book trade, too, when in the 1750s he launched the first tricolour-printed periodical, *Observations sur L'Histoire*

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little less than an Art invented', and at the same time advertising his services as a producer of expensive colour wallpaper. Emerging in the first decade of the 1500s, chiaroscuro woodcuts had indeed gone some way towards creating multiple colours. Until Jackson's book, eighteenth-century connoisseurs found that though examples of these artworks survived, clear instructions for the chiaroscuro practice did not. Chiaroscuro engravings (in wood and, later, copper) used the colour of the paper as a highlight and printed it with blocks inked in increasingly darker shades of the same or similar hues to create depth. Examples of Jackson's wallpaper survive in the British Museum (museum number 1918,0713.59), 1731-45 and the Victoria and Albert Museum (museum number E.2696-1920), 1744.

<sup>23</sup> During his time in London, Le Blon been granted a royal patent for his three-colour process before relocating to Paris, where he was granted the privilege of colour printing by the French Crown in 1739. 'A New Method of Multiplying of Pictures and Draughts by a Natural Collieris with Impression,' English Patent no. 423 issued to James Christopher Le Blon (5 February 1719).

<sup>24</sup> British Museum, item number 1928,0310.101. Peter Krivatsy argues for another image of an anatomised shoulder to be the first colour print (also by Le Blon), in Arent Cant's *Dissertatio anatomico-theoretica inaugural* (1719), but I cannot locate this item at the National Library of Medicine where Krivatsy identifies it. Both probably appeared in the same year. Krivatsy, 'Le Blon's Anatomical Color Engravings', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 23.2 (1968), 153-158. Le Blon's image is available at: <http://peccadille.net/2013/01/17/815/>, last accessed 10/07/17. Le Blon and Gautier produced many anatomical illustrations, though only three of Le Blon's anatomical images survive. His works in general are very rare.

<sup>25</sup> The first edition was published by Graves in London in 1713. The 'third edition with additions' published in 1719 by Strahan includes a black and white engraving of the penis, and the 'fourth edition with additions' (1728, also Strahan) includes that and a second cross-section of the penis.

<sup>26</sup> Dániel Margócsy, *Commercial Visions: Science, Trade, and Visual Culture in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2014), 186.

<sup>27</sup> Gasgoigne, 63.

<sup>28</sup> Lowengard, 63. See, for example, his coloured mezzotints: 'Muscles of the back in a Female', after dissections by J. F. Duverney (1746); 'Two Dissected Heads, on Sacking', after dissections by Tarin, *Anatomie de la tete* (1748).

*naturelle, sur la Physique et la Peinture* (1752-55), making ownership of colour-printed literature more freely available to a wide, if specialised, readership.<sup>29</sup> Around this time, producers of botanical books slowly began to experiment with colour mezzotints, but these were produced in a much more basic fashion. As Wilfrid Blunt and William Thomas Stearn point out, these ‘colour prints’ were most often simply printed in green ink rather than black and touched up by hand afterwards. A few plates were printed in two or three colours.<sup>30</sup>

Meanwhile, the world of literary illustrations was monochrome. As in the case of Henry Fielding’s *Tom Jones*, it was much more common for eighteenth-century novels to be translated before they were illustrated, as Nathalie Ferrand has shown.<sup>31</sup> Janine Barchas’s work on the graphic design of the eighteenth-century novel has begun the important task of exploring the rare visual elements of the novel in this period. As she demonstrates, fantasy travel narratives like Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726) were more visual than other literary works from this period and included black and white frontispiece illustrations of their fictional narrators. Swift also printed engraved monochrome maps in the first edition of *Gulliver*, and Defoe included fold-out maps in first editions of Crusoe’s *Farther Adventures* (1719) and *Serious Reflections* (1720).<sup>32</sup> Book illustrations as we tend to think of them now, pictures of notable scenes from the text’s plot, tended to be later additions to fictional works which had stood the test of time, and which would be sure to sell despite the additional cost of image production.<sup>33</sup> When it came to coloured ink, the pressure was even higher to be able to predict sales of works requiring such investment, so perhaps nursery rhymes, in their ability to continue to shift units beyond their first appearance, were a safer investment. One such example is a children’s chapbook recorded as the oldest

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<sup>29</sup> Margócsy, 195.

<sup>30</sup> Society of Gardeners, *Catalogus Plantarum. A Catalogue of Trees, Shrubs, Plants, and Flowers, Both Exotic and Domestic, Which are propagated for Sale in the Gardens near London* (London: Society of Gardeners, 1730). This text included some colour mezzotints, as did John Martyn’s *Historia Plantarum Rariorum* (1728–1737), illustrated by Jacob van Huysum. See Wilfrid Blunt and William Thomas Stearn, *The Art of Botanical Illustration: An Illustrated History* (New York: Dover, 1994), 133. Nickelsen tells us that Johann Wilhelm Weinmann’s renowned botanical work *Phytanthoza Iconographia* (published 1735/45) was one of the first colour-printed works. Nickelsen, ‘The Challenge of Colour: Eighteenth-Century Botanists and the Hand-Colouring of Illustrations’, *Annals of Science*, 63:1 (2006), [pp. 3-23] 5.

<sup>31</sup> Nathalie Ferrand, ‘Translating and Illustrating the Eighteenth-Century Novel’, *Word & Image*, 30 (2014), 181-83.

<sup>32</sup> Barchas, *Graphic Design*.

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, Sandro Jung, ‘The Other *Pamela*: Readership and the Illustrated Chapbook Abridgement’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 39 (2016), Special Issue: *Picturing the Eighteenth-Century Novel Through Time*, ed. by Christina Ionescu and Ann Lewis, 513-531.

surviving collection of nursery rhymes, *Tommy Thumb's Pretty Song Book* (1744) printed with illustrations in alternating pages of red and black ink.<sup>34</sup>

If there was a general rule in eighteenth-century book design that first edition literary works would not include colour images, then there is of course one exception: John Kidgell's *The Card* (1755) (fig. 4.2).

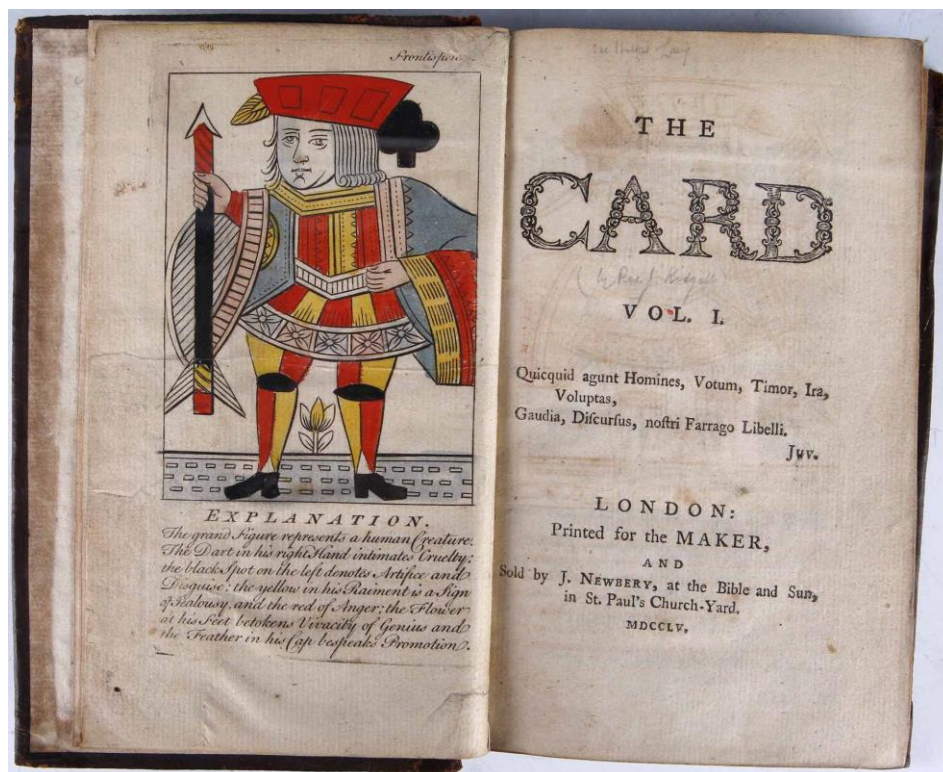


FIGURE 4.2: FRONTISPIECE AND TITLE-PAGE OF JOHN KIDGELL'S *THE CARD* (1755). IMAGE COURTESY OF CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

The image is a hand-coloured copperplate frontispiece, which would have been printed on a different press and added to the book before sewing. The image problematises any easy alignment of text and image, despite its caption:

The grand figure represents a human Creature. The Dart in his right Hand intimates Cruelty; the black spot on the left denotes Artifice and Disguise; the yellow in his Raiment is a sign of Jealousy, and the red of Anger; the Flower at his feet betokens Vivacity of Genius and the Feather in his Cap bespeaks Promotion.

<sup>34</sup> ['Nurse Lovechild'], *Tommy Thumb's Pretty Song Book*, vol. 2 of 2 (London: Cooper, 1744). Only the second volume of this collection has survived..

The caption insists upon the capacity of colour to carry meaning, but the abstract ideas signified here, artifice and disguise (black), jealousy (yellow), and anger (red), bear little if any relation to the epistolary narrative that follows. At least one contemporary reader was confused by this caption, with a contributor to the *Monthly Review* concluding that ‘It would pose an *Oedipus* to unravel this’.<sup>35</sup> As Barchas points out, it is likely that Kidgell was simply invoking playing cards and replicating their colours, red, yellow, blue and black, rather than saying something profound about his fiction.<sup>36</sup> But perhaps he felt that it reflected well upon himself as an author. Colour, Sarah Lowengard has argued, demonstrated the ‘technical skills and aesthetic sensibility’ of the book’s creator.<sup>37</sup> Such an interpretation of *The Card* might be supported by its title-page, which claimed the book to be printed for the ‘maker’, rather than the ‘author’. Facing the title-page, the arresting colours of the frontispiece marketed Kidgell’s novel as craftsmanship, as experimental fiction, but it encouraged sales of a work to readers who were ultimately disappointed, as one reviewer complained: ‘A Title so novel, and, to appearance, so inapplicable to any production from the press amounting to two volumes, has, no doubt, prevailed upon many to satisfy their curiosity by purchasing the performance’.<sup>38</sup> In an undoubtedly innovative move, Kidgell’s novelty image was a publicity ploy, unlike Sterne’s marbled page, undiscoverable until page 169 of volume three.

Unless colour was a component of a particularly collectable text, throughout the eighteenth century it was most often an add-on, and consumers of any other book other than *Tristram Shandy* would always have known in advance that the pages of a text they were buying included colour. Unlike Kidgell, and the printers of red title-pages, Sterne surprised the first purchasers of *Tristram Shandy* by including his marbled page toward the end of the third volume of this text. Like Kidgell’s frontispiece Sterne’s marbled leaf declares *Tristram Shandy*’s author to have aesthetic taste and proficiency with the tools of book production. But Sterne, much more than Kidgell, was not only ‘author’ but also ‘maker’ of a three-dimensional artefact. As the first polychrome illustration of (in the strict sense of having relevance to) a fictional text, the marbled

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<sup>35</sup> *Monthly Review*, 12 (1755), 117-21, 120.

<sup>36</sup> Barchas, 233 n. 82.

<sup>37</sup> Lowengard, 53-76, 58.

<sup>38</sup> *Monthly Review*, 117; Barchas, 52-53.

page lights up the black and white world of the eighteenth-century novel in a manner entirely unprecedented, and in its close-knit relationship to the instalment which carries it, it breaks new ground.

The marbled page is a much more slippery sign than red-inked title-pages and hand-coloured engraved frontispieces, which aimed for standardisation. As Lowengard argues, even in scientific works featuring anatomical or botanical images, where consistency and similarity were privileged and colour variations could be ‘disastrous’, in certain circumstances variations in colouring could also be desirable, enhancing ‘the uniqueness of each copy’.<sup>39</sup> Part of the attraction of paper marbling is the fact that the resulting artworks are unique in every copy. Unlike the black-graven outlines of Kidgell’s knave, Sterne’s image is formless, dependent on the instability of coloured inks in this period and the capacity of the marbling technique in particular to enhance uniqueness in each impression. Sterne draws upon a tradition of using colour illustrations characterised by a desire for stability and standardisation, but he turns it on its head, satirising any quest for scientific accuracy or uniformity through the unpredictability of his medium.<sup>40</sup> It is therefore the element of his novel over which he was able to exert the least control. But it is not just the uniqueness of his own text, and the story of Walter’s difficulty in reconciling contradictory knowledge sourced from coloured medical works, that Sterne illustrates with the marbled page, as the next section will show. He also exploits marbling’s predominance in the book trade to illustrate Walter’s fascination with his book collection and to bring to life Tristram’s creative act of appending this material to his memoir.

### III MARBLING AND THE BOOK

Though marbled paper was widely available, used to bind and preserve such expensive texts and, more simply, as wrapping paper, marbling itself was a rare practice in eighteenth-century England. 1760, the year that Sterne’s marbled page appeared in bookshops, was also an important year in the history of English marbling, when the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce planned to award a premium for it:

For marbling the greatest Quantity of Paper, equal in Goodness to the best

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<sup>39</sup> Lowengard, 60.

<sup>40</sup> De Voogd has argued that Sterne creates his marbled page in a painterly tradition emerging in the second half of the eighteenth century which privileged ‘the paradoxical principle of accidental design, of carefully planned seeming chaos’. De Voogd, 281.

marbled Paper imported from abroad, not less than one Rheam [sic]; to be produced on or before the 2d Tuesday in February, 1760 - £10.<sup>41</sup>

Founded by William Shipley in 1754 through subscription, and still extant today as the Royal Society of Arts, the society awarded cash premiums to entice Englishmen to develop liberal arts, science and manufacturing at home. In 1759 the society began to be concerned that despite marbled paper appearing as binding material for English books since at least the seventeenth century, English stationers imported all of their marbled paper from France and Germany via Holland.<sup>42</sup> That was not to say that England had no marblers; for at least a century English bookbinders had marbled the edges of books, in a bid to copy the latest French fashion.<sup>43</sup> But it would not be until 1766 that Englishman Richard Dymott would claim to have perfected the art.<sup>44</sup> Aware that England had the requisite skills to produce marbled paper, but that English marblers had not yet begun producing enough of it to be self-sufficient, the society sought to help establish large-scale manufacture of marbled paper. The primary criterion for the successful award of the 1760 premium, therefore, was not so much quality as quantity.

The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce boasted a number of well-known members. In 1760, Laurence Sterne was one of them. He appears in the list of names alongside his friends and associates: John Wilkes, David Garrick, James Dodsley, Elizabeth Montague, Lord Rockingham, Lord Walpole and Thomas Walpole, and Joseph Nollekens.<sup>45</sup> Patterson has been the only scholar so far to point out that during the year which saw the plight of English marbling raised in a public forum, Sterne was busy producing the only novel ever to have included a marbled leaf within its pages.<sup>46</sup> She notes that because he was a member, Sterne would have known that the society offered hundreds of premiums each year. He would have seen the notices of premiums published in the newspapers, as well as in the society's official publication. He may also have known that the marbling premium advertised in 1759, with a deadline of February 1760, was not awarded, primarily because none of the applicants was able to

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<sup>41</sup> *Premiums by the Society Established at London for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce* (London: by Order of the Society, 1759). See Patterson, 'The Moral of the Next Marbled Page', 27.

<sup>42</sup> Richard J. Wolfe, *Marbled Paper: Its History, Techniques and Patterns: With Special Reference to the Relationship of Marbling to Bookbinding in Europe and the Western World* (Philadelphia, PA: U of Pennsylvania P, 1990), 67-70; Patterson, 'The Moral of the Next Marbled Page', 193.

<sup>43</sup> Wolfe sees this as evidence that marbling was happening in England in this period. Wolfe, 37.

<sup>44</sup> De Voogd, 285.

<sup>45</sup> Patterson, 'The Moral of the Next Marbled Page', 64-65.

<sup>46</sup> Patterson, 'Tristram's Marblings and Marblers', *Shandean*, 3 (1991), 70-97.

produce the hefty quantity of paper. But other potential applicants may have been unwilling, given the size of the prize relative to the quantity of paper required.<sup>47</sup> The society offered larger premiums for smaller quantities of marbled paper in proceeding years, until a sum of fifty pounds was finally awarded to Messrs. Portbury & Smith in 1763.<sup>48</sup> If Sterne had conceived of including a marbled leaf as the ‘motly emblem of his work’ in volume 3 of *Tristram Shandy* by February 1760, he surely would have been interested in the applicants to, and the outcome of, that first prize for English marbling. Patterson’s retracing of this history of English marbling allows us to reveal one of Sterne’s major innovations in 1761: at a time when English marbling was in its infancy, and those practising the art unable or unwilling to submit so many reams to the society for recognition, he could locate and contract an English marbler to produce 8000 marbled pages for *Tristram Shandy*.<sup>49</sup> Sterne also innovated with the style of the page, which has English blotches as opposed to the French style of combing, which would have been unusual at this time. His page is marbled with daubs of bright colour, darker and more defined than John Baskerville’s iconic swashes of pastels. The English style of marbling was freer than the French combed style so popular in the period (present in the image of James’s Powder included below). Marbled paper by Baskerville and by Sterne’s marblers also differed from its European counterparts in being more transparent, leaving the paper visible beneath the and around the inks. This meant that the resulting paper was not as thick and glossy to the touch, which could explain why the European style continued to be more successful in the English book trade on into the nineteenth century, for its protective qualities. Nevertheless, in his financing and facilitating mass production of the art of marbling, Sterne helped support home manufactures, in keeping with the aims of the society of which he was a member.

The society’s desire to support home-grown marbling arose from its concerns over the English book trade, as bookbinding was by far the most common use for marbled paper in this period. Many eighteenth-century books, in England and across Europe, appeared marbled, and sometimes even the leather of hardbacks was marbled. Three-quarter bindings (marbled paper on boards with leather spines) or half-bindings (with additional leather corners) sometimes displayed paper marbled boards front and back. For many readers, then, the marbled leaf in *Tristram Shandy* must have connoted the outside, rather

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<sup>47</sup> Patterson, ‘John Baskerville, Marbler’, *The Library*, s6-12 (1990), 216.

<sup>48</sup> Patterson, ‘John Baskerville, Marbler’, 215.

<sup>49</sup> Day, ‘The Marbled Leaf’, 145.

than the inside of books. Sterne turns the structure of the eighteenth-century novel inside-out, having marbled paper peer out from within a sewn work, instead of (and in some cases as well as) enclosing and preserving the text within. This creative manipulation of the order in which readers usually encountered the structure of the conventional codex plays into Sterne's preference for nonlinearity as explored in my final chapter on engraved lines. But it is also significant that the page is not simply a piece of French marbled paper, sewn into the book, which would have been an easier and more efficient way to make that statement. Sterne preserves the white margins of the leaf, too, which made the marbler's job considerably more difficult, as he or she had to ensure that the paper lay perfectly flat in the ink bath to prevent colour seeping up the folded edges of the page. Because the marbled pages carry the same white margins as every other page in *Tristram Shandy*, and they appear in regular pagination, Sterne hints that the novel and its wrapping are one, inseparable, revealing his subversion of traditional practices of eighteenth-century book production. Because his volumes were sold 'sewn', rather than in 'sheets' (that is to say, each volume was sewn together but not yet bound), with the marbled page Sterne shows that this is not just a narrative but a three-dimensional artwork of which he is the designer.

This hand-marbled page is unique in every copy of *Tristram Shandy*. The leaf, pre-cut with its margins folded back, was dipped by an unidentified English marbler into a bath of four colours: red, green, yellow and black.<sup>50</sup> It was then hung up to dry, and the process repeated on the other side. The marbling only appears within the text box, as did the ink of the black page in volume one. Page numbers were hand stamped onto the top margin (note the slightly larger, less uniform, typeface) and then the leaf was sewn or pasted into place in advance of sale.<sup>51</sup> Because volumes were sold sewn, the page very rarely appears in the incorrect place in original bindings.<sup>52</sup> The marbled page required significant forward planning on the part of the printers; this was no cancel page, which entailed cutting out and replacing one leaf of a gathering in

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<sup>50</sup> Patterson, 'The Moral of the Next Marbled Page'. Red ink was certainly available locally. In 1760 the *York Courant*, one of Sterne's local newspapers, carried an advertisement for Stephen Wilkinson, a local bookbinder which touted for a journeyman whilst offering his red ink for sale:

A JOURNEYMAN BOOKBINDER, that is a sober careful Man, and understands his Business, may have constant Employment, and suitable Encouragement, by applying to STEPHEN WILKINSON, Bookbinder in the Judges Lodgings, Coney-street, York.

*Of whom may be had,*

RED INK, as good as any that is made, and of the same Qualities with that used by the Officers in the Customhouse in Newcastle.

*The York Courant*, York City Archives.

<sup>51</sup> I am indebted to W.G. Day for assisting me to come to this conclusion.

<sup>52</sup> Patterson, 'The Moral of the Next Marbled Page'.



an improvised but common practice responding to error. Such amended gatherings usually include a regular number of pages. Neither is it a paratextual image, like the copperplate illustrations which often appeared in books of this period as unpaginated additions after the printing of the text, due to their having been printed on a different kind of press. The second edition of *Tristram Shandy* carrying Hogarth's frontispiece is a good example of this. The status of such illustrations as 'extras' is compounded by their lack of pagination. In paginating the marbled page as 169-170, and inserting it between the fourth and fifth leaves of the 'L' gathering, Sterne has the marbled page added to an octavo sheet, increasing the size of the gathering. Because the marbled page has been inserted into the middle of the sheet, where the fold is, sometimes a little tab folded inwards remains visible in the earliest copies of *Tristram Shandy*. In order to allow for the insertion of the marbled leaf in the centre of the gathering, the printers would have to disrupt the pagination of the forme (fig. 4.3).

|     |     |     |     |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 165 | 172 | 169 | 168 |
| 164 | 173 | 176 | 161 |

Front

|     |     |     |     |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 167 | 170 | 171 | 166 |
| 162 | 175 | 174 | 163 |

Back

FIGURE 4.3A: A REGULAR OCTAVO SHEET FEATURING PAGES 169 AND 170

|     |     |     |     |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 165 | 174 | 171 | 168 |
| 164 | 175 | 178 | 161 |

Front

|     |     |     |     |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 167 | 172 | 173 | 166 |
| 162 | 177 | 176 | 163 |

Back

FIGURE 4.3B: THE SAME OCTAVO SHEET PAGINATED WITHOUT 169 AND 170

#### FIGURE 4.3: THE MARBLED PAGE AND BOOK FORMAT.

In requiring his typesetters to repaginate the sheet according to figure 6, Sterne would have upturned conventional practice in the print shop, where habit was key to efficiency. He disrupts the order of the creation of his book—and of the eighteenth-century book more generally—for the addition of the marbled page.

For the bibliographers amongst his readership, the joke would have been underlined by Tristram's calling upon Saint Paraleipomenon to help his readers understand the marbled page's moral ('read—or by the knowledge of the great saint Paraleipomenon—I tell you before-hand, you had better throw down the book at once'). The Christian chronicles produced by Paraleipomenon covered perceived gaps in the Bible, so the term 'Paralipomena' came to mean 'Things omitted in the body of a work, and appended as a supplement'.<sup>53</sup> To invoke the name of Paraleipomenon, therefore, is to reference the practice of appending missing or ancillary text to a narrative. With the marbled page, Sterne physically supplements the codex, adding a page to a gathering, and in the performative act of pasting and/or sewing in the marbled page,<sup>54</sup> has the print shop employees enact the very process of supplementation that Tristram discursively undertakes throughout his memoir—as in the sermon, discussed in chapter three—and to which he self-consciously draws attention in his reference to the saint.

The chapters including and preceding the marbled page are those most dedicated to Walter's book collecting, and to the materiality of these texts. Sterne's disruption of gathering L with the marbled page reflects Walter's coveted book collection and Tristram's desire to incorporate as much as possible of it into his work. Tristram himself enacts this process of supplementation with the words immediately following the marbled leaf, which are a quotation from Erasmus's 'De Captandis Sacerdotiis' in his *Colloquia Familiaria*: "NIHIL me poenitet hujus nasi," quoth *Pamphagus*;—that is—"My nose has been the making of me."—"Nec est cur poeniteat," replies *Cocles*; that is, "How the duce should such a nose fail?" (3.37.171). That Tristram should include – or bind into his book – the work of someone else, might have been suggested to

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<sup>53</sup> *OED*, cited in Florida Notes, 269, n. 268.2-3.

<sup>54</sup> Patterson, having seen a copy of volume 3 still in blue wrappers which has the marbled page both hand-sewn and pasted into place, argues that all copies were likely to be produced in this manner. Patterson, 'The Moral of the Next Marbled Page', 124.

us by the marbled paper, usually a signifier of the beginning or end of a text. But Walter cannot comprehend Erasmus's dialogue, scratching at the paper with a knife to try to make sense of it. He only finds relief by consoling himself with the works of Hafen Slawkenbergius, his copy of which is 'for ever in his hands,—you would have sworn, Sir, it had been a canon's prayer-book,—so worn, so glazed, so contrited and attrited was it with fingers and with thumbs in all its parts, from one end even unto the other' (3.42.200-201). As Jonathan Laidlow points out, Walter's copy of Slawkenbergius's works is incorrectly bound, as Tristram points out that 'the bookbinder has most injudiciously placed it betwixt the analitical contents of the book, and the book itself' (3.38.176).<sup>55</sup> Tristram will, of course, appear to bind Slawkenbergius's text within his own novel, as it forms the opening section of volume 4. Sterne's marbled page resembles—in fact, it constitutes—the matter of bookbinding, and its placement in a chapter about Walter's book collection, in an instalment of the novel which details and draws from those works, illustrates in remarkably lifelike ways the process by which Tristram 'binds' together texts on noses within his autobiography.

Marbled bindings were an indication of prestige, but they did not always guarantee that a book's contents were equally reputable, as the anonymous Sternean imitator responsible for *The Life, Travels, and Adventures, of Christopher Wagstaff, Gentleman, Grandfather to Tristram Shandy* (1762) pointed out: 'I must protest against the marble covers, gilt backs, pompous frontispieces, and other adscitious embellishments, by which so many fine books in the libraries of the curious are at once ornamented and disguised. It is absurd that any thing lettered should appear about the production of a fool'.<sup>56</sup> But whereas marbled boards were relatively expensive, marbled paper was often used to create cheap paper-back bindings for short prose works and poetry, or notepads. In being associated with worthy hardback fiction, with hackwork expensively bound, and with paperback fiction of varying quality, it is unsurprising that marbled paper was sometimes invoked to satirise literary value, and Sterne was not the first author to draw upon the associations of marbled paper in comic fiction. When annotating the marbled leaf, the Florida editors refer readers to Eric Rothstein's identification of 'An earlier instance of its use' in Noël-Antoine Pluche's *Le Spectacle de la nature* (Paris, 1732-42).<sup>57</sup> For Rothstein, Sterne read Pluche, and he identifies a copy of *Le*

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<sup>55</sup> Jonathan Laidlow, 'A Compendium of Shandys: Methods of Organising Knowledge in Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*', *Eighteenth Century Novel*, (2001), 181-200.

<sup>56</sup> *The Life, Travels, and Adventures of Christopher Wagstaff, Gentleman, Grandfather to Tristram Shandy*, 2 vols. (London: Hinxman, 1762), vol. 2, 27.

<sup>57</sup> Florida notes 270 n. 269-70.

*Spectacle de la nature* in the sale catalogue of Sterne's library as evidence. The Florida editors cite Rothstein's footnote: 'Conceivably the marbled paper, with its mystic meanings, is a reply to Noël-Antoine Pluche, who used it as an example of meaningless color unconnected to objects'.<sup>58</sup> Rothstein's claim, present, too, in the annotation of the marbled page by the Florida editors, misleadingly gives the impression that Sterne is not the first author to include a marbled page in his work. But Pluche does not 'use' marbled paper in a literal sense.<sup>59</sup> Rothstein refers us in particular to this passage, where Pluche does indeed use marbled paper—discursively—to argue for the meaninglessness of random colour:

comme les couleurs sont destinées à mettre une distinction dans les objets, elles ne plaisent pas long-tems si elles ne tiennent à quelque figure: parce qu'alors elles font hors de leur place. Un beau papier marbré & un beau point d'Hongrie sont d'agréables couleurs & rien de plus. Le premier coup d'oeil n'en déplaît pas: on peut même y chercher d'utiles nuances, & de bonnes combinaisons. Mais si l'on vouloit prolonger ce spectacle inanimé, même en le diversifiant un quart-d'heure de suite, on n'y tiendrait point: l'esprit cherche, non des couleurs, mais des objets colorés.<sup>60</sup>

Rothstein sees Sterne countering Pluche's insistence that marbled paper indicates the impossibility of making sense of randomness and hieroglyphs. Rather than borrowing the idea of an inserted marbled page from Pluche, Rothstein actually claims that Sterne took from him, and questioned, the metaphor of 'papier marbré' as a vast expanse of unintelligible material.

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<sup>58</sup> Eric Rothstein, *Systems of Order and Inquiry on Later Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1975), 66, n. 6. His reference is to the first Paris edition: *Le Spectacle de la nature*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1732-42), 7: 68.

<sup>59</sup> While we all agree that the catalogue of Sterne's book collection produced after his death (1768) by no means indicates that Sterne himself owned or read any of the books listed there, the appearance of Pluche's text in the list increases the chance that he may have read the passage. Pluche's volume 7 of the *Spectacle* included in Sterne's library catalogue is the first French edition of 1746. Having checked this and other editions I have found marbled paper only in the bindings. 1756, 1735 and 1750 editions appear in the library sale catalogue, across two separate entries, which increases the chances that Sterne would have owned at least one copy. *A Catalogue of a Curious and Valuable Collection of Books, Among which are Included the Entire Library of the Late Reverend and Learned Laurence Sterne*, item 1681a (p. 64) and 2202 (p. 82).

<sup>60</sup> Though Rothstein refers us to the first Paris edition, I cite here from the edition most likely to have been seen by Sterne: Noël-Antoine Pluche, *Le Spectacle de la nature, ou entretiens sur les particularités de l'histoire naturelle* (Paris: Estienne, 1746), tome 7, entretien 18, 113. The passage was translated in the eighteenth century as follows:

Colours being appointed to establish a Distinction between Objects, they cannot please long, if they are not connected with some Figure or other: They are out of their Place in that Case. A fine marbled Paper, or a fine Furniture of *Irish*-stitch Tapestry Hangings, are beautiful Colours, and are nothing else. The first sight of them is not unpleasant: And they may hint to you some useful Shades and Combinations of well-matched Hues. But, if you would prolong this inanimated Scene, though you should vary it for a Quarter of an Hour together, there would be no bearing of it. The Mind is not fond indeed of Colours, but of coloured Objects.

Translation from the first London edition: Pluche, *Spectacle de la Nature: Or, Nature Display'd* (London: Francklin, 1748), volume 7, dialogue 18, 85. The London editions used red ink on their title-pages.

Sterne was perhaps more familiar with the use of marbled paper in earlier English examples, page as a metaphor for literary value, than from Pluche. The widespread availability of texts bound in marbled paper in the eighteenth-century is played upon by a satirical book catalogue found at the close of the anonymous *Serious and Comical Essays* (1710):

*A Catalogue Of Choice and Valuable Books in Most Faculties, Viz. Divinity, History, Law, Physick, Travels, Voyages, Poetry, &c. Of which the Unlearned, as well as the greatest Scholars, are the Authors; the Raw Country Girl, as well as the best Bred Lady at Court; the Peasant in his Leather Jerkin, as well as a Chaplain in Ordinary; an Old Woman who can never read or write, as well as a Collegiate Physician; and a Poor Illiterate Yorkshire Attorney as well as a Serjeant at Law. N.B. The Books may be view'd at any Church, Exchange, University, Park, Playhouse, Inn, Or Conventicle in England in Particular; likewise in other Parts (Lunopolis: Printed for the Man in the Moon, in the Year 1707).*<sup>61</sup>

This mock-catalogue is almost convincing, being found at the very end of the text, where publishers would frequently advertise their available stock. At several points, the catalogue draws upon the material qualities of the paper of these fictional books to underline the satire. Marbled paper functions as paperback bindings for ‘*Destructio Poesis, seu Musarum Ruina: An Oration spoken at Drury-lane, by Mr. D’—ery, sticht neatly in Marble Paper*’, ‘*Hope in a Hopsack; or Dependance on Promises Labour in vain; a Poem; Dedicated to the Courtiers. Folio; sticht in Marble Paper*’, ‘*The Military Buffoons; a Poem Burlesque, in Three Parts; Dedicated to the chief Officers of the Train’d Bands. Sticht in Marble Paper*’, and ‘*A Satyr on a Footman who stole Brandy out of Closets: By a Lady. Sticht in Marble Paper*’.<sup>62</sup> Marbled paper in the catalogue appears only in conjunction with poetry, indicating that these were slim works, conveniently bound as pamphlets, which happens to make them more ephemeral, too.

Like the mock-catalogue, Montesquieu’s *Persian Letters* (1721) also precedes Pluche’s *Spectacle de la Nature* in its use of marbled-paper imagery, and in its presence, twice, in Sterne’s library sale catalogue.<sup>63</sup> This satire went through several editions in French as well as in English, and was revived again at mid-century upon the success of Montesquieu’s *Spirit of the Laws* (1748). In the *Letters*, Montesquieu pokes fun

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<sup>61</sup> Bound in the back of *Serious and Comical Essays [...], With Ingenious Letters Amorous and Gallant. Occasional Thoughts and Reflections on Men and Manners. Also the English Epigrammatist, And the Instructive Library. To which is added, Satyirical and Panegyric Characters. Fitted to the Humours of the Time* (London: King, 1710). The catalogue does not appear on the title-page or in the index, so may be an independent publication, though the satirical imprint and running pagination suggests otherwise.

<sup>62</sup> *A Catalogue of Choice and Valuable Books*, 271, 277, 278.

<sup>63</sup> Montesquieu’s *Persian Letters*, trans. by Flloyd (London: Tonson, 1762), *A Catalogue of a Curious*, item 1589, p. 61; *Persian Letters*, trans. by Ozell (London: Tonson, 1722), *A Catalogue of a Curious*, item 1738, p. 66. Only the later edition could have been acquired before Sterne’s creation of the marbled leaf.

at the follies of French society by framing his missives as accounts of the travels of Usbek and Rica, two Persian men in France. When a physician at Leghorn writes to Rica asking what he thinks of amulets and talismans, Rica writes that despite their religions (Judaism and Islam respectively) at times endorsing what could be said to be the supernatural values of objects, especially holy books, he is sceptical of their powers. He encloses a relevant tract for the perusal of his friend: a letter from a French country doctor to another in Paris. In it, the country doctor's insomniac patient refuses to be treated by the physician before enlisting the help of 'a man that never practises Physick, but who has a multitude of Medicines for such as can't sleep': a bookseller.<sup>64</sup> The bookseller prescribes a religious book as a soporific, inspiring the country doctor to open a pharmacy of alternative remedies. An inventory of the doctor's medicines (books) follows, including an emetic consisting of a warmed infusion of 'a Leaf of marble Paper, which was serv'd for a cover to the Collection of J.F's pieces', or poetry from the Jeux Floraux, or floral games, a still-extant poetry society which holds an annual competition. 'Infuse it the space of three Minutes; heat a spoonful of this infusion, and swallow it'.<sup>65</sup> Here, Montesquieu references the cheaper process of covering sewn pamphlets with sheets of marbled paper: an icon of cheap fiction and an image of the eighteenth-century equivalent of the paperback. For Montesquieu's country doctor, his patients need not read the poetry; simply consuming the cheap marbled paper covers of such hackwork could cause vomiting.

The examples of the mock-catalogue and the *Persian Letters* show Sterne departing from the use of marbled paper as literary imagery to a much more physical (and expensively-produced) bibliographical joke on the process of binding. Whether as a joke on the sickliness of popular poetry, or as a scientific example illustrating how colour can be uninteresting out of context, marbled paper featured in books before Sterne, but had never been physically bound in with the text, as it is within *Tristram Shandy*. The physicality of the page is unprecedented and surprising, and Sterne exploits the fact that to an image of marbled paper could metaphorically stand for bookbinding, and for literary value, making the joke three-dimensional through his disruption of gathering L.

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<sup>64</sup> Montesquieu, *Persian Letters*, trans. by John Ozell, (London: Tonson, 1722), 'Letter from a Physician in the Country to a Physician at Paris', vol. 2, letter 143, 274. Montesquieu's 'physician', Mr Anis, is a caricature of Jean Anisson, director of the Imprimerie Royale and specialist in religious books. Raymond N. Mackenzie, ed., *Persian Letters* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 2014), 274.

<sup>65</sup> Mackenzie, 224 n. 223. Montesquieu, 'Letter from a Physician in the Country to a Physician at Paris, enclosed in letter 143, Rica to Nathaniel Levi, a Jew Physician at Leghorn, vol. 2, 278-9.

Exploiting the physical properties of marbled paper in the book trade, Sterne follows much more closely the metaphorical use of marbled paper by Montesquieu and in the mock-catalogue than that by Pluche, by invoking the semantic field of bookbinding. The leaf functions as an illustration of the material appearance of the works Walter obsesses over whilst commenting self-consciously on Sterne's practice of incorporating scholarship and mock-scholarship within his volumes in a manner which physically supplements his text. The marbled page therefore heralds Tristram's translation and publication of one of Slawkenbergius's tales, just a few pages later, separated from this book by a volume-break and, as is visible in at least one original binding of the novel, marbled endpapers.<sup>66</sup> As the next section will show, Montesquieu's literary image of marbled paper as a quack nostrum also functions as a significant precursor in helping contextualise Sterne's secondary field of reference: the use of marbled paper for wrapping and authenticating quack medicines in this period.

#### IV MARBLING AND MEDICINE

Sterne's works were always advertised in the most basic manner, never revealing the surprises that each instalment might hold. There was one exception to this rule, however, when the *Dublin Courier* 1761 made a point of marketing the marbled page as a means of ensuring that customers bought an 'authentic' copy of the novel: 'the public are requested to take notice, that the only compleat edition is printed by Dillon Chamberlaine, and Samuel Smith, on a beautiful Large Type, and fine paper, ornamented with an elegant frontispiece of the Christening, and a curious emblematical Marble Leaf, & c'.<sup>67</sup> Sterne's Dublin publisher drew upon the uniqueness of the patterns created by marbling in order to encourage readers to purchase his own edition, and to authenticate it as genuine. Chamberlaine was drawing from a widespread use of marbling in counter forgery efforts during the eighteenth century, which scholars have argued Sterne also referenced. Patterson has been perhaps most forthright in this argument, drawing upon the marbled strips which appeared on some bank notes during the late seventeenth century to support one of her interpretations of the moral of the marbled page as 'do not steal' (intellectual property).<sup>68</sup> The bank notes

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<sup>66</sup> For example, see first edition copy held by the Laurence Sterne Trust with the following accession number, CCWSH:0198

<sup>67</sup> *Dublin Courier*, 4 March 1761.

<sup>68</sup> Patterson, 'The Moral of the Next Marbled Page', 105.

that Patterson has in mind were made from books of paper marbled in the left-hand margin where the note would be excised from the volume, as in an example of 1694 held in the museum of the Bank of England. Because marbling creates designs impossible to be replicated, a marbled edge on a bank note could be verified as genuine when it was returned to the bank for payment, where it would match the stub in the book, but as the Bank of England point out, whilst notes were in circulation they were impossible to check.<sup>69</sup> Sir John Clapham has traced the use of these notes to a short window of two weeks in 1695, between 31 July and 14 August, after which the experiment came to an end when it emerged that one had been forged. He calls this episode ‘a curiosity with no permanent importance’.<sup>70</sup> Though this was a short-lived practice in the Bank of England, marbling continued to be used for other forms of fraud prevention, as demonstrated by stationer Edmund Parker’s advertisement for marbled paper in 1722: ‘Paper Marbled by Samuel Pope for Merchants Notes or Bills of Exchange; to prevent Counterfeiting, or any of the Companies Bonds, are now Marbled by him to perfection, and Cheaper than formerly’.<sup>71</sup> In 1731 Samuel Pope was granted the first patent for marbled paper for the prevention of forgery.<sup>72</sup> Marbled paper was used to authenticate medical products, too, being used to package two of the most widely advertised and consumed medicines of the mid-eighteenth century: Dr Robert James’s Fever Powders and the Anodyne Necklace, medicines which became iconic on both the medical and the literary marketplaces. Like the Bank of England in the late seventeenth century, and Samuel Pope in the early eighteenth, Sterne exploited the fact that paper marbling created inked patterns impossible to replicate, but rather than its use for financial transactions he may also have had in mind the use of marbling as a fraud-prevention technique in the packaging and marketing of medicines, given the context of medical mishap in the third volume of *Tristram Shandy*.

Advertisements for the Anodyne necklace, promising to ease child-birth for women and help teething in babies, are a frequent sight in eighteenth-century newspapers, often accompanied by a woodcut

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<sup>69</sup> Bank of England, ‘Bank Sealed Bill’ (1694), object number 124/001.

<sup>70</sup> John Clapham, *The Bank of England: A History, Volume 1: 1694-1797* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1966), 23, n. 4.

<sup>71</sup> ‘Books lately Printed for Edmund Parker’ [11pp.], in Robert Warren, tr. *The Devout Christian’s Preparative to Death*, 7<sup>th</sup> edn. (London: Parker, 1722), 217 [n.p.].

<sup>72</sup> Abridgements of Specifications Relating to Printing, etc. (London: Commissioner of Patents, 1859). No. 530, May 20, 1731, earliest known patent for marbled paper, issued to Samuel Pope for the prevention of forgery, 85–86. Rpt. London: Printing Historical Society, 1969.



logo, making them instantly recognisable.<sup>73</sup> They became increasingly inventive over the first half of the eighteenth century in deploying image and text to market and authorise the Anodyne Necklace.<sup>74</sup> Various pamphlets claiming to demonstrate the necklace's efficacy by scientific principles promoted and accompanied the Necklace, and they were distributed for free; 'There is a Person ALWAYS ready up One pair of Stairs, to GIVE these Books away', boasted the title-page.<sup>75</sup> The first of the Anodyne Necklace's promotional publications was *A Philosophical Essay upon the Celebrated Anodyne Necklace*. It appeared around 1715, went through upwards of 25 editions, and continued to be in print in the 1750s.<sup>76</sup> Mrs Garway (at her store near the Exchange), along with three other stockists, had the right to distribute the necklace, but Garway attempted to pass off her old stock of Major John Choke's necklaces as the official 'Anodyne Necklace'. The accompanying pamphlets therefore sought to authenticate the product, carefully describing the packaging for potential customers: 'And before See that your Necklace which you Buy, is Sealed up in Marble Paper, with a Bottle of the foregoing Pain-Easing Cordial Tincture for the Gums along with it: And that it has the Print of this Anodyne Necklace pasted on it, & is sealed with the Seal of this Anodyne Necklace'.<sup>77</sup> Notices describing the outward appearance of the necklace quickly became more and more aggressive in their insistence on the marbled paper and the accompanying publications themselves as authenticating documents, as in this 1717 edition of the *Essay*:

Occasion is here taken to Desire all those Persons who either Go or Send to *the Royal Exchange Gate* to Buy This NECKLACE, (Pr. 5s.) to See expressly that they have the Right Anodyne Necklace Recommended by Dr *Chamberlen* for Children's TEETH, Given them: And therefore Besure see that it is put up (together with a Bottle of the Liquid Coral to soften and open the Gums withal; and a Sticht Book of Directions how to order and manage the Child under these afflicting Circumstances, along with it) in a little Red Marbled Paper Box, with not only the Print of this Anodyne Necklace pasted on the outside of it, but is also Sealed up with the very SAME Seal of the Anodyne Necklace which is in the Title Page of this Book.

Or else you have not *This Anodyne Necklace* Given you, but Another instead of it, and which is not *That* you design to buy.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> See, for example, an advertisement for the Anodyne Necklace which happens to be printed alongside one for Sterne's *Sentimental Journey: Public Advertiser*, Wednesday, March 2, 1768.

<sup>74</sup> Francis Doherty's book-length study of the advertising of the Anodyne Necklace explores their visual marketing (the evolving woodcut logo over the course of the century) as well as their literary borrowing. Francis Cecil Doherty, *A Study in Eighteenth-Century Advertising Methods: The Anodyne Necklace* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellon, 1992), 28. The logo of the necklace, for example, changed frequently throughout the century but always asserted authority.

<sup>75</sup> Paul Chamberlen, *A Philosophical Essay Upon Actions on Distant Subjects*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (London: Parker, 1715).

<sup>76</sup> Doherty, 13.

<sup>77</sup> Quoted in Doherty, 27.

<sup>78</sup> *The Late Dreadful Plague at Marseilles Compared with that Terrible Plague in London, in the Year 1665* (London: Parker, 1721), 11. One exception is the 1717 *Philosophical Essay* which simply describes the packaging as a small round red box: Those Persons who go to Mrs. *Garway's* at the *Royal Exchange-Gate* to Buy this NECKLACE, are desired to Ask

As well as underlining the packaging and presentation of the necklace, this 1717 enlarged edition of the *Philosophical Essay* also began a long-term attempt to associate the necklace with the Royal Society, through dedications and testimonials, and was the first to stress the identity of Dr Paul Chamberlen. Because physicians such as Dr James vended their own nostrums whilst also lending their names to remedies invented by others, to this day scholars are unsure whether Chamberlen invented the necklace or was simply the face of the brand. Because his testimonials appeared in advertising materials from the very beginning, it is tempting to read the anonymous pamphlets as if they were written by him. Paul was descended from the Chamberlen dynasty of obstetricians who invented and used the forceps and during the seventeenth century kept the instrument secret, blindfolding any women subjected to its use.<sup>79</sup> The instrument was finally publicised a century later, in response to William Smellie promoting a rival invention in his *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Midwifery* (3 vols., 1752–64), the science behind which clearly informs Tristram’s traumatic delivery. Because of the branded forceps, the Chamberlen name was a useful one for the promotion of a nostrum promising to help pregnant mothers deliver their children safely and to prevent cot death through curing teething problems widely believed to be its cause. Though never explicitly mentioned by Sterne, the Chamberlen name, as the contemporary brand associated with the safe delivery and raising of infants, ghosts the novel, present in Walter’s wide reading about the forceps and Slop’s demonstration of their use. Sterne’s third volume, devoted to the after-effects of the damage caused by the forceps, leads the reader directly to the marbled page which imitates the iconic packaging of the latest Chamberlen product. The page’s shared qualities with Anodyne wrapping paper work carry a sense of irony, as a joke on the failure of medicine to assist Elizabeth Shandy at her time of need, one that forebodes that Tristram may not have an easy start to life.

Walter shares with the Anodyne company his fascination with obstetrics and his obsession with wounded noses. Tristram tells us that his book collection is exhaustive: ‘he collected every book and treatise

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expressly for *The Anodyne Necklace that is Recommended by Dr. Chamberlen*, which is Sealed up in a little Round Red Box, with the Print of the Necklace curiously Engraved upon it, to prevent Mistaking (instead of it) A Great Redish Necklace, Made of a Root, which is Sold at her Shop’. Chamberlen, *A Philosophical Essay Upon Actions on Distant Subjects* (London: Parker, 1717), 71.

<sup>79</sup> Doherty, 31, n. 18.

which had been systematically wrote upon noses, with as much care as my honest uncle *Toby* had done those upon military architecture' (3.34.162). In his desire to collect all published documents on noses, we may suppose that Walter owned some of the Anodyne Necklace's promotional publications widely available by the date of Tristram's birth, 5 November 1718. This is because, through their accompanying pamphlets, the Anodyne company publicised and brought to a popular eighteenth-century readership rhinoplasty, all in the service of selling marbled-paper packets of necklaces. The primary purpose of these pamphlets was to persuade the reader of the remedy's efficacy. Hanging it around the neck, we are informed, warms the necklace, releasing its 'Atoms & Effluvia's' which, by 'sympathy', seeks out and combats those emitted from the ailing part of the patient. All 'Corners, Fibres and Orifices' of the patient are 'hereby are comforted, eased, and imperceptably healed'.<sup>80</sup> Perhaps surprisingly, a frequent method by which these pamphlets demonstrated this 'Sympathetick Effect' was through comic fiction, and one comic essay in particular is frequently reprinted in the service of the Anodyne Necklace. It is a plagiarised version of Steele's *Tatler* essay on the nose joke in Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* (1663–1678). Under the Anodyne brand this material becomes *A Dissertation on Noses*, and from 1717 it was deployed to elucidate the way in which the scientific atoms of the necklace worked. The adapted piece glosses the 'Sympathetick Snout' of Samuel Butler's poem, opening with the following epigraph taken from *Hudibras*:

*So Learned Talicotius from  
The branny Part of Porter's Bum  
Cut Supplemental Noses, which  
Lasted as long as Parent Breech:  
But when the Date of Nock was out,  
Off dropt the Sympathetick Snout.<sup>81</sup>*

At this time, the name 'Taliacotius', or, more accurately, Gaspare Tagliacozzi, was synonymous with rhinoplasty in the public imagination.<sup>82</sup> A sixteenth-century pioneer of rhinoplasty, Tagliacozzi had improved upon older practices of creating new noses which grafted skin stretched down from the forehead

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<sup>80</sup> Chamberlen, *Philosophical Essay* (1715), 6-7.

<sup>81</sup> Chamberlen, *Philosophical Essay* (1717), 21.

<sup>82</sup> Emily Cock, 'Off Dropped the Sympathetic Snout': Shame, Sympathy, and Plastic Surgery at the Beginning of the Long Eighteenth Century', in *Passions, Sympathy and Print Culture: Public Opinion and Emotional Authenticity in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Heather Kerr, David Lemmings and Robert Phiddian (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2015), 145-64.

or across from the cheek. In a bid to minimize scarring to the face, he invented a procedure which bound the patient's hand to the back of his or her head so that one end of a flap of skin from the upper arm could be grafted to the wounded nose. His patients, having lost their noses through violence or tertiary syphilis, would have their hands bandaged to their heads for a period of weeks whilst the skin settled into its new home before the arm would be cut free. In the epigraph, Butler jokes that Tagliacozzi takes the skin from the bum of a servant rather than the arm of a patient. After this epigraph, the Anodyne company's dissertation on noses launches into comic tales of bums supplying flesh for noses in *Hudibras*, before going on to explicate—in a pseudo-scientific manner—how and why these noses dropped off when their donor died:

According therefore to the Law of Nature abovemention'd there was a perpetual *Tendency* and *Inclination* to each other, between the Atoms and Pores of the Porter's Body and the insidious Nose of the Nobleman, as still subordinate to the Porter, and terminated to him as its Relation, Kin and *Whole*, of whom it was notwithstanding its Separation and Distance as truly a Part as before Separation, and as much Respected, Regarded and Tended towards the Porter as to its WHOLE, as ever it did before: [...] So that the *Vital Spirit* in the *Part* and the *Whole* not differing in *Nature* and *Quality*, by consequence the *Vital Spirit* being affected in the Porter, it was also at the same Mathematical instant of time affected in the insidious Nose, which altho' grafted on the *Nobleman's* Face was nevertheless still animated with the *Vitality* of the Porter of whom it was yet truly a Part: For which reason the Parts being affected by the destruction of the Whole, does not depend on any distance or determinate space of Place being not at all *Local*, but on the mutual Vitality, and therefore must be extended according to the reach of this Vitality wheresoever it is. So that the insidious Nose as animated at first, being still inform'd with the Vitality of the Porter; the Vitality in the *Porter* ceasing, the *Vitality* also of the *Nose* ceased; And consequently the Porter dying altho' at *Bologna*, the Nose became a dead Nose even at *Brussels*.<sup>83</sup>

The theory of medical sympathy as promoted by the Anodyne Necklace company, which argued that the proximity of the necklace to the body affected its treatment, was beginning to be disputed, and the satiric comedy of this piece is enhanced by medical jargon about the Law of Nature, vital spirits, tendency and inclination, and atoms and pores. The comic story sits awkwardly alongside the quack essays in the collection aiming seriously to promote the benefits of the Anodyne Necklace,<sup>84</sup> and yet this contrast seems to have been a winning formula. In 1733 the company published three similarly repurposed literary works

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<sup>83</sup> Chamberlen, *Philosophical Essay* (1717), 23-24.

<sup>84</sup> This text was first advertised as a distinct publication in *Mist's Weekly Journal*, 31 Aug.-21 Sept. 1728 and *Fog's Weekly Journal*, 28 Sept.- 19 Oct. 1728, as noted by Doherty, 'The Anodyne Necklace: A Quack Remedy and its Promotion', *Medical History*, 34 (1990), 268-293, 290, n. 92. The essay on noses appears as chapter 3 in *Philosophical Essay* (1715) and as chapter two in *Philosophical Essay* (1717).

in an attractively-printed free literary anthology, which led with *A Solution of the Question, Where the Swallow, Nightingale, Woodcock, Fieldfare Stork, Cuckoo, and other Birds of Passage Go, and Reaside* [sic.], *when Absent from us*. The text is illustrated throughout, including on the title-page, the lower third of which is emblazoned with an Anodyne Necklace logo. The title text, *A Solution of the Question*, is a reworking of Bishop Francis Godwin's early science fiction tale *The Man in the Moon* (1638). The second story in the anthology is the *Travels of a Shilling* (1710), a repurposed version of Richard Steele's popular it-narrative from the *Tatler* with an added episode in which the circulating coin teams up with four of its fellows to purchase an Anodyne Necklace. The final anthologised text, the *Dissertation on Noses*, had long been repackaged by the company. Adapting fashionable texts into pseudo-scientific essays promoting the necklace, the Anodyne Necklace company explored and perpetuated tales about fixing wounded noses. Whilst these anthologies promoted the marbled-paper packets of medicinal necklaces, and the use of that packaging as an authenticating device by mid-century, the company, its necklace and its packaging must have been associated in the public imagination with hackwork, plagiarism, and cheap adaptations of popular literary works.

Like the marbled packages of the Anodyne Necklace, Sterne's marbled page is also accompanied by the tale of Tagliacozzi's nose jobs. Walter learns about prosthetics through the works of sixteenth-century scientist Ambroise Paré ('Ambrose Paraeus' or 'Andrea Paraeus', as he alternately appears in *Tristram Shandy*). Tristram expects his learned readers to be familiar with Paré:

Be witness—

I don't acquaint the learned reader—in saying it, I mention it only to shew the learned, I know the fact myself—

That this *Ambrose Paraeus* was chief surgeon and nose-mender to *Francis* the ninth of *France*, and in high credit with him and the two preceding, or succeeding kings (I know not which)—and that, except in the slip he made in his story of Taliacotius's noses, and his manner of setting them on—was esteemed by the whole college of physicians at that time, as more knowing in matters of noses, than any one who had ever taken them in hand (3.3.182).

Tristram's claim to knowledge is comically undermined by the fact that by this time, one need not have read Paré, an expert on prosthetics, to know about rhinoplasty. In part through popular and comic texts

like *Hudribras* and Steele's *Tatler* essay, reprinted throughout the century and in the Anodyne pamphlets, rhinoplasty was no longer a niche subject, and through these literary jokes the reputation of Tagliacozzi's procedure had been bathetically undermined. Melvyn New has suggested that because Paré mistakenly described Tagliacozzi moulding arm muscle to patients' faces, when it was actually just the skin, Sterne must have been aware of the contradictory accounts of how the procedure had been done and had likely read Tagliacozzi first-hand. He therefore concludes that when Tristram complains about the 'slip' Paré made 'in his story of Taliacotius's noses, and his manner of setting them on', Sterne was seriously engaging in this debate, 'drawing on a well-known figure in alluding to Tagliacozzi, but in an informed manner unusual for his century'.<sup>85</sup> But there is another, altogether more comic, interpretation of Tristram pointing out Paré's 'slip' when describing nose jobs and Tagliacozzi's 'manner of setting them on', which is not incompatible with a view that Sterne may have read widely on this subject. Rather than referring to the difference between using arm flesh and skin, Sterne may also have been alluding to Tagliacozzi's literary reputation for taking his skin graft from the bum rather than the arm. As John Ferriar noted in his *Illustrations of Sterne*, the idea that the new nose was acquired from a servant or butler rather than from the patient, and from his backside in particular, 'obtained such currency throughout Europe, that even the testimony of Ambrose [sic] Paré in favour of Taliacotius was disregarded'.<sup>86</sup> Sterne's treatment of the scholarship of noses, then, has a doubleness about it. If we accept New's position, Sterne has Tristram question Paré's accuracy in favour of a more authentic account of the medical procedure. But we should bear in mind that alternatively, as Ferriar recounted, Tristram may have been disregarding Paré in favour of a version of medical history popularised by fiction, and perpetuated by the Anodyne pamphlets.

The Anodyne Necklace's saturation of the medical marketplace during this period was rivalled only by the success of Robert James's Fever Powder, counterfeit versions of which began to emerge soon after its invention in 1746. After acquiring a patent for his fever powder, James expressed concern in the newspapers that his product was being pirated:

Four Doses of this Powder are made up in Marble Paper, and to prevent Counterfeits sealed with the Impression in the Margin.

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<sup>85</sup> Florida notes 276, n. 276.16-23.

<sup>86</sup> John Ferriar, *Illustrations of Sterne* (London: Cadell, 1798), 18.

Price *Five Shillings*, or half the Quantity, that is, two Doses, may be had for *Two Shillings and Six-pence*.

By Virtue of the Patent abovementioned, I do constitute and appoint *John Newbery* my Assignee, and only Vendor of this *Medicine*; and all Persons are desired to apply for it at his Warehouse at the *Bible and Sun* near the *Chapter-House in St. Paul's Church-Yard*; or at the *Blue Ball* in *George-Yard, Lombard-Street. London.*

R. JAMES.<sup>87</sup>

James was careful to describe where the medicine could be bought and, most importantly, what it looked like ('made up in Marble Paper, and to prevent Counterfeits sealed with the Impression in the Margin') (fig. 4.4).

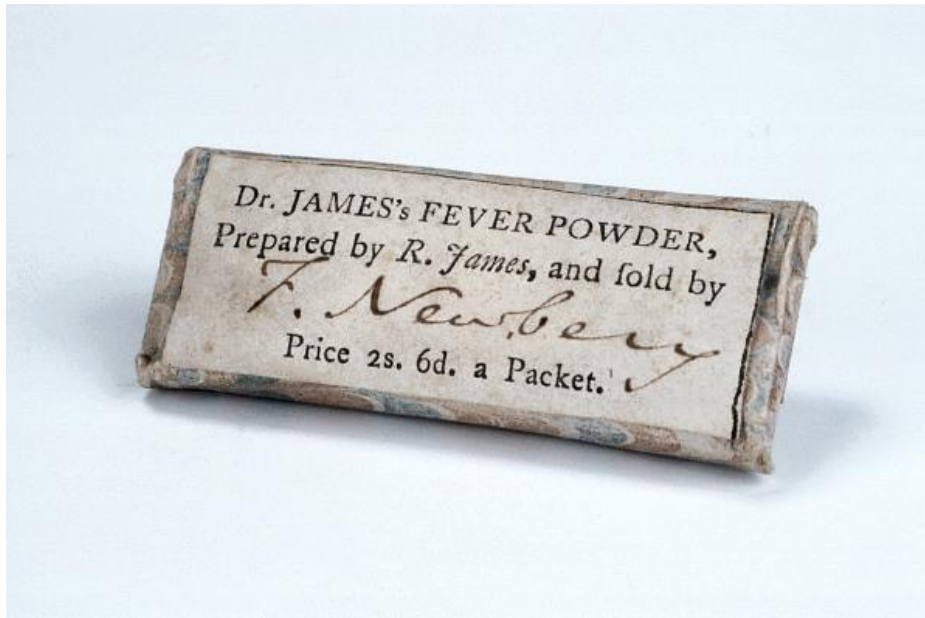


FIGURE 4.4: AN ORIGINAL PACKET OF DR JAMES'S FEVER POWDER MEDICINE C. 1770, MUSEUM OF THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE, OXFORD.<sup>88</sup>

When still wrapped, James's parcel looks like an inverted marbled page, with marbled edges visible under a white rectangular label, reversing the white margins and marbled rectangle of Sterne's novel. Sterne was

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<sup>87</sup> Robert James, *Dr. Robert James's Powder for Fevers. Published by Virtue of His Majesty's Royal Letters Patent* (London, 1748?), [n.p.].

<sup>88</sup> Museum of the History of Science, Oxford: Dr James's Fever Powder Medicine, by R. James, Oxford c. 1770. Accession Number: 1930-31; Inventory no 42170 Brief Description: Provenance: Presented by Mr H. N. Savill Associated with F Newbery; Associated with MMS Museum 46. 70x27x10mm

familiar with these packets and they therefore should be considered as part of the wider material culture that he drew upon when designing his own graphic innovations.

As a member of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce like Sterne, James would have known about the drive to encourage English marbling. As a vendor using marbled paper to package his wares, he would have been especially keen to see English marbling prosper. As further authentication of his product, James granted only one vendor the right to distribute his fever powder. It was common for booksellers to sell medicines in this period and James chose John Newbury, a fellow member of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, as his official stockist, using Newbury's signature as a secondary method of authentication.<sup>89</sup> Through him, James's Powders were connected with the literary world, and sold alongside books, newspapers, and periodicals.<sup>90</sup> The work for which Newbury is best remembered, the first children's novel, *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes* (1765), is often attributed to his one-time tenant, Oliver Goldsmith. It subtly helps advertise James's Powders when Miss Margery Goody's father dies a miserable death of 'a violent Fever in a Place where Dr. James's Powder was not to be had'.<sup>91</sup> Newbury gained another literary ally when his step-daughter married Christopher Smart, who dedicated his 'Hymn to the Supreme Being on Recovery from a Dangerous Fit of Illness' (1756) to Dr James, who Smart claimed 'restored me to health from as violent and dangerous a disorder, as perhaps ever man survived'.<sup>92</sup> James's reputation with authors did not last long beyond Oliver Goldsmith's death in 1774, however, when pamphlets emerged claiming that the celebrated Fever Powders, in their marbled paper, had killed him. Dr William Hawes's extremely popular *Account of the Late Dr. Goldsmith's Illness* (1774), denouncing the use of the fever powder, went through several incarnations between 1774 and 1780. When defenders of Dr James claimed that Goldsmith had died by taking a counterfeit version of the medicine, Hawes's fourth expanded edition included extra passages by witnesses testifying to Goldsmith having taken the real thing, including

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<sup>89</sup> This process anticipates Sterne's own signing of volumes five, seven and nine to combat fraudulent editions of his work, since mid-century medicines were similarly sold 'signed by the author' to preserve the physician's rights over his tonics. From at least as early as 1759 Dr Hill was signing his tincture of valerian, and advertising it as signed, 'to prevent any Mistake', and he went on signing this and his other medicines (his tinctures of sage and spleen wort, and essence of water dock) through to the second half of the century. *London Evening Post*, 1-3 November 1759; *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 6-9 May 1768; *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 11-13 July 1768.

<sup>90</sup> Dorothy Porter and Roy Porter, *Patient's Progress: Doctors and Doctoring in Eighteenth-Century England* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1989), 110.

<sup>91</sup> *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes* (London: Newbery, 1765), 13.

<sup>92</sup> Christopher Smart, *Annotated Letters of Christopher Smart*, ed. By Betty Rizzo and Robert Mahoney (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1991), 67. Chris Mounsey, *Christopher Smart: Clown of God* (Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 2001).



one by Hawes's servant Mary Pratt, who saw Hawes's journeyman 'take out something wrapped up on MARBLE PAPER, AND A LARGE BROAD SEAL ON IT. I asked him what that was? He broke the seal, and at the same time said, IT WAS JAMES'S POWDER'.<sup>93</sup>

As Roy Porter has shown, quack medicines were among the first brand-name products in Georgian England, and they were highly profitable; Dr James sold 1.6 million units of his fever powders in just twenty years.<sup>94</sup> Whilst it cannot be proven that Sterne had taken James's Powders before 1767, he must surely have known about the most successful proprietary medicine of the century before that date.<sup>95</sup> Sterne had his own health problems to deal with, and in a reply to an enquiry after his health from friends Mr and Mrs James of 21 April 1767, Sterne puns on the James name, pretending to believe in the Dr James brand because of his namesakes:

My physician ordered me to bed, and to keep therein 'till some favourable change—I fell ill the moment I got to my lodgings—he says it is owing to my taking James's Powder, and venturing out on so cold a day as Sunday—but he is mistaken, for I am certain whatever bears that name must have efficacy with me.<sup>96</sup>

As his illness worsens, it is clear that Sterne does not really invest in the power of James's powder. A fortnight later, in a letter to the Earl of Shelbourne (1 May 1767), he remains weak:

Death knocked at my door, but I would not admit him—the call was both unexpected and unpleasant—and I am seriously worn down to a shado,—and still very weak, but weak as I am, I have as whimsical a story to tell you as ever befel one of my family—Shandy's nose, his name, his sash window are fools to it—it will serve at least to amuse you—The injury I did myself last month in catching cold upon James's Powder—fell, you must know, upon the worst part it could—the most painful, and most dangerous of any in the human body.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> William Hawes, *An Account of the Late Dr. Goldsmith's Illness, so far as Relates to the Exhibition of Dr James Powders*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (London: Hawes, 1780), 19.

<sup>94</sup> Roy Porter, *Health for Sale: Quackery in England 1660-1850* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1989), 45.

<sup>95</sup> James Kelly, 'Health for Sale: Mountebanks, Doctors, Printers and the Supply of Medication in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, Vol. 108C (2008), 94.

<sup>96</sup> Sterne, 'To Anne and William James' (21 April 1767), in *The Letters, Part 2, 1765-1768*, ed. by Melvyn New and Peter de Voogd, vol. 8 of *The Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne* (Gainesville: U of Florida P, 2009), letter 205B, 576. No MS exists for this letter.

<sup>97</sup> Sterne, 'To William Petty, Earl of Shelbourne' (1 May 1767), in *The Letters, Part 2*, letter 207, 579. No MS exists for this letter.

Whilst Sterne suggests in his anecdote to Shelbourne that James's powder caused venereal disease, the letter strongly implies that he believes that the doctors had used it to treat such an infection. Sterne retells this anecdote in the *Continuation of the Bramine's Journal* (written in 1767 but not published until 1904), where he similarly describes 'catching cold upon James's powder', after the doctors have diagnosed him as '\*\*\*\*':<sup>98</sup> 'poxed', or 'clapt'.<sup>99</sup> The powder had been recommended in medical texts published throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a treatment for the symptoms of gonorrhoea as well as syphilis.<sup>100</sup> As Melvyn New and W.G. Day point out, Sterne's symptoms were more likely to be due to his tuberculosis than to venereal disease.<sup>101</sup> Nevertheless, Sterne seems to retain his later view of the powders as dangerous, expressing relief that John Hall-Stevenson has 'discontinue[d] all commerce with James's powder' in a letter of 11 Aug 1767,<sup>102</sup> and taking to the pulpit to warn his congregation of the matter in his untitled sermon against murder:

There is another species of this crime which is seldom taken notice of in discourses upon the subject,—and yet can be reduced to no other class:—And that is, where the life of our neighbour is shortened,—and often taken away as directly as by a weapon, by the empirical sale of nostrums and quack medicines,—which ignorance and avarice blend.—The loud tongue of ignorance impudently promises much,—and the ear of the sick is open.—And as many of these pretenders deal in edge tools, too many, I fear, perish with the misapplication of them.—<sup>103</sup>

Through quack medicines, Sterne argues in the sermon, men 'make merchandize of the miserable,—and from a dishonest principle—trifle with the pains of the unfortunate,—too often with their lives,—and from the mere motive of a dishonest gain', a complaint arising from the visibility of these medicines on the marketplace.<sup>104</sup> Marbled paper had improved the visibility of the Anodyne Necklace and Dr James's Fever

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<sup>98</sup> Sterne, *Continuation of the Bramine's Journal*, in *A Sentimental Journey and a Continuation of the Bramine's Journal*, ed. by Melvyn New and W.G. Day, vol. 6 of *The Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne* (Gainesville: U of Florida P, 2002), 177.

<sup>99</sup> Melvyn New and W.G. Day, 'To William Petty, Earl of Shelbourne', 581-582, n. 7.

<sup>100</sup> J. Becket, *A New Essay on the Venereal Disease, and Methods of Cure; Accounting for the Nature, Cause, and Symptoms of that Malady* (London, Williams, 1765), 108. John Hunter was still prescribing it for gonorrhoea in 1786: Hunter, *A Treatise on Venereal Disease* (London, 1786), 148.

<sup>101</sup> Melvyn New and W.G. Day, 'To William Petty, Earl of Shelbourne', 581, n. 5.

<sup>102</sup> Sterne, 'To John Hall-Stevenson' (11 August 1767), in *The Letters, Part 2*, letter 221, 610.

<sup>103</sup> Sterne, Sermon 35, Untitled ['Against the Sin of Murder'], *The Sermons of Laurence Sterne: The Text*, Vol. 4 of the Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne (Gainesville: U P of Florida, 1996), 337-338. Whilst this medical element may seem original, Melvyn New points out that Sterne takes the hint of dangerous medicines from Samuel Clarke's sermon 'Of the heinousness of the sin of willful murder'. *The Sermons of Laurence Sterne: The Notes*, Vol. 5 of The Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne (Gainesville: U P of Florida, 1996), 368 n. 337.28-29. The date of this sermon is unknown.

<sup>104</sup> Sterne, Sermon 35, 338.

Powder, and Dillan Chamberlaine had clearly thought it would do the same for his edition of *Tristram Shandy*, when his advertisement for *Tristram Shandy* had featured a puff for the marbled page. Upon the publication of the second instalment of Sterne's novel, marbled paper had a heritage in the much-advertised ephemera of ailing bodies and the quack nostrums (and counterfeit nostrums) circulating on the eighteenth-century market which Sterne would eventually decry.

The marbled page could be seen as a reference to the colourful ephemeral packaging of quack nostrums and the contradictory information circulating about them at the time of its surprise appearance near the end of the third volume of *Tristram Shandy*. Certainly, the marbled page's position, sewn or pasted into a volume devoted to wounded bodies, a book collection of mock-learning on noses, and concerns over nose jobs, would suggest so. This is a volume entirely concerned with baby Tristram's accident, which happens to be broadly symbolic of impotence in the Shandy patriline. In alluding to the popular refrain by medicine sellers in newspapers and promotional pamphlets that marbled paper indicated an authentic product, Sterne's coloured leaf also raises the question of how far marbled paper can ever protect a designer (like Sterne, James or the Anodyne company) from rival and counterfeit products. In this reading, the page becomes a poignant joke on a notion of copyright ownership as fallible as the human body.

As with many of his print experiments, with the marbled page Sterne takes on older technology and pushes it to new lengths. Marbled paper may have been widespread in eighteenth-century England, but English marbling was not. Sterne therefore innovated with both the style of marbling and the magnitude of its manufacture: 8000 pages at a time when the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce believed mass production in England did not exist. *Tristram Shandy* was a significant landmark in the progress of English marbling. As a unique code, the marbled leaf alludes to the tradition of using marbling as an authenticating device, in bank notes and on the medical marketplace. In having one leaf of his novel marbled, at a time when the most common use for marbled paper would have been bookbinding, Sterne also foregrounded the physicality of the book and the order in which we encounter it, metaphorically and physically. In visually referencing bookbinding, he metaphorically inverts the order of the novel, turning it inside out. But what has often been overlooked is the way in which Sterne intervenes in the print shop, upsetting the physical structure of the printed book, and in doing so he pokes fun at Tristram's desire to append texts about noses to the memoir of his life.

In an iconic melange of high and low cultural forms, the marbled page as a surprise colour image illustrates that part of *Tristram Shandy* dedicated to Walter's manner of coping with baby Tristram's wounded nose. The marbled paper helps theorise baby Tristram's broken nose by illustrating Walter's collection of experimental scientific works and perhaps anticipating consumptive adult Tristram's ongoing requirement for doses of marbled-paper medicines, either from fevers arising from his consumption or from his potential suffering from much-hinted at venereal diseases. With the marbled page Sterne counterpoints Walter's despair—arising from high-minded theory and expensive colour-illustrated book collections—with Tristram's lived experience inside a body which enters the world wounded and needs the kind of medical attention which results in discarded marbled wrappers. Sterne thereby articulates the full range of patient experience for such men as the learned but feeble Shandy characters.