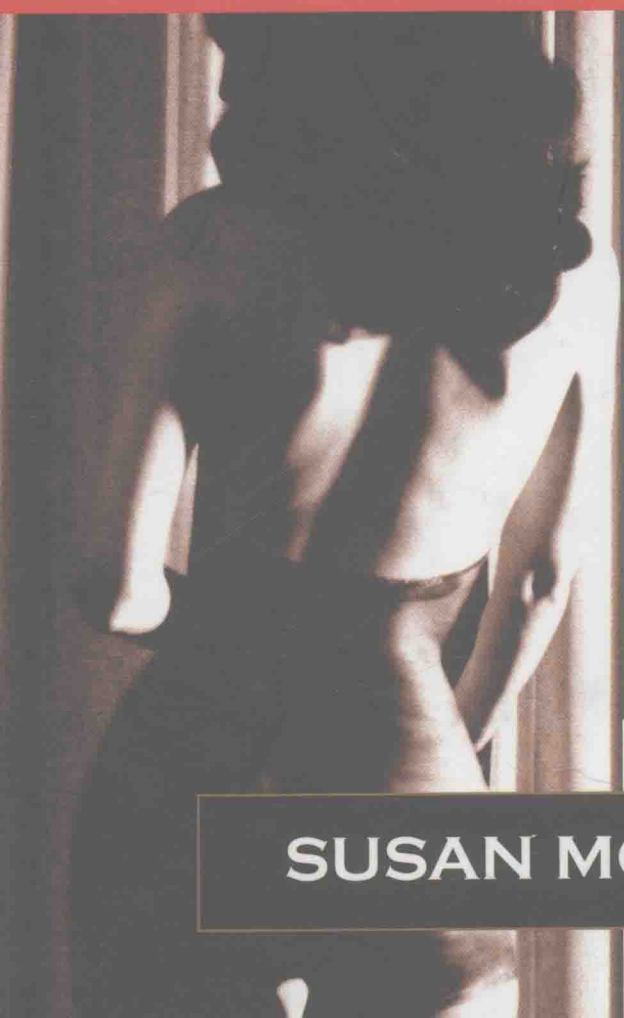
The Artistic Censoring of Sexuality



Fantasy and Judgment in the Twentieth-Century Novel

Susan Mooney

The Artistic Censoring of Sexuality

FANTASY AND
JUDGMENT IN THE
TWENTIETH-CENTURY
NOVEL

Susan Mooney

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Columbus

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Mooney, Susan.
The artistic censoring of sexuality : fantasy and judgment in the twentieth century novel / Susan Mooney.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.
ISBN-13: 978-0-8142-1082-6 (alk. paper)
1. Fiction—20th century—History and criticism. 2. Sex in literature. 3. Censorship—History—20th century. I. Title.
PN3352.S48M66 2008
809.3'93538—dc22
2007032766

This volume is available in the following editions:
Cloth (ISBN 978-0-8142-1082-6)
CD-ROM (ISBN 978-0-8142-9161-0)

Cover design by Dan O'Dair
Text design and typesetting by Jennifer Shoffey Forsythe
Type set in Adobe Bembo
Printed by Thomson-Shore, Inc.

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials. ANSI Z39.48-1992

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Preface

SEXUALITY IN LITERATURE: TOWARD AN ETHICS

Sexuality has often had an uneasy relationship to art. Art aspires to beauty, sublimity, and eros, and surveys a shifting border of acceptability of sexual expression. Today, as through the twentieth century, sex in art can potentially degrade the form to mere pornography. Yet sexuality is close to the core of understanding ourselves and our social life, so omitting it from artistic discourse altogether is nowadays seen as prudish or repressive. This perception is the result of a twentieth-century historical trajectory when, in Europe and North America, the modern novel became increasingly the site for creative exploration of sexual themes and references. To include sexuality became a mark of social progressiveness and artistic innovation, dual aims evident in modernist and postmodernist novels of leading innovators such as James Joyce, Vladimir Nabokov, Luis Martín-Santos, and Viktor Erofeev.

