Cheap Print and Street Literature of the Long Eighteenth Century

Edited by
David Atkinson and Steve Roud

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List of Abbreviations

ESTC:	English Short Title Catalogue. http://estc.bl.uk/
ODNB:	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. https://www.oxforddnb.com/
OED:	*Oxford English Dictionary*. https://www.oed.com/
Dicey/Marshall catalogue (1754):	*A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Copy-Books, Drawing-Books, &c., Histories, Old Ballads, Broad-sheet and Other Patters, Garlands, &c. Printed and Sold by William and Cluer Dicey, at their Warehouse, opposite the South Door of Bow Church, in Bow Church-yard, London* (printed in the year 1754)
Dicey/Marshall catalogue (1764):	*A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Copy-Books, Drawing-Books, Histories, Old Ballads, Patters, Collections, &c. Printed and Sold by Cluer Dicey and Richard Marshall, at the Printing Office, in Aldermary Church-yard, London* (printed in the year 1764) [ESTC T162594]. http://diceyandmarshall.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/
Plomer, *Dictionary, 1668 to 1725*:	Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725*, ed. Arundell Esdaile ([London]: Bibliographical Society, 1968 [1922]).
Plomer, *Dictionary, 1726 to 1775*:	H. R. Plomer, G. H. Bushnell, and E. R. McC. Dix, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775* ([London]: Bibliographical Society, 1932)
Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1641–1700:	D. F. McKenzie (ed.), *Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1641–1700* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1974)
Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1701–1800:	D. F. McKenzie (ed.), *Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1701–1800* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1978)

Resources for ballads and songs

Bodleian Library Broadside Ballads Online. http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/
English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA). http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/
Roud Folk Song and Broadside Indexes. https://www.vwml.org/

Pre-decimal British currency

twelve pence (12*d*.) = one shilling (1*s*.)
twenty shillings (20*s*.) = one pound (£1)

1. Introduction

David Atkinson and Steve Roud

It would not be entirely fair to claim that the street literature of the eighteenth century has been totally ignored, but only recently has increased online access to original materials helped open up interest in a period that has been overlooked in comparison with, say, the early modern period or the nineteenth century. It is a premise of this collection of case studies that, in fact, the eighteenth century represents a critical period both of continuity and of transition between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. The essays themselves begin with the period around the lapse of the Printing Act in 1695, which opened the way for printing outside of London, and also saw the transition from the use of black-letter to white-letter typefaces for items of cheap print. They then extend through to the end of the wooden hand-press period, in the first couple of decades of the nineteenth century. At that time, the change to machine-made paper brought lower costs and improved quality, the iron hand-press enabled better-quality copies to be printed at a faster rate, and the introduction of stereotyping made reprinting possible without the need either to reset type or to retain standing type. All the same, printers at the cheap end of the trade were prone to using older or second-hand technology, so, ground-breaking as these changes were, they did not come all at once. In this perspective, the period covered in this volume can usefully be described as 'the long eighteenth century'.

The other important premise is that 'street literature' encompasses, in principle, anything that was cheap to print and cheap to sell. To an extent — albeit not completely — 'street literature' and 'cheap print' can be considered interchangeable terms. In practice, the major street literature genres include broadside ballads and songs, prose and verse

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chapbooks, short sermons and devotional works, almanacs, and pictorial prints. Some other cheap printed items, such as handbills (which were typically distributed gratis), and things that were genuinely ephemeral (such as lottery tickets), can usefully be excluded. Nevertheless, it is still very difficult to impose a definition, because there are several different ways of considering the material: from the perspectives of format and typography, cost and mode of sale, readership and audience, subject and theme, genre and literary history — or, more broadly, production, distribution, and reception. This was the lower end of the print trade and market, in terms of price, technology, skills, and textual and visual content, even if some of those parameters turn out to be rather porous. For example, while an established London bookseller could issue the occasional ballad or chapbook in between the production of books for a more sophisticated market, it was still much more difficult for a local printer — most of whose work would have been jobbing printing, which did not require substantial up-front investment in technology, personnel, and materials — to branch out into book production.[1] This divide within the print trade itself offers one useful way of distinguishing street literature from what we tend to think of as mainstream bookselling.

In that light, what is offered here is a selection of essays by scholars specializing in the street literature of the eighteenth century, on subjects of their own choice, reflecting their own research interests. It is too soon to attempt anything like an overarching history of the field, which will only eventually emerge from a cumulative picture built up from micro-studies of the kind presented here. In the meantime, it has seemed important to make a start. The individual chapters can be read as stand-alone pieces, but are arranged in a roughly chronological order, which will provide some sense of the continuities and developments across the long century. It is something of a convention that editors of collections like this summarize their contributors' chapters, but in this instance we believe the scholars should be allowed to speak for themselves. Instead, an 'Afterword' will endeavour to draw out some of the major themes and questions raised by the essays — not so much in the form of

1 Early trade descriptions do not clearly distinguish between printers and what would now be called publishers, and the term 'booksellers' was in general use. See further James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450–1850* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), esp. pp. 4–5.

conclusions, but as a way of pointing out directions for further research. The remainder of this 'Introduction' is divided into sections that outline some of the areas that have exercised researchers to date: popular culture and the question of literacy; the growth of the trade in London and the regions; the itinerant trade, chapbooks and chapmen; the matter of street literature; and the scale of the trade in street literature.

Cheap print, literacy, and popular culture

The term 'street literature' tends to imply printed matter that was sold by itinerant sellers — variously described as chapmen, pedlars, or hawkers — who might either specialize in printed items or alternatively sell a wide range of portable goods in urban streets, at markets and fairs, and even door-to-door. Pedlars were omnipresent across late medieval, early modern, and eighteenth-century Europe.[2] For England, there is more detailed evidence about chapmen at large for the previous century, thanks to the ground-breaking work of Margaret Spufford.[3] Street ballad sellers, however, are particularly well documented in newspapers and sometimes in criminal proceedings of the eighteenth century.[4] The itinerant print trade underpins much of our understanding of street literature in eighteenth-century Britain, but it is not a single defining characteristic. Numerous imprints indicate that titles could also be bought directly, wholesale or retail, from the printers' premises, booksellers, stationers, and other retail outlets that sold cheap goods, especially in urban centres. The second half of the century saw a considerable expansion of bookselling in provincial towns.[5] The radical

2 Laurence Fontaine, *History of Pedlars in Europe*, trans. Vicki Whittaker (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996).

3 Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their Wares in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984); Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985 [1981]), esp. pp. 111–28.

4 David Atkinson, 'Street Ballad Singers and Sellers, *c*.1730–1780', *Folk Music Journal*, 11.3 (2018), 72–106; Oskar Cox Jensen, *The Ballad-Singer in Georgian and Victorian London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

5 John Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 28–31; David Stoker, 'The English Country Book Trades in 1784–5', in *The Human Face of the Book Trade: Print Culture and its Creators* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press,

weaver Samuel Bamford, for example, mentions 'numerous songs, ballads, tales, and other publications' exhibited in the windows of the Swindells bookshop in Manchester at the end of the century.[6]

Typographical format is also a useful starting point, and it is not too difficult to identify the major London, provincial, and Scottish printers and booksellers specializing in broadsides and chapbooks, and to take their output as characterizing the trade. Nevertheless, while single-sheet publications are indeed at the heart of the street literature trade, some of the same booksellers issued books that ran to several sheets. Broadsides and 24-page chapbooks that sold for ½*d*. or 1*d*. were printed — and therefore presumably sold — in large quantities and can be considered cheap, but the same booksellers sold small books in similar formats at 3*d*. or 6*d*., and sometimes even at 1*s*. Robert D. Hume addresses in detail the question of the affordability of culture and concludes that the books, theatre, concerts, opera, and paintings that are widely studied today comprised an essentially elite culture.[7] Street literature, however, rendered culture (in its broadest sense) much more widely accessible than that bleak assessment suggests. Cheap is an ill-defined measure, for affordability would be determined not simply by the cover price but by the entire socio-economic situation of the potential purchaser; while a broadside at 1*d*. may not have been a trivial purchase for a labourer earning around 10*s*. per week at the end of the century, others might have found anything up to 1*s*. affordable on occasion.

Estimating access to print in terms of literacy levels is fraught with potential difficulties, and undoubtedly there were considerable variations correlated with factors such as social status, age, gender, occupation, location (urban vs. rural), religion, and so forth. Nevertheless, to read a broadside ballad or a small chapbook did not necessarily require an advanced level of literacy. Practical, functional literacy was not uncommon even at the beginning of the century, and literacy rates continued to rise from that time, especially for women, leading to a

1999), pp. 13–27; James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450–1850* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 141–43.

6 Henry Dunckley (ed.), *Bamford's 'Passages in the Life of a Radical' and 'Early Days'*, 2 vols (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1905), I, 87.

7 Robert D. Hume, 'The Value of Money in Eighteenth-Century England: Incomes, Prices, Buying Power — and Some Problems in Cultural Economics', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77 (2015), 373–416 (p. 381).

remarkable growth in the size of the reading public by the century's end.[8] In urban environments, the population would have enjoyed considerable exposure to the printed word in the form of advertisements, handbills, proclamations, and things such as lottery tickets and official or commercial forms, as well as to the hawkers selling ballad sheets and other printed matter. The expansion of the book trade, and especially the trade in cheap and readily accessible print, was both an indicator and a driver of this advance of literacy, which was becoming an essential asset of commercial life, especially in towns and cities. Furthermore, even if not everyone could read them for themselves, they would most likely have come into contact with others who could — indeed, songs and stories, perhaps also some devotional works, specifically lent themselves to being read aloud. Accordingly, it is not unreasonable to think of the eighteenth century as a time of widespread exposure to a literature that can be described as 'popular' in the general sense of the word.

Used with caution, terms such as 'popular literature', 'popular culture', or 'print for the people' can imply the sort of cut-off point in relation to price suggested above, as well as hinting at a particular kind of subject matter, but 'popular' remains an elusive concept.[9] At a later date, and with increased mechanization of the printing process, it would come to include things like magazines and fiction of the penny-dreadful kind, which are not pertinent here. Moreover, while the scholarship on street literature tends to exclude things such as political verse satires, it is also the case that the political elite could take an interest in and exploit the potential of, say, the ballad genre. Election ballads and broadsides survive in significant numbers (though perhaps more so from the nineteenth century, and often hidden away in less readily accessible archives) and deserve further investigation.[10] Sermons and other theological works, which are often typographically akin to verse and prose chapbooks, might have been printed at the author's expense

8 Michael F. Suarez, SJ, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 5, *1695–1830*, ed. Michael F. Suarez, SJ, and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 1–35 (pp. 8–12).

9 Roger Chartier, *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), pp. 83–97.

10 For example, Hannah Barker and David Vincent (eds), *Language, Print and Electoral Politics, 1790–1832: Newcastle-under-Lyme Broadsides* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press for the Parliamentary History Yearbook Trust, 2001).

and never achieved more than limited circulation. On the other hand, Isaac Watts's *Divine Songs* were widely reprinted in cheap formats, and at the end of the eighteenth century Hannah More's Cheap Repository Tracts deliberately copied the familiar forms of street ballads and prose stories. Booksellers, especially in Scotland, listed what we might class as devotional titles or works of popular theology alongside their fictional titles. As another example, several of the legendary tales — titles such as *Argalus and Parthenia*, *Dorastus and Fawnia*, *The Seven Champions of Christendom* — were published in cheap chapbook versions of twenty-four pages but also in books of around half a dozen sheets costing 1*s*. To be sure, the market was differentiated by price, and the texts differ in degree of sophistication, but fundamentally the stories were the same, and readers could (in principle) graduate to the longer versions.

Cheap print in London and the regions

A convenient beginning is the lapse of the Printing Act in 1695, before which date trade printing had been effectively confined to London. Cheap printing did not immediately take off outside the capital, but the first newspapers were quite rapidly established in Bristol, Exeter, and Norwich. Ballads and prose and verse chapbooks continued to be printed in London by a succession of booksellers, who were often related to one another by familial ties. Ballads were typically half-sheet broadsides, while single-sheet chapbooks at this date were mostly in quarto or octavo. From 1711, John White in Newcastle was publishing the *Newcastle Courant*, and William Dicey and Robert Raikes established provincial newspapers including the *St Ives Mercury*, *Northampton Mercury*, and *Gloucester Journal* during the period 1719–22. These are significant figures because both White and Dicey also printed ballads and chapbooks, and the link between newspapers and cheap print was no coincidence because the networks established to facilitate the distribution of the former were equally suited to the latter.[11]

11 Feather, *Provincial Book Trade*, p. 65; C. Y. Ferdinand, 'Newspapers and the Sale of Books in the Provinces', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 5, *1695–1830*, ed. Michael F. Suarez, SJ, and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 434–47; Robert S. Thomson, 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade and its Influence upon the Transmission of English Folksongs' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1974), pp. 97–99.

There survive some fifty ballads printed in Northampton by William Dicey, a few of them jointly with Robert Raikes. *Roger's Delight* has printed on the verso a satirical print dated 1720, and the imprint gives a good idea of the distribution network.[12] There also survive a couple of Raikes and Dicey chapbooks, also dated 1720, priced at 3*d*. each.[13] John White was in business in Newcastle up until 1769 and it is very difficult to ascribe dates to his ballads, which are not infrequently the same titles as those issued by Dicey. At one time it was thought that the Newcastle examples were 'piracies'.[14] However, it now seems more likely that there was some kind of business arrangement, and there survives one ballad with an imprint that links the names of the two booksellers.[15]

William Dicey maintained the Northampton premises, but his sister Elizabeth married John Cluer, a bookseller in Bow Churchyard in London, and after his death she continued to run the business along with the foreman, Thomas Cobb, before handing it over to her

12 *Roger's Delight; or, The West Country Christ'ning and Gossiping* (Northampton: printed by R. Raikes and W. Dicey; and sold by Matthias Dagnel, in Aylesbury and Leighton; Stephen Dagnel, in Chesham; William Ratten, in Coventry; Thomas Williams, in Tring, booksellers; Nathan Ward, in Sun Lane, in Reading; William Royce, in St Clement's, Oxford; Paul Stephens, in Bister; Anthony Thorpe, at the White Swan, in St Albans; Mr Franks, in Wooburne; William Peachy, near St Benet's Church, in Cambridge; and by Chururd [*sic*] Brady, in St Ives; at all which places are sold all sorts of ballads, broadsheets, and histories, with finer cuts, better print, and as cheap as at any place in England) [ESTC T45185]; on verso *The Bubblers Bubbled; or, The Devil Take the Hindmost* (cut and printed at Northampton; where country shopkeepers and others may be furnish'd with all sorts of broadsheets, ballads, and histories, as cheap, and much better done than at any printing office in England, 1720) [ESTC T142941].

13 *The Force of Nature; or, The Loves of Hippollito and Dorinda, a Romance* (Northampton: printed by R. Raikes and W. Dicey, over against All Saints Church, 1720), price 3*d*. [ESTC T40015]; *'Tis All a Cheat; or, The Way of the World* [...] *to which is added, An Ode upon Solitude* (Northampton: printed by R. Raikes and W. Dicey, over against All Saints Church, 1720), price 3*d*. [ESTC T225265].

14 John Ashton, *Chap-books of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1882), p. ix.

15 *The Birds Lamentation* (Northampton: printed by Wm. Dicey; and sold at Mr Burnham's snuff shop, and by Mathias Dagnell, bookseller, in Aylesbury; Paul Stevens, in Bicester; William Ratten, bookseller, in Coventry; Caleb Ratten, bookseller, in Harborough; Thomas Williams, in Tring; Anthony Thorpe, in St Albans; William Peachey, near St Bennet's Church, in Cambridge; Mary Timbs, in Newport Pagnell; John Timbs, in Stony Stratford; Jeremiah Roe, in Derby; John Hirst, in Leeds; Thomas Gent, in York; John White, printer, in Newcastle upon Tyne; and by Churrude Brady, in St Ives; at all which places chapmen and travellers may be furnish'd with the best sorts of old and new ballads, broadsheets, &c.) [ESTC N15639].

brother in 1736.[16] In 1740 William Dicey's son, Cluer Dicey, took over the running of the Bow Churchyard business. In 1753 the firm acquired a junior partner in the person of Richard Marshall, and in 1754 they opened a second London printing shop in Aldermary Churchyard, of which Marshall became the manager. Soon after William Dicey's death in 1756, Cluer Dicey moved back to take charge of the Northampton business and began to concentrate on the sale and distribution of patent medicines. Printing continued in Bow Churchyard until 1763, after which the premises were used for the patent medicine business, while the Aldermary Churchyard business continued from *c*.1770 under the management of Richard Marshall.

The Bow Churchyard and Aldermary Churchyard addresses recur endlessly in ballad and chapbook imprints, and there are many publications without imprint that can be confidently attributed to the Dicey/Marshall firm. Invaluably for researchers, William and Cluer Dicey, and Cluer Dicey and Richard Marshall, issued catalogues in 1754 and 1764, respectively. These list significant numbers of maps, pictorial prints on copper and wood, old ballads, slip songs (too many to list individually), prose and verse chapbooks, patters, broadside carols, and other small books. Because some of the titles are the same as those published by the seventeenth-century ballad partnership, it has been assumed that ownership simply passed down to the Dicey/Marshall firm.[17] However, it is not clear whether there really was a direct transfer of ownership, or whether subsequently there was simply little effort made to assert and protect ownership in cheap titles. Although the

16 This paragraph is based on David Stoker, 'Another Look at the Dicey-Marshall Publications: 1736–1806', *The Library*, 7th ser., 15 (2014), 111–57. See also David Stoker, 'Street Literature in England at the End of the Long Eighteenth Century', in *Street Literature of the Long Nineteenth Century: Producers, Sellers, Consumers, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), pp. 60–97; Timothy Clayton, 'Dicey family (per. c.1710–c.1800)', *ODNB* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/65524.

17 For the seventeenth-century ballad partnership, see Cyprian Blagden, 'Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Bibliography*, 6 (1954), 161–80. Among those whose statements can be read as implying a direct transfer of ownership from this partnership to the Dicey/Marshall firm are Leslie Shepard, *John Pitts, Ballad Printer of Seven Dials, London, 1765–1844* (London: Private Libraries Association, 1969), pp. 22–23; Thomson, 'Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade', pp. 82–83; William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 341, 500–01.

titles of topical pamphlets were sometimes entered in the Stationers' Register during the eighteenth century, and in the final decade the titles of many of the Cheap Repository Tracts were entered, there were no more entries of the familiar ballad and chapbook titles after 1712 when Charles Brown and Thomas Norris made a large entry of old ballad and chapbook titles.[18]

The London trade in the early decades of the century saw a considerable continuity of titles from the previous century, alongside the production of new titles. The Dicey/Marshall firm emerged as the dominant force in the ballad and chapbook market through the middle decades of the century. They specialized in the street literature trade and their prolific output has (quite justifiably) made them into a paradigm for scholars of cheap print. They were never alone, though, and there were many more booksellers who produced printed matter of different kinds in small formats priced at no more than a few pence.

A few examples from the earlier years of the century will have to suffice. Printer and bookseller Henry Hills, who died in 1713, succeeded to his father's share in the King's Printing House and printed Acts of Parliament and other government documents, but also sold a variety of titles in small formats up to around forty pages at prices ranging from 1*d*. to 3*d*.[19] Examples are editions of Dryden's *Eleonora* and the satirical writer 'Ned' Ward's *Honesty in Distress* and *Pleasures of the Single Life*, all sixteen-page octavos priced at 1*d*., and a reprint of a sermon preached at Cambridge University in 1693 in a 36-page octavo priced at 3*d*. According to John Nichols, Hills was 'a notorious Printer in Black Fryars; who regularly pirated every good Poem or Sermon that was published'.[20] At much the same time, Ebenezer Tracy at the Three Bibles on London Bridge published sermons and devotional works at 3*d*., alongside more substantial volumes such as a collection of Madame d'Aulnoy's fairy tales at 1s.[21]

This seems to have been a not uncommon pattern, making it more difficult to draw a clear distinction between booksellers rooted in the

18 The 1712 entry is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 of this volume.
19 Plomer, *Dictionary, 1668 to 1725*, pp. 155–56.
20 John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, 9 vols (London: printed for the author; by Nichols, Son, and Bentley, 1812–15), VIII, 168n.
21 Plomer, *Dictionary, 1668 to 1725*, p. 294.

cheap print trade and the London trade at large. The aforementioned Charles Brown and Thomas Norris published ballads and chapbooks, and also devotional, medical, and other works of general utility at prices up to 1*s*. 6*d*.[22] Norris died in 1732 and his successor at the Looking Glass on London Bridge was James Hodges, a bookseller of some distinction from the 1730s until *c*.1758 (when he was knighted by George II), who published many works of fiction, poetry, science, medicine, navigation, practical instruction, theology, history, and also some broadside ballads and chapbooks.[23]

An obscure bookseller called Joseph Hinson at the Sun and Bible in Giltspur Street was probably the successor to Sarah Bates, who ran the business until *c*.1735, largely specializing in street literature.[24] Hinson is known from just two recorded titles, both of which look like cheap print — *The Siege of Gaunt*, a broadside ballad that dates back to the Restoration period (presumably sold for 1*d*. or less), and *A Gold Chain of Four Links, to Draw Poor Souls to their Desired Habitation*, a tract on the subject of dying well and attaining salvation (twenty-four pages duodecimo).[25] The last few pages of *A Gold Chain of Four Links*, though, carry advertisements for chapbooks such as *Guy of Warwick* (ten sheets, large quarto, stitched, price 6*d*.), *Doctor Faustus* (quarto, stitched, price 6*d*.), *Montelion* (twenty-two sheets, quarto, stitched, price 1*s*. or 1*s*. 6*d*. bound), fifty-five titles listed at 1*s*. each, and

> all sorts of Bibles, Common Prayer, Testaments, Psalters, Primmers [*sic*], Horn-Books, Bound-History-Books, 3 Sheet Historys, Small penny Histories of all sorts; Parents' Gifts to their Children, and small penny Bibles, with very great Variety of Ballads and Garlands both Old and New: Likewise Shop-Books, Pocket Books, Slates, Pencils, Wax, Wafers, Pens, Ink, P[a]per of all sorts, Ink-horns, Sand-dishes, and all other sorts of Stationary [*sic*] Ware. Also a very curious Sortment of Royal Sheet Pictures either Black or Coloured, Wooden-Cuts of divers sorts, with a very great choice of Lottery-Pictures for Children, by Wholesale or Retail at reasonable Rates.

22 Plomer, *Dictionary, 1668 to 1725*, pp. 53, 220–21.
23 Plomer, *Dictionary, 1726 to 1775*, pp. 127–28.
24 Chapter 2 of this volume.
25 *The Siege of Gaunt; or, The Valorous Acts of Mary Ambree* (printed for Joseph Hinson, at the Sun and Bible, in Giltspur Street, near Pye Corner) [ESTC T206965]; *A Gold Chain of Four Links, to Draw Poor Souls to their Desired Habitation* (London: printed by J. Hinson, at the Sun and Bible, in Giltspur Street, near Pye Corner) [ESTC T104533].

The fifty-five titles at 1*s*. mostly correspond with the lists of what Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks in the 1760s specifically called 'chapmen's books' (Hinson did not use that term).[26] Advertisements along these sorts of lines are by no means uncommon. The fact that Hinson is virtually unknown now stands as a reminder of just how much cheap print is likely to have been lost to posterity.[27]

Thomas Bailey began publishing lives of criminals, jest books, religious and instructional titles, and cheap amatory fiction in Leadenhall Street in the 1740s, and the firm's activities were continued by his family after his death.[28] A few years later, Robert Powell and Charles Sympson in Stonecutter Street, and Larkin How in Whitechapel, were printing chapbooks and ballads on a significant scale, and a good number of their publications are extant.[29] Sympson appears to have started in business as a general bookseller in Chancery Lane in the early 1750s before switching to predominantly (though not exclusively) street literature titles in Stonecutter Street. Another obscure bookseller called Samuel Hobbins, also in Whitechapel around 1750, printed a few ballads and songs as eight-page chapbooks. Another staple of the trade was bellman's and lamplighter's verses, single sheets printed for parish officials to distribute at Christmas and New Year in the hope of pecuniary reward, which survive in examples from the late sixteenth until the early twentieth century, well represented by surviving sheets printed by Thomas Bayley in Petticoat Lane from the 1760s onwards.[30]

Outside of London, besides John White in Newcastle, there were other booksellers publishing ballads and chapbooks before the middle of the century. For example, the first known printer in Sheffield, John Garnet, was in business from 1736 and published a duodecimo song

26 Chapter 6 of this volume.

27 See David Atkinson, 'Survivals in Cheap Print, 1750–1800: Some Preliminary Estimates', *The Library*, 7th ser., 24 (2023), 154–68.

28 Nathan Garvey, 'A Dynasty on the Margins of the Trade: The Bailey Family of Printers, ca. 1740–1840, Part 1', *Script & Print*, 32.3 (2009), 144–62.

29 David Atkinson, 'Street Literature Printing in Stonecutter Street (1740s–1780s)', *Publishing History*, 78 (2018), 9–53; David Atkinson, 'Ballad and Street Literature Printing in Petticoat Lane, 1740s–1760s', *Traditiones*, 47.2 (2018), 107–17.

30 David Atkinson, 'Bellman's Sheets – Between Street Literature and Ephemera', in *Transient Print: Essays in the History of Printed Ephemera*, ed. Lisa Peters and Elaine Jackson (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2023), pp. 107–29.

chapbook dated 1745,[31] as well as other undated ballads, and some with dates in the 1750s. The second Sheffield printer, Francis Lister, published a broadside ballad on the battle of Culloden in 1746.[32] In Gosport, James Philpot(t), active during the period 1708–36, printed *Constance and Anthony*, a ballad from the Restoration period included in the Brown and Norris list of 1712 and in the 1754 and 1764 catalogues of the Dicey/Marshall firm.[33] Dating cheap print is fraught with difficulty, but small numbers of surviving ballads and chapbooks suggest that printers were also at work in towns such as Birmingham, Bristol, Canterbury, Chester, Colchester, Durham, Exeter, Gosport, King's Lynn, Manchester, Newcastle, Reading, and York during the first half of the century. The small scale of surviving examples suggests both that only certain booksellers really specialized in the cheap print market, and that many a general printer/bookseller at one time or another published or otherwise dealt in a few street literature titles.

It is easier to identify booksellers specializing in the street literature trade in the second half of the century. Samuel Gamidge, for example, was established in Worcester by the mid-1750s, but was bankrupt by 1777.[34] Others entered the trade between the 1760s and 1780s, a period that saw considerable expansion of the provincial trade, including John Butler (Worcester), Samuel Harward (Tewkesbury), the Cheney family (Banbury), William Eyres (Warrington), Thomas Saint, successor to John White, and then the Angus family (Newcastle), John Ferraby (Hull), John Fowler (Salisbury), James Grundy and John Grundy (Worcester), Samuel Hazard, who produced religious and moralistic ballads (Bath), Joseph Smart (Wolverhampton), the Swindells family

31 *The King and Tinker's Garland; containing Three Excellent Songs: 1. King James the First and the Fortunate Tinker; 2. The Taylor Outwitted by the Sailor; 3. The Lawyer and the Farmer's Daughter* (Sheffield: printed by John Garnet, at the Castle Green Head, near the Irish Cross, Sept. 1745) [ESTC T29425].

32 *A New Song, call'd The Duke of Cumberland's Victory over the Scotch Rebels at Cullodon-Moor, near Inverness + England's Glory; or, Duke William's Triumph over the Rebels in Scotland* (Sheffield: printed by Francis Lister, near the Shambles, 1746) [ESTC T39960].

33 *Constance and Anthony; or, An Admirable Northern Story* (Gosport: printed by J. Philpo[t]) [ESTC R232923].

34 Martin Holmes, 'Samuel Gamidge: Bookseller in Worcester (*c*.1755–1777)', in *Images & Texts: Their Production and Distribution in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, ed. Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1997), pp. 11–52.

(Manchester), John Turner (Coventry), Stephen White (Norwich), John Dunn (Whitehaven), Ann Bell, and Anthony Soulby (Penrith), and lesser-known figures such as John Pytt (Gloucester), Mary Rose and John Drury (Lincoln), John Pile (Norton, near Taunton), and Joseph Bence (Wotton-under-Edge).[35] In London, probably commencing in the 1770s, Thomas Sabine in Shoe Lane published chapbooks (but not ballads), alongside cheap fiction, cheap playbooks, and works of practical instruction.[36]

Many of these booksellers are best known for street literature, jobbing work, and so forth, but some of them still engaged more widely in the book trade. Samuel Harward published ballads and song chapbooks in Tewkesbury, but also conducted business as a general bookseller in Cheltenham and Gloucester, and eventually became a leading citizen in Cheltenham, although by that time it appears he had probably left the street literature trade behind.[37] William Eyres was a major figure in the book trade, publisher to the Warrington Academy, who also issued almost fifty surviving song chapbooks.[38] John Cheney founded a printing and bookselling dynasty in Banbury, a town that (like Tewkesbury) was an important hub on the eighteenth-century road network.[39] John Feather observes that London printers alone simply could not keep up with demand from outside the capital.[40]

35 See Chapters 4 and 5 of this volume for case studies of the regional print trade in Norwich and Penrith.

36 David Atkinson, 'Thomas Sabine and Son: Street Literature and Cheap Print at the End of the Eighteenth Century', in *A Notorious Chaunter in B Flat and Other Characters in Street Literature*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud (London: Ballad Partners, 2022), pp. 161–85; also Chapter 12 of this volume.

37 David Atkinson, 'Samuel Harward: Ballad and Chapbook Printer in Tewkesbury, Gloucester, and Cheltenham', in *A Notorious Chaunter in B Flat and Other Characters in Street Literature*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud (London: Ballad Partners, 2022), pp. 139–60.

38 Michael Perkin, 'William Eyres and the Warrington Press', in *Aspects of Printing from 1600*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic Press, 1987), pp. 69–89; P. O'Brien, *Eyres' Press, Warrington (1756–1803): An Embryo University Press* (Wigan: Owl Books, 1993).

39 Leo John De Freitas, *The Banbury Chapbooks*, Banbury Historical Society, vol. 28 (Banbury: Banbury Historical Society, in association with Robert Boyd Publications, 2004).

40 John Feather, 'The Country Trade in Books', in *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print, 1550–1850*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1998 [1990]), pp. 165–83 (p. 166).

When Richard Marshall became the sole proprietor of the Aldermary Churchyard business it diversified into the developing genre of cheap literature aimed specifically at children, which booksellers such as John Newbery had pioneered from the 1740s. Prior to that time, it is thought that children would have read, or had read to them, the same cheap chapbook stories as were enjoyed by adults. The business continued in the hands of the Marshall family until the end of the century, notwithstanding an extended legal dispute between John Marshall and their erstwhile manager John Evans.[41] In 1795 John Marshall became one of the printers, along with Samuel Hazard in Bath, of Hannah More's Cheap Repository Tracts, ballads and chapbooks that mimicked the mainstream street literature but carried a strongly religious and moral message. The following year, editions were printed both on better-quality paper to be sold at 1*s*. 6*d*. per two dozen to the gentry (for them to give away), and also on coarser paper to be sold to hawkers at 6*d*. per two dozen, allowing them to make a decent profit when the tracts were sold at 1*d*. each.[42] At the same time, having fallen out with Marshall, John Evans continued to develop a genre of literature specifically aimed at children.[43]

In Scotland in the eighteenth century, broadside and chapbook printing was initially largely confined to Edinburgh, followed later by printers in Glasgow and Aberdeen, with some ballads and the like also imported from England.[44] Before the 1770s, examples survive in much smaller quantities than is the case for England, but the last decades of the century saw a huge expansion, giving rise to what has been called the heyday of the Scottish chapbook, which lasted for around half a century.[45] Important figures in the development of the Scottish cheap print trade include Robert Drummond, Alexander Robertson, James Robertson, and John Morren in Edinburgh, the Robertson family and

41 David Stoker, 'John Marshall, John Evans, and the Cheap Repository Tracts', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 107 (2013), 81–118.

42 G. H. Spinney, 'Cheap Repository Tracts: Hazard and Marshall Edition', *The Library*, 4th ser., 20 (1939), 295–340 (p. 303); St Clair, *Reading Nation*, p. 354 and n. 53, sees the coarser paper as destined to be used in the privy.

43 Chapter 10 of this volume.

44 Adam Fox, *The Press and the People: Cheap Print and Society in Scotland, 1500–1785* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020). See Chapter 9 of this volume for the later decades.

45 Chapter 9 of this volume.

Robert Hutchinson in Glasgow, James Chalmers III in Aberdeen, Daniel Reid, Patrick Mair, and Thomas Johnston in Falkirk, and Charles Randall, Mary Randall, and William Macnie in Stirling, with others entering the trade after the beginning of the new century.

Compared with England, the Scottish trade in cheap print was slower to become established, but lasted longer. Among the factors influencing the Scottish pattern were censorship by church and state during the earlier period, and the more rural nature of the population in the later period. In England, John Pitts and James Catnach entered the trade right at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They and their successors would become the dominant broadside printers in London, while others would print similar items elsewhere in England, until the broadside trade was eventually eclipsed by the rise of penny newspapers and other kinds of cheap books, including songbooks. In Scotland, the Poet's Box operations in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dundee were issuing large numbers of broadsides during the mid-nineteenth century, while chapbooks were still being printed in places such as Aberdeen towards the end of the century.

Chapbooks and chapmen

Itinerant sales do not define street literature, which could also be purchased directly from the printers or from bookshops, but sellers at markets and fairs, in the streets, and from door to door, were visible throughout the period. Indeed, the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines a 'chapbook' as a 'modern name applied by book-collectors and others to specimens of the popular literature which was formerly circulated by itinerant dealers or chapmen, consisting chiefly of small pamphlets of popular tales, ballads, tracts, etc.' (with a first citation from 1824).[46] Recent research, however, has found eighteenth-century instances of the term, which may have simply arisen as a contraction of 'chapmen's book'.[47]

Some bibliographers prefer a more precise definition: of a small book comprising a single sheet printed on both sides and folded, which would

46 *OED*, chap-book, *n*.

47 Barry McKay, *An Introduction to Chapbooks* (Oldham: Incline Press, 2003), pp. 33–34; Jan Fergus, *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 161.

usually be between eight and thirty-two pages.[48] Others, however, have been content to include under the term any sort of book that was, or might have been, carried and sold by a chapman.[49] That would permit the inclusion of things like *Robin Hood's Garland*, which contains a collection of Robin Hood ballads (which could also be found for sale individually) and typically runs to around ninety-six pages.[50]

Matthew Grenby argues for a more nuanced definition which derives from a dynamic relationship between key characteristics of physical format, cheapness, distribution by means of itinerant chapmen, and content of a generally 'plebeian' kind.[51] Even so, printed catalogues of 'chapmen's books' available from the London bookselling partnership of Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks during the period 1757–61 include duodecimos of half a dozen or so sheets, priced at 1*s*.[52] Although distributed by chapmen, they are perhaps unlikely to have been sold in the street or at markets and fairs. Thomas Sabine, too, advertised books at 4*d*., 6*d*., and 1*s*., alongside 'A large assortment of Penny Histories at 3*s*. per hundred' (wholesale), among which were titles dating back to the seventeenth century.

Commonly called 'chapbook histories', legendary stories and romances had been published in 24-page chapbook format since the Restoration period. Samuel Pepys formed a collection of 'small merry books', and Margaret Spufford thought that chapbook publication became more important to the cartel of London booksellers known as the ballad partnership than the ballads themselves.[53] The term 'chapbook

48 For example: F. W. Ratcliffe, 'Chapbooks with Scottish Imprints in the Robert White Collection, the University Library, Newcastle upon Tyne', *The Bibliotheck*, 4 (1963–66), 88–174 (p. 92); John Simons (ed.), *Guy of Warwick and Other Chapbook Romances: Six Tales from the Popular Literature of Pre-industrial England* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1998), p. 4.

49 For example: Victor E. Neuburg, *Chapbooks: A Guide to the Reference Material on English, Scottish and American Chapbook Literature of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, 2nd edn (London: Woburn Press, 1972), p. 1; Edward J. Cowan and Mike Patterson, *Folk in Print: Scotland's Chapbook Heritage, 1750–1850* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007), p. 12.

50 For example: *Robin Hood's Garland* (sold by S. Gamidge, in High Street, Worcester; by Mr Daw, cutler, in Taunton; and by Mr Radnall, in Bewdley) [ESTC T169308].

51 M. O. Grenby, 'Chapbooks, Children, and Children's Literature', *The Library*, 7th ser., 8 (2007), 277–303 (p. 278).

52 Chapter 6 of this volume.

53 Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, pp. 99–100; Pepys's 'small merry books' are listed on pp. 263–66.

histories' was a very broad one and embraced, for instance, old stories and legends, new stories and 'news', jokes, riddles, and prognostications, practical information and instruction, popular theology, and a few abridgements of popular literary works such as *Robinson Crusoe*. The formulation 'histories', 'merry books', and 'godly books' covers much of the territory, but will invariably appear to omit something. Many of the titles recur throughout the period in question — titles like *Fair Rosamond*, *Jane Shore*, *Edward the Black Prince*, *Thomas Hickathrift*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Valentine and Orson*, and *Aesop's Fables*, for example. By the time of the chapbooks listed in the Dicey/Marshall catalogues the typical format was duodecimo, although earlier examples could be in quarto or octavo.

Songs were also frequently published in chapbooks, particularly collections of songs in small books of eight or twenty-four pages, sometimes known as 'songsters' or 'garlands' (although this latter term can be confusing because some broadside ballads were also called 'garlands'). As a crude distinction, the long narrative ballads, some of them dating back to the seventeenth century, were more likely to be printed on broadsides during the first half of the eighteenth century. They are typified by the titles listed as 'old ballads' in the Dicey/Marshall catalogues. Indeed, 'old ballads' is probably better understood as a way of referring to the half-sheet broadside format than to the content, as only some of them really were old at the mid-century. Chapbook songs were more likely to be newer pieces, many of them originating in the theatres and pleasure gardens. This was also the case with the 'slip songs', several of which could be printed on a half-sheet which would then be cut into individual songs with a format of 1/4° or 1/8°. The Dicey catalogues of 1754 advertised: 'There are near Two Thousand different Sorts of SLIPS; of which the New Sorts coming out almost daily render it impossible to make a Complete Catalogue.' By 1764 the figure was 'near Three Thousand'. Printed on one side only, slip songs can be considered as small broadsides.[54]

After the mid-century, more of the old ballads were being printed as chapbooks by some booksellers. Just a handful of ballads printed on broadsides by Samuel Harward in Tewkesbury survive, but more than eighty ballad chapbooks do, many of which correspond with the

54 See Chapters 7 and 8 of this volume for slip songs and songs from the theatres and pleasure gardens.

Dicey/Marshall old ballads. Eyres in Warrington, the Swindells family in Manchester, and the Angus family in Newcastle all favoured the chapbook format for ballads and songs, and in Scotland the chapbook was the dominant format from the 1770s until the broadside songs printed by the Poet's Box operations in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dundee came along in the mid-nineteenth century. In London and the south of England, however, broadsides continued as the typical format for single songs, with a reduction in the size of the sheet to something more like a quarto coming in during the first decades of the nineteenth century, often with two songs on a sheet which could be separated as slips. These are the well-known sheets issued by Pitts and Catnach and their successors, among which can be found many of the folk songs that would be collected from singers before the First World War.

This north–south differentiation of format does appear to have been a real thing, although no really satisfactory explanation has been advanced for it. Chapbooks containing several songs might have represented better value for money, and might have been easier for chapmen to carry in rural areas. Conversely, in urban environments there may have been more call for sheets printed on one side only which could be pinned up and displayed against walls or on railings. Equally, there are anomalies, such as James Chalmers III of Aberdeen, who typically printed chapbooks, but in 1775/6 printed a series of forty (surviving) ballad and song broadsides, nearly all of which are dated quite precisely.[55] Moreover, the chapbook remained the favoured format for all kinds of cheap prose literature, at least until execution broadsides that combined prose and verse started to become widespread in England in the nineteenth century.

Chapmen, itinerant pedlars, or 'flying stationers' as they were called in Scotland, were probably always more important to the trade in rural areas. For that reason, the pedlar selling cheap printed matter at markets and fairs, or coming to the cottage door, probably persisted longer in Scotland than elsewhere.[56] There were more provincial bookshops

55 David Atkinson, 'The Aberdeen Ballad Broadsides of 1775/6', in *A Notorious Chaunter in B Flat and Other Characters in Street Literature*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud (London: Ballad Partners, 2022), pp. 68–92.

56 John Morris, 'The Scottish Chapman', in *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade*, ed. Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; London: British Library, 2007), pp. 159–86.

in England from an earlier date, such as the Swindells bookshop in Manchester cited above. Samuel Harward's imprints advertising his chapbooks for sale at his shops in Tewkesbury, Gloucester, and Cheltenham, and also from Miss Holt in Upton-upon-Severn, illustrate the concurrence of the wholesale and retail trade.[57] Even in Scotland, William Bannerman recalled penny chapbooks and plain and coloured prints displayed in the window of Agnes Thomson's bookshop in Aberdeen around the turn of the century.[58]

Nevertheless, from the last quarter of the seventeenth century and right through the eighteenth there were successive pieces of legislation intended to regulate and license hawkers, pedlars, and petty chapmen. One of the arguments being advanced was that at the beginning of the period there were around 10,000 pedlars in England.[59] Not all of them were carrying printed matter, but from booksellers' advertisements it is reasonable to infer that many of them were. Oskar Cox Jensen has proposed two patterns of activity for the itinerant traders in print: a 'hub-hinterland model', whereby a chapman would be based on an urban centre, which would provide a supply of printed material, but would make excursions into the surrounding districts, to markets, fairs, and villages; and a 'long-distance model', whereby a chapman would range much more widely, acquiring stock in the towns en route.[60] The latter, perhaps less common, model derives particularly from the colourful autobiographies of characters like John Magee, David Love, and William Cameron ('Hawkie'), mostly describing the trade towards the end of the century.

For the earlier period, information on itinerant sellers of cheap print is rather more sparse. There are newspaper and court reports of ballad singers who came into conflict with the authorities, and literary

57 For example: *The Gosport Tragedy; or, The Perjur'd Ship-Carpenter* (Tewkesbury: printed and sold by S. Harward; sold also at his shops in Glocester and Cheltenham; and by Miss Holt, in Upton; where may be had all sorts of old and new songs, penny histories, &c., wholesale and retale) [ESTC T35756].

58 W. Bannerman, *The Aberdeen Worthies; or, Sketches of Characters Resident in Aberdeen during the End of the Last and Beginning of the Present Century* (Aberdeen: Lewis Smith and Samuel Maclean, 1840), pp. 90–91.

59 Spufford, *Great Reclothing of Rural England*, pp. 13–16; Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, pp. 113–16.

60 Oskar Cox Jensen, 'The *Travels* of John Magee: Tracing the Geographies of Britain's Itinerant Print-Sellers, 1789–1815', *Cultural and Social History*, 11 (2014), 195–216.

observations about the nuisance they were perceived as causing in the streets. These need to be treated with caution, since they are frequently concerned with connecting ballad singing with crime and prostitution, which may well be true, but provides little information about the sale of printed matter. Visual depictions of ballad sellers are frequently either grotesquely satirical, as in Hogarth's prints, or rather romantic, as with some of the series of Cries of London, although they do at least attest to the presence of pedlars in the streets.[61] All these sorts of evidence show both men and women engaged in the sale of printed matter. Women certainly fulfilled important roles in the trade in cheap print — as booksellers and printers (often widows or other female relations who took over a bookselling business), 'mercury-women' who facilitated the distribution of early news-sheets and pamphlets, stationers and distributors (like Miss Holt and Agnes Thomson mentioned above), ballad singers and sellers, and possibly as authors too, even if they have often remained invisible and much remains to be researched.[62]

The matter of street literature

Besides the recurrent legendary stories and romances, jest books, and the like, the chapbook format lent itself to topical subjects such as shipwrecks, adventures, and the lives of criminals.[63] Like the legendary and historical stories, some of the seemingly topical accounts also lie on the border between fact and fiction. A taste for imaginative literature runs through the corpus of cheap print. Lennard Davis refers to a 'news/novels discourse' which is manifest not just in the form of chapbook fiction but also in the ballads that describe in verse things

61 Sean Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcast: The Urban Poor in the Cries of London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press; New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002).

62 Paula McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace, 1678–1730* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); David Atkinson, 'Women and the Ballad Trade in Eighteenth-Century England', in *Street Literature and the Circulation of Songs*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud (London: Ballad Partners, 2019), pp. 1–16.

63 Philip Rawlings, *Drunks, Whores and Idle Apprentices: Criminal Biographies of the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).

like murders, battles, and strange natural phenomena.[64] In other words, street literature ranged across fiction and non-fiction, catering for a wide variety of tastes, though presumably individual readers had their own favourite genres. Of canonical literature, however, only *Robinson Crusoe*, *Moll Flanders*, and *The Pilgrim's Progress* achieved widespread circulation in chapbook abridgements.[65]

The *Donaldson v. Becket* judgement in 1774 brought to an end the regime of effective perpetual copyright, through which the major London booksellers had retained control of commercially valuable works of literature.[66] Subsequently, canonical poetry and drama started to become available through series such as Bell's Poets of Great Britain, Bell's British Theatre, Bell's Shakespeare, and Samuel Johnson's The English Poets (with his *Lives of the Poets*), and novels by the likes of Defoe, Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, Goldsmith, Johnson, and Sterne were also reprinted in cheap editions.[67] William St Clair maintains that a consequence of this increased availability of what he calls the 'old canon' authors was the demise within a generation of the chapbook histories and old ballads, which 'died out, like the dinosaurs, as part of a sudden mass extinction'.[68]

This is certainly an exaggeration, and if some titles did die out, or were adapted into the expanding market for prose and verse aimed specifically at children, they were also replaced by new ballad titles and by new kinds of non-canonical fiction, which attest to an appetite for cheap print that was both continuing and expanding. Perhaps more importantly, St Clair poses (albeit in somewhat ambiguous fashion) the question of how far cheap print can be equated with the mentalities of its readership. Thus he argues that, since it was purely commercial pressures that ensured the persistence of certain titles before 1774 and

64 Lennard Davis, *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), esp. pp. 51–56.

65 Pat Rogers, *Literature and Popular Culture in Eighteenth Century England* (Brighton: Harvester Press; Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble, 1985), pp. 162–67.

66 Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1993); Mark Rose, 'Copyrights, Authors and Censorship', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 5, *1695–1830*, ed. Michael F. Suarez, SJ, and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 118–31.

67 St Clair, *Reading Nation*, pp. 122–39.

68 St Clair, *Reading Nation*, pp. 349–50 (quotation p. 350).

their putative 'mass extinction' afterwards, then it cannot be claimed 'that the texts reflected, in some special way, the mentalities of the readers, or catered for their needs and aspirations', yet he also maintains that the same commercial pressures had 'kept a large constituency of marginal readers in ancient ignorance', which seems to mean that cheap print *did* shape their mentalities.[69] A way around this apparent impasse is to accord a greater weight to the sheer diversity of cheap print that was available during the century. Once the full range of ballads, songs, chapbook stories (old and new), and topical, satirical, instructional, and devotional titles is brought into view, then the mentalities argument can be bypassed simply because it is effectively overwhelmed by the sheer volume of print.

The extent of the trade

It should be clear that the foregoing discussion has barely scraped the surface of everything that could come under the rubric of street literature or cheap print, and that it has necessarily drawn heavily on the existing scholarship. This has meant something of a bias towards ballads and songs, chapbook fiction, and printed images.[70] Almanacs, which were printed and sold in seemingly vast quantities, have been treated rather differently, partly because the Stationers' Company held a monopoly on their publication up until 1775, and partly because their contents shade into astrology and invite a 'history of ideas' kind of approach, even though the lists of markets and fairs that they also carried were quite pertinent to the itinerant print trade.[71] Aside from the Cheap Repository Tracts and the Scottish 'religious chapbooks',[72] the standing of cheap theological and devotional titles has not been much investigated. Many sermons and similar works were issued by the same booksellers who

69 St Clair, *Reading Nation*, pp. 350–51.

70 For printed images, Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England, 1550–1850* (London: British Museum Press, 1999); Chapter 3 of this volume.

71 Robin Myers, 'The Stationers' Company and the Almanack Trade', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 5, *1695–1830*, ed. Michael F. Suarez, SJ, and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 723–35; Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs, 1500–1800* (London: Faber and Faber, 1979).

72 Chapter 9 of this volume.

published ballads and chapbooks, but there may be a distinction to be drawn between genuinely 'popular', commercial titles such as *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Watts's *Divine Songs*, or Richard Baxter's *A Call to the Unconverted*, which went through many editions,[73] and sermons that might have been financed either by their authors or by religious bodies for polemical purposes.[74]

Likewise, it is an open question how prose pamphlets and slip songs with political and satirical content should be viewed, as compared with the old ballads, chapbook histories, or topical chapbook accounts of shipwrecks, adventures, and the lives of notorious criminals. There are many sets of political or polemical verses in broadside or small pamphlet format listed in David Foxon's catalogue of English verse from 1701 to 1750.[75] To take an example almost at random, a poem on the Duke of Marlborough's continental exile, albeit in broadsheet format and priced at 2*d*., still does not feel part of the mainstream of 'popular' or 'plebeian' street literature as established by the existing scholarship.[76] Perhaps the difference lies in the heroic couplets (with a brace to link the final three rhyming lines) and the political subject, or in the typography itself, with a decorated drop-capital 'G' to begin the poem, well-spaced lines of verse, and extensive use of capital letters, and the fact that it was printed on paper bearing a halfpenny tax stamp.

Later, there are at least nine different slip songs concerning Admiral John Byng, executed in 1757, in the Madden collection.[77] All bar one are without imprint, the exception being a song called *A Rueful Story*, which exists in at least two different editions, one of them with a satirical imprint.[78] The fact that each of the slips indicates a tune at least

73 Cf. devotional titles listed by Woodgate and Brooks in Chapter 6 of this volume.

74 Isabel Rivers, 'Religious Publishing', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 5, *1695–1830*, ed. Michael F. Suarez, SJ, and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 579–600.

75 D. F. Foxon, *English Verse, 1701–1750: A Catalogue of Separately Printed Poems, with Notes on Contemporary Collected Editions*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

76 *To His Grace the Duke of Marlborough on the Report of his Going into Germany* ([*colophon*] printed for E. Curll, at the Dial and Bible, and J. Pemberton, at the Buck and Sun, both against St Dunstan's Church, in Fleet Street, 1713 [1712]), price 2*d*. [ESTC T51124] (Foxon S373).

77 Cambridge University Library, Madden Ballads 4.6–14.

78 *A Rueful Story, Admiral B — g's Glory; or, Who Run Away First, a New Ballad* (printed at the sign of the Gibbet, near Execution Dock; and sold by all well wishers to Old

implies public performance, and the number of songs suggests the subject enjoyed a certain notoriety. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that these songs were ever printed except around 1756/7. The slip song format, more widespread in the second half of the century, probably lent itself more readily to items of transient popularity, which would include songs from the theatres and pleasure gardens. The contrast is with the old ballads and chapbook histories, many of which the *English Short Title Catalogue* shows were published in successive editions over extended periods of time.

Nevertheless, the distinctions suggested here are far from clear-cut. Moreover, we know very little about the print runs of any of these items, aside from the hundreds of thousands of almanacs printed for the Stationers' Company.[79] Estimates are far lower for chapbooks and broadsides — print runs in the region of a minimum 1,000–2,000 and 2,000–4,000, respectively — but this is largely guesswork.[80] Leaping ahead to the 1850s (admittedly a time when printing technology had advanced), the Glasgow Poet's Box provides evidence of editions of 10,000 for some broadside songs, and some of them went into further reprints.[81]

There is, though, an intriguing bit of direct evidence for street literature titles right in the middle of our period, in the form of an Old Bailey trial in 1759 which centred on the theft of some seventeen reams of printed paper from Larkin How's warehouse:

> Sarah, wife of Solomon Cater, was indicted for stealing eight reams of part of Robin-Hood's Garland, value 20*s*. two reams of the history of the Kings and Queens, value 5*s*. three reams of the lives of the Apostles, value 5*s*. and four reams of several sorts of histories, value 20*s*. the property of Larkin How, privately in his warehouse, Aug. 1.[82]

The easiest to interpret of the stolen items is the 'two reams of the history of the Kings and Queens', taken to refer to *The Wand'ring Jew's Chronicle*,

England) [ESTC T197676].

79 Myers, 'The Stationers' Company and the Almanack Trade', p. 724.

80 St Clair, *Reading Nation*, p. 340.

81 David Atkinson and Steve Roud, 'Introduction', in *Street Literature of the Long Nineteenth Century: Producers, Sellers, Consumers*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), pp. 1–55 (pp. 53–54).

82 Proceedings of the Old Bailey, t17590912-31.

an old ballad (written by Martin Parker and first printed in the previous century), printed by How as an eight-page chapbook.[83] If a ream was 480 sheets, and assuming no wastage, then the print run must have been at least 960 copies. The trial record states that Sarah Cater sold the stolen reams to the proprietors of chandlers' and cheesemongers' shops, for use as wrapping paper. Paper itself was one of the most significant costs for the print trade in the hand-press period, though admittedly somewhat less so for cheap print on inferior grades of paper.[84]

Just one copy of How's *Wand'ring Jew's Chronicle* is known to have survived, but the ballad itself survives in fifteen different editions or issues between *c*.1660 and *c*.1830.[85] The label of 'ephemera' is not helpful, since the customer laying out 1*d*. or 6*d*. or 1*s*. can be assumed to have been buying something that they wanted to keep. The contrast would be with something like a handbill distributed gratis (or perhaps an almanac, the worth of which was by its very nature time-limited). Moreover, access to songs and stories (whether fiction or non-fiction) was not confined to the owner of the printed item at a time when reading mostly meant reading out loud and there was singing in the streets. It remains difficult to infer the 'popularity' of titles from observations such as these. It does, though, seem permissible to infer the aesthetic value of songs and stories that were read and sung, images displayed, works of instruction consulted and works of devotion taken to heart, even if from the bookseller's perspective the purpose of printing them was primarily to sell them.

83 *The Wand'ring Jew's Chronicle; or; A Brief History of Remarkable Passages from William the Conqueror to this Present Reign* (printed by L. How, in Petticoat Lane) [ESTC T301417].

84 Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1995 [1972]), p. 177; John Bidwell, 'The Industrialization of the Paper Trade', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 5, *1695–1830*, ed. Michael F. Suarez, SJ, and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 200–17 (pp. 214–15).

85 Giles Bergel, Christopher J. Howe, and Heather F. Windram, 'Lines of Succession in an English Ballad Tradition: The Publishing History and Textual Descent of *The Wandering Jew's Chronicle*', *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities*, 31 (2016), 540–62.

2. Charles and Sarah Bates and the Transition from Black-Letter

David Atkinson

The end of the seventeenth century was an important time for the growth of street literature. The lapse of the Printing Act in 1695 enabled the expansion of printing across the country. At much the same time, the ballad partnership, which had been in existence for much of the century, came to an apparent end.[1] This was also the time when street literature finally made the transition from black-letter (gothic) to white-letter (roman) type. This chapter looks at these changes through the output of two booksellers, Charles Bates and Sarah Bates, his widow, who were publishing ballads and chapbooks from the 1690s to the 1730s.[2] In particular, ballads sold by Charles Bates have survived in considerable numbers, in part because the first half of his career as a bookseller happened to coincide with the period when Samuel Pepys was collecting ballads.[3]

1 A ballad partnership was in existence before 1624 and was maintained through connections based on apprenticeship, marriage, and inheritance more or less throughout the century. The key document for the later period is the agreement drawn up in 1690 between William Thackeray, John Millet, and Alexander Milbourn, preserved in a copy in Samuel Pepys's ballad collection (Pepys Ballads 5.439–443). The death of John Millet in 1692 and subsequent disappearance from the records of William Thackeray are generally taken to mark the ending of the formal partnership. The key study upon which all further accounts have been based is Cyprian Blagden, 'Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Bibliography*, 6 (1954), 161–80.

2 Data retrieved from the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC) during January 2021.

3 Helen Weinstein, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge*, vol. II, *Ballads*, part i, *Catalogue*, part ii, *Indexes* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992, 1994).

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I

Charles Bates was apprenticed to Jonah Deacon in 1683 and freed in 1690, and on his death in 1716 Sarah Bates took over the business, which continued into the mid-1730s.[4] There was a historical connection with the ballad partnership in that Jonah Deacon had been apprenticed to Mary Wright, widow of John Wright II, a member of the partnership in the mid-century. Records from the time of Charles Bates's death show a substantial stock in trade worth £316 but a net estate of only £236, which Margaret Spufford interprets as evidence of no more than quite modest prosperity, leaving only a small inheritance for his widow and five daughters.[5] The number of small debts owing at his death suggests that he conducted business with chapmen distributors on a credit basis.[6]

Imprint evidence provides three different addresses for Charles Bates, all in West Smithfield: (*i*) next door to the Crown Tavern, near Duck Lane end; (*ii*) the White Hart, near Pye Corner; (*iii*) the Sun and Bible, in Giltspur Street, near Pye Corner. It is difficult to establish a firm chronology because the vast majority of Bates's publications are undated, but it is possible to identify some signposts. It is perhaps logical to assume that the more generic address was in use before the named premises, and it is found on ballads dated 1690 and 1692,[7] as well as ballads on contemporary events, such as King William's victories in Ireland in 1690 and the siege of Mons in 1691.[8] The White Hart address

4 *Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1641–1700*, pp. 10, 46 (no. 1228); *Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1701–1800*, pp. 25, 26; Plomer, *Dictionary, 1668 to 1725*, p. 26; Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985 [1981]), p. 85.

5 Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, pp. 89–90.

6 Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 103 n. 9.

7 *The Unconstant Shepherd; or, The Forsaken Lasses Lamentation* (printed for Charles Bates, next door to the Crown Tavern, near Duck Lane end, in West Smithfield, 1690) [ESTC R234520]; *The Young Lovers Enquiry; or, The Batchelors Question to Cupid* (printed for C. Bates, next door to the Crown Tavern, near Duck Lane end, in West Smithfield, 1692) [ESTC R187781].

8 *King Williams Triumph; or, His Signal Victory over his Enemies, together with the Surrender of Drogheda and his Joyful Entrance into the City of Dublin* (printed for Charles Bates, next door to the Crown Tavern, near Duck Lane end, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R188384]; *The Second Victorious Conquest; or, The City of Cork Storm'd* (printed for Charles Bates, next door to the Crown Tavern, near Duck Lane end, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R187427]; *The Royal Letter to our Gracious Queen Mary from his Majesty in Flanders, Who at the Head of Fifty Thousand Men Is Going to Raise the Siege of*

appears on a ballad dated 1693.[9] A ballad on the death of Queen Mary at the end of 1694 has the Sun and Bible address.[10] Subsequently, there are a handful of dated publications that show Bates at the Sun and Bible, and that is the address at which Sarah Bates continued the business. There could, of course, be some overlap among the imprints, and topical ballads could be printed more than once. A ballad on the execution of Sir John Johnston in December 1690 was published from next door to the Crown Tavern and then from the Sun and Bible.[11] A 'female warrior' ballad in which the heroine is mortally wounded at the siege of Cork in 1690 was similarly published from the two different addresses.[12]

Many of the imprints read 'printed for' C. Bates, or S. Bates, and it seems that neither was a printer *per se*. A number of imprints indicate that they were 'printed by Alexander Milbourn (A. M.), or his widow Elizabeth Milbourn (E. M.), and sold by C. Bates', or 'printed by and for William Onley (W. O.), and sold by C. Bates', or 'printed by and for Onley and Milbourn, and sold by C. Bates'. Milbourn and Onley were printers associated with the latter days of the ballad partnership when they worked closely with booksellers like Bates.[13] A few more imprints indicate other collaborations, particularly for topical ballads. The ballad on the death of Queen Mary, for example, was printed for Bates and Philip Brooksby, also in Pye Corner, and may have been produced quickly for the occasion. A ballad on the execution of the highwayman 'Captain' James Whitney in 1693 was printed for Bates and James Bissel,

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Mons (printed for C. Bates, next door to the Crown Tavern, near Duck Laue [*sic*], in West Smithfield) [ESTC R187270].

9 *An Answer to the Young Lover's Enquiry* (printed for C. Bates, at the White Hart, in West Smithfield, near Pye Corner, 1693) [ESTC R172380].

10 *The Court and Kingdom in Tears; or, The Sorrowful Subject's Lamentation for the Death of Her Royal Majesty Queen Mary* (printed for P. Brooksby, at the Golden Ball; and C. Bates, at the Bible and Sun, both in Pye Corner) [ESTC R217382]; *The Court and Kingdom in Tears; or, The Sorrowful Subject's Lamentation for the Death of Her Royal Majesty Queen Mary* (printed for P. Brooksby; C. Bates, both in P[ye] Corner) [ESTC R234409].

11 *Capt. Johnsons Last Farewel* (printed for Charles Bates, next the Crown Tavern, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R234489]; *Capt. Johnsons Last Farewel* (printed for Charles Bates, at the Bible and Sun, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R227547/R231178].

12 *The Woman Warrier* (printed for Charles Bates, next to the Crown Tavern, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R227483]; *The Woman Warrier* (printed for C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R234138]; *The Woman Warrier* (printed for Charles Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R235489].

13 Blagden, 'Notes on the Ballad Market', pp. 176–78.

another bookseller in West Smithfield specializing in ballads.[14] Ballads on the funeral of William III and on the accession of Queen Anne in 1702 were printed for Bates and Bridget Deacon, successor to Bates's old master Jonah Deacon, also located in Giltspur Street.[15] On the verso of the funeral sheet is a quite different ballad printed for Onley and sold by the booksellers of Pye Corner and London Bridge.[16] There are many other ballads printed by and for Onley and/or Milbourn and sold by the booksellers of Pye Corner and London Bridge, and it is plausible to think in terms of this generic group, including Bates, as a distribution network.

Charles Bates also sold a couple of ballads printed by and for Charles Brown (*A Pattern of True Love*), and printed by Charles Brown and Thomas Norris (*King Henry the Second and the Miller of Mansfield*).[17] Brown and Norris made a large entry in the Stationers' Register in 1712 of ballad and chapbook titles previously associated with the ballad partnership, and this has been understood as an attempt to claim ownership of those titles and to establish another near-monopoly.[18] Some of the surviving Brown and Norris titles were sold by the booksellers of Pye Corner and London Bridge, and when Sarah Bates took over at the Sun and Bible she, too, sold titles printed by Norris. The sort of imprint evidence cited here is never quite as unequivocal or as comprehensive as one might wish. In particular, it is not clear whether there is any real distinction to be drawn between 'printed by' and 'printed by and for', or precisely what

14 *The Penitent Robber; or, The Woeful Lamentation of Capt. James Whitney* (printed for J. Bissel; and C. Bates) [ESTC R187299].

15 *The Mournful Solemnity; or, The Royal Funeral of William the Third* (printed for B. Deacon; and C. Bates, in Pye Corner) [ESTC T55951]; *The Protestant Queen; or, The Glorious Proclaiming Her Royal Highness Princess Ann of Denmark, Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland* (printed for B. Deacon; and C. Bates, in Pye Corner) [ESTC N69962].

16 *Johnny Armstrong's Last Goodnight* (London: printed by and for W. O.; and sold by the booksellers of Pye Corner and London Bridge) [ESTC T55950].

17 *A Pattern of True Love to You I Will Recite, Between a Beautiful Lady and a Courteous Knight* (London: printed by and for C. Brown; and a[re] to be sold by C. Bates, at the Sun an[d] Bible, in Giltspur Street) [ESTC R181555]; *A Pleasant Ballad of King Henry the Second and the Miller of Mansfield* (London: printed by C. Brown, and T. Norris; and sold by C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in in [*sic*] Giltspur Street) [ESTC T206322].

18 Robert S. Thomson, 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade and its Influence upon the Transmission of English Folksongs' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1974), pp. 82, 283–87.

kind of business relationship is indicated by 'and sold by'. So when, for the sake of convenience, we speak of titles 'published by' either Charles or Sarah Bates, it is unclear exactly what degree of responsibility they had for initiating and financing those publications, and/or whether they held any rights of ownership in the titles. Their business adds to the evidence for close collaboration between printers and booksellers in the street literature trade during the 1690s and extending into subsequent decades. For the majority of the Charles and Sarah Bates ballads, there is no clear statement as to who the printers were, but from what evidence there is, Milbourn, Onley, and Norris are the prime candidates.[19]

II

Most of the surviving Charles Bates publications are broadside ballads, but there are also a number of chapbooks. These include 24-page prose romances (*Fortunatus*, *Valentine and Orson*, *Guy of Warwick*), histories (*The Conquest of France*, *The Destruction of Troy*, *The Gentle Craft*, *Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Essex*), jests and prognostications, and an account of a man who had supposedly lived through the reigns of nine different monarchs up to the year 1698.[20] A 48-page black-letter *Famous History of Friar Bacon* was printed for Bates and William Thackeray.[21] There are also some eight-page song chapbooks (*The Garland of Princely Jewels*, *The Jamaica Garland*, *The Melancholly Virgin's Garland*, *The Valiant Maid's Garland*, *The Virgins New Garland*). There are far fewer extant chapbooks than ballads, but a few of them include lists of books printed for and sold by Charles Bates at the Sun and Bible, 'where all Country Chapmen may be furnished with all sorts of Historys, small Books and Ballads', which name some titles not known to be extant.[22] One reason why the

19 Plomer, *Dictionary, 1668 to 1725*, pp. 220–21, has Norris as a bookseller and bookbinder but not as a printer, but ESTC lists numerous titles 'printed by' T. Norris at the Looking Glass on London Bridge.

20 *The Wonder of Wonders, giving an Exact Relation of Francis Mason, of Mile-End Green, near London, Who Hath Lived in the Reign of Nine Kings and Queens* […] *to this Present Year. 1698* (London: printed for Charles Bates, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R475105].

21 *The Famous History of Frier Bacon* (London: printed for W. Thackery, at the Angel, in Duck Lane; and C. Bates, next the Crown Tavern, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R176945/R43855].

22 *The Famous and Renowned History of Hector, Prince of Troy* [imprint cropped] [ESTC T140709]; *The Conquest of France* (printed by A. M.; for Charles Bates, at the Sun and

ballads may have survived better than the chapbooks is that Bates commenced business as a bookseller at a time when Samuel Pepys was more interested in collecting ballads than chapbooks.[23]

The 24-page romances and histories are typically three-sheet quartos, with a few newer titles in the smaller formats that would become more typical during the eighteenth century. While the ballads provide no indication of price, which might have been variable, there are a few hints pertaining to the chapbooks. A short list printed with the 24-page *Guy of Warwick* indicates that chapbooks like this sold for 3*d*.: 'These Books following, are lately Printed for, and sold by Charles Bates, at the Sun and Bible in Pye-Corner, and sold for 3*d*. a piece. Where any Person may be Furnished with all sorts of Historys, large or small.'[24] One issue of a broadside song in praise of shoemakers, written by Richard Rigb(e)y and sung at an assembly of shoemakers on St Crispin's Day 1695, includes an advertisement for the 24-page *History of the Gentle Craft*, price 2*d*.: 'There is likewise newly Writ and Printed a Book intitul'd, *The Shooe-maker's Glory: or, The Princely History of the Gentle-Craft* [...] To which this Song is added. Price Two-pence.'[25] A sixteen-page tract invites the reader to find the content worth 1*d*.: '*Friendly Reader*, If that these weighty Considerations should be reckoned not worth laying out one Penny, be pleased to Read it *Gratis*, keep it clean, & Return it in two Hours.'[26]

Charles Bates was also involved in the publication of a number of books comprising several sheets — up to a couple of hundred pages — in some instances in collaboration with other booksellers, such as Arthur

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Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC N70022]. Titles not known to be extant include *The Ægyptian Fortune Teller*, *Hercules of Greece*, *Jack and the Giants*, *The Merry Piper; or, Friar and Boy*, *The Rich Robber; or, Golden Farmer*, *The Lancashire Witches*.

23 Richard Luckett, 'The Collection: Origins and History', in Helen Weinstein, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge*, vol. II, *Ballads*, part ii, *Indexes* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994), pp. xi–xxi (pp. xiv–xv).

24 *The History of the Famous Exploits of Guy Earl of Warwick* (printed for Charles Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R215196]. Titles listed are *Valentine and Orson*, *Hercules of Greece*, *Three Destructions of Troy*.

25 Richard Rigbey, *The Shooe-maker's Triumph, being a Song in Praise of the Gentle-Craft* (printed for C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R227583]. The chapbook is *The Shooe-makers Glory; or, The Princely History of the Gentle Craft* (London: printed by and for W. O.; and are to be sold by C. Bates, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R229836], which includes two songs credited to Richard Rigby (*sic*).

26 *A Gold Chain of Four Links* (printed for C. Bates, in Giltspur Street) [ESTC T223542]; *A Gold Chain of Four Links* (printed for C. Bates, in Pye Corner) [ESTC N508944].

Bettesworth, Ebenezer Tracy, and Josiah Blare, all on London Bridge.[27] Non-fiction titles include sermons and devotional works (*The Crucified Saviour*, *A New-Year's Gift*, *Our Saviour's Sermon on the Mount*, *The Fearful Estate of Francis Spira*), secular works (*The Adventures of Five Englishmen from Pulo Condoro*, *Colloquia Chirurgica*, *A New Academy of Complements*, *The Queen's Royal Cookery*), and longer fictional works, including a *Robin Hood's Garland* and romances and histories such as *Montelion*, *Argalus and Parthenia*, an eighty-page *Renowned History of Guy of Warwick*, and *The New History of the Trojan Wars*.

There is some evidence concerning prices for these longer books. *The New History of the Trojan Wars* and *A New Academy of Complements* have the price of 1*s*. printed on the title page.[28] At the end of *A New Academy of Complements* is an advertisement for *The Queen's Royal Cookery*, again priced at 1*s*. At the end of the eighty-page *Guy of Warwick* is an advertisement for books printed for and sold by Charles Bates and John Foster, including *A New Year's Gift* and *The New History of the Trojan Wars* at 1*s*., and some titles not known to be extant, such as *The British Fortune-Tellar* [*sic*] (1*s*. 6*d*.) *The Lady's Treasury Exposed* (6*d*.), and *The Art of Ringing Made Easie* (1*s*. 6*d*.). Evidently, the trade of a bookseller such as Bates was not confined to the broadside ballads and 24-page chapbooks at the very cheapest end of the market.

The single- and multiple-sheet editions of the *Trojan Wars* and of *Guy of Warwick* are quite different works, presumably aimed at different levels of readership, but they still cover some of the same narrative ground and appeal to a shared interest in legendary tales. The 24-page (black-letter) and eighty-page (white-letter) editions of *Guy of Warwick* use some of the same woodcut illustrations, probably printed from

27 Others include Robert Whitledge, bookseller and printer, specializing in religious titles and Welsh books; Francis Fawcet, bookseller in the Strand; Benjamin Harris, bookseller and printer (who was in Boston, Massachusetts, 1686–95); John Foster (or Forster) at the Golden Ball in Pye Corner; and W. Daley, known only from a single imprint with Bates.

28 *The New History of the Trojan Wars and Troy's Destruction* (London: printed for C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner), price 1*s*. bound [ESTC T106839, T106841]; *A New Academy of Complements; or, The Lover's Secratary* [*sic*], 4th edn (London: printed for C. Bates, in Giltspur Street; and A. Bettesworth, on London Bridge, 1715), price 1*s*. [ESTC T86876].

the same blocks.[29] Pricing must (to some extent) have defined the readerships for the different editions, but there is an evident continuity of cultural reference.[30] As a final sidelight on the business of booksellers like Bates, there is an advertisement in one devotional title for Bibles, books of common prayer, other religious books, and articles and canons of the Church of England.[31]

Nevertheless, the surviving output of Charles Bates is dominated by the more than 160 different ballad sheets, which provide an informative sample across a transitional period of ballad publishing. The ballads are noteworthy for several characteristics: (*i*) ballads in both black-letter and roman type, and in landscape and portrait orientation; (*ii*) printed music notation with some of the white-letter ballads; (*iii*) numbers of ballads that include some reference to licensing. The first decade or so of Bates's bookselling activity, moreover, coincided with a turbulent period of English politics, and some of the ballads are explicitly supportive of the Protestant settlement.

III

That the use of black-letter for ballads and other kinds of street literature as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century was distinctly anachronistic is well known. For print-historical reasons, the earliest English books were printed in black-letter (textura, or gothic) type, which was gradually replaced, except for certain purposes such as Bibles, legal texts, and proclamations, by roman (white-letter) type during the second half of the sixteenth century.[32] Where black-letter did

29 *The History of the Famous Exploits of Guy Earl of Warwick* (printed for Charles Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R215196] (24 pp.); *The Renowned History (or the Life and Death) of Guy Earl of Warwick* (London: printed by A. M.; for C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Guiltspur Street; and by J. Foster, at the Golden Ball, in Pye Corner) [ESTC T125807] (80 pp.).

30 Cf. Lori Humphrey Newcomb, *Reading Popular Romance in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

31 *Divine Meditations and Pious Ejaculations on the Lord's Prayer* [...] (London: printed for R. Whitledge, at the Bible, in Creed Lane, near Ludgate; Eben. Tracy, on London Bridge; C. Bates, in Pye Corner; and F. Faucet, in the New Exchange, in the Strand, 1706) [ESTC T186366].

32 Stanley Morrison, '"Black-Letter" Text', in *Selected Essays on the History of Letter-Forms in Manuscript and Print*, ed. David McKitterick, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980–81), I, 177–205.

continue in use during the following century, Charles Mish argues that it was a conservative typography that reflected the conservatism of a literature aimed at a socially and culturally unsophisticated readership.[33] More recently, Mark Bland has identified the shift from black-letter to roman as one of a number of changes in the visual aesthetics of printed books that opened up the text block and brought spatial structure into printed works, and which can be related to the advance of vernacular literature into the social space of the mid-seventeenth century.[34]

Zachary Lesser argues both that the 'disappearance' of black-letter has been much overstated and that its continued use functioned as a kind of 'typographical nostalgia', enabling texts to be read as embodying an imagined popular culture with roots in the English past, which provided a counterpoint to the politics of the present.[35] With specific reference to ballads, Angela McShane correctly points out that throughout the seventeenth century, a range of typefaces — including black-letter, roman, italic, and engraved script — were used simultaneously, even if one kind was frequently predominant for the body text of the ballad stanzas.[36] So, for example, roman would often be used in titles, and roman or italic to distinguish proper names, even in the context of ballads printed predominantly in black-letter. Accordingly, a distinction based solely on familiarity with, or the ability to read, different typefaces is not altogether sustainable.

Instead, McShane argues that by the end of the century booksellers were consciously exploiting typographical differences in order to direct certain kinds of ballads towards certain kinds of readers, and describes what she calls 'cross-over' ballads, where the same titles were printed in

33 Charles C. Mish, 'Black Letter as a Social Discriminant in the Seventeenth Century', *PMLA*, 68 (1953), 627–30 (Mish describes the audience for black-letter as both 'middle-class' and 'culturally retarded').

34 Mark Bland, 'The Appearance of the Text in Early Modern England', *Text*, 11 (1998), 11–154.

35 Zachary Lesser, 'Typographic Nostalgia: Play-Reading, Popularity, and the Meanings of Black Letter', in *The Book of the Play: Playwrights, Stationers, and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. Marta Straznicky (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), pp. 99–126. Lesser suggests that the sudden disappearance of black-letter is an artefact of scholarly research (p. 121 n. 11).

36 Angela McShane, 'Typography Matters: Branding Ballads and Gelding Curates in Stuart England', in *Book Trade Connections from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, ed. John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; London: British Library, 2008), pp. 19–44.

both typographical formats, with the inference that they were distributed into separate markets — children, women, or untutored readers, for example, versus the more politically engaged. Black-letter implied a broad appeal to a readership familiar with ballads from the past, while white-letter was associated with topicality and satire, sometimes to the point of obscurity, for the political cognoscenti. Typography became a form of 'branding' for printed products of different kinds.

Alongside all of these factors must be set the evident economic sense there was in continuing to make use of the older fonts, especially for printers/booksellers at the cheaper end of the trade. Crudely, trade precedent and inertia may have had as much to do with the anachronistic persistence of black-letter as any conscious marketing strategy. The manuscript title to the first volume of Pepys's collection of ballads states that it was continued up to 1700, 'When the Form, till then peculiar thereto, vizt. of the Black Letter with Picturs, seems (for cheapness sake) wholly laid aside, for that of the White Letter without Pictures.'[37] With the benefit of hindsight, this observation sheds little light on the matter. It is true that there are in Pepys's collection ballads both in black-letter with woodcut illustrations (in landscape orientation) and in white-letter without illustrations (in portrait orientation). Nevertheless, half-sheet ballads in landscape orientation with woodcut illustrations were printed in white-letter throughout the eighteenth century and into the early decades of the nineteenth. As a sophisticated reader, possibly Pepys underestimated the visual and commercial appeal of illustrated sheets. Measurements provided in the catalogue of the Pepys collection suggest that, on average, the sheet size for the white-letter ballads may have been slightly smaller, potentially making them marginally cheaper to produce, because paper constituted a major part of the cost of early printing. Beyond that, there is no real reason to think that white-letter supplanted black-letter primarily on grounds of cost.

White-letter was the norm for Bates's longer fiction and non-fiction. The eight-page song chapbooks are also in white-letter. Among the 24-page chapbooks there are examples in both black- and white-letter. The 24-page black-letter *Fortunatus*, *Conquest of France*, and *Guy of Warwick* all use roman in titles and for proper names and direct speech.

37 Weinstein, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library*, vol. II, part i, p. 3.

The *Conquest of France* was issued in both black- and white-letter editions, with remarkably similar settings of the text and the same woodcuts, and both have a main title dominated by one line in large roman ('Conquest of France') and one in large black-letter ('Edward the Black Prince').[38] The 48-page *Famous History of Frier Bacon* in black-letter has the songs and charms in roman. *Robin Hood's Garland*, in white-letter, has the name 'Robin Hood' in gothic type on the title page and in the running-heads.[39] Whatever the font selected for the body text, other typefaces could be employed to set up visual contrasts.

The transition from black-letter to roman is most readily observed among the ballads. With a few exceptions (below), the bulk of the surviving sheets are fairly equally divided between: (*a*) black-letter, in landscape orientation, illustrated with woodcuts; and (*b*) white-letter, in portrait orientation with text in two columns, mostly without illustrations, but in rather more than half the examples with music notation. Both black- and white-letter ballads were issued from all three of the addresses associated with Bates, so the transition must have been (at least in some degree) a gradual one. The black-letter ballads commonly have some roman and italic in titles and imprints, and used to distinguish proper names and refrain lines in the body text. Somewhat less frequently, some black-letter type is used in titles and imprints of white-letter ballads, with italic usually distinguishing proper names and refrains, although there are a few instances of refrain lines in black-letter.[40]

Although the prevalence of white-letter (including verse in portrait orientation, without illustrations) in the wider book trade within the period in question means that the white-letter ballads have something

38 *The Conquest of France* (printed by A. M.; for Charles Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC N70022]; *The Conquest of France* (printed by A. M.; for Charles Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC T161259].

39 *Robin Hood's Garland* (London: printed by and for W. Onley; and are to be sold by C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner, 1704) [ESTC T197054].

40 For example: *The Mournful Plotters; or, The Sorrowful Lamentation of Several Conspirators within the Walls of Newgate* (London: printed for C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R188604]; *The Unkind Parents; or, The Languishing Lamentation of Two Loyal Lovers* (printed for C. Bates, next the Crown Tavern, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R227522]; *The Young-Mans Lamentation, being an Answer to the Maid that Dy'd for Love in Wood's-Close, near St. John's-Street* (printed for C. Bates, near the Crown Tavern, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R234517].

of an aura of typographical modernity about them, it may be misleading to think of the transition as driven by visual aesthetics in the manner suggested by Bland. The stanzaic nature of ballads means that, by the post-Restoration period, even where the typeface is predominantly black-letter, the text block is usually by its very nature broken up with white space, title lines, and illustrations. The occasional example of a more solid black-letter text block, such as *The Blind Begger's Daughter of Bednal-Green* or *The Woful Lamentation of Jane Shore*, provides the exception to prove the rule.[41] Some other booksellers' editions of the same ballads have a similarly solid black-letter appearance, and although a case could be made that these were old stories, the layout might just as well have been dictated by the density of what is quite a wordy text.

A modest number of Charles Bates's surviving ballads are beginning to move towards a typical eighteenth-century appearance of white-letter in landscape orientation with one or more woodcut illustrations. The *King Henry the Second and the Miller of Mansfield* printed by Brown and Norris and sold by Bates is entirely in roman (and italic), but with no illustrations and no real stanza divisions beyond indented first lines. Most of the ballads printed by William Onley and sold by Bates are in black-letter, but an exception is *The Valorous Acts Performed at Gaunt by the Brave Bonny Lass Mary Ambree*, which boasts a military woodcut and white-letter text divided into quatrains, with plenty of white space, and with the title in a mixture of gothic, roman, and italic dominated by a line in large black-letter ('Valorous Acts performed at Gaunt').[42]

At least two ballads were published in black-letter and then in white-letter, both in landscape orientation with woodcut illustrations. *The Jolly Gentleman's Frolick* was issued in black-letter (with a lengthy title in roman and refrain lines in roman and italic) from the White Hart, and then again in white-letter (with italic refrains) from the Sun and Bible.[43] *The Low-Country Soldier* was issued both in black-letter (with

41 *The Rarest Ballad that Ever Was Seen, of the Blind Begger's Daughter of Bednal-Green* (London: printed by and for W. Onley; and are to be sold by C. Bates, at the sign of the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC T127464]; *The Woful Lamentation of Jane Shore* (printed by and for W. O.; and sold by C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R221306].

42 *The Valorous Acts Performed at Gaunt by the Brave Bonny Lass Mary Ambree* (London: printed by and for W. O.; and sold by C. Bates, in Pye [Corner]) [ESTC R185917].

43 *The Jolly Gentleman's Frolick; or, The City Ramble* (printed for C. Bates, at the White Hart, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R227227]; *The Jolly Gentleman's Frolick; or, The City*

proper names in roman) except for a white-letter 'Epilogue', and in white-letter (with italic proper names), from the Sun and Bible.[44] The title in both cases is in a mixture of gothic, roman, and italic dominated by a line in large black-letter ('The Low-Country Soldier'). These ballads seem to have been quite new when printed for Charles Bates (at least, there are no earlier records in ESTC). *The Jolly Gentleman's Frolick* recounts the comical adventure of young gallant in London, with a generic Restoration flavour to it, while *The Low-Country Soldier* is a fanciful begging song for an old soldier, which makes reference both to the Elizabethan commander Sir Francis Vere and to the siege of Buda which took place in 1686. Here at least, the readiest explanation for the typographical transition would be a simple chronological one, the printer(s) replacing black-letter type with roman.

IV

Turning to the subject matter, the black-letter ballads run a familiar gamut of themes: love and sex, in comic, tragic, and pastoral guises; various historical/legendary stories (David and Bathsheba, Queen Eleanor, Jane Shore, the Children in the Wood, the Blind Beggar's Daughter); King William's wars in Ireland and Europe; the death of Queen Mary; a satire against Scots pedlars; the 'last farewell' of the highwayman Claude Duval; anti-Catholic propaganda; one of Thomas D'Urfey's playhouse songs; female soldiers; the complaints of the poor. The subject matter of the two-column white-letter ballads includes: love and sex, again in comic, tragic, and pastoral guises; the 'last farewell' of Sir John Johnston; the funeral of the Duke of Grafton; the lamentation of 'Captain' James Whitney; the proclamation of Queen Anne; theatre songs; historical/legendary stories (the King and the Miller of Mansfield); the wars in Ireland and Europe; anti-Catholic propaganda; female soldiers; a number of 'answer' songs responding to songs already in print. The

Ramble (London: printed for C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Giltspur Street, near Pye[Corner]) [ESTC R179000].

44 *The Low-Country Soldier; or, His Humble Petition at his Return into England after his Bold Adventures in Bloody Battels* (printed for C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R233282]; *The Low-Country Soldier; or, His Humble Petition at his Return into England after his Bold Adventures in Bloody Battels* (printed C. Bates [*sic*], at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R235743].

political ballads supportive of the Protestant settlement are fairly evenly divided between black- and white-letter. In other words, the subject matter *per se* remains quite similar, regardless of typography.

Thematic continuity is exemplified by *The Unconstant Shepherd*, which was published several times: (*a*) in white-letter, in two columns in portrait orientation without either music notation or illustration, from next door to the Crown Tavern in 1690; (*b*) from the Sun and Bible in black-letter, in landscape orientation with woodcut illustrations, in two issues with different woodcuts (but not differentiated in ESTC); (*c*) by Sarah Bates at the Sun and Bible in white-letter, in landscape orientation, with different woodcuts which look surprisingly crude compared with those printed for her husband.[45] Charles Bates also published *An Answer to the Unconstant Shepherd* twice: (*a*) in black-letter, in landscape orientation with woodcut illustrations, from next door to the Crown Tavern; (*b*) in white-letter, in two columns in portrait orientation with (meaningless) music notation, again from next door to the Crown Tavern.[46] As a further example, Richard Rigbey's ballad of *The Shooe-maker's Triumph* survives in two issues printed in white-letter, in portrait orientation with (different) woodcuts, while another of his songs about shoemakers, *The Cobler's Corrant*, was printed in black-letter, in landscape orientation with woodcuts, and all were published from the Sun and Bible.[47] Rigbey (or Rigby) was an artisan poet responsible for

45 *The Unconstant Shepherd; or, The Forsaken Lasses Lamentation* (printed for Charles Bates, next door to the Crown Tavern, near Duck Lane end, in West Smithfield, 1690) [ESTC R234520]; *The Unconstant Shepherd; or, The Forsaken Lass's Lamentation* (London: printed for C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R185854, Glasgow University Library, Euing Ballads 365]; *The Unconstant Shepherd; or, The Forsaken Lass's Lamentation* (London: printed for C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner, near West Smithfield) [ESTC R185854, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Crawford.EB.933]; *The Unconstant Shepherd; or, The Forsaken Lasses Lamentation* (printed for S. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC T206951].

46 *An Answer to the Unconstant Shepherd; or, Fair Cynthia's Grief and Care Crowned with Joy and Happiness by her Lover's Return* (printed for Charles Bates, next to the Crown Tavern, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R170327]; *An Answer to the Unconstant Shepherd; or, Fair Cynthia's Grief and Care Crowned with Joy and Happiness by her Lover's Return* (printed for Charles Bates, next to the Crown Tavern, in West Smithfield) [ESTC T219525].

47 Richard Rigbey, *The Shooe-maker's Triumph, being a Song in Praise of the Gentle-Craft* (printed for C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R227583]; Richard Rigbey, *The Shooe-maker's Triumph, being a Song in Praise of the Gentle-Craft* (printed for Charles Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R234535]; Richard

a number of ballads, some of which were mildly political, published by different booksellers in both black- and white-letter.[48]

The subject categories outlined above are really quite imprecise, but if thematic distinctions were to be drawn between Bates's black- and white-letter ballads, they would be of three kinds: (*i*) the ballads of love in white-letter are more heavily weighted towards pastoral conventions, and some might reasonably classify as so-called 'Scotch songs' which became fashionable after the Restoration; (*ii*) rather more of the white-letter ballads originated in the theatre; (*iii*) rather more of the black-letter ballads, often on legendary/historical subjects, had been published previously in the seventeenth century and would be published again as 'old ballads' in roman type in the eighteenth century. Some of the familiar titles that fall within this last category would be *The Blind Begger's Daughter of Bednal-Green*, *David and Bersheba*, *The Fair Maid of Islington*, *The Gelding of the Devil*, *A Godly Warning for All Maidens*, *The Life and Death of Sir Andrew Barton*, *The Norfolk Gentleman's Last Will and Testament*, *Queen Eleanor's Confession*, *Robin Hood's Rescuing Will. Stutly*, and *The Woful Lamentation of Jane Shore*.

Equally, though, a title such as *Bonny Dundee*, which was probably not quite so old but would still turn up later in lists of 'old ballads', was printed in white-letter. Looking back from the present day, a number of the earliest identified versions of folk songs collected at a much later date have been attributed to Charles Bates, among them the following: *Devol's Last Farewel*, in landscape black-letter with woodcut illustrations ('The Flash Lad', Roud 30101);[49] *The Loyal Forrister; or, Royal Pastime* ('King William and the Keeper', Roud 853), in black-letter with woodcut illustration;[50] *The Noble Funeral of that Renowned Champion the Duke of*

Rigby, *The Cobler's Corrant; or, The Old Shooemaker Metamorphos'd* (London: printed for C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner, near West Smithfield) [ESTC R187232].

48 Angela McShane Jones, '"Rime and Reason": The Political World of the English Broadside Ballad, 1640–1689' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 2004), pp. 65–67.

49 *Devol's Last Farewel* (London: printed for C. Bates, in Pye Co[rner]) [ESTC N69453, London, British Library, C.40.m.9.(47.)]; *Devol's Last Farewel* (London: printed for C. Bates, in Pye Co[rner]) [ESTC N69453, Glasgow University Library, Euing Ballads 77]. On Claude Duval, highwayman, executed 1670, so it is likely there were earlier versions that have not survived.

50 *The Loyal Forrister; or, Royal Pastime* (printed for C. Bates, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R180199]. Exemplar at Glasgow University Library, Euing Ballads 156, cut up and

Grafton ('The Duke of Bedford', 'Six Dukes Went a-Fishing', Roud 78), in portrait white-letter with woodcut illustration;[51] *The Unkind Parents* ('The True Lover's Farewell', 'Ten Thousand Miles', 'The Turtle Dove', 'Fare Thee Well, My Dearest Dear', Roud 422), in portrait white-letter with (meaningless) music notation.[52]

V

One reason for the portrait orientation of white-letter ballads is that it was more amenable to the printing of music notation (contemporary song-sheets with engraved notation and text would also be in portrait orientation), although that can hardly be considered the only reason, given that there are examples without notation. It is well known that for a brief period towards the end of the seventeenth century some broadside ballads were printed with music notation, albeit the numbers were never large, but that in the majority of examples the music is meaningless. In the Pepys collection, for example, fewer than 10 per cent of the ballads have printed notation, and for more than 60 per cent of those that do, the music is meaningless, while some others have a tune that does not fit the words. The Pepys catalogue records eighty-five ballads with the name of Charles Bates in the imprint, of which thirty-four have printed music notation, which is meaningful in only nine instances, and in three of those the music does not fit the words. The music for these broadsides was printed from moveable type (most apparent from unevenness in the stave lines), and these sheets are quite distinct from song-sheets of much the same period with both notation and text printed from engraving on copper-plates, which would have been more expensive both to produce and to buy.

Claude Simpson postulated that the brief appearance of music notation on broadsides was driven by the increasing importance of

rearranged.

51 *The Noble Funeral of the Renowned Champion the Duke of Grafton* (printed for Charles Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Py Corner) [ESTC R235386]; *The Noble Funeral of that Renowned Champion the Duke of Grafton* ([printed for Charles Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Py Corner]) [ESTC R219024]. On Henry FitzRoy, 1st Duke of Grafton, illegitimate son of King Charles II, killed at the siege of Cork in 1690.

52 *The Unkind Parents; or, The Languishing Lamentation of Two Loyal Lovers* (printed for C. Bates, next the Crown Tavern, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R227522].

new stage songs and was intended to promote the ballads, perhaps by implying that they enjoyed the same sort of popularity.[53] Richard Luckett inferred that it reflected the emergence of a new and musically literate public, and marked the beginning of a cleavage between engraved song-sheets on the one hand and broadside ballads set with moveable type on the other.[54] There is likely to be something in both of these arguments, but they do not really explain why music was only occasionally included, or why (more often than not) it was meaningless. McShane suggests instead that it was a publishing experiment, designed to signal that these were things that could be sung when many sheets were being displayed together on a stall or outside a shop.[55]

Some playhouse songs will illustrate the difficulty of interpreting what exactly was going on here. 'Celia, that I once was blest' was sung in John Dryden's comedy *Amphitryon* (1690), at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, with music by Henry Purcell.[56] Bates issued the song on white-letter broadsides twice, under the title *Coy Celia's Cruelty; or, The Languishing Lovers Lamentation, being the Last New Play-Song Sung at the Theatre-Royal, in a New Play Called Amphitrion*, 'To an excellent new play-house tune'.[57] As printed, in the play the song has just three stanzas, but the broadsides each run to ten stanzas, with some minor textual variants, and are headed with different sets of meaningless notation which bear no resemblance to Purcell's tune. Much the same is found with another song from *Amphitryon*, 'For Iris I sigh and hourly dye', which was extended from two to eight stanzas and again issued twice on white-letter broadsides, with different but equally meaningless notation.[58] 'If love's a sweet passion' was sung in Elkanah Settle's

53 Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1966), p. xii.

54 Luckett, 'The Collection: Origins and History', p. xv.

55 McShane, 'Typography Matters', pp. 24–25.

56 [John] Dryden, *Amphitryon; or, The Two Socia's* […] *to which is added, the Musick of the Songs Compos'd by Mr. Henry Purcel* (London: printed for J. Tonson, at the Judge's Head, in Chancery Lane, near Fleet Street; and M. Tonson, at Gray's Inn Gate, in Gray's Inn Lane, 1690) [ESTC R16963].

57 *Coy Celia's Cruelty; or, The Languishing Lovers Lamentation* (printed for Charles Bates, next the Crown Tavern, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R176388]; *Coy Celia's Cruelty; or, The Languishing Lovers Lamentation* (printed for C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R171579]; Simpson, *British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, pp. 89–90.

58 *The Indifferent Lover; or, The Roving Batchelor* (printed for Ch. Bates, near Duck Lane end, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R234500]; *The Indifferent Lover; or, The Roving*

The Fairy-Queen (1692), performed at the Queen's Theatre in Dorset Garden, again with music by Purcell, which was published separately.[59] As printed, the stage song has two stanzas, but Bates published two white-letter broadside versions with text of seven stanzas, under the title *The Young Lover's Enquiry; or, The Batchelor's Question to Cupid*, 'To an excellent new ayre, sung at the play-house'.[60] One of these is headed with meaningless notation, but the other has the notation for Purcell's music. A sequel ballad, *An Answer to the Young Lover's Enquiry*, 'To an excellent new tune', was published with meaningless notation.[61]

These broadside versions look like opportunistic publications, rushed out in order to take advantage of the popularity of songs from the theatre. One wonders whether the sheets were actually sold in the vicinity of the playhouses? It would presumably have been fairly easy for a poet to expand upon the verses, but the music probably required the bookseller or printer to have access to a published copy, and if that was not available they had to make do with notation made up from pieces of type to hand in order to give the impression of a playhouse tune. Possibly, too, not all compositors were even capable of setting meaningful music. The Pepys catalogue records several instances where scraps of notation have been used more than once.

A handful of ballads were published both in black-letter with woodcuts and in white-letter with music notation. *An Answer to the Unconstant Shepherd*, *An Answer to Unconstant William*, *The Loyal Soldiers of Flanders*, and *The Merry Bag-pipes* were issued in both formats from next door to the Crown Tavern.[62] *Unconstant William* was issued in

Batchelor (printed for Ch. Bates, at the White Hart, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R227610]; Simpson, *British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, pp. 223–24.

59 *Some Select Songs as They Are Sung in the Fairy Queen, Set to Musick by Mr. Henry Purcell* (London: printed by J. Heptinstall; for the author; and are to be sold by John Carr, at the Inner Temple Gate, near Temple Barr; by Henry Playford, at his shop in the Temple; and at the Theatre, in Dorset Garden, 1692) [ESTC R183754].

60 *The Young Lovers Enquiry; or, The Batchelors Question to Cupid* (printed for C. Bates, next door to the Crown Tavern, near Duck Lane end, in West Smithfield, 1692) [ESTC R187781]; *The Young Lover's Enquiry; or, The Batchelor's Question to Cupid* (London: printed for C. Bates, at the White Heart [*sic*], in West Smithfield, near Pye Corner) [ESTC R187782]; Simpson, *British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, pp. 359–61.

61 *An Answer to the Young Lover's Enquiry* (printed for C. Bates, at the White Hart, in West Smithfield, near Pye Corner, 1693) [ESTC R172380].

62 *An Answer to the Unconstant Shepherd* (printed for Charles Bates, next to the Crown Tavern, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R170327]; *An Answer to the Unconstant Shepherd* (printed for Charles Bates, next to the Crown Tavern, in West Smithfield) [ESTC

white-letter with music from near Duck Lane end and in black-letter from the White Hart.[63] The tunes named are always the same in both versions, but for only one of these ballads is the notation actually meaningful — that is, 'March Boys', printed with *The Merry Bag-pipes*. This looks like more or less simultaneous marketing of these five ballads, presumably directed at different groups of potential purchasers in the manner suggested by McShane. While the printed music might have flattered those who thought themselves fashionably musically literate, in most cases the flattery would actually have been quite ironic. In any case, the experiment did not last more than a couple of decades, and during the eighteenth century (meaningful) notation was more typically to be found on engraved song sheets.

VI

Charles Bates ran the bookselling business for something like twenty-six years. Sarah Bates presumably took over on his death in 1716, and she is recorded as having taken on an apprentice in 1717.[64] She ran the business until at least 1735, which is the latest date at which her name is found in an imprint.[65] The modest estate she inherited left her little option but to continue in business.[66]

T219525]; *An Answer to Unconstant William; or, The Young-Man's Resolution to Pay the Young Lasses Home in their Own Coin* (printed for C. Bates, next door to the Crown Tavern, in West Smithfield) [ESTC T92374]; *An Answer to Unconstant William; or, The Young-Man's Resolution to Pay the Young Lasses Home in their Own Coin* (printed for C. Bates, next the Crown Tavern, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R170328]; *The Loyal Soldiers of Flanders* (printed for C. Bates, next the Crown Tavern, in West Smithfield) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Crawford.EB.106]; *The Loyal Soldiers of Flanders* (printed for Ch. Bates, next door to the Crown Tavern, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R180260]; *The Merry Bag-pipes* (printed for C. Bates, next door to the Crown Tavern, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R227298]; *The Merry Bag-pipes* (printed for C. Bates, next door to the Crown Tavern, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R234497].

63 *Unconstant William; or, The Damosels Resolution to Love Indifferently All Men Alike, from her Experience of his Disloyalty* (printed for C. Bates, at the White Hart, in West Smithfield) [ESTC T71269]; *Unconstant William; or, The Damosels Resolution to Love Indifferently All Men Alike, from her Experience of his Disloyalty* (printed for C. Bates, near Duck Lane end, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R185855].

64 *Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1701–1800*, p. 26 (no. 592).

65 *The New History of the Trojan Wars and Troy's Destruction* (London: printed for Sarah Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Giltspur Street; and James Hodges, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge, 1735) [ESTC T66387].

66 Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, pp. 89–90.

Sarah Bates sold ballads, eight- and 24-page chapbooks, and some longer books. By her time, everything was being printed in roman (and italic), with the occasional use of gothic for display purposes, and the experiment with music notation was in the past. There are fewer titles than from the Charles Bates period, which is in large part attributable to his activity having coincided with Samuel Pepys's period of ballad collecting. Imprints include titles printed by Thomas Norris at the Looking Glass on London Bridge, but the variable wording leaves room for uncertainty as to who actually covered the printing and paper costs (printed by Norris for S. Bates, printed by Norris and sold by S. Bates, printed by and for Norris and sold by S. Bates), albeit it is indicative of a close business relationship, probably much like that of Charles Bates and William Onley. Some longer books were published in collaboration with other booksellers, including Norris, Arthur Bettesworth, Hannah Tracy, Charles Hitch, John Osborn(e), James Hodges, Richard Ware, and Samuel Birt.

Some of the ballads published by Sarah Bates had previously been published by Charles Bates. Husband and wife both issued *Bonny Dundee* in white-letter, in portrait orientation, with the subtitle ('Jockey's Deliverance') in black-letter.[67] *The Merry Hay-makers* was published by Charles Bates in black-letter with four woodcuts, and then by Sarah Bates in white-letter, with two of the same woodcuts and two different ones.[68] *Queen Eleanor's Confession* survives in four different issues, three in black-letter and one in white-letter, from Charles Bates, with a single woodcut showing the two friars at the queen's bedside, followed by a Sarah Bates edition in white-letter with a good deal of italic, apart from the first line of the title ('Queen Eleanor's Confession') which is in

67 *Bonny Dundee; or, Jockey's Deliverance* (printed for Charles Bates, at the White Hart, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R176430]; *Bonny Dundee; or, Jockey's Deliverence* [*sic*] (printed for C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R171867]; *Bonny Dundee; or, Jockeys Deliverante* [*sic*] (printed for S. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Guiltspur Street) [ESTC T206291].

68 *The Merry Hay-makers; or, Pleasant Pastime between the Young Men and Maids in the Pleasant Meadows* (printed for C. B., in Pye Corner) [ESTC R180553]; *The Merry Hay-makers; or, Pleasant Pastime between the Young-Men and Maids in the Pleasant Meadows* (printed for S. Bates, in Guiltspur Street) [ESTC N69902].

black-letter, with the two friars woodcut as well as another, smaller one, apparently showing the queen poisoning Fair Rosamond.[69]

Sarah Bates also published some eight-page song chapbooks. As an example, *The Languishing Lady's Garland* took its title from the first song in the chapbook, which was one that Charles Bates had already published twice as a white-letter broadside with (meaningless) music notation.[70] She sold both *Chevy-Chase* and *A Godly Warning to All Maidens*, which Charles Bates had sold as black-letter broadsides, in 24-page chapbooks where the ballads are printed along with the corresponding prose stories.[71] There are also Sarah Bates ballads that had been printed in the previous century but that are not extant with a Charles Bates imprint. Examples include *Joyful News for Maids and Young Women*, *The Bloody Murther of Sir John Barley-corn*, and *Saint Bernard's Vision*. The Sarah Bates broadside of *Fair Margaret's Misfortune* is the earliest known version of the ballad later collected as 'Fair Margaret and Sweet William' (Roud

69 [*Queen Eleanor's Confession*] (printed for C. Bates, at the White Hart, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R227376]; *Queen Eleanor's Confession* (Londou [*sic*]: printed for C. Bates, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R221280, London, British Library, C.40.m.9.(33.)]; *Queen Eleanor's Confession* (London: printed for C. Bates, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R221280, Glasgow University Library, Euing Ballads 291]; *Queen Eleanor's Confession* (London: printed for C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Giltspur Street, near Pye Corner) [ESTC R236038]; *Queen Eleanor's Confession* (London: printed for S. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Giltspur Street, near Pye Corner) [ESTC T206809].

70 *The Languishing Lady; or, The False-Hearted Lovers Unspeakable Cruelty* (printed for C. Bates, next the Crown Tavern, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R234515]; *The Languishing Lady; or, The False-Hearted Lovers Unspeakable Cruelty* (printed for Charles Bates, next door to the Crown Tavern, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R227617]; *The Languishing Lady's Garland, containing Four Excellent New Songs: I. The Languishing Lady; or, The False-Hearted Lover's Unspeakable Cruelty; II. An Answer to the Languishing Lady; or, The False Hearted Lover Turn'd Loyal; III. The Happy Pair; or, The Loving Shepherd and Shepherdess; IV. The Bath Toast* (printed for S. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Giltspur Street) [ESTC T491830].

71 *An Unhappy Memorable Song of the Hunting in Chevy-Chase* (London: printed by and for W. Onley; and are to be sold by C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC N69452]; *The Famous and Renowned History of the Memorable but Unhappy Hunting on Chevy-Chase* (London: printed by Tho. Norris, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge; and sold by S. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Giltspur Street) [ESTC T203263]; *A Godly Warning for All Maidens, by the Example of God's Judgement Shewed on Jerman's Wife* (London: printed by and for W. O.; and are to be sold by C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [ESTC R177460]; *Bateman's Tragedy; or, The Perjur'd Bride Justly Rewarded* (London: printed by Tho. Norris, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge; and sold by S. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Giltspur Street) [ESTC T67470].

253).[72] An eight-page chapbook with the title *The Female Sailor's Garland* is the earliest known version of 'William Taylor' (Roud 158).[73]

The 24-page chapbooks are either three-sheet quartos, typically the format for older titles (*Bateman's Tragedy*, *Hercules of Greece*, *Chevy-Chase*, *Valentine and Orson*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Essex*), or 1½-sheet octavos (*Canterbury Tales* by Chaucer Junior, *The Comical Cheats of Swalpo*, *Fair Rosamond of Scotland*, *The Merry Piper*, *The Frolicksome Courtier and Jovial Tinker*, *The Tryal of Wit*). Where the Charles Bates 24-page *Valentine and Orson* and *Guy of Warwick* are in black-letter, the Sarah Bates equivalents are in white-letter, but both of them sold *Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Essex* in white-letter. *Bateman's Tragedy* and *Chevy-Chase* correspond with titles listed in the Brown and Norris Stationers' Register entry of 1712 (as do the ballads *Sir John Barley-corn* and *Saint Bernard's Vision*). Again, the business relationships and possible ownership of titles remain equivocal, although the presence of an advertisement page — at the end of the *Chevy-Chase* chapbook printed by Thomas Norris and sold by Sarah Bates — for books printed by Norris suggests he may have been the dominant partner.

As an example of the longer works, *A New Academy of Complements*, a miscellaneous etiquette book which strays into humorous dialogue and songs and dances, survives as a fourth edition printed for Charles Bates and Arthur Bettesworth (1715), ninth and tenth editions printed for Sarah Bates and Arthur Bettesworth (1727, 1731), and an eleventh edition printed for Arthur Bettesworth, Charles Hitch, James Hodges, and Sarah Bates (1734), all in white-letter but with black-letter in the running-heads.[74] The edition and licensing statements were in black-

72 *Fair Margaret's Misfortune; or, Sweet William's Frightful Dreams on his Wedding Night* (printed for S. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Giltspur Street) [ESTC N69850].

73 *The Female Sailor's Garland* (printed for S. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Pye Corner) [Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce PP 183 (20)]. The 'S.' in the imprint is far from clear, but looks more like an 'S.' than a 'C.'. The Bodleian Library catalogue does not record publication details for this and other items bound together under this shelfmark, and neither are they listed in ESTC, which is a salutary reminder of the uncertainties involved in studying this kind of cheap print.

74 *A New Academy of Complements; or, The Lover's Secratary* [*sic*], 4th edn (London: printed for C. Bates, in Giltspur Street; and A. Bettesworth, on London Bridge, 1715) [ESTC T86876]; *A New Academy of Complements; or, The Lover's Secretary*, 9th edn (London: printed for S. Bates, in Giltspur Street; and A. Bettesworth, in Paternoster Row, 1727) [ESTC T199982]; *A New Academy of Complements; or, The Lover's Secretary*,

letter in 1715 but subsequently in roman and italics. The pattern right across the Bates family business is quite consistent with a gradual and essentially pragmatic transition to roman type.

VII

A good number of the Charles and Sarah Bates publications were 'licensed according to order' or 'licensed and entered according to order'. Strictly speaking, these were two different things. The requirement for the licensing of printed works by a state official dated back to Tudor times and was intended to prevent the publication of seditious or otherwise offensive matter. It was written into the post-Restoration Printing Act of 1662, which lapsed in 1679 and was not renewed until 1685, after which it remained in place until efforts either to renew it or to replace it with something else failed in 1695. Although technically applicable to every printed work, in practice licensing was not rigorously enforced and could be ignored by publishers of non-contentious works. While failure to license a work could be used as a convenient means of prosecuting a publication deemed offensive, the law of seditious libel was increasingly used for such purposes after 1695.

Separately, it was also required under the act that a title should be entered in the Register of the Company of Stationers before it could be printed. Entry in the Register would confer the right of ownership in a title. Large entries of ballad titles in 1624, 1629, 1656, 1675, and 1712 can be presumed to have been concerned with the transfer and maintenance of printing rights from one generation to the next. Nevertheless, numbers of titles were never entered at all. Entry incurred a cost for the bookseller, and the decision whether or not to enter a particular title was presumably a function of its perceived commercial value and of the perceived authority of the Company of Stationers.

10th edn (London: printed for S. Bates, in Giltspur Street; and A. Bettesworth, in Paternoster Row, 1731) [ESTC T206486]; *A New Academy of Complements; or, The Lover's Secretary*, 11th edn (London: printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, in Paternoster Row; J. Hodges, at London Bridge; and S. Bates, in Giltspur Street, 1734) [ESTC T131313].

I have not found any titles entered in the Stationers' Register under the names of Charles or Sarah Bates. Neither is there any reason to think that any of their titles would have fallen foul of the authorities. In so far as any of them can be considered political, they were very much in a support of the monarchy and the Protestant settlement. Accordingly, the licensing statements found with nearly half of the Charles Bates titles — and a slightly smaller proportion of the Sarah Bates titles — require some explanation.

The phenomenon is not unique to this firm, and 'licensed and entered according to order' continues to appear with some street literature titles right up to the end of the eighteenth century, so it is a much larger question than can be addressed here, and one to which scholars have not been able to provide an entirely satisfactory answer. There are clues, though, from the activities of the ardent royalist Roger L'Estrange, who as Surveyor of the Press was the official responsible for licensing between 1662 and 1679, and in some degree continued his work up until 1688.[75] There are many ballads and other publications, many of them quite innocuous, with wording to indicated that they had been licensed, or 'allowed', by L'Estrange. Later, John Dunton wrote that he would provide 'a brief Character of all the Licensers, for (if the *ACT FOR PRINTING* passes) those Men will be courted afresh, and are so necessary a part of the *Stationers Company*, that no Book can be Printed, but with their *Imprimatur*'.[76] This must have been written while efforts were still under way to renew the Printing Act after 1695, and when there was still a strong sense of uncertainty hanging over the book trade.[77] So, it is not unlikely that there was a wariness that prompted booksellers like Charles and Sarah Bates to continue to advertise the legitimacy of their wares even after 1695.

Most of their ballads cannot be dated precisely, but a good example would be one on the Duke of Marlborough's victory at Ramillies in 1706,

75 John Feather, 'Controlling the Press in Restoration England', *Publishing History*, 74 (2014), 7–48; Harold Love, 'L'Estrange, Sir Roger (1616–1704)', *ODNB* https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16514.

76 *The Life and Errors of John Dunton, Late Citizen of London* (London: printed for S. Malthus, 1705), p. 346 [ESTC T75140].

77 George Kitchin, *Sir Roger L'Estrange: A Contribution to the History of the Press in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1913), p. 427, gives this reason for the deferential tone of Dunton's remarks on the licensers ('no man could tell when their services might be again requisitioned').

'licensed according to order'.[78] Among the longer works, the editions of *A New Academy of Complements* from 1715 up to 1734 (mentioned above) all carry a licensing statement. Another form of permission statement is 'This may be printed, R. P.', which is found with two Charles Bates ballads, *The Hackney Damsells Pastime* and *The Mistaken Lover*, but was commonly used elsewhere (with ballads printed for James Bissel, for example).[79] The 'R. P.' stands for Richard Pocock, one of the successors to Roger L'Estrange, who was licenser *c*.1685–89, but remains an elusive figure. That was before Charles Bates was freed from his apprenticeship in July 1690, but *The Mistaken Lover* had previously been printed for Charles Dennisson (whose datable works fall within the 1685–89 period), and it carries the same statement that it had been authorized by Pocock.[80] Possibly Charles Bates, or his printer, simply followed the wording of the earlier edition, but when Sarah Bates came to publish the same ballad the licensing statement had been dropped.[81]

The presence of licensing statements after 1695 is inconsistent and potentially confusing, and they certainly cannot be used as evidence to date particular publications. It is probably unsurprising that they continued to appear for a time after the lapse of the Printing Act given the uncertainty about what, if anything, might replace it, and arguably the uncertainty persisted until the introduction of the 1710 copyright act. It is, however, less easy to explain why Sarah Bates (and others) continued to use wording such as 'licensed according to order'. One possibility is that there was simply a significant element of print trade tradition, and even direct copying, involved in the practice.

78 *The Paris Gazeteer; or, A Dialogue between the English and Paris Gazette* (printed for C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Guiltspur Street) [ESTC N11028].

79 *The Hackney Damsells Pastime; or, A Summer Evening Frollick* (printed for Charles Bates, at the White Hart, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R227541]; *The Mistaken Lover; or, The Supposed Ungreatful* [*sic*] *Creature Appears a True Pattern of Loyalty* (printed for C. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Guiltspur Street) [ESTC T206444, Cambridge University Library, Madden Ballads 2.552].

80 *The Mistaken Lover; or, The Supposed Ungrateful Creature Appears a True Pattern of Loyalty* (printed for C. Dennisson, at the Stationers' Arms, within Aldgate) [ESTC R227306].

81 *The Mistaken Lover; or, The Supposed Ungrateful Creature Appears a True Pattern of Loyalty* (printed for S. Bates, at the Sun and Bible, in Guiltspur Street) [Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce Ballads 2(146b)].

VIII

While the ability to draw general conclusions is restricted by the concentration here on a single firm of booksellers, it does invite a balancing of details across their output, and in particular it sets the typography of ballads alongside that of eight- and 24-page chapbooks. Both were staples of the street literature trade, and Margaret Spufford inferred that chapbooks were actually more important to the booksellers than ballads, the evidence skewed by the interests of collectors and later scholars.[82] Be that as it may, it is difficult to make a comprehensive argument from the Charles and Sarah Bates corpus that black-letter represented either conscious cultural conservatism or typographical nostalgia, or that ballads in white-letter were perceived as being especially modern or politically engaged. If older titles were marginally more likely to be in black-letter, that can be attributed to print trade precedent and itself helps trace the transition in progress. Whichever was the predominant typeface, different fonts were still being employed to distinguish or enhance certain textual elements in the early decades of the eighteenth century. By the 1690s, longer works were more likely to be set in roman type, and by the time Sarah Bates took over the business in 1716 all of the printing was in roman and italic, but still with the occasional paratextual use of black-letter for display elements in titles, licensing statements, running-heads, refrains, and so forth. The transition to white-letter did accord with wider developments in the visual aesthetics of print, but the most straightforward explanation is the replacement of one set of fonts with another over time.

82 Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, pp. 99–100.

3. Pictures on the Street: Cheap Pictorial Prints in Eighteenth-Century Britain

Sheila O'Connell

What printed images were to be seen on British streets in the eighteenth century?[1] Before discussing the market for — and publication of — cheap pictorial prints, it is worth paying some attention to the range of small printed images that would have been familiar to people at all levels of society in towns and (to a lesser extent) in rural areas. In Britain, where literacy was relatively high compared with other European countries, such images usually accompanied text of some sort. We know that illustrated ballads, discussed in other essays in this volume, were sold on the streets from the early days of printing.[2] Many other printed images appeared as part of advertising material of one kind or another.

Handbills, known as trade cards, were produced by traders of many kinds to be given out to potential customers in the streets. Poorer people would not have been the target for such prints, but they would certainly have come across them and perhaps even have been paid small sums to distribute them, just as their descendants today press advertisements

1 This chapter has allowed me to revisit my work of more than twenty years ago on cheap prints in England, in Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England, 1550–1850* (London: British Museum Press, 1999), and to incorporate some of my own further thoughts as well as research in the field by others — in particular, David Stoker's important study of the Dicey/Marshall publications (n. 16 below). I have also taken the opportunity to refer to cheap prints acquired by the British Museum since 1999.

2 Marcellus Laroon's *A Merry New Song* (1689) is one of the best-known early images of a street vendor of illustrated ballads.

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on passers-by in busy shopping streets. Most trade cards advertised expensive goods and services, but the occasional example might have been of practical use to someone needing to earn a living. For example, Mark Gregory (1698–1736), at the sign of the Raven and Sun in Drury Lane — never a prosperous street — advertised that he sold the sorts of materials that a poor seamstress would use: 'several Sorts of Haberdashery Ware [...] Wholesale and Retail, very cheap for ready Money' (Fig. 3.1).

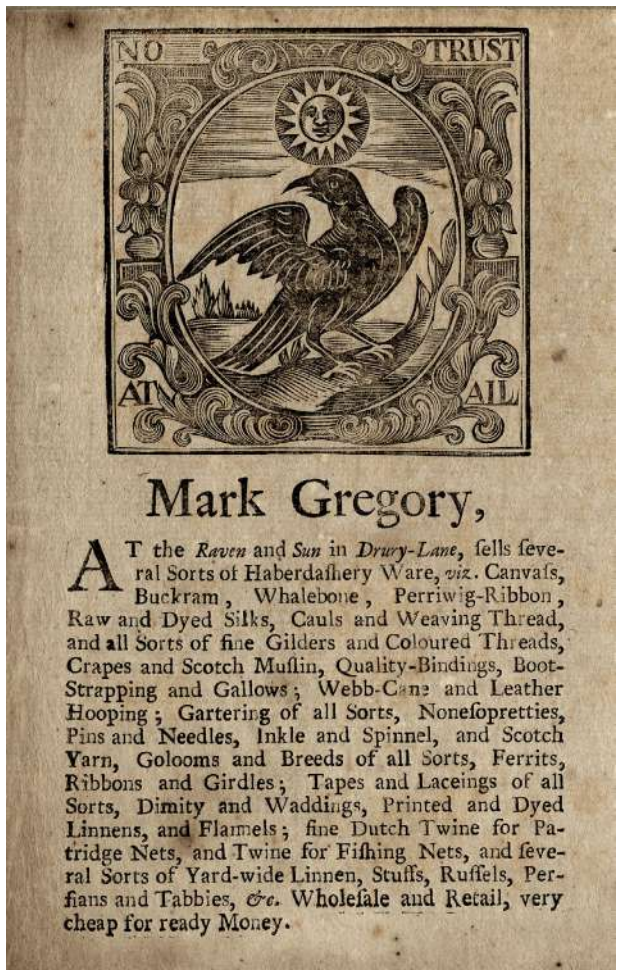

Fig. 3.1. Trade card of Mark Gregory. British Museum, Heal, 70.67. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence.

Tobacconists' advertisements appeared on the twists of paper in which tobacco was sold to smokers. Like trade cards, these showed shop signs (an essential indication of a trading address before street numbering was introduced in the 1760s) and were often illustrated with scenes of black or Native American workers in the tobacco fields, or else smokers relaxing with pipes (Fig. 3.2). The smokers shown were well-dressed men lounging elegantly, but tobacco was used by the poor as well as the rich. Many views of humble working people, or even beggars, show both men and women with pipes in their mouths.[3] Tobacco wrappers would have been commonplace, so much so that in the 1790s members of the Association for Preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers complained of radical propaganda printed on such wrappers.[4]

Fig. 3.2. Tobacconist's advertisement. British Museum, 2006 U 390. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence.

Bellmen (night-watchmen) and lamplighters, surely to be identified among the poorer eighteenth-century workers, distributed prints on their own behalf when appealing to wealthy local residents for Christmas and

3 Examples are Thomas Bewick's endpieces at London, British Museum, 1860,0811.181, 1860,0811.246, 1860,0811.277, 1860,0811.331.

4 London, British Library, Add. MS 16922.

New Year gifts.[5] These sheets were fairly large, measuring about 50 × 35 cm, usually with a relevant woodcut of a man with lantern, dog, and bell, or of a lamplighter climbing a ladder to fill the street lamps with oil, but other illustrations might be from old woodblocks used more or less as decoration. The same sheets would be sold to bellmen or lamplighters by publishers, with little variation year after year. Thomas Sabine, for example, used the same woodblock showing a lamplighter falling from his ladder on at least two different sheets (Fig. 3.3).[6]

Fig. 3.3. Lamplighter's sheet printed and sold by T. Sabine. British Museum, Heal,76.19. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence.

5 David Atkinson, 'Bellman's Sheets – Between Street Literature and Ephemera', in *Transient Print: Essays in the History of Printed Ephemera*, ed. Lisa Peters and Elaine Jackson (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2023), pp. 107–29.

6 London, British Museum, 1872,0608.545, Heal,76.19.

Tickets for exhibitions of extraordinary people or exotic animals usually cost 1*s*., a high price at a time when a poor family was expected to be able to live on 5*s*. per week, but perhaps someone a little further up the social scale might be tempted by a ticket showing an unknown creature brought from across the world, an extraordinarily tall or fat person, or a curiosity such as a 'Learned Goose' which could read letters printed on cards.[7] One surviving handbill, which at first glance seems to be a ticket for such an exhibition, must actually have been sold in the street by the man portrayed, Peter Bono, 'The Surprizing Dwarf'. Bono's handbill shows a woodcut of a small man dressed in loose trousers and wielding a curved sword, and the text states that he has been in England since 1780 and is now offering 'this little Present of my Picture [...] Price a Half-penny to working People, to Gentlemen what they please' (Fig. 3.4).

Fig. 3.4. Peter Bono, 'The Surprizing Dwarf'. British Museum, 1914,0520.661, from the collection of Joseph Banks. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence.

7 Mr Becket, trunk-maker, at No. 31, Haymarket, exhibited a number of curiosities in the 1780s. Tickets collected by Sarah Sophia Banks are at London, British Library, L.R.301.h.5. Her brother, the eminent naturalist Joseph Banks, owned similar tickets now in London, British Museum (nos. beginning 1914,0520).

Other 'shows' where cheap printed images were available were public executions, at which vendors sold the 'last dying words' of condemned felons. Early examples were pious texts with only simple emblematic illustrations, published by the prison chaplain, but by the end of the eighteenth century commercial publishers issued sheets illustrated with woodcuts showing an execution with its crowd of onlookers. The composition often repeated the view of William Hogarth's *Idle 'Prentice* approaching the 'triple tree' at Tyburn (1747), with the last words of Thomas Idle being sold by a young mother in the foreground of the scene. In Hogarth's *Marriage A-la-Mode* (1745) the unfortunate bride dies with a broadside of her lover's dying words at her feet.

As always, there was a wide eighteenth-century market for images of crime and criminals. On 18 October 1750 Horace Walpole wrote to his friend Horace Mann in Florence: 'You can't conceive the ridiculous rage there is of going to Newgate; and the prints that are published of the malefactors, and the memoirs of their lives and deaths set forth.'[8] Walpole himself had bought Hogarth's small painting of the murderess Sarah Malcolm.[9] Notorious cases like Malcolm's — she had murdered and robbed an old lady and her two servants in 1733 — were exploited by publishers to sell prints. Most would have been run-of-the-mill 6*d*. prints, but there are cheaper examples, like a 3*d*. print of James Hall — a servant who killed his master in 1741 — shown seated in his cell in an improbably elegant pose (Fig. 3.5). A cheap print like this might well have been sold opportunistically at Hall's execution.[10] This image and other cheap prints of eighteenth-century convicts, as well as other 'curious persons', have survived thanks to the enthusiasm of collectors of the period for portraits of all sorts.

Hogarth was a highly successful artist catering to the top of the market, but his subjects often reflect street life. Another of his paintings, *The March of the Guards to Finchley* (1750), and the print made after it, show that cheap pictorial prints with little or no text were sold on the

8 W. S. Lewis (ed.), *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 20 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 199.

9 Edinburgh, Scottish National Gallery, NG 838.

10 Hall was hanged at the end of Catherine Street, The Strand, London, on 14 September 1741. For the prison chaplain's account, see *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, OA17410914.

streets of Britain by the middle of the eighteenth century. Similar prints could be purchased in the Roman Catholic countries of Europe at a much earlier date. For example, an Italian street vendor of large religious images is depicted in the series *L'Arti per via* ('Trades of the Street', 1660) by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli after designs by Annibale Carracci.[11]

Fig. 3.5. *The True Effigies of James Hall*, price 3*d*. British Museum, 1851,0308.338. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence.

Large prints of popular subjects were certainly published in Britain at that time, but they do not seem to have been sold at prices that poorer people could afford before the eighteenth century. In Britain, moreover, the 'papist' images that found purchasers in the Italian streets were frowned upon, and patriotic and military subjects were more likely to be seen. There are examples of cheap prints relating to Queen Anne in the

11 London, British Museum, 1850,0713.177.

British Museum, such as a crudely etched and badly printed large print (measuring about 40 × 52 cm) showing the procession to her coronation in 1702, published by John Overton (see below), and a broadside of 1714 (measuring about 33 × 20 cm) published by Robert Newcomb of Fleet Street, with a crude woodcut illustrating text celebrating her reign and lamenting her death.[12]

Some three decades later, as soldiers march off to defend London against the Jacobite threat, Hogarth's painting has a pregnant street-crier selling a sheet with the national anthem and a print, which appears to measure about 30 × 15 cm, showing a portrait of the commander-in-chief, Prince William, Duke of Cumberland. Another military leader, General William Howe, then leading British forces in the American War, appears in a large print being sold in the street by an elderly 'pinner-up' in a painting by Henry Walton, *A Girl Buying a Ballad* (1778).[13] Although neither painting can be taken as definitive evidence for specific cheap prints on sale in the street, it is clear that large pictorial prints were widely available at low prices in the second half of the century.

Such prints have rarely survived, however. While trade cards, ballads, and cheap portraits of the period have all been preserved in large enough numbers to allow for an understanding of their production and purpose, there are no major collections of cheap pictorial prints.[14] Nevertheless, huge numbers were made and sold. Evidence of their popularity is to be found in the *Memoir* of Thomas Bewick, writing in the 1820s about his Northumbrian childhood sixty years earlier, who recalled:

12 London, British Museum, Y,1.139, 1882,0812.459.

13 London, Tate Gallery, T07594; reproduced as *The Young Maid & the Old Sailor* in a stipple engraving by Francesco Bartolozzi, published by Robert Wilkinson, 1785 (London, British Museum, 1868,0808.2890), and as *The Pretty Maid Buying a Lovesong*, a mezzotint by John Raphael Smith, published by Carington Bowles, 1780 (London, British Museum, 1874,1010.22, 1935,0522.2.74). Part of a print of General Howe's brother, Admiral Richard Howe, can also be seen in the painting.

14 Trade cards have been collected both for their attractive designs and as sources of information about small-scale manufacturing and business practices. There are important collections in the British Museum (largely two groups assembled by Sarah Sophia Banks (1744–1818) and Ambrose Heal (1872–1959)), the Bodleian Library's John Johnson collection, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Portrait print collections in the British Museum and the National Portrait Gallery include examples of eighteenth-century cheap prints.

[…] the large blocks, with the prints from them, so common to be seen, when I was a boy, in every Cottage & farm house throughout the whole country — these blocks, I suppose must, from their size, have been cut the plank way on beech or some other kind of close grained wood, & must also, from the immense number of impressions from them, so cheaply & extensively spread, over the whole country, must have given employment to a great number of Artists in this inferiour department of Wood cutting, and must also have formed to them an important article of traffic — these prints, which were sold at a very low price, were commonly illustrative of some memorable exploits — or perhaps the portraits of emminent Men who had distinguished themselves in the service of their country, or in their patriotic exertions to serve mankind — besides, these, there were a great variety of other designs, often with songs added to them, of a moral, a patriotic or a rural tendency which served to enliven the circle in which they were admired — To enumerate the great variety of these *pictures* would be a task — A constant one in every house, was 'king Charles's twelve good rules' — representations of remarkable victories at Sea, and battles on land, often accompanied with portraits of those who commanded & others who had born a conspicuous part in those contests with the enemy. — The House in Ovingham, where our dinner poke was taken care of, when at school, was hung round with views or representations of the battles of Zondorf & several others — the portraits of Tom Brown the valiant Granadier — Admiral Haddock Admiral Benbow and other portraits of Admirals — A figure or representation of the Victory man-of-War of 100 Guns, commanded by Admiral Sir John Balchen, & fully manned with 1100 picked Seamen & volunteers, all of whom & this uncommonly fine Ship were lost — *sunk to the bottom of the Sea* — this was accompanied with a poetical lament of the catastrophe […] Some of the Portraits I recollect, were now & then to be met with, which were very well done in this way, on Wood — in [Bewick's schoolmaster] Mr Gregson's kitchen one of this character hung against the wall many years, it was a remarkably good likeness of Captn Coram — In cottages every where were to be seen, the sailor's farewell & his happy return — youthfull sports, & the feats of Manhood — the bold Archers shooting at a mark — the four Seasons &c — some subjects were of a funny & others of a grave character — I think the last portraits I remember of, were those of some of the Rebel Lords & 'Duke Willy' [Cumberland] — these kind of Wood Cut pictures are long since quite gone-out of fashion.[15]

15 *A Memoir of Thomas Bewick, Written by Himself*, ed. Iain Bain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 192–93 (punctuation and spelling as transcribed in Bain's edition). For identifications of the subjects described by Bewick, see O'Connell, *Popular Print*, p. 88 and figs 4.19 and 4.20. Bewick's own copy of King

This valuable account tells us not only about the subjects and techniques of these cheap prints, but also where they were displayed — on cottage and farmhouse walls and in schoolrooms — and thus that they would have been purchased by schoolteachers, cottagers, farmers, and, by extension, their urban equivalents, small tradesmen and their families.

It is clear that the print-makers were largely unknown, even to someone like Bewick at the heart of the print trade, but while those who cut the woodblocks have almost all been forgotten, the publishers responsible for commissioning, printing, advertising, and distributing these prints throughout the country and beyond are known, and some of them became wealthy from selling large numbers of prints at low prices. The leading publishers of cheap prints from the 1730s to the early nineteenth century were the Dicey and the Marshall families in Bow Churchyard and Aldermary Churchyard in the City of London. David Stoker's study of these closely related businesses reveals the impressive scale of their activity as publishers of ballads, chapbooks, prints, maps, and other cheap printed material.[16] In 1736 William Dicey took over the business in Bow Churchyard that had been started by his brother-in-law, John Cluer, at the beginning of the century. William's son, Cluer Dicey, took responsibility in 1740. By 1755 the Diceys were running a second press in Aldermary Churchyard with Richard Marshall. The Bow Churchyard press ceased publishing a few years later. Marshall seems to have taken over at Aldermary Churchyard on his own in 1770, his son John Marshall succeeding him in 1779, at first in partnership with other members of the family and then from 1789 as sole proprietor.

Two surviving catalogues — the William and Cluer Dicey catalogue of 1754, and the Cluer Dicey and Richard Marshall catalogue of 1764 — provide a large amount of information about their stock, at least at those two dates. They list, respectively, 278 and 333 'wood royals' — that is, pictorial prints measuring about 50 × 40 cm, each of which would have yielded thousands of impressions.[17] The wholesale

Charles's 'twelve good rules' survives in a private collection in London and is promised to Bewick's birthplace at Cherryburn (National Trust).

16 David Stoker, 'Another Look at the Dicey-Marshall Publications, 1736–1806', *The Library*, 7th ser., 15 (2014), 111–57.

17 Sizes given in the catalogues refer to the sheet rather than the print itself, which would be several centimetres smaller. Prints were often printed two to a sheet.

price was 1*s*. 2*d*. per quire (twenty-four sheets) — that is, a little more than ½*d*. each, which suggests that they would probably retail at 1*d*. plain, and 2*d*. if coloured (although colourists were paid very little, their work usually doubled the retail price of a print). Subjects ranged from the religious and conventionally moralistic through to the patriotic and the mildly titillating. Among those in the 1764 catalogue that have been identified are *The Lord's Supper* (no. 22),[18] *The Broad and Narrow Way to Heaven and Hell; or, St. Bernard's Vision* (no. 48),[19] *The Happy Marriage* (no. 144),[20] *The Prodigal Sifted* (no. 149),[21] *King Charles the First on Horseback* (no. 253),[22] and *Fanny Murray* (no. 287).[23]

Another important publishing business selling prints of the middle and cheaper ranges was set up by John Overton at the White Horse without Newgate, half a mile west of Bow Churchyard, shortly after the Great Fire. His son Henry Overton (1676–1751) continued at the same address and left a fortune of £10,000, demonstrating just how lucrative was the trade in selling cheap prints. A second Henry Overton (*d*. *c*.1764) took over the business on the death of his uncle and in 1754 issued a 79-page catalogue that included 200 'Cheap prints, each printed on a sheet of royal paper', among which were *Thomas Brown, the Valiant Trooper* and *William, Duke of Cumberland*. Two years later he published a short list of coloured 'wood prints'.[24] These prints were not designed for collectors, but one of Overton's publications — a large stencil-coloured woodcut illustrating *A Prospect of the Glorious Action at Dettingen*, 'Coloured and Sold at the White Horse, without Newgate', published around 1744 — has survived by chance because it was at some point

18 London, British Museum, 1858,1209.1.
19 London, British Museum, 1858,1209.2.
20 London, British Museum, 1872,1214.383; London, Victoria & Albert Museum, E.300-1986 (a coloured version).
21 London, British Museum, 1858,1209.5.
22 London, British Museum, 1862,1008.205.
23 London, British Library, HS.74/1659. See O'Connell, *Popular Print,* p. 59 fig. 3.15. Woodcuts published by Dicey/Marshall in the British Museum collection are reproduced in that book and in the British Museum database https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection.
24 Two-page 'Catalogue of Wood Prints […] Colour'd and Sold by Henry Overton', appended to Charles Snell, *The Standard Rules of the Round Text Hands* (1756); recorded in A. Griffiths, 'A Checklist of Catalogues of British Print Publishers, *c*.1650–1830', *Print Quarterly*, 1.1 (1984), 4–22.

pasted on to a backing sheet and then used as a wrapper for a parcel addressed to 'Mr Csernatoni, 8 Buckingham Street, Strand'.[25]

It seems, to judge from the few surviving prints and from Bewick's *Memoir*, that large woodcuts enjoyed a period of particular popularity in the middle of the century. Many relate to contemporary events. The military subjects noted above chiefly concern the conflicts of the 1740s: the War of the Austrian Succession and the Jacobite Rebellion. These woodcuts would have been time-consuming, and therefore relatively expensive, to produce, and publishers must have been sure of a large market before commissioning them. A simple etching could be made more quickly of a subject that would only have short-term interest, and the copper-plate could be used again for another print.

Sometimes, however, publishers must have believed that large numbers of prints would sell and that it was worthwhile to have a woodblock cut. Royal scandals always sell. An example that was clearly seen as marketable was *John of Gaunt in Love*, satirizing the Duke of Cumberland's infatuation in 1749 with a street musician, a Savoyard hurdy-gurdy player.[26] The woodcut copies a 6*d*. etching in which the enormously fat duke is shown on his knees begging the young woman to come with him to Windsor. Neither the name of the print-maker nor the publisher appears on the prints. It was dangerous to mock the royal family and several print sellers were arrested for selling prints of Cumberland and the Savoyard girl.

Better-known examples of woodcuts based on etchings are two royal-sized prints of 1751 by J. Bell after Hogarth's *Third Stage of Cruelty* and *Cruelty in Perfection*.[27] Bell was a highly skilled craftsman who, unusually, signed his work.[28] No impressions of woodcuts of the first two subjects in Hogarth's series are known, and it seems likely that they were never made — perhaps because their publication was not considered financially viable. For the Diceys, Marshalls, and other large-scale publishers, however, it was worthwhile to produce prints

25 London, British Museum, 1998,1108.63.

26 London, British Museum, J,1.63, 1868,0808.12399. For a full account of the scandal, see Elizabeth Einberg, *William Hogarth: A Complete Catalogue of his Paintings* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2016), pp. 301–03.

27 London, British Museum, 1860,0728.63, Cc,2.169, Cc,2.171.

28 For other examples of Bell's woodcuts, see O'Connell, *Popular Print*, p. 65.

in a number of versions, sizes, and price ranges. They would have had craftsmen at hand who could quickly produce simple prints using different techniques, and they would have had a number of presses on their premises for printing either relief or intaglio prints. William and Cluer Dicey's trade card shows images of two types of press.[29]

Some subjects were so successful that they appeared over long periods of time in many versions, both cheap and more expensive. *Keep within Compass* — a moralizing image showing a respectable young man or woman standing beneath a pair of compasses, beyond which are mottoes or vignettes warning of the fates of young people who succumb to excesses — was familiar from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century.[30] The Birmingham artist Samuel Lines remembered that in the 1780s the image was 'a great favourite, and frequently to be seen on the walls of farm-houses and cottages'.[31] Examples of the subject in the British Museum include a small print of around 15 × 10 cm, still in a cheap eighteenth-century frame; mezzotints measuring 35 × 25 cm published by Carington Bowles about 1785 at 1*s*. plain and 2*s*. coloured; reissues of the same prints from the 1790s or early nineteenth century by Bowles and Carver; a smaller mezzotint published by Carington Bowles about 1785; and a version of about 1820 published by William Darton.[32]

The Tree of Life is a similar updating of an earlier emblematic image for an eighteenth-century audience. The representation of Christ crucified on a tree at the beginning of the road that leads to the heavenly city had appeared in many contexts for over a century, but around 1760 a street scene appears in front of the tree. Men and women are drinking together and indulging in 'Chambering & Wantonness', ignoring both the mouth of hell to one side and the preachers — in some versions identifiable as John Wesley and George Whitefield — who urge them to turn towards Christ.[33] The first version seems to have been published by Thomas Kitchin, best known as a cartographer, as a fine royal-sized etching. The figure of Christ is added to the tree in a version that, to

29 London, British Museum, Heal,59.56.

30 The image seems to derive from the title page of *Keepe within Compasse; or, The Worthy Legacy of a Wise Father to his Beloved Sonne*, published by John Trundle in 1619.

31 *A Few Incidents in the Life of Samuel Lines, Sen.* (Birmingham, 1862), p. 10.

32 London, British Museum, 1999,0328.1, 1902,1011.7994.+, 1935,0522.3.62, 1935,0522.3.63, 2010,7081.1879, 2009,7111.1.

33 For related images, see O'Connell, *Popular Print*, pp. 72, 228 nn. 11–20.

judge by the women's costumes, must date from the 1770s (the publisher is unknown). Carington Bowles published his version at the same time, and it was still being reissued by Bowles and Carver at the end of the century. In 1793 John Evans published a simpler etching in reverse, and in 1804 George Thompson published a crudely etched version of Evans's print, which must have sold extremely cheaply. In 1825 James Catnach produced a woodcut based on the Bowles version.[34]

Repetitive prints of varying quality were not confined to moralizing subjects. There is always a market for light-hearted images of the relations between the sexes, and in the eighteenth century these often focused on sailors home from the sea and ready to spend their cash on women of easy virtue. Robert Sayer of Fleet Street is not known for dealing with the very cheapest prints, but he published large numbers of the 6*d*. or 1*s*. variety, and some of these could be copied at a lower price. An example is a pair entitled *Jack on a Cruise* and *Jack Got Safe into Port with his Prize*, of which he published at least three versions around 1780. They show, in the first of the pair, a sailor following a fashionably dressed young woman in a park, and, in the second, the couple sitting side by side on a sofa.

The prime examples must be a finely etched pair of prints, measuring 24 × 18 cm, where in the first scene the sailor leers and the young woman smiles coyly, while in the second scene both take on hesitant expressions as the sailor places his hand at her breast. A pair of rapidly produced mezzotints, published in November 1780 in the standard size for 1*s*. prints of 35 × 25 cm are far less detailed and pay little attention to the characterization of the figures. These were followed by a pair of small (15 × 11 cm) mezzotints dated 1786, which probably retailed at 6*d*. each. They sold in such numbers that the copper became worn and some etched lines needed to be added to strengthen the images. The subjects also appeared as large, crudely coloured relief prints measuring about 50 × 38 cm, probably intended to be displayed on the tavern walls (Figs 3.6 and 3.7). They are not printed from woodblocks but from soft metal, probably pewter, plates that could be cut and stamped quickly to create decorative surfaces. Surviving prints from pewter are rare and the softness of the

34 London, British Museum, 1906,0823.40, 1868,0808.4623, 1868,0808.4624, 1935,0522.3.51, 1992,0620.3.16, 2000,0930.43, 1992,0125.32.

metal may have prevented it from yielding many impressions.[35] The first of the two images, *Jack on a Cruise*, was sufficiently popular for the sailor and the young woman to appear as a pair of contemporary pearlware plaques and also on several of the transfer-printed mugs that began to be produced very cheaply in the Midlands at the end of the century, using newly developed factory techniques.[36]

Fig. 3.6. *Jack on a Cruise*, pewter print. British Museum 2011.7084.20. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence.

35 London, British Museum, 1861,0518.941 and 942, 2010,7081.1178 and 1175, 2010,7081.1885 and 1884, 2011,7084. 20 and 19.

36 The plaques were offered online by 1stDibs in August 2020. Among several examples of the mugs is one sold at Lyon & Turnbull on 23 March 2005. For popular imagery on transfer-printed pottery, see David Drakard, *Printed English Pottery: History and Humour in the Reign of George III, 1760–1820* (London: Jonathan Horne, 1992).

Fig. 3.7. *Jack Got Safe into Port*, pewter print. British Museum 2011.7084.19. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence.

Other copies of prints would have been made in order to save the expense of a new design. Portrait prints were often simply given new titles so that they could serve to represent someone else whose image had become more saleable. A portrait of an extraordinarily fat man appears in a large etching of the procession of the Dunmow Flitch, etched by Charles Mosely in 1752 after a painting by David Ogborne, a local artist, who may have published the print himself. At least three prints of the same man, in reverse, were published two or three years later as Jacob Powell, an Essex butcher, who had died in October 1754 weighing 560 lb. In 1755 he appeared in a woodcut on a 3*d*. broadside

as 'Christopher Bullock, Watch and Clock-maker, in Bottesdale, in the County of Suffolk'.[37]

As well as new subjects, older prints were still being reissued. The William and Cluer Dicey catalogue of 1754 refers to 'lately purchased, the Stock of several Printsellers deceased'. These would have included copper-plates from the major seventeenth-century publisher Robert Walton (1618–88), at least part of whose stock passed after his death to Christopher Browne, then to George Wildey, then to John Cluer. This provenance is certain for one Dicey copper-plate, *The Prodigal Sifted* (no. 117, in the 1764 catalogue), an etching measuring about 19 × 30 cm, which was published in July 1677 and described in the Term Catalogues as 'The Prodigal Sifted; or The lewd Life and lamentable End of Idle, profuse, and extravagant, persons, Emblematically set forth, and described for a warning to unexperienced Youth [...] Price, black and white, 3d.; and coloured, 6d. Sold by R. Walton at the Globe and Compasses in St. Paul's Churchyard'.[38] By the time the plate was acquired by William Dicey it was worn and would have looked old-fashioned enough to appeal only to a less discriminating market, no doubt at a lower price than 3*d*. or 6*d*. He left Walton's publication line in place and simply added his own, 'now sold by W. Dicey in Bow-Church-Yard, Cheapside, London'.

The same composition also appears in an Aldermary Churchyard woodcut, *The Prodigal Sifted*, which clearly dates back to the seventeenth century (no. 149, in the 1764 catalogue). Walton does not seem to have produced woodcuts, and that block must have come from another source, as must *The Happy Marriage* (no. 144, in the 1764 catalogue) where husband and wife are dressed in costumes of the 1690s. Another large woodcut published in Aldermary Churchyard was clearly of sixteenth-century origin, to judge by the costumes of the women shown. It is known in two impressions. The earlier, titled *The Several*

37 The images of Jacob Powell are a 6*d*. etching by Charles Spooner, published by J. Swan of Charing Cross (London, British Museum, 1851,0308.532), a small mezzotint by John Jones (London, British Museum, 1851,0308.533, 1902,1011.2911, 1902,1011.2912), and an etched illustration for the *Universal Magazine* by Anthony Walker (London, British Museum, 1875,0612.520, 1948,0214.44; Heal,Portraits.59). The broadside is *The Suffolk Wonder; or, The Pleasant, Facetious and Merry Dwarf of Bottesdale* (London, British Museum, 1851,0308.63).

38 London, British Museum, 1870,1008.2897; Edward Arber (ed.), *The Term Catalogues, 1668–1709 A.D., with a Number for Easter Term, 1711 A.D.*, 3 vols (London: Edward Arber, 1903–06), I, 282–83.

Places Where You May Hear News, the publisher of which is unknown, was in the collection of Samuel Pepys and therefore dates from before 1700.[39] By the time the Aldermary Churchyard impression was printed, however, the block was damaged and the title changed to *Tittle Tattle; or, The Several Branches of Gossipping*.[40]

A publisher of large woodcuts from whose stock the Diceys or Marshalls acquired at least one woodblock was George Minnikin, who traded at various City of London addresses in the late seventeenth century. Minnikin's name appears on an impression of a grand woodcut of William the Conqueror, its style suggesting that it had been cut originally in sixteenth-century Germany, probably representing a quite different warrior.[41] By the time an impression was printed in Aldermary Churchyard the title had been changed to *Saint George, the Chief Champion of England* and appropriately patriotic verses had been added in letterpress.[42] These examples indicate that woodblocks could be used over as much as 200 years, although the quality of late impressions is very poor and therefore they would sell cheaply into an undemanding market.

While woodblocks can suffer from cracking and worm infestation, copper-plates wear down from pressure during printing and finer lines gradually disappear, sometimes being replaced with coarser working. Although collectors and connoisseurs disdain such late impressions, declining quality did not matter at the bottom end of the trade, where purchasers were interested in the image rather than in the quality of the print itself. An example that demonstrates this point is a fine portrait by Robert White (1645–1703), the most admired British engraver of his time. His copper-plate of Kaid Muhammed Ben Hadu Ottur, Moroccan ambassador to Britain, made in 1682, remained in print — although as a shadow of its former self — seventy or eighty years after it was made.

39 A. W. Aspital, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge*, vol. III, *Prints and Drawings*, part i, *General* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1981), p. 35, chapter IX, no. 442.

40 London, British Museum, 1973,u.216. The composition itself goes back to a sixteenth-century French etching, *Le Caquet des femmes* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Tf.2,fol.49), which was also used as the basis for an etching by Wenceslaus Hollar (London, British Museum, Q,4.132, 1880,0710.863).

41 The impression is in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (information from Malcolm Jones).

42 London, British Museum, 1858,1209.3.

By 1764 it had found its way to Aldermary Churchyard ('fools-cap sheet prints', no. 67, in the 1764 catalogue) and was printed with the added publication line 'C. Dicey & Co.' A comparison of early and late impressions in the British Museum is an object lesson in the deterioration of copper-plates through wear and tear on the press.[43] White's copper-plates passed through his son to John King at the Globe in the Poultry, and then to his son, also John King, whose stock was sold posthumously at Langford's, Covent Garden, in January 1760. It may have been at that sale that Dicey acquired the plate of the Moroccan ambassador. The plate of a portrait of Archbishop John Sharp (1645–1714) by Robert White, published by C. Dicey & Co. in Aldermary Churchyard ('fools-cap sheet prints', no. 59, in the 1764 catalogue) was probably acquired at the same time.[44] Both would have been marketable subjects. The image of the exotic and handsome ambassador would always find sales, and portraits of clergy enjoyed great popularity in the eighteenth century, as demonstrated by the well-known mezzotints of Carington Bowles's print-shop window in St Paul's Churchyard with its line of portraits of preachers on display.[45]

The price of the Dicey/Marshall 'fools-cap sheet prints' was little more than that of the 'wood royals'. The 1764 catalogue includes seventy-one 'fools-cap sheet prints' for sale wholesale by the quire at 1*s*. 5*d*. plain and 3*s*. coloured. More than 400 larger 'copper royals' sold wholesale by the quire at 2*s*. plain, 4*s*. coloured, or 6*s*. spangled, while 145 smaller 'pott sheets' sold at 1*s*. per quire plain and 2*s*. coloured. Subjects covered the same range as the woodcuts. Besides royal, foolscap, and pott prints, which are listed individually, others were simply described as groups: 'Four Hundred different Kinds of Prints, Each on a Quarter of a Sheet of Royal Paper; as Scripture Pieces, Views, Horses, Heads, and other merry Designs' were offered wholesale at 2*s*. plain and 4*s*. coloured for 104 prints (four quires), while cheapest of all were 'Three Hundred different Sorts of Lotteries, Pictures for Children, as Men, Women, Kings, Queens,

43 London, British Museum, 1849,0315.97, 1982,U.1986.

44 London, National Portrait Gallery, D20988 (cited in Stoker, 'Another Look at the Dicey-Marshall Publications', p. 125).

45 *Spectators at a Print-Shop in St. Paul's Church Yard*, 1774 (London, British Museum, 1877,1013.849, 1880,1113.3311, 1935,0522.1.16, Heal,Portraits.306, 2010,7081.379); *A Real Scene in St Pauls Church Yard, on a Windy Day* (London, British Museum, 1880,1113.3312, 1935,0522.1.30).

Birds, Beasts, Horses, Flowers, Butterflies, &c. Each on Half a Sheet of good Paper' selling wholesale at 1*s*. 8*d*. plain and 3*s*. 4*d*. coloured for 104 prints.

'Lotteries' were sheets of small images that appear in print publishers' catalogues throughout the century: Henry Overton's in 1717 included 'About 500 more several sorts of small plates for children to play with, both coloured and plain', and Carington Bowles in 1786 offered '400 different sorts [...] intended to divert and instruct children in their most tender years' at 1*s*. 10*d*. per 100 plain and 3*s*. 8*d*. coloured. A favourite game involved pushing a pin into a book containing lottery prints: the child who pushed the pin into an opening containing a print would get to keep it. It seems unlikely that poor families would be able to buy prints for their children to play with, but like other cheap goods they might be a means of earning a little money on the streets. Girls in Glasgow (and perhaps elsewhere) were said to use the 'picture book' game to importune passers-by.[46]

Two types of cheap prints dominated the late years of the century: one with political aims, the other as a solution to practical demands. The Cheap Repository for Moral and Religious Tracts was set up in the 1790s to publish ballads and chapbooks neatly illustrated with small woodcuts. It was subsidized by supporters who believed that evangelical propaganda might prevent the spread of radical ideas in the years after the French Revolution. The subsidies undercut the selling price of commercially published material, and for a period John Marshall, John Evans, and others in the cheap print trade switched much of their effort to work for the Repository.[47]

In contrast to the small, neat Cheap Repository publications, the publishers of cheap prints produced an increasing number of large etchings of both topical and traditional subjects from the 1780s onwards. The old, large woodblocks that had been in use for more than a century would have deteriorated so much that they could no longer produce prints of any value. The time taken to cut new blocks would only have

46 S. Roscoe and R. A. Brimmell, *James Lumsden & Son of Glasgow: Their Juvenile Books and Chapbooks* (Pinner: Private Libraries Association, 1981), p. xv.

47 For detailed accounts of the Cheap Repository, see G. H. Spinney, 'Cheap Repository Tracts: Hazard and Marshall Edition', *The Library*, 4th ser., 20 (1939), 295–340; David Stoker, 'John Marshall, John Evans, and the Cheap Repository Tracts', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 107 (2013), 90–102.

been worthwhile for prints that were sure to sell in large numbers; an example is *The Royal Family of Great-Britain*, which must date from after 3 May 1783 since it records the death of Prince Octavius at the age of four on that day (Fig. 3.8).

Fig. 3.8. *The Royal Family of Great Britain*. British Museum, 2000,0723.15. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence.

Etchings could be made swiftly and, if the outlines were deep, could produce large numbers of prints. A group of twenty etchings published by John Evans in 1793 and 1794 illustrate typical subjects: traditional moralizing and religious images and narratives, such as *The World Turned Upside Down*, *The Various Ages and Degrees of Human Life*, *The Prodigal Son*, etc., but also topical subjects concerning the campaign for the abolition of slavery, the death of Jean Marat and execution of Charlotte Corday, and the British fleet preparing to set sail under Earl Howe in 1794.[48] Prints relating to the ongoing wars were popular. On 19 November 1795 John Marshall published an etching measuring 36 × 47 cm of *The Total Defeat of the French Army on the Banks of the Rhine*, which had been rapidly produced to celebrate the battle of Mainz only three weeks before, with a caption describing (optimistically) 'This defeat so fatal to the French'

48 London, British Museum, 1992,0620.3.1–1992,0620.3.20.

(Fig. 3.9). In June 1800 George Thompson published *The Storming and Taking of Serringpatam* [*sic*], a double-sheet etching measuring 58 × 93 cm, showing the death of Tipu Sultan in the attack in the aftermath of which the East India Company took over the kingdom of Mysore.[49] Large prints of this type would provide appropriate decoration for taverns and other masculine contexts. An example from before the middle of the century, *A Midnight Modern Conversation* (an enlarged version of Hogarth's print, published by John Bowles and measuring 57 × 87 cm), must surely have been intended for a drinking room.[50]

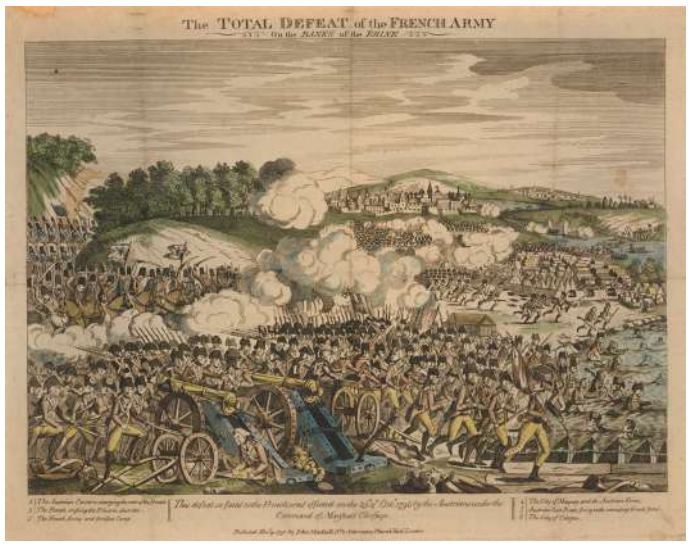

Fig. 3.9. *The Total Defeat of the French Army on the Banks of the Rhine*. British Museum, 2019,7074.1.© The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence.

* * *

Although the subject matter of cheap pictorial prints remained largely unchanged, technological developments and the public appetite for novel designs brought about drastic changes in the early years of the

49 London, British Museum, 2019,7040.1

50 London, British Museum, 1860,0623.80. The large numbers of unauthorized — and cheap — copies after Hogarth's print encouraged his determination to obtain copyright for designers of prints, which resulted in the passing of 'Hogarth's Act' in 1735.

nineteenth century. Transformations came with the introduction of the iron press, improvements in paper production, and the development of commercial stereotyping. In the second decade of the new century James Catnach made creative use of all these innovations to produce a new type of print that combined image and text with bold and varied type, all printed at a very low price on smooth, lightweight paper. Before long, lithography allowed the production of huge numbers of prints at vastly reduced prices. The type of cheap pictorial print familiar in the eighteenth century was soon of interest only to antiquarians, while poorer citizens could at last purchase printed images in the streets for 1*d*. or less.

4. Popular Print in a Regional Capital: Street Literature and Public Controversy in Norwich, 1701–1800

David Stoker

At the turn of the seventeenth century Norwich was the largest English provincial city, with a population of around 30,000, and would retain this pre-eminence for the next three decades. It was the trading and distribution hub for the prosperous East Anglian region and a production centre for textiles.[1] Weaving was the principal occupation of its inhabitants, supported by a host of related trades, such as dyers, spinners, hot-pressers, and so on. However, it was as a commercial centre with its associated professional services that Norwich gained most of its wealth. Its marketplace was described as the largest in England. The city was a significant inland port at the centre of the large and densely populated county of Norfolk, which had two important sea ports — Great Yarmouth and King's Lynn — and a host of prosperous market towns. It was also the seat of a diocese.

By 1752 the population had grown to 36,000, rising to 40,000 in 1786, but had been overtaken by Bristol. According to a mid-nineteenth-century historian, Norwich underwent its 'most prosperous time' between 1750

1 Penelope J. Corfield, 'From Second City to Regional Capital', in *Norwich since 1550*, ed. Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson, with Christine Clark (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), pp. 139–66.

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and 1780, a boom period ended by the economic disruption brought about by the French Wars of the 1790s.[2] The 1801 census recorded a population of 37,000, but the city now ranked seventh in England, behind the ports of Bristol, Liverpool, and Plymouth, and the emerging manufacturing centres of Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds. The city had lost its supremacy in textile production to west Yorkshire. Thus, eighteenth-century Norwich saw rapid growth for eighty-five years, followed by the beginnings of a decline.

This period also corresponds with the reintroduction of printing to the city and the establishment of the first local newspapers in 1701.[3] This trade catered not only for the gentry and educated classes, but for tradesmen and other literate citizens. It also provided an outlet for — and record of — public controversies of all kinds. Norwich offers an opportunity to trace the impact of the coming of print on the everyday lives of the provincial population, through the development of the printing trade and the successes and failures of competing firms.

The formal and informal book trade

By 1700 Norwich had a thriving book trade, with three established bookselling businesses near its marketplace — each of which was several decades old — as well as two newcomers who had recently set up shop.[4] These had a working relationship with printers and wholesale booksellers in London and Cambridge, who supplied their wares. There was a fair degree of 'publishing' in the city, where Norwich booksellers either commissioned or shared in the production costs of works of local interest, designated as 'printed for' in the imprint. Alternatively, they

2 A. D. Bayne, *Comprehensive History of Norwich* (London: Jarrold and Sons, 1869), p. 572. Population figures are given in Thomas Peck, *The Norwich Directory* (Norwich: J. Payne, [1802]), p. 69.

3 Printing had briefly been practised in Norwich between 1568 and 1573 among the large community of Dutch Protestant refugees, but not thereafter until 1701. See David Stoker, 'Anthony de Solempne: Attributions to his Press', *The Library*, 6th ser., 3 (1981), 17–32.

4 David Stoker, 'The Norwich Book Trades before 1800: A Biographical Directory', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 8 (1981), 79–125, entries for Oliver, Giles, Rose, Goddard, and Selfe.

might act as named distributors, designated as 'sold by' in the imprint.[5] The Norwich book trade would grow at a steady rate throughout the eighteenth century due to the growth of the economy, the introduction of local printing in 1701, and the development of papermaking in Norfolk during the 1690s.

The nature and extent of a less formal trade in street literature in Norwich is difficult to chart because of the transience of the tradesmen and the failure of their products to survive. Nevertheless, throughout the seventeenth century there is evidence in the city records of an informal trade in printed matter, especially broadside ballads. Most of this comes from the permissions granted to ballad singers to advertise and sell their wares. Thus, in March 1681, 'John Taylor of Aye in Suffolk and his wife produced a licence from ye Master of ye Revells to signe [i.e. sing] and sell Ballads, and hath leave to doe so untill further order.'[6] Usually such licences were time-limited. Thus permission was given to Robert Woollans and Henry Martyn 'to sing reade and sell ballads for the space of a week behaving themselves civilly'.[7]

It was not only ballads that were sold in the streets and marketplaces of seventeenth-century Norwich. In 1679 Laurence White was authorized to 'read and sell pamphlets on horse-backe until Wednesday next'.[8] 'Pamphlets' sometimes included controversy or even sedition at times of political tension. In January 1689 an investigation was instituted to find the distributors of *Reflections on Monsieur Fagel's Letter*, with those concerned threatened with 'all the severity of the law'.[9] The investigation involved questioning two established booksellers and searching their stock. Later, in December 1693, Humphrey Prideaux, archdeacon of Suffolk, described the appearance of a 'scurrilous pamphlet against

5 David Stoker, 'Norwich "Publishing" in the Seventeenth Century', in *Printing Places: Locations of Book Production & Distribution since 1500*, ed. John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; London: British Library, 2005), pp. 31–46.

6 Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, Norwich Mayor's Court Book 25, fol. 85, 3 March 1681.

7 Norwich Mayor's Court Book 25, fol. 264, 24 May 1690.

8 Norwich Mayor's Court Book 25, fol. 37, 29 November 1679.

9 Calendar of State Papers (Domestic), 1688/9, 153, 166; *Reflections on Monsieur Fagel's Letter* ([12 January 1688]) [ESTC R182598].

my Lord Nottingham'.[10] However, it was not until the reintroduction of printing and the publication of the first newspapers after 1701 that there was significant evidence of this informal trade.

The reintroduction of printing to Norwich

In September 1701 Francis Burges, a London journeyman printer, set up a press 'near the Red Well' in Norwich.[11] Prior to establishing his press, Burges had visited the city and secured support from local booksellers and several of the senior clergy. Some of the earliest small items to emerge from the new press were commissions from the cathedral. *Directions to Church-Wardens* was written and financed by Prideaux, 'for the use of the Archdeaconry of Suffolk', but printed and sold by Burges.[12] Likewise, a combination paper listing forthcoming preachers at the cathedral was printed at the behest of Thomas Tanner, chancellor of the diocese.[13] Other early titles were financed by members of the local book trade. *The Religion of the Bible,* by John Jeffery, archdeacon of Norwich, was 'printed for' Thomas Goddard, a young bookseller in the city.[14]

Most works to emerge from his press over the next few years were uncontroversial and aimed at an educated audience, including sermons, religious texts, and poems, often printed at the expense of their authors. Small items were commissioned by local booksellers for a less educated audience, such as *A Choice Collection of Divine and Pious Sentences*, printed

10 Edward Maunde Thompson (ed.), *Letters of Humphrey Prideaux, sometime Dean of Norwich, 1674–1722* (London: Camden Society, 1875), p. 159.

11 David Stoker, 'The Establishment of Printing in Norwich: Causes and Effects, 1660–1760', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 7 (1977), 94–111; David Stoker, 'Printing at the Red-Well: An Early Norwich Press through the Eyes of Contemporaries', in *The Mighty Engine: The Printing Press and its Impact*, ed. Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2000), pp. 29–38.

12 Humphrey Prideaux, *Directions to Church-Wardens for the Faithful Discharge of their Office* (Norwich: printed and sold by Fra. Burges, near the Red Well, 1701) [ESTC T31885].

13 *Norfolk Preachers* [...] *from 2 November 1701 to Trinity Sunday Following* (Norwich: printed by F. Burges for Samuel Oliver, 1701) [London, British Library, Harleian MS 5910, II, fol. 152].

14 John Jeffery, *The Religion of the Bible: or, A Summary View of the Holy Scriptures as the Records of True Religion* (Norwich: printed by F. Burges; for T. Goddard, bookseller, in the Market Place, in Norwich; and for A. Baldwin, in Warwick Lane, London, 1701) [ESTC T122813].

for Thomas Goddard, who also commissioned *The Church Catechism, Analysed, Explained, and Improved*, 'For the use of Norwich school'.[15] Following a gruesome murder in Great Yarmouth in 1704, when a former sailor slit the throat of his landlady during an argument, one Norwich and one Yarmouth bookseller jointly commissioned *An Account of the Tryal and Condemnation of Mr. William Boone*, and when there were later accusations of inaccuracies in the account, all those concerned profited further by producing *An Account of Mr. Boon's Confession, together with the Last Passages of his Life*, which included 'a Letter to a Friend, Inlightning the Whole Matter'.[16]

Francis Burges realized that occasional commissions would not keep his press in business and that he would also have to undertake printing at his own risk and serve other potential markets. One way he did this, in November 1701, was to print the first issue of a weekly newspaper, the *Norwich Post*, the first to be printed in the provinces.[17] The other way was to recognize that there was a continuing demand for chapbooks, ballads, and other small titles by members of the peripatetic book trade. His earliest publication carried an announcement of another title, *The Parents Best Token to their Children*. Only a third edition survives, which shows it to be a chapbook containing moral precepts, a catechism, prayers, graces, fifty weighty questions and answers, and examples of God's heavy judgements.[18] Also:

> The ABC; commonly call'd *The Kiss-Cross Row*, set down in all the different Characters that are to be met with in Books, with the *Vowels,*

15 C. V. M., *A Choice Collection of Divine and Pious Sentences* (Norwich: printed for Tho. Goddard, bookseller, in the Market Place, in Norwich, 1702) [ESTC T186847]; *The Church Catechism, Analysed, Explained, and Improved* [...] *for the Use of Norwich School* (Norwich: printed for Tho. Goddard, 1703) [ESTC T85813].

16 *An Account of the Tryal and Condemnation of Mr. William Boone* (Norwich: printed by Fr. Burges; for Thomas Goddard, in Norwich; and Owen Peartree, in Yarmouth; and are to be sold by Mrs Ann Baldwin, in London, 1704) [ESTC T208704]; *An Account of Mr. Boon's Confession, together with the Last Passages of his Life* (Norwich: printed by Fr. Burges; for Thomas Goddard, in Norwich; and Owen Peartree, in Yarmouth; and are to be sold by Mrs Ann Baldwin, in London, 1704) [ESTC T193190].

17 Geoffrey Alan Cranfield, *The Development of the Provincial Newspaper, 1700–1760* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962); R. M. Wiles, *Freshest Advices: Early Provincial Newspapers in England* ([Columbus]: Ohio State University Press, 1965); Trevor Fawcett, 'Early Norwich Newspapers', *Notes and Queries*, 19.10 (1972), 363–65.

18 *The Parents Best Token to their Children*, 3rd edn (Norwich: printed and sold by Fra. Burges), price 1*d*. [ESTC T55694].

> *Consonants, Dipthongs, double and treble Letters, with easy Syllables for them that cannot read*, in a very plain way. *With Directions*, how to write true *English*; where to place, & how to keep Stops, & where to use Great Letters: how to make a Receipt in full or in part; And the Contractions us'd in Writing are explain'd, &c.

All this was encompassed within sixteen pages and sold for 1*d*. Another chapbook surviving from the press, *A Token for God-Children*, written by John Jeffery, does not have Burges's name, merely the imprint 'Norwich, 1704', presumably because there was no longer any commercial need to advertise to the distributors.[19]

In a pamphlet prospectus issued from the press in September 1701, Burges had raised and answered potential objections to his trade: 'The Press may do more mischief than good, by putting people at variance in publishing of libels. — As to libels, I'll take care not to meddle with such.'[20] He was not always able to keep this promise, however, and sometimes preferred not to associate his name with a particular work. He printed three editions of *A Bomb Thrown amongst the Quakers in Norwich* by Francis Bugg, each one identifying the place of printing but not the name of the printer.[21] He also printed the anonymous rebuttal: *F--- B---'s Bomb, Obstructed in its Motion, and Hammer'd about his Own Pate*.[22]

Francis Burges's moderate success ended in November 1706 when the thirty-year-old died, leaving his widow Elizabeth and a journeyman to run a thriving business.[23] There are no surviving copies of the *Norwich Post* from Burges's lifetime, but soon after his death his widow was

19 John Jeffery, *A Token for God-Children* (Norwich, 1704) [not in ESTC].

20 David Stoker, 'Francis Burges' "Observations on Printing", 1701: A Reconstruction of the Text', *The Library*, 7th ser., 6 (2005), 161–77.

21 Francis Bugg, *A Bomb Thrown Amongst the Quakers in Norwich* (Norwich: printed for the author; and sold by the booksellers in Norwich, 1702) [ESTC T64361]; Francis Bugg, *A Bomb Thrown Amongst the Quakers in Norwich*, 2nd edn corrected and enlarged (Norwich: printed at Norwich; and sold by Norwich booksellers; and by J. Taylor, at the Ship, and R. Wilkins, at the King's Head, in St Paul's Churchyard, London, 1702) [ESTC N62641]; Francis Bugg, *A Bomb Thrown Amongst the Quakers in Norwich*, 2nd edn corrected and enlarged (Norwich: printed at Norwich; and sold by Norwich booksellers; and by J. Taylor, at the Ship, and R. Wilkins, at the King's Head, in St Paul's Churchyard, London, 1703) [ESTC T22955].

22 J. P., *F--- B---'s Bomb, Obstructed in its Motion, and Hammer'd about his Own Pate* (printed for the author; and sold by the booksellers in Norwich, 1702). [ESTC T60886].

23 John Chambers, *A General History of the County of Norfolk*, 2 vols (Norwich: J. Stacy, 1829), II, 1178.

indicating that the press was doing a healthy trade with the itinerant booksellers:

> These are to give Notice to all Country Chapmen & others that at the Printing-house near the Red-Well, Norwich they may be furnish'd with all sort of history-Books, Song-Books, Broad-sides &c. There may also be had, Devotions for the Holy Communion. Price one penny. Likewise may be had a Book entitul'd A path-way to heaven: or, a sure way to happiness, viz. of Death, Heaven, Hell, Judgement, and very weighty Considerations of eternity. Price one penny. The true description of Norwich, both in its antient & modern state. Price one Penny.[24]

The adolescent era of the Norwich press, 1707–20

Burges's success had not gone unnoticed, however. His death provided two businessmen the opportunity of stepping into the dead man's shoes. Within a few weeks two more presses appeared, with two journeymen printers recruited from London, each producing a range of small publications and a weekly newspaper. Neither of these entrepreneurs — Samuel Hasbart, a distiller, and Thomas Goddard, the bookseller — had foreseen the existence of the other or realized that Elizabeth Burges would continue her husband's business.

By the beginning of 1707 the situation in Norwich had changed, as there were now three competitors fighting for the work that had kept one comfortably in business. The whole tenor and content of matter printed in Norwich changed markedly, and there followed twelve eventful years as the three (later four) presses and newspapers fought with one another for survival. Eventually, by 1719 or 1720, the two strongest businesses emerged as stable concerns, and their rivals disappeared. Elizabeth Burges refused to give up her press and continued to publish the *Norwich Post*, but she survived her husband by less than two years. The Red Well press operated for a further decade, initially under the imprint of 'the Administrator of E. Burges'. From 1710 it operated under the name of Freeman Collins, a wealthy and influential London printer (previously the master of Francis Burges, and possibly also the father of Elizabeth). Collins entrusted the operation of his Norwich press to

24 *Norwich Post*, 3 May 1707.

various assistants, including the young Edward Cave, who later became the founder of the *Gentleman's Magazine*.[25]

Samuel Hasbart opened his printing office next door to his distillery in Magdalen Street in December 1706, a month after the death of Francis Burges.[26] He had engaged the services of a 23-year-old London printer who had not completed his full term but was nevertheless a competent journeyman. This was Henry Cross-grove, or Crossgrove, a colourful and educated man, the son of an Irish Jacobite, who was left to manage the press and newspaper, and who would feature in the history of Norwich printing for nearly four decades.[27] The first issue of Hasbart's weekly newspaper, the *Norwich Gazette*, emerged from his office on 7 December 1706, price *½d*. It was followed by a variety of small books, sermons, licences, receipts, political speeches, and broadsheet accounts of executions, murders, suicides, and disasters. Within three weeks the printer was advertising:

> To all Booksellers, Country Chapmen, Hawkers, and others, this is to give notice that they may at the Printing Office in Magdalen Street, in a short time be furnisht with all manner of little Novels, Histories, Poems, Romances, Story-books, Riddle-Books, Song-Books, Jest books, Broadsides, and Ballads, they shall all be printed on good Paper and a very fair Character, and sold very Reasonably, especially to those who shall buy to sell again.[28]

A month after the first issue of the *Gazette*, the paper was complaining that: 'On Saturday last an Anonymous Ill-designing Person clandestinely Printed a Counterfeit ignorant News-Paper, intituld the Norwich Postman being a compleat composition of ignorance and error, as those that bought it plainly perceiv'd.'[29]

Thomas Goddard — the bookseller who had commissioned work from Burges's press — employed Sherard Sheffield, a London journeyman, and

25 Stoker, 'Establishment of Printing in Norwich'; Stoker, 'Printing at the Red-Well'; David Stoker, 'Freeman and Susanna Collins and the Spread of English Provincial Printing', in *Light on the Book Trade: Essays in Honour of Peter Isaac*, ed. Barry McKay, John Hinks, and Maureen Bell (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; London: British Library, 2004), pp. 27–36.

26 *Norwich Gazette*, 7 December 1706.

27 J. B. Williams, 'Henry Cross-grove, Jacobite, Journalist and Printer,' *The Library*, 3rd ser., 5 (1914), 206–19.

28 *Norwich Gazette*, 21 December 1706, 4 January 1706/7.

29 *Norwich Gazette*, 4 January 1706/7.

a young apprentice, William Chase, as his assistant. Sheffield remained in post for just over a year and from the spring of 1708 Goddard's press became the responsibility of the sixteen-year-old Chase.

There was a note of surprise in Thomas Tanner's comment to a friend in 1709, that 'what with Newspapers, Sermons and Ballads, our three Printing Houses still keep up.'[30] Somehow, the three Norwich presses managed to remain in business. Yet their printers continued to bicker with one another, accusing each other of producing seditious or sacrilegious material:

> Whereas there has been lately published in this city an abominably base & unchristian pamphlet, containing an impudent pack of lies, pretending that a woman in this city had sold herself to the devil, and that he was to fetch her on May-day, with many other hateful circumstances: And whereas I am generally censur'd, and blam'd by many as the printer of the same; I do here clear myself of that imputed Villany, and do sincerely assure the Publick, that I am wholly innocent and that I may fully convince all who so unjustly censure me, this is farther to inform the publick, that I understand that Paper was published by a bookseller in this city, who somewhere keeps a private press, and has for some time clandestinely printed and publickly pester'd the town with a pretended news-paper, under the assum'd title of the Norwich Postman.[31]

One interesting dispute involving the three presses was conducted through items in their newspapers and various small pamphlets.[32] Robert Baldwin had preached a controversial sermon at the archdeacon's visitation at Burnham-Westgate in November 1706, questioning the morals of unnamed local gentry, clergy, and magistrates.[33] This was published by Goddard, and brought forth adverse comments in the local papers, as well as an anonymous *Letter to Mr. Baldwin, Occasioned by his Sermon* from the press of Elizabeth Burges.[34] *An Answer to the*

30 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ballard 4, fol. 95.

31 *Norwich Gazette*, 8 May 1708.

32 David Stoker, 'Mr Baldwin's Sermon and the Norwich Printers', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 13 (2004), 33–43.

33 Robert Baldwin, *A Sermon Preached at the Arch-Deacon's Visitation at Burnham-Westgate, in the County of Norfolk, October 9, 1706* (Norwich: printed for T. Goddard, 1706) [ESTC T197982, N67368].

34 *A Letter to Mr. Baldwin, Occasioned by his Sermon Preach'd at the Arch-Deacons Visitation, at Burnham Westgate, in the County of Norfolk, Octob. 9. 1706* (Norwich, printed in the year 1707) [ESTC N63741]; advertised in the *Norwich Post*, 3 May 1707.

Letter to Mr Baldwin Occasioned by his Sermon was advertised in the *Norwich Post* on 3 May, which despite its title comprised another attack upon Baldwin.[35] Cross-grove later joined the battle with *Some Impartial Reflections on Mr Baldwin's Sermon and the Letters Concerning It*, which he wrote and published anonymously, poking fun at all concerned, including Goddard.[36] He also published a sermon from the 1690s, dealing with criticisms of the clergy, in an attempt to fuel the controversy further.[37] Baldwin refused to get involved further, so Thomas Goddard commissioned *A Real Vindication of the Much Injur'd Mr. Baldwin*, which put an end to the controversy.[38]

This was by no means the only visitation sermon to stir up a local controversy. Three years later the Rev. Charles Buchanan complained that his visitation sermon on *Unity and Unanimity* had been 'attack'd and basely wrested in a private Cabal, by some Persons from whom I might have expected fairer quarter [...] and the Doctrines delivered in this Sermon were not only Ridicul'd, but Lewdly perverted'.[39] It was for this reason alone that he had been persuaded by a friend to print it.

Most controversial works published in the city at this time concerned issues of national and local politics. Throughout the eighteenth century, Norwich was divided into competing political factions of Whigs and Tories. Henry Cross-grove, the Tory editor, who would later become the proprietor of the *Norwich Gazette*, summed up the situation in a letter in 1714: 'The City of Norwich is at present distracted with party rage, Whig and Tory, High Church and Low Church, or to give it to you in the local dialect, Croakers and Tackers make the two contending parties.'[40] Goddard and Chase were both supporters of the Whig and Low Church factions.

35 *Norwich Post*, 3 May 1707.

36 *Norwich Gazette*, 7 June 1707.

37 William Jegon, *The Following Sermon Was Preach'd Some Time Since at an Episcopal Visitation in Norfolk* (Norwich: printed by H. Cross-grove, in Magdalen Street, 1707) [ESTC N31847].

38 *A Real Vindication of the Much Injur'd Mr. Baldwin, with a Brief Essay in Defence of his Sermon* (printed in the year 1707) [ESTC N65077].

39 Charles Buchanan, *Unity and Unanimity: A Sermon Preach'd at Loddon, April 26. 1710* (Norwich: printed by Fr. Collins, for Fr. Oliver, in the Cockey Lane, near the Market Place, 1710), price 3*d*. [ESTC T176126], preface.

40 London, British Library, Add. MS 5853, Henry Cross-grove to John Strype, 2 December 1714.

Francis Burges's promise 'not to meddle with libels' did not apply to his successors, whose newspapers came out in support of one or other of the factions. Details of these squabbles have failed to survive, but several notices in the *Norwich Gazette* between 1706 and 1718 suggest that competition between the rival printers forced them to undertake any work that might enjoy a ready sale, even if it could be considered libellous or seditious. Thus, Henry Cross-grove complained in February 1710: 'Whereas some Gentlemen do clamour and Threaten me for printing a pamphlet entituled The Archbishop of York's Speech to the House of Lords. This is to inform the City, That the same was done at the Printing-Office of Deputy Collins, and not by me.'[41] The 'Deputy Collins' referred to here was the prosperous London printer Freeman Collins, who had inherited the Red Well press following the death of Elizabeth Burges, and may have been her father.[42]

By the time that the early Norwich printers began to cross the municipal authorities the political situation was equally divided between the parties. The trade had become sufficiently established and had proved itself sufficiently useful to protect it from direct suppression. Thus, printers were able to take more liberties with the political content of their productions than before. The process was gradual and occasionally checked by a printer being called before a magistrate and warned, or his premises searched. On one occasion Henry Cross-grove complained as follows:

> Whereas some malicious people have falsely reported, that the printer of this paper was both the author and Printer of a scurrilous Note that was clandestinely printed and privately dispersed about this City, This is therefore rightly to inform all those Gentlemen who are possest with that Notion, that the same is utterly false, and that the printer hereof was neither directly or indirectly concern'd in Writing or Printing the said Paper. 'Tis true, I am fully satisfy'd and firmly believe, (nay, I dare attest) that 'twas printed in Norwich, tho' I am not very well satisfy'd by whom; but sure I am, that 'tis no impossibility to discover the person by whom it was printed, if not the factious author; and if his Worship the Mayor had

41 *Norwich Gazette*, 11 February 1710.

42 See Stoker, 'Freeman and Susanna Collins and the Spread of English Provincial Printing'; Ian Maxted, *The Story of the Book in Exeter and Devon*, Exeter Working Papers in Book History, 12 ([Exeter]: Exeter Working Papers in Book History, 2021), pp. 44–50 https://bookhistory.blogspot.com/2007/01/devon-book-36.html.

> but ordered the three Printing-offices in this city to have been searcht the same Day that he was pleased to send for me, I make no doubt but the cunning — MAN who caus'd it to be printed (not printed) [*sic*] would have been found out. This by way of vindication. Hen. Cross-grove.[43]

Goddard's printing business 'at the printing press' in the Market Place was operated by William Chase until 1714, when the former apprentice acquired his own premises in Dove Lane. Goddard remained as proprietor of the *Norwich Postman*, which was re-launched in 1713 or 1714 as the *Transactions of the Universe*, still printed for him by Chase. Sometime between 1714 and 1722 the proprietorship of the newspaper passed to Chase, and it was re-launched again as the *Weekly Mercury*.[44]

After the death of Freeman Collins in 1713, the Red Well press operated under the name of his widow, Susannah, and then his children, Freeman II, John, and Hannah. The *Norwich Post* was re-launched as the *Norwich Courant* in 1714. No copies now survive, but a description from the early nineteenth century describes it as 'wretchedly printed and scarcely readable'.[45] The same could be said of a poem printed by Hannah Collins at the press in 1715 satirizing members of the Tory faction, including their principal mouthpiece, Henry Cross-grove:

> *C---sgr---ve*, not least, tho last o' th' Tribe,
> The Muse now purpose to describe;
> To him we give the Preference,
> For Ribaldry, Impertinence,
> And that great Gift call'd Impudence:
> By which alone he makes his Claim,
> And hopes to get his Share of Fame.[46]

Several stanzas later, it ends:

> He is (tho' some Account him shallow)
> A lamentable merry Fellow;
> He'll tell a smutty Tale abstrusely,
> You'd cry to hear him do't so sprucely;

43 *Norwich Gazette*, 26 April 1707.
44 David Stoker, 'Prosperity and Success in the English Provincial Book Trade during the Eighteenth Century', *Publishing History*, 30 (1991), 1–58.
45 Chambers, *General History of the County of Norfolk*, II, 1291.
46 *The Impartial Satyrist, a Poem* (Norwich: printed by H. Collins, near the Red Well, 1715), price 4*d*. [ESTC T125683].

> And when you read his Dying–Speeches,
> He's fit to make you piss your Breeches.
>
> He has besides these Qualities
> [*part of line missing*] Lies
> In which he's got to such Perfection,
> He scorns to stop at a Detection;
> And if reprov'd by Men of Sense,
> Outbraves them all, by's Impudence.

Cross-grove was arrested for high treason early the next year and his premises ransacked, but the charge was so preposterous that it was soon dismissed.[47]

The squabbling continued into 1718, with printers accusing one another of libel and sedition:

> There has been this week an Half-sheet paper clandestinely printed, & seditiously hawkt, intitled an account of the difference between the King & His Royal highness the Prince of Wales; and being informed that I am suspected to be the printer of it, I do hereby declare that I am no ways concerned in it. But I cannot but observe that as the said paper is printed without being stampt and without the known name of the printer (in direct breach of a late Act of Parliament) 'tis plain that some people have no more regard to their pretended loyalty than they have to the laws.[48]

The following August, Cross-grove reported, 'Just now I hear that a great many printed copies of a seditious & treasonable paper intitled a petition from the City of Norwich to His Majesty King George has this night been privately scatter'd about in the streets,' denying any responsibility himself.[49] He was again in trouble with the Attorney General towards the end of the year for copying seditious reports from a London paper. This time, he appeared to be genuinely concerned about the outcome and the possibility of having to give up, with 'the hope the publick will not on account of my present troubles reject their old newspaper'.[50] The printer apologized profusely in a letter to Charles Delafaye, Under-Secretary of State: 'I hope your Honour will excuse what Offences I may have given, by inadvertently Copying from such Papers as I now perceive are

47 Williams, 'Henry Cross-grove', pp. 213–15.
48 *Norwich Gazette*, 25 January 1718.
49 *Norwich Gazette*, 23 August 1718.
50 *Norwich Gazette*, 13 December 1718.

obnoxious to the government, and I faithfully assure you I will for the future so strictly regulate and reform my Conduct in that Affair, that your Honour may see I do not immerit and Have a Grateful Sense of any such Clemency from the Government.'[51] Thereafter, Cross-grove and the *Norwich Gazette* kept away from national politics for twenty years, although by 1739 he was unable to resist again using his newspaper to comment.[52]

The Red Well press was taken over by one of Freeman Collins's former apprentices, Benjamin Lyon, in 1717. He, too, was arrested and brought before the Norwich Quarter Sessions on a charge of printing a libel. Unfortunately, there is no surviving record of the details of the crime or the outcome of the case.[53]

Samuel Hasbart had left the operational control and editorial content of the *Gazette* to his printer, although it was printed on his premises. Cross-grove purchased his freedom of Norwich, as a printer, on 18 June 1710 and developed his own independent printing and publishing business. By 1718 he had built up a loyal readership for the newspaper, supplemented by other small publications, many of them written by himself. Unlike his competitors, he had steered the newspaper through the difficult years following the introduction of stamp duty to emerge largely unscathed. Hasbart then decided he wanted a larger stake in the profits of the enterprise he had founded, offering Cross-grove a thirty-year lease at an inflated annual rent of £30. Cross-grove refused to accept and moved into cheaper premises near to St Giles's church.

Hasbart, left without any stake in a Norwich printing business, resolved to start again with another weekly newspaper in the Tory interest, in competition with the *Norwich Gazette*. He approached the London printer Thomas Gent with the offer of a partnership, but he had just accepted a similar offer in York. Gent recommended Robert Raikes, who came to Norwich in the spring of 1718.[54] The chronic competition

51 G. A. Cranfield, 'The Early Careers of Robert Raikes, I and II', *Notes & Queries*, 196 (1951), 119; G. A. Cranfield, *The Development of the Provincial Newspaper, 1700–1760* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 142.

52 Nicholas Rogers, *Whigs and Cities: Popular Politics in the Age of Walpole and Pitt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 336–38.

53 Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, Norwich Quarter Sessions Minutes, 11 November 1717.

54 *The Life of Mr Thomas Gent, Printer of York* (London: Thorpe, 1832), pp. 77–78.

between the three Norwich printers was therefore worsened by the appearance of a fourth. Hasbart's plan was a disaster. There was not enough potential custom for a new newspaper in a market already saturated. Both Cross-grove and Benjamin Lyon poured scorn on the venture. Within three months the new title had failed, and Raikes had moved to St Ives to try his luck there. Nothing is known to have survived from this short-lived press, and even the name of its newspaper is now lost.[55] The added competition from a fourth newspaper, coupled with Lyon's prosecution for libel, were instrumental in also forcing the *Norwich Courant* out of business; Benjamin Lyon is next known as the first printer in Bath, *c*.1729.[56]

Norwich printers, 1720–60

By 1720 there were two significant printing offices remaining in Norwich, each with a newspaper. Cross-grove had made enemies before 1720, but after his brushes with the law he settled down and prospered over the next decade, even serving as a Common Councillor after 1728. In 1737 he moved to larger premises in St Giles, where he remained until 1744. In 1730 he was accused of 'publishing' (i.e. reading aloud) a seditious pamphlet, but made submission and apologized.[57] He died on 12 September 1744, having edited and printed the *Norwich Gazette* for thirty-eight years, and continued to use his newspaper as a vehicle to rail against his rival printer and newspaper proprietor until the very end.[58]

The business was continued by his son-in-law Robert Davy, who continued to print the *Gazette* but lacked Cross-grove's entrepreneurial skills. The Jacobite rising may also have impacted adversely upon public support for a well-known Tory newspaper.[59] By 1749 the *Norwich Gazette* was losing popularity and relied on giving away copies of plays and songs with each issue in order to boost its circulation.[60] Davy re-launched

55 *Norwich Gazette*, 19 April–14 June 1718; *The Life of Mr Thomas Gent, Printer of York*, p. 77.
56 Trevor Fawcett, *Georgian Imprints: Printing and Publishing at Bath, 1729–1835* (Bath: Ruton, 2008), p. 11.
57 *Norwich Gazette*, 15 March 1718, 26 February 1737.
58 *Norwich Gazette*, 15 September 1744.
59 *Norwich Gazette*, 24 November 1744.
60 *Norwich Gazette*, 23 September 1749.

it as the *Norwich Journal* around 1751, but this made little impact and only a single copy is known.[61] He printed several tracts for Methodists until 1758 (see below), and continued to be listed on Norwich polls, as a printer, until 1768.

William Chase re-launched the *Weekly Mercury* as the *Norwich Mercury* around 1726 and moved to larger premises in Cockey Lane. He printed and published many publications, also becoming a successful bookseller and auctioneer, sometimes in partnership with Goddard.[62] He served as Common Councillor from 1718 to 1727 and from 1730 until his death in 1744. His one brush with authority was when he criticized the scrutiny at an election in 1729, but he was later discharged.[63] The business was continued by his wife Margaret and her sixteen-year-old son, William, until 1750, when William took over responsibility.[64]

There were two minor presses during this period, although their impact on the trade was probably minimal. Thomas Goddard was one of the most active booksellers and 'publishers' — as well as being an auctioneer — between 1700 and 1750. However, he never lost his interest in printing or gave up his materials, and a few small items survive identifying him as printer into the 1730s.[65] Robert Newman, a former schoolteacher, also attempted to operate another printing business near the Red Well in 1753. He advertised in the *Norwich Mercury* and his name is found on the imprints of a few small works until 1763.[66]

Norwich printing, 1720–60

The weekly newspapers constitute the bulk of Norwich printing during these decades. Until the demise of the *Norwich Journal* around 1751 there were always two, but for a decade the *Norwich Mercury* had a monopoly, until the founding of a revived *Norwich Gazette* in 1761. However, there

61 Wiles, *Freshest Advices*, p. 471.
62 *Norwich Gazette*, 9 June 1744.
63 *Norwich Mercury*, 2 August 1729.
64 *Norwich Mercury*, 2 June 1744, 24 March 1750.
65 Notably a parliamentary poll book, *An Alphabetical Draught of the Polls* [...] (Norwich: printed and sold by T. Goddard; by whom such gentlemen as please may have them bound at 6*d*. each, and all other binding work done very reasonably, 1735) [ESTC T161984, T208781].
66 *Norwich Mercury*, 3 August 1754. In 1763 he opened an 'office for miscellaneous intelligence at his printing shop' (*Norwich Mercury*, 19 November 1763).

were many other materials published in Norwich, including religious works, especially printed sermons (which have the highest survival rate). Religious publications — other than those adhering to the doctrines of the Church of England — could be problematic, however. Thus, 'On Thursday last one Edward Thurston, a vagrant, was committed to the Castle by Sir Randal Ward, Bart. & Thomas Vere Esq, for dispersing and delivering to divers of his majesty's subjects in this county, several copies of 3 pamphlets filled with Popish Blasphemy tending to pervert the Protestants of the Kingdom.'[67]

One of the most prolonged and interesting pamphlet wars in Norwich concerned the coming of Methodism to the city in the 1750s, and the subsequent discrediting of the first charismatic preacher, James Wheatley.[68] He had been well thought of by the Wesley brothers as an influential author and preacher, but was expelled in 1751 when his immoral conduct with several women at Bradford-on-Avon became known. He came to Norwich as an independent preacher in August 1751 and began preaching to thousands in the open air. He met with both success and opposition, particularly from clergy, which fomented riots from November to the following March.[69] The story is told in letters to the newspapers and in various local publications, such as *A True and Particular Narrative of the Disturbances and Outrages that Have Been Committed in the City of Norwich*.[70]

Wheatley and his supporters also published a series of tracts, such as *A Word of Advice to the Inhabitants of Norwich*, and *An Earnest Appeal to the Inhabitants of Norwich*.[71] In 1753 he published *The Chronicle of the Preacher*, giving an account of events in mock-Biblical language: 'When therefore this Preacher came, they were smitten with great Wrath; and they took Council together, and were determined to put him down: *For, lo*, said the

67 *Norwich Mercury*, 20 July 1754.

68 D. O'Sullivan, 'The Case of James Wheatley, Methodist', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 36 (1975), 167–75; Elizabeth J. Bellamy, *James Wheatley and Norwich Methodism in the 1750s* (Peterborough: World Methodist Historical Society, 1994).

69 *Norwich Mercury*, 14 December 1751; Bellamy, *James Wheatley*, chapter 3.

70 *A True and Particular Narrative of the Disturbances and Outrages that Have Been Committed in the City of Norwich* (London: printed in the year 1752) [ESTC T103542].

71 James Wheatley, *A Word of Advice to the Inhabitants of Norwich* (Norwich, 1751) [not in ESTC]; James Wheatley, *An Earnest Appeal to the Inhabitants of Norwich* (Norwich: printed in the year 1752) [ESTC T208951].

Priests, *much People do seek after him, and our Profits haply will be abated!*'[72] This was answered in *The Anti-Chronicle*, which described Wheatley as 'an ignorant strouling miscreant, surnamed Slavercant'.[73]

In 1754 Wheatley's past caught up with him and charges against his morals were levelled by his enemies. Thomas Keymer, formerly a supporter, accused him of fornication in *The Wolf in Sheeps Cloathing*.[74] Wheatley replied in a tract, now lost, but this brought forth further accusations from Keymer in *The Fawning Sycophant Display'd*.[75] A series of similar pamphlets followed, attacking Wheatley and his congregation, such as the poem *The Methodist's Method Explain'd*.[76] Eventually, Wheatley was brought before the Norwich Consistory Court and convicted of being 'a lewd debauched, incontinent and adulterous person'.[77] Two appeals, to the Court of Arches and the Court of Delegates, failed to overturn this verdict. Thereafter, Wesleyan Methodist society in Norwich was damaged for some years by being associated with Wheatley in the public mind. The pamphlets attacking Wheatley were printed without any name in the imprint, although their types and ornaments suggest that they came from the press of William Chase II. Those defending Wheatley were printed openly, by Robert Davy, a recent convert to Methodism.

At least forty-six sermons printed in Norwich during these decades are known, in part reflecting the greater importance played by this form of publication, but also a disproportionately high survival rate due to piety and superstition. As with Robert Baldwin in 1707, sermons could give rise to public controversy and a flurry of publications. Robert Potter published a sermon *On the Pretended Inspiration of the Methodists* in

72 James Wheatley, *The Chronicle of the Preacher* (Norwich: printed for the author; and sold by R. Davy and J. Goodwin, 1753), p. 3 [ESTC T208954].

73 *The Anti-Chronicle* (printed for the author; and sold by R. Newman, in Norwich, 1753) [ESTC T208956].

74 Thomas Keymer, *The Wolf in Sheeps Cloathing* (printed in the year 1754) ESTC T208972].

75 Thomas Keymer, *The Fawning Sycophant Display'd, being an Answer to Mr. Wheatley's Reply* (printed in the year 1754; and sold by T. Keymer, and by Tho. Kitson, Norwich) [ESTC T208835].

76 John Hawes, *The Methodist's Method Explain'd* (printed in the year 1754) [ESTC T208969]; *Norwich Mercury*, 17 August 1754, and subsequent issues.

77 Bellamy, *James Wheatley and Norwich Methodism*, pp. 192–203.

January 1758.[78] This resulted in *A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Potter, in Answer to his Sermon*, by Cornelius Cayley.[79] Potter then republished his sermon with *An Appendix* [...] *Occasioned by Mr. Cayley's Letter*.[80] That in turn was briefly answered in an advertisement at the end of Cayley's *The Riches of God's Free Grace Displayed*:

> Now the Author confesses that if artful Evasions, low Puns, abusive Language, and a few scraps of Latin, be a sufficient answer; 'tis completely done. But as such Things, will be regarded by none but weak and shallow Minds; and by those who are disposed to turn all things sacred into ridicule; the Author, thinks that nothing more is necessary, than to pray his Readers seriously to reperuse his printed Letter to Mr. Potter.[81]

Potter's sermon was also read by John Wesley during a visit to Norwich and occasioned a response in *A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Potter*.[82]

There were other categories of local publication that have often now been lost — notably the different forms of street literature. Public executions were a regular, but not particularly common, feature of city life at this time, with ten taking place in Norwich during the decades 1741–1760, and a few others elsewhere in Norfolk.[83] The opportunity was used by local printers to produce chapbooks or broadsides to be sold to onlookers, as well as hawked in the city streets and neighbouring country districts. These might include an account of the crime, the criminal's confession, and sometimes repentant verses attributed to the

78 Robert Potter, *On the Pretended Inspiration of the Methodists* (Norwich, printed and sold by W. Chase; sold also by R. Griffiths, and M. Cooper, in Paternoster Row, London; Mr Merril, at Cambridge; Mr Green, at Bury; Mr Hollingworth, at Lynn; and Messrs Powell and Carr, at Yarmouth, 1758), price 6*d*. [ESTC T14571].

79 Cornelius Cayley, junior, *A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Potter, in Answer to his Sermon* (printed and sold by R. Davy, and at Mr Gleed's, bookseller, Norwich; at Mr Keith's, in Gracechurch Street, and at Mr Lewis's, in Paternoster Row, booksellers, London; also at Mr Green's, Bury; Mr Hollingworth, at Lynn; and Messrs Powel and Car, at Yarmouth, 1758), price 6*d*. [ESTC T77748].

80 Robert Potter, *An Appendix to the Sermon on the Pretended Inspiration of the Methodists, Occasioned by Mr. Cayley's Letter* (Norich [*sic*]: printed and sold by W. Chase; sold also by R. Griffiths and M. Cooper, London; Mr Merril, at Cambridge; Mr Green, at Bury; Mr Hollingworth, at Lynn; and Messrs Powell and Carr at Yarmouth, 1758), price 6*d*. [ESTC T14572].

81 Cornelius Cayley, junior, *The Riches of God's Free Grace, Display'd in the Conversion of Cornelius Cayley* (Norwich, printed in the year 1757) [ESTC T77749].

82 John Wesley, *A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Potter, by the Rev. Mr. Wesley* (London: printed and sold at the Foundery, Upper Moorfields, 1758) [ESTC T169856].

83 Figures from http://www.capitalpunishmentuk.org/norfolk.html.

felon. There were accounts of suicides and unsolved murders which enjoyed equal popularity. Such publications were notorious for their inaccuracy and downright untruthfulness, even among the undiscerning majority of the eighteenth-century reading public, but were nevertheless extremely popular.

There was also a demand for accounts of famous executions, printed well after the event and sold to those unable to witness the spectacle. Henry Cross-grove printed for Norwich readers *The Dying Speech of Captain Thomas Smith*, who was hanged, drawn, and quartered for treason at Tyburn in 1708.[84] He also reprinted accounts of famous executions from the past, such as *A Full and True Relation of Anne Green, Who Was Hanged at Oxford, 14th December 1650*.[85] Robert Davy advertised *The Narrative of Confession of Mr Robert Watts, Who Was Executed in this City in the Year of 1701*, in the *Norwich Gazette* of 2 December 1749.

On occasion, Cross-grove tried to dissociate himself from the disreputable aspect of this branch of the trade. In August 1727 he announced:

> This day William Winter, Robert Clark and William Mallows, are to be Hang'd in the Castel Ditches for the City and John Hitching upon the Castel-Hill for the County, unless an Unexpected Reprieve should come down for any of them. They are all poor ignorant wretches, and incapable of making any handsome speech in confession. There is indeed a paper patch'd up for Winter which was offer'd to me to print, but I thought it too mean and trifling for the press and not worth publication.[86]

Chase, on the other hand, was always content to sacrifice respectability in favour of a profit, resulting in some instructive newspaper exchanges. In August 1734, Chase's *Norwich Mercury* advertised the confession of William Morris, price 1½*d*., 'The original paper of which confession are in my hands and shall be shown to any person that desire it.'[87] Cross-grove in the *Norwich Gazette*, however, had a different interpretation of events:

84 *The Dying Speech and Confession of Captain Thomas Smith* (Norwich: printed by Cross-grove, 1708) [ESTC T208905].

85 *A Full and True Relation of Anne Green, Who Was Hanged at Oxford, 14th December 1650* (Norwich: printed by Henry Cross-grove, 1741) [ESTC T208945].

86 *Norwich Gazette*, 19 August 1727.

87 *Norwich Mercury*, 31 August 1734.

> On Wednesday last William Morris was executed here for the Robbery commited above a year ago just without Magdalen Gates. He behaved very modestly and was seemingly penitent; and just before he was turned off, he declared to The numerous spectators, That he had left no confession or dying speech behind him: and that if any Paper should be published as such after his death, he assured them on the words of a dying man that it would be Intirely false & Lies. Notwithstanding which a false and scandalous paper was immediately after published as such on a single sheet of paper without either stamp or printers name, in direct Violation of an act of Parliament.[88]

Chase responded the following week:

> I receiv'd several papers written with William Morris's own Hand, from his Father & Brother wherein are contained a further account of his life & actions and also his letters of advice to his brother: which writings I added to the former account and published them last Wednesday at 1d each. Cross-grove last week speaking of Morris's execution amongst other acquaints his readers 'That just before he was turned off […]' In these remarks every Line contains a falsehood. First: It was not a Single Sheet, but a Sheet & a Half where by it become a Pamphlet, and consequently want no stamp, it was no Violation of an act of parliament to be without it. Second-lye My name was to it as Printer, on the title-page. Third-lye The account published was not false, for it was taken by the Magistrates of this City upon Oath & since confirm'd by his own father & brother. Now by this plain narration of a matter of fact which no one can dispute, we are able to judge Mr Cross-grove's veracity.[89]

A year later Cross-grove was reporting the forthcoming execution of John Mann and Timothy Ward and commented: 'and if any Papers should be published to Catch the Penny, under the titles of their dying speeches and confessions, (as was done last year by Richard Morris […]) I do assure the publick they will not be of my printing, and that I will never be any ways concerned in such Grub-street Undertakings.'[90] The same day William Chase was advertising 'The true confessions of John Mann and Timothy Ward taken on Friday 15th August from their own mouths and signed by themselves'.[91] Cross-grove attacked his rival in the *Gazette* of the following week: 'and immediately after they were

88 *Norwich Gazette*, 31 August 1734.
89 *Norwich Mercury*, 6 September 1734.
90 *Norwich Gazette*, 16 August 1735.
91 *Norwich Mercury*, 16 August 1735.

turned off a Paper called their Dying-speeches and confessions were cry'd about; in which were several Robberies mentioned that never were committed'.[92] It is ironic that the only copies of such 'disreputable' Norwich publications to have survived from this period come from the press of Henry Cross-grove.

In the late 1730s another category of publication gained great popularity and continued to be issued well into the nineteenth century. These were the lists of the prisoners about to be tried at the assize courts, together with a short account of their alleged crimes. They were ostensibly printed for the purposes of the court, 'by order of the Gaoler'. However, Chase regularly advertised them in his newspaper and sold large numbers at 1*d*. or 1½*d*. to potential spectators at the trials. When both the city and the county assizes were held in Norwich he would produce a separate list for each, and by 1743 he was printing lists of the prisoners to be tried at the county assizes when they were held at Thetford.[93]

No broadside ballads or slip songs printed in Norwich have survived, although Luke Hansard later refers to having printed them at Stephen White's shop in the 1760s, so there is likely to have been some production in previous decades.[94] Twenty-five examples of printed poetry survive with Norwich imprints dated between 1701 and 1760, half of which were broadsheets and the remainder small pamphlets. Several were in Latin, and others were works of genuine literature such as John Pomfret's *The Choice*, or John Gay's mock epic, *The Fan*. Several of these poems originated from Henry Cross-grove's pen, such as *The Auctioneer* (mocking Thomas Goddard), or else were directed against him, such as *The Impartial Satyrist* (above). After 1740 most surviving poetry printed

92 *Norwich Gazette*, 23 June 1735.

93 For example: *Norfolk, to Wit: A Calendar, or List, of the Several Prisoners to Be Tried at the Assizes to Be Held for the Said County of Norfolk at the Guildhall in the City of Norwich on Monday the 7th of August, 1749, the Time of their Commitment, their Several Crimes, and by Whom Committed* (Norwich: printed by W. Chase, by order of the Goaler) [ESTC N472309]; and regular advertisements in the *Norwich Mercury* from 27 March 1739 onwards.

94 *The Auto-biography of Luke Hansard, Printer to the House, 1752–1828*, ed. Robin Myers (London: Printing Historical Society, 1991), p. 9. Hansard refers to 'all the Aldermary Churchyard Literature', and he also says, 'Mistress managed the shop, and when this or that Ballad drew near out, or such a ½ Sheet 8vo or 12mo was in its "last quire", — then Luke went to work for a remanufacture' (p. 11).

in the city was in book form, often financed by the author, and intended for an educated and discerning audience.

Hardly any of the chapbooks advertised by the Burges family and others during the first four decades of the century have survived, and even the titles are unknown. Cross-grove advertised his own compilation, *A Collection of Curiosities*, at a special discount to hawkers, who would take a quantity of them in order to resell them in the countryside.[95] A copy survives with an account of the annual migration of birds to the moon, and the tale of a man who was supposed to have been taken there by the birds and dwelt there for six months. It also includes a story of a youth brought up by wolves, and a description of the eclipse of the moon. This work was typical in that pre-existing woodcuts were used, having been altered in an amateurish way to fit the story. Other survivals include booklets that contain light-hearted stories, proverbs, remedies, and jokes aimed at the simple and semi-literate population. Local examples include Thomas Eldridge's *Incomparable Varieties*, Robert Goodman's *A Choice Collection of Curious Relations*, and his *An Agreeable Companion*.[96] Other classes of locally produced popular literature have suffered an equally low survival rate, although advertisements and one or two survivors show that there was still a demand for local news pamphlets, which were never completely superseded by the Norwich newspapers. One example is an account of the fire at Burwell in 1727, which cost 119 lives.[97]

Almanacs were an important category of reading matter sold in the city and surrounding country areas each November, but these were printed in London and subject to the monopoly held by the Stationers'

95 *A Collection of Curiosities* (Norwich: printed by Hen. Cross-grove, 1726); *Norwich Gazette*, 11 June 1726.

96 *Incomparable Varieties; or, A Cabinet of Secrets Unlock'd by the Key of Experience* (printed for Tho. Eldridge, in St Gregory's Churchyard, Norwich; where may be had neat French brandy, Jamaica rum, and all sorts of fine English brandies, rich cordial waters, the famous threepenny bottles of Daffy's elixir, excellent remedies at sixpence a packet, fine snuffs, and tobaccoes of all sorts, by wholesale and retale) [ESTC T110598]; *A Choice Collection of Curious Relations* (London: printed for and sold by Robert Goodman, on the Upper Walk, in the Market Place, Norwich, 1739) [ESTC T110593]; *An Agreeable Companion, being a Choice Collection of Curious Remarks* (London: printed for and sold by Robert Goodman, Norwich, 1742) [ESTC T76188].

97 George Large, *A True Copy of a Letter, containing an Account of a Very Terrible Fire that Happen'd on Friday Night Last the 8th Instant at Burwell* (Norwich: printed by Cross-grove) [ESTC T208941].

Company. Thomas Goddard advertised in November 1726 that he had 'got for the Year 1727 Almanacks of all Sorts, both Bound, Stitch'd or in Quires [...] which he will sell by Wholesale or Retale very reasonably'.[98] The Stationers' Company monopoly began to be eroded in 1748, with the appearance of Robert Dodsley's *New Memorandum Book*, the forerunner of the modern diary. It was not until the mid-1760s that the Norwich printers began to publish their own versions.[99]

A surprisingly large number of popular publications related to the history and geography of Norfolk and Norwich. Although Kett's rebellion and the associated battle of Dussindale had taken place in 1549, they remained an important part of the historical identity of Norwich. Alexander Neville's account, *De furoribus Norfolciensum*, appeared in 1575, and was translated into English by Richard Woods as *Norfolke Furies* and published locally in 1615 and again in 1623. A shortened version was printed by Francis Burges within a year of his opening his press, and reprinted in 1718, 1728, 1751, and probably in other editions now lost.[100]

In 1706 Elizabeth Burges printed two penny tracts, *A True Description of the City of Norwich* and *A Short History of the City of Norwich*.[101] These gave little information beyond lists of sheriffs, mayors, and bishops, and a sketchy description and a brief chronology of remarkable events. *A True Description* was printed on appallingly inferior paper, with no regard to typography, but was nevertheless popular enough to have been reprinted the following year and again in an enlarged form by Benjamin Lyon in 1718.[102]

William Chase published a 6*d*. history in 1728, the fullest published in the city up to that time, but it was little more than an amalgam of previous publications together with a plan of the city. It was issued both with Chase's usual Norwich imprint and with the imprint of John

98 *Norwich Gazette*, 26 November 1726.

99 *The Norwich Memorandum-Book, for Gentlemen and Tradesmen, for the Year* [...] *1766* (Norwich: printed by W. Chase, 1766) [ESTC T208809].

100 A 1702 edition is noted by Chambers, *General History of the County of Norfolk*, II, 1288, but has not survived.

101 Cited in Richard Gough, *British Topography*, 2 vols (London: printed for T. Payne and Son, and J. Nichols, 1780), II, 8.

102 *The History of the City of Norwich* [...] *to which is added, Norfolk's Furies; or, a View of Kett's Camp* (Norwich: printed by Benj. Lyon, near the Red Well, for Robert Allen and Nich. Lemon, 1718) [ESTC T110592].

and James Knapton in London.[103] This work enjoyed some success, and within three months Chase had gathered an additional collection of miscellaneous information about the city, including a shortened English version of the *Norfolk Furies*, all of which he published as an appendix costing 4*d*.[104] The account of Kett's rebellion, with the new title of *A View of Kett's Camp*, could also be purchased separately.

The success enjoyed by Chase's history tempted his rival Henry Cross-grove to publish an *Essay on the Antiquity of the Castel of Norwich* by Thornaugh Gurdon, also in 1728.[105] Although the author's ideas were derived from the writings of William Camden and have since been proved to be completely wrong, the publication of the essay did represent a marked improvement in the quality of local history published in the city up until that time. In 1736 Robert Goodman published the first part of his impressively named *The Records of Norwich*, which was followed by a second volume in 1738. These were priced at 1½*d*. each and contained the usual collection of miscellaneous information. They were followed in 1738 by the even slighter *An Authentick History of the Antient City of Norwich*, by Thomas Eldridge, which was nothing but a shortened version of Chase's history of ten years earlier.[106] All of these were short works intended for a popular audience, but there was also a public controversy between two antiquarians, Benjamin Mackerell and Francis Blomefield, following the latter's proposals to publish a massive *History of Norfolk* in 1733. This resulted in the publication of Mackerell's largely plagiarized history of King's Lynn in 1735.[107]

There would also have been innumerable examples of jobbing printing — advertisements, handbills, printed forms, and notices of all kinds — almost all of which have failed to survive from this period.[108]

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103 *A Compleat History of the Famous City of Norwich* (Norwich: printed and sold by William Chase, in the Cockey Lane, 1728) [ESTC T110709]; *A Compleat History of the Famous City of Norwich* (printed for John and James Knapton, booksellers, in St Paul's Churchyard) [ESTC T193678].

104 *Norwich Mercury*, 4 May 1728 (and ESTC T110709 above).

105 Thornhagh Gurdon, *An Essay on the Antiquity of the Castel of Norwich* (Norwich: printed and sold by Henry Cross-grove, 1728), price 3*d*. [ESTC T110600].

106 Thomas Eldridge, *An Authentick History of the Antient City of Norwich* (Norwich: printed for the author) [ESTC T110597].

107 David Stoker, 'Benjamin Mackerell, Antiquary, Librarian, and Plagiarist', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 42 (1993/4), 1–12.

108 For the growth of jobbing printing in provincial centres and its impact on the development of trade and commerce, see James Raven, *Publishing Business in*

The earliest musical concerts took place in the city during the 1730s, and the first permanent theatre was established there in 1757, both of which would have generated work for local printers. No individual slip songs or playbills survive, but William Chase did produce *The Ladies and Gentlemens Musical Memorandum; or, Norfolk Songster*, containing songs sung at the local concert hall, with an introduction setting out the etiquette for singers and audiences.[109] Likewise, in 1739 horse-racing began on nearby Mousehold Heath, attracting crowds of more than a hundred thousand and generating more work for local printers.

Norwich printing, 1761–1800

Printing and publishing in Norwich during the last four decades of the century was dominated by two powerful businesses, each producing a weekly newspaper while undertaking a range of other work. However, the first *Norwich Directory*, in 1783, shows that there were other businesses in the city.[110] The complicated story of the Chase family and the ownership of the *Norwich Mercury* after 1760 has been told by Rex Stedman — it passed through the hands of William Chase II until his death in 1781, then to William Chase & Co. (a partnership of William Chase III, Thomas Holl, and Catherine Matchett) until 1785; a partnership of William Chase III, Richard Bacon, and his son-in-law William Yarington until 1786; Yarington and Bacon until 1794; and Richard Bacon alone thereafter.[111] By the end of the century, a printer and newspaper proprietor such as Richard Bacon was an established member of the local gentry, playing an important part in civic affairs.

The second major printing, bookselling, and newspaper business was that begun by John Crouse, a former apprentice of Chase, in 1760. He purchased the stock of the bookseller Robert Goodman and acquired a press which he set up in Cockey Lane. In 1761 he began to print a weekly newspaper, the *Norwich Gazette*, in opposition to the Chase's *Norwich*

Eighteenth-Century England (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 73–79.

109 *The Ladies and Gentlemens Musical Memorandum; or, Norfolk Songster* (Norwich: printed by W. Chase, in the Cockey Lane), price 1*s*. 6*d*. [ESTC T178431].

110 *The Norwich Directory; or, Gentlemen and Tradesmen's Assistant* (Norwich: printed and sold by W. Chase and Co., March 22, 1783) [ESTC T43183].

111 Rex Stedman, 'Vox populi: The Norfolk Newspaper Press, 1760–1900' (unpublished thesis, Library Association, 1971), pp. 62–91.

Mercury. In 1766 he opened a printing office in the Upper Market Place.[112] In April 1769 he re-launched his newspaper as the *Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette*. Crouse took on a partner, William Stevenson, in 1785, and in 1796 they took on Jonathan Matchett, a grandson of William Chase II. Crouse died shortly afterwards and the business was continued by his partners.[113]

Two other printers are listed in the 1783 *Norwich Directory*: Richard Beatniffe and Stephen White. Beatniffe was a prosperous bookseller who, in June 1766, opened a printing office in St Peter Permountergate parish, 'having engaged proper assistance from London and purchased a large quantity of Mr Caslon's excellent type'.[114] Over the next thirty years he was responsible for printing and/or publishing many books, until 1795 when he took on John Payne as his partner, and retired in 1798. Thereafter Payne continued alone until 1807, issuing Thomas Peck's directory of the city in 1802.[115]

Stephen White operated from 1763 until 1794, when he was succeeded by his widow Ann. His business would have been unmemorable were it not for his first apprentice, Luke Hansard, who later wrote an autobiography giving a vivid account of his time in Norwich between 1765 and 1771. His parents had responded in 1765 to a newspaper advertisement seeking an apprentice, and the young man was placed on trial with White, an 'eccentrick genius, but truly honest man', whose business was as a 'printer, bookseller & stationer, engraver and copperplate printer, medicine vendor, painter, boat builder, and general artist'.[116] Hansard described his apprenticeship:

> The Printing office was in the Garret, and consisted of one Letter Press and one Copperplate Press, and of Types, but small quantities of few varieties; but with these Types and these Presses, I had to learn my Business, and with them, my Business I did learn accordingly. — My Master was but very rarely in the office; he was either engraving, or

112 *Norwich Mercury*, 28 June 1766.
113 Stedman, 'Vox populi', pp. 114–48; *Norfolk Chronicle*, 19 November 1796.
114 *Norwich Mercury*, 21 June 1766.
115 Peck, *Norwich Directory*. Payne became a freeman printer on 21 September 1799 and opened a shop at 53, Market Place (*Norwich Mercury*, 28 September 1799).
116 *Auto-biography of Luke Hansard*, pp. 9, 7.

> painting, or wood-cutting, or fishing, or pigeon and rabbit shooting, or boatbuilding and rowing and sailing; anything but the office.[117]

They moved to larger premises in 1767: 'before, press-room & composing frames, bedroom & stowage, were all in one: — But now I thought I was in clover; the Letterpress & copperplate Press stood aside each other, — my bed in one nook and a pigeon inclosure in the other'.[118] Stephen White was a multi-talented printer: 'If a Wood cut was wanting for a popular Ballad, master would soon engrave it […] if I wanted a side stick, or Quoins, or a large letter for a hand bill, they were manufactured in a crack or two.'[119] However, he was also indolent and quickly became bored with his trade, and gave his apprentice little by way of instruction:

> Occasionally only and very sparingly did I receive personal instruction from my Master. Though very far from ill-tempered he was impatient, and I believe disliked the practical part of his Business […] But in a short space of time I became expert; I was proud in being compositor & pressman, corrector and manager, copperplate printer and shopman, book keeper and accountant to this chequered business.[120]

About fifteen small books from this press survive, but this was only a small part of its output. The press undertook all kinds of jobbing work for local tradesmen and the city corporation.

Three more quotations from Hansard's autobiography illustrate how he spent his working days:

> Jobs o[f] every description were constantly on hand; they were innumerable; and scarce the vigil of a Market day arrived, but some quitrent receipt, some sale of country stock, some notice of meetings, some *Bayardo* to cover, some card-assembly plate, some raré-show at the next fair, some wild beasts 'just arrived', — some quires of Ballads for the next Statute; — some Godfrey's cordial, Daffy's elixir, English's or Anderson's Scots Pills, or Ladies Sticking Plaister, were wanting for the return errand carts next day; So that frequently on the Tuesday & Friday nights, poor Luke has been tugging late all alone till Master came home from his evening merry meeting.[121]

117 *Auto-biography of Luke Hansard*, p. 9.
118 *Auto-biography of Luke Hansard*, p. 11.
119 *Auto-biography of Luke Hansard*, p. 9.
120 *Auto-biography of Luke Hansard*, p. 9.
121 *Auto-biography of Luke Hansard*, p. 11.

> Hence all kinds of bills, and 'Bills of the Play,' whether by men or Monkeys, quadrupeds or bipeds, winged fowls or creeping beasts; Lectures upon heads, or dissertations upon hearts; circulation of the blood or prodigies of nature; — were all printed by Master: and nothing, nothing could be more according to his volatile genius; and nothing more delightful to me. Here i was in my element; all bustle; the man's head in the lion's mouth, the monkey dancing on the tight rope or slackwire; — no sooner printed, than home I carried them.[122]

> No beggar is permitted for a moment about the streets; no ballad singer without a license, or without being free of the city, and that circumstance vitiates his election privilege; no show, no detachment from Sadler's Wells, or Saunders's troop of horsemanship; no *toplers* (tumblers); no jugglers, no conjurers (slight-of-hand men;) no wild beast from the menagerie of the Emperor of Morocco or Tower of London; no birds from the averie of the Prince of the Feathered Islands; no Painting, no needlework, no exhibition whatever, that would draw money from the people, is suffered, without Mr Mayor's express license, — and in this license, *the Printer* to be employed is mentioned. *Stephen White* was the Corporation printer for these things.[123]

Very little of this kind of work has survived, other than a few printed advertisements.[124] White printed the annual broadsheet verses given away by members of the Society of Lamplighters in return for a Christmas tip from the 1760s until 1793, with those after 1794 printed by Ann White.[125] The existence of Stephen White's rolling press for copper-plate prints also indicates that there must have been a market for cheap graphic images at this time, although no examples printed in Norwich appear to have survived.

122 *Auto-biography of Luke Hansard*, p. 23.

123 *Auto-biography of Luke Hansard*, p. 23.

124 *Richard Burman, Cork-Cutter, near the North-Gates, Yarmouth* (printed by S. White, in Norwich) [ESTC T136867]; *Just Arrived from the University at Florence, and to Be Seen at Mr. Robert Barrett's, in the Market-Place, Yarmouth* […] *that Most Curious Art of Glass Transparent* (Norwich: printed by S. White) [ESTC T29316]; *For the Inspection of Those, Who Are Endow'd with Noble Spirit of Curiosity* (Norwich: printed by S. White, Magdalen Street, 1767) [an advertisement