In fact, despite these authors' and novels' very different chronological, cultural, and political contexts, they all seek to make sexuality a central social issue, a key to understanding our weaknesses and inequalities. While sexuality in literature can offer eroticized aesthetic pleasure, it is also problematized critically by the inclusion of social considerations of the status of women, pornography, prostitution, marriage and interpersonal relationships,

reproduction and fertility, and of the status of men as purveyors, consumers, fantasists, and masters of sexuality. The contemplation of sexuality has the human subject reflect back on himself or herself, as is the case with the three male protagonists of the first three novels, and with Irina, the female protagonist of the fourth novel. Thus narrative avenues of masculinity and femininity are explored, often revealing the modern human subject in deep conflict. Sexuality is also politicized in these novels because their national social settings (British colonial 1904 Dublin in *Ulysses;* pre-WWII France and democratic 1944–1952 America in *Lolita;* 1949 Madrid and Spain under Franco in *Tiempo de silencio;* the Soviet Union of the late 1970s in *Russkaia krasavitsa*). We are prompted to reflect critically on the actual performance of the respective countries and their governments and social institutions.

Censoring sexuality is an artistic act. These novels' treatment of sexuality emphasizes how language is regulated. To express the condition of sexuality, these novels present it as something that needs to be both confronted and censored artistically—that is, judged, negated, elided, screened over, or transformed. Censoring is part of the writing process, creating choices that negotiate the degree of explicitness. Sexuality seems to contain knowledge, power, and freedom. Yet these novels use it to reveal social problems and degradation of ethical values; thus, they suggest alternative ways of knowing, beyond dominant discourses and national master narratives. To achieve a critical investigation, raise questions, and solicit readerly judgment, the authors do not elevate the protagonists in their explorations of sexuality to heroic status, but rather, situate them, at best, in critical frameworks.

By selecting these four novels that all experienced some degree of censorship in their early publication years, I have aimed to gain a view of their differences and similarities in relation to their cultural and sociopolitical contexts as well as explore each novel's project with sexuality. Why include sexuality in a narrative? What kind of meaning and complications does sexuality add to characterization, plot, and themes?

The aim to censor or control sexuality in literature has similar motivations and origins across the decades and political and legal systems. If we agree with Michel Foucault that the twentieth century became a confessional society, then we may propose that sexuality divulged in literature is offered for analysis and judgment, as well as for potential pleasure. The countries involved in these novels' censorship—England, Ireland, the United States, France, Spain, and (Soviet) Russia—provide a twentieth-century sampling of different cultures' and societies' persistent, common need to censor the disseminated expression of sexuality in literature. This question of the need to censor is further complicated by the twentieth century's

marked liberalization of the freedom to express sexuality in an increasingly diverse range of media.[1]

In the context of the twentieth-century novel in Europe and North America, I suggest that there are two basic artistic approaches to the treatment of sex in fiction. These two approaches share an interest in sexuality as both a source for critical social commentary and an artistic innovation. However, their paths diverge in terms of how that commentary and innovation should be carried out. The four novels chosen for this study share the first approach, which includes irony, intertextuality, self-reflectiveness, and suggestion. Meanwhile, the second approach finds examples in the novels by D. H. Lawrence and Henry Miller. Novels of this latter group tend toward a remarkable expressive explicitness in portraying sexuality and a strong sense of didacticism or militancy; they also tend to avoid intertextuality, allusion, substitution, irony, and other modes of complicating or diversifying interpretation. At times, the didactic tone or message counterbalances to some degree the explicitness.[2]

In the four novels of this study, sexual portrayals can be seen in the following ways: (1) as artistic negotiations with ethical values vis-à-vis sexuality and the censorial forces of both the human subject and society; (2) as representations of, or references to, what cannot or should not be known (*das Ding*) (thus these particular novels do not strive toward full explicitness; they employ a good deal of allusion and substitution, avoid didacticism, use intertextuality and irony as subterfuges and enrichment of the discourse); (3) as attempts to create contemporary narratives of ethics for the individual (his negotiation between the good and the pleasurable) by integrating sexuality into a value system to be judged; (4) as problematic scenarios in which man questions his relations with women (especially prostitution, pornography, marriage and other relationships, reproduction) and his set of values for them (e.g., fantasy, beauty, sublimity, disease, death, seduction, creation).

1. For studies on the liberalization of censorship laws (and the problems with these), see Beardsmore; Burt, Introduction, *The Administration of Aesthetics;* Butler; Califa; *Censorship and Freedom of Expression; Censorship and Obscenity; The Censorship of Books; Communications Control;* Craig, *Banned Books* and *Suppressed Books;* Daily; Day; De Grazia; Dollimore; Ernst; Gaskins; Geller; Goodrich, *Languages of Law;* Jonathon Green; Leslie Green; Harrison; Jansen; Langton; Lewis; MacKinnon; McKee; Miller; *Pornography and Censorship;* Post; *Press and Speech Freedoms in the World;* Randall; Robbins; Robins; Schauer; Tribe; *Versions of Censorship.*

2. For critical and historical perspectives on Lawrence in particular, see Goodheart, "Censorship and Self-Censorship" and *Desire and Its Discontents;* Grant; H. Montgomery Hyde. For commentary on Miller, see Bécourt; *La censure en France;* Pauvert. Couturier's *Roman et censure* and De Grazia discuss both authors. De Grazia offers a survey of twentieth-century American censorship of literature, and thus discusses a wide range of authors, legal problems, and changes in laws affecting publishing.

Thus, these novels do not provide clear-cut moral premises or resolutions, but rather offer possibilities of complicated interpretation which would require the reader to take on a provisional judgmental role. The reader's role is challenged by the novels' features relating to sexuality because such passages are designed to delight, shock, disgust, enlighten, offend, and intrigue (and thus can complicate interpretation or judgment).

My inquiry is informed, in part, by Roland Barthes's and Pierre Bourdieu's recognition of the potential power of censorship in our discourse, literary and otherwise. Barthes observes that French literary history can be constituted by a counterhistory of censorship. He catalogues four basics "acts" of censorship: the censorship of social class; of sexuality; of the concept of literature; of language ("Reflections," 73). He reveals an underside of literature, the unwritten history of the conditions that determine the literary text. Barthes's determining "acts" of censorship can be related to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of censorship as an imposition of form. Bourdieu maintains that censorship imposes form on all our communications:

> This structural censorship is exercised through the medium of sanctions of the field, functioning as a market on which the prices of different kinds of expression are formed; it is imposed on all producers of symbolic goods, including the authorized spokesperson, [. . .] and it condemns the occupants of dominated positions either to silence or to shocking outspokenness. (138)

Censorship connects the individual artist (and reader) to institution. The institution's discourse insists on being recognized in some way. The point is that one makes a basic disavowal, conscious or unconscious, in order to "accept" the importance, relevance, or power of the institution: "I know that it is just an arbitrary construction but even so I will go through the motions of its discursive practice. . . ." Bourdieu explains that the ability to impose form can be found in both society and the individual; censorship should not be seen as limited to one particular linguistic, legal, or political mode, although these are significant areas of its manifestations.

In my study, thematic censoring practices belong not only to a variety of institutions (e.g., in *Tiempo de silencio,* these include the Catholic Church, medicine, and Franco's regime) but also to various groups and individuals, especially the protagonists and supporting characters. The censoring practices are played out in dialogues, narration, plot developments, characterizations, metaphor, and other poetic devices.

The treatment of sexuality in these novels has often suggested to readers that there is a way to achieve a certain truth or liberation through revealing sexual knowledge. Through censorship trials and difficulties with

publishing certain works, *causes célèbres* were produced. The reader reception of such celebrated works has involved an expectation of heroic and rebellious revelation. In such novels, the sexual can acquire the cachet of some kind of progressive respectability or aesthetic superiority versus a sanitized, innocent, or austere art as supported by puritans and moralist censors.

My study partly responds to Foucault's suggestions that our supposedly "open" society has its own repressive practices; that the manipulation of sexuality in discourse is a method of control, and not one of liberation. In the twentieth century, sexuality has entered public discourses to an unprecedented degree—be they medical, psychoanalytic, legal, philosophical, political, aesthetic, or religious. Sexuality's ample commoditization has become commonplace in the world market. By contrast, in the narrative worlds of these novels, sexuality is integrated into the thematic and aesthetic signifying structures, while in the corresponding contemporary actuality of those novels' settings (be it 1904 Dublin, 1940s and 1950s America, 1949 Madrid, or 1980 Moscow) sexuality was kept marginalized, silenced, or screened in discourses and public communications. In these societies, sexuality, if it actually was named, was subversive and it had the potential to signify pleasure, transgression, danger, and lawlessness.

Foucault's theory of the confessional society relies on tenets of psychoanalysis. Yet he also criticizes its supposedly altruistic therapeutic aim which belies an alliance of power. For example, he sees the endless reworking of the "transcultural theory of the incest taboo" as a way of governing sexuality; and he consequently views this "deployment" of sexuality as one of power or alliance (*The History of Sexuality: An Introduction,* 109–10). He overlooks, however, Freud's and Lacan's repeated criticism of altruism.

Foucault's pessimistic view of power and alliances should be balanced by the observation that we as human subjects seek to have signifying structures to make our lives livable. If we did not have an incest taboo or other features of the Symbolic that provide differentiation (language, law, etc.), how would we have any way of creating signification?[3] Meaning and value are determined through exchange, negotiation, commonly shared usage, disavowals, and also through transgression or abuse. In Wolfgang Iser's terms, a message cannot be communicated unless the sender and receiver share or understand linguistic and cultural codes. In turn, these verbal and interpersonal exchanges necessarily involve issues of power and alliances.

In this book, it is understood that communication involving sexuality also involves power relations. The novels explored do not posit sexuality

3. My position is grounded, in part, in Freud's "Civilization and Its Discontents," "Three Essays on Sexuality," *The Interpretation of Dreams,* and *Beyond the Pleasure Principle.*

as some innocent Eden for revelry, but rather as a complicated field of potential pleasure (especially pertaining to men) that also can encroach dangerously, even fatally, on others (especially women). The Iserian implied readers of Joyce, Nabokov, Martín-Santos, and Erofeev are thus not only called upon to engage in the decoding of the complex messages of the aesthetic texts but also to weigh or judge the power relations described in the novels' forays into sexuality.

While we may be concerned by the application of publication censorship and by the potential threat of diminishing our freedom of expression, we should recall that censorship and censoring emphasize important values in civilization. As part of the Law, it functions to regulate and determine acceptable standards for the social group at stake.[4] It also confirms our need to have language maintain its signifying value.

If language did not mean anything, there would be no need or desire to communicate and likewise no need to censor. The combative element of censorship, while admittedly at times unbearably and unnecessarily brutal or didactic in certain societies, is essential to the (re)creation of signification, the exchange of value, and, in particular, the erotically charged conflicts inherent in human sexuality.

The power struggle in censorship is between the Law and subject. While art tries to achieve something more than pure mimesis of life (which in any event would be impossible to achieve), the Law is concerned that glamorous, beautiful, or desirable sexual transgression will inspire readers to change their values and to imitate that art (and perhaps not serve the social good). If lawlessness and sexual transgression are assigned an aesthetic component, then the right of the Law has been challenged, and formally agreed-upon (or presupposed) social values have been questioned.

We could consider a pivotal modern novel's collision with censorship. The *Madame Bovary* trial (1857) exemplified the state's fear that other women readers might copy the protagonist's sexual transgressions and suicide. Ironically, Flaubert had been inspired by some real-life stories of adultery and bankruptcy in the newspapers. Further, his novel appeared

4. I use the Lacanian terms the Symbolic, Imaginary, Real, and Law here and throughout my discussion. For Lacan, our existence is divided into three orders or registers. The Symbolic represents language and all our civilization practices and relationships within the codified system. The Symbolic is the determining order of the subject. The Imaginary is the subject's psychic perception (conscious and unconscious) of relations, experiences, and phenomena; the Real is actual reality which, although tangible, can never be directly known (i.e., outside the Symbolic and Imaginary; it is the residue or foreclosed element). The Law refers to laws written and unwritten that regulate our social and civil relations. The Law both signifies the Symbolic Father and is authored by him. See Lacan's *Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* and Ragland-Sullivan's excellent exploration of these terms.

shortly after a string of French novels highlighting adultery had been published. *Madame Bovary* could thus provide a critical reflection on this special genre. Meanwhile, within his text, Flaubert shows us a young woman who is partly motivated to commit adultery after reading too many romantic novels. Thus he complicated issues of influences and authorial intent.[5]

Like the authors of this study, Flaubert challenged the Law with his artistic inclusion of sexuality. As the novels in this study demonstrate, sexuality challenges not only the Law, but also us in our relation to the Law, our social institutions, our appreciation of art, and our ethics.

5. The state's censorial reaction to the potential power of the word was perhaps not as unreasonable as we might think it today when we remember that half a century earlier in Europe there had been many actual emulators of the fictional young Werther: the obsessive wearing of a blue coat and yellow vest as well as the act of suicide.

Acknowledgments

For this book and its earlier embodiments as conference papers and dissertation, I must recognize the generosity and enrichment extended to me by several people and organizations: Mario Valdés, as teacher and illuminator of hermeneutics; Jean-Michel Rabaté for his inspirational teaching of modernism and psychoanalytic theory; the members of my dissertation defense committee—Roland Le Huenen, Garry Leonard, Christopher Barnes, Edward Chamberlin, and Jorg Bochow—for their encouragement and critiques; Linda Hutcheon for invaluable guidance in my education and the profession, the early planning of this study, and more recently for her wise counsel; the University of Toronto for doctoral grants and especially the travel grants that allowed me to conduct research in Moscow, Barcelona, and Madrid; Manuel Abellán for sharing his experience of investigating Spanish censorship and urging me to consult the Archivo General de la Administración in Alcalá de Henares; Marianna Tax Choldin and Paul Goldschmidt for their support in dialogue with my explorations of the Russian and Soviet histories of censorship; Ekaterina Genieva, Director General, Library of Foreign Literature in Moscow, and the staff in the library's International Relations Department for their organization of my stay in Moscow.

Aspects of this study were presented in the following conference papers:

"Joyce's Theatre of Judgment: The Scene of 'Circe'" (The Twelfth Annual Comparative Literature Colloquium, Centre for Comparative Literature, University of Toronto, April 19, 2001); "Sexuality Framed by Censoring: Soviet Censorship and Viktor Erofeev's *Russkaia krasavitsa*" (American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies 31st National Convention, St. Louis, Missouri, November 19, 1999); "Behind the Scene of Publishing Nabokov's *Lolita:* Post-Publication Censorship of the Sexually Obscene in Britain, France, and the U.S. in the 1950s" (Seventh Annual SHARP Conference [Society for the History of Authorship, Reading, and Publishing], Madison, Wisconsin, July 16, 1999).

I thank the organizers and discussants in these sessions.

Herman Ermolaev and Edward DeGrazia offered helpful commentary and encouragement.

In recent months, several special individuals deserve my sincere gratitude: Hunt Hawkins and James Phelan for their encouragement and guidance; the manuscript's anonymous external reviewers, whose insights helped the rigor of discussion; Sandy Crooms, senior editor at OSUP, for her grace and savvy professionalism. All the OSUP staff involved in producing this book are offered particular thanks, including Eugene O'Connor, managing editor, and Mary Read, copyeditor.

Finally, and most especially, I'm indebted to Kees Boterbloem, steadfast reader, resourceful respondent, and historian extraordinaire.

Contents

Introduction

THE SENSE OF CENSORING

This book explores four novels written under historical censorship conditions in their respective places of composition and publication: Great Britain, Ireland, France, the United States, Spain, and Soviet Russia. Owing to their controversially artistic treatment of sexuality, James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922), Vladimir Nabokov's *Lolita* (1955), Luis Martín-Santos's *Tiempo de silencio* (1961; *Time of Silence*), and Viktor Erofeev's *Russkaia krasavitsa* (1990; *Russian Beauty*) became landmark cases of historical censorship.[1] Each novel, in its early publication history, was the object of court trials, bannings, rejection by publishers, and prepublication censors' cuts. The conservative sensibility and criteria for these forms of censorship were remarkably similar, despite differences in time, region, and obvious cultural and political features. The United States and Great Britain of the 1920s through 1960s did not essentially differ in their resistance to

1. While I have consulted a variety of editions of these novels, I use the following editions for direct quotations. For *Ulysses,* I cite the Gabler edition; Jeri Johnson's edition of the 1922 text is helpful for some notes to the text. For *Lolita* discussions, I make use of Appel's *The Annotated Lolita* (which keeps the pagination of many Vintage editions). For *Tiempo de silencio,* I use the definitive edition of 1980, supplemented by comparisons with other editions. See the introductory note in chapter 4 for more details. For *Russkaia krasavitsa,* I quote from the uncensored Russian version of 1994; I have compared the censored edition (1990) and subsequent uncensored Russian editions of the novel. Andrew Reynolds's English translation, *Russian Beauty* (1992), is generally satisfactory for direct quotations (although I have occasionally pointed out some nuances in the Russian original for non-Russian readers).

publishing certain sexual expressions from the censors of the Soviet Union (1917–1990) and Franco's Spain (1939–1975).

Censorship signifies on textual and extratextual levels, in literature and life, and no civilization is without some taboos that help to set parameters and transform human life and creative production. Twentieth-century novelists in Europe and America sought to make the sexual subject critical in literature by integrating motifs and stratagems of censoring. This book investigates how censorship themes and techniques have shaped the meaning of the sexuality in the twentieth-century novel, thus requiring the reader's critical judgment. This invocation complicates possible explicit claims to truth. Censoring acts as a creative form of writing that both veils the sexual subject and implicates themes of judgment, condemnation, and negation.

In the selected novels for this study, the reader's role as judge (through interpretative activity) implicitly confirms a commonly felt but often tacit need (or desire) to evaluate sexuality, especially our ethical involvement in it. With modernism's and postmodernism's foregrounding of textual self-consciousness, literary sexuality has posed a puzzle.

I have selected these four novels because they were considered particularly provocative in their day for their representation of sexuality. I wanted to determine how they integrated sexuality in the novel and which sexual features prompted censors to respond. As we shall see, the novelists integrated actual motifs of censoring in their deployment of sexuality so that censoring became paradoxically a productive, generative set of practices. In terms of thematic integration of sexuality, the writers tend to embed it in the modernist domains of the mind—such as fantasy—and the modernist and postmodernist registers of the existential—namely, judgment. These authors offer sexuality as fantasy at a price: it must be evaluated by powers of judgment, thus pushing the boundaries of artistic expression of their time.

In this book, my special use of the term "censoring" intends to demarcate it from the connotations of historical pre- and postpublication censorship and the psychoanalytic censorship. "Censoring" of course derives some signification and strategies from these censorships. But as a hybrid term, it particularly connotes the activity and artistic production of censorship in a literary text.

Let us first then consider how forms of publication censorship originate in modern European languages and become a varied practice in our production and circulation of written discourse. I will then turn to the operations of psychic censorship, and finally the artistic censoring of sexuality in literature, in order to set the parameters of the literary analysis of the four novels.

1. CENSORSHIP: ETYMOLOGY AND HISTORICAL PRACTICES

"*Censor*"'s Latin origins involve an essential duality that is never lost through the centuries. *Censor* and its adjuncts in most Romance, Germanic, and Slavic languages derive from the Latin noun *censor,* from the verb *censere,* "to give as one's opinion, recommend, assess" (*Oxford English Dictionary*). In the ancient Roman republic, there were two official censors: one who kept the register or census of citizens and one who supervised manners and morals. In late antiquity, with the institutionalization of censorship, these two responsibilities became combined and were related to the powers of the church or state. With Pope Innocent I (r. 401–17) and his list of forbidden books, books were submitted to postpublication censorship by the church, a formal process. A millennium later, the effort to exercise control over the written word became far more complicated, as a result of the invention of book printing in the West. As Norman Davies explains, after Gutenberg's invention around 1450 in Mainz, "presses spread quickly to Basle (1466), Rome (1467), Pilzno in Bohemia (1468), Paris (1470), Buda (1473), Cracow (1474), Westminster (1476), and Cetinje in Montenegro (1493). Printing reache d Moscow in 1555" (*Europe,* 445). We can see that in a mere hundred years the press became distributed through Europe, simultaneously accompanied by practices of official censorship.

Printing developed at various rates and was controlled diversely in Europe, and then, with European expansion, in the New World. Despite the accelerated pace of new printing technology, the production of printed matter did not bypass regulated application of criteria designated by religious or political authority. To consider one example of real practice, we could take Russia. It was one of the last countries in Europe to acquire the press, and then its presses were extremely limited in number (no more than three) and under the tsars' direct control. Russia thus developed a deeply ingrained tradition of rigorous censorship of literature from the press's inception through to the period of 1905–1917, when censorship was briefly relaxed. Prior censorship resumed its hold through the entire Soviet period, with only some marked relaxation of practices in the final years of the regime under glasnost' (1986–1991).

Overall, in each country, writing and censorship go hand in hand; one is not produced without the other. Writing is conditioned by writers' awareness of, and sensitivity to, contemporary and prior publication and censorship standards and criteria. The stricter the censorship conditions, the more attuned good writers need to be to subtle (and not so subtle) signs of what is permissible by judging contemporary publications, both

of books and periodicals, the latter providing a more immediate sense of political and moral criteria.

Censorship had an early symbiotic relationship with printing, arbitrating the growth and development of print culture. Davies reminds us of how power worked both ways in this relationship:

> The power of the printed word inevitably aroused the fears of the religious authorities. Hence Mainz, the cradle of the press, also became the cradle of censorship. In 1485, the local ruler, the Archbishop-Elector, asked the city council of nearby Frankfurt-am-Main to examine books to be exhibited at the Lenten Fair, and to help in the suppression of dangerous publications. (445)

These early European beginnings set up a continuous and conditioning relationship between censorship and subsequent writing practices over the ages. The legal offices of censorship have followed and adjusted to changing forms of state power and authority, as well as to the status of the writer. With the rise in constitutional monarchies, liberal democracies, and modern market economies, writers moved away from patronage to self-employment. The advent of copyright laws further determined an individual and responsible role of the artist.

The slackening of censorship does not eliminate it. In a liberal democracy, in general, the activity of censorship is widely dispersed through the law and society, whereas in repressive regimes it is usually concentrated as a designated office.

The development of institutionalized censorship practices in Europe over the centuries varied according to factors of religion, government, economy, literate population, and cultural values and interests. The nineteenth century witnessed the steady and rapid growth of literacy and printed materials. With these, we note a paternalistic concern for the effects of these materials on a growing reading public, especially on women and children.[2] Governments, educators, collective groups, and private individuals contributed to this conservative, at times reactionary, regulating trend. By the late nineteenth century, copyright redefined the concept of authors as individuals owning a creative product. Copyright as a contract connotes responsibil-

2. This movement derives from state initiatives in legislation or law enforcement and from individuals who took a passionate interest in censorship. Perrin describes Dr. Bowdler and his legacy. Sharing Bowdler's concern for sanitary reading conditions for the people were the various self-appointed societies for the suppression of vice which emerged in Great Britain and the United States during the nineteenth century. De Grazia and others have researched the contributions to American censorship made by Anthony Comstock. The Anglo-American tradition particularly includes a citizen-based participation in control (which demonstrates the communal, social needs, and dynamics of censorship and the danger of simplifying criteria to one basic readership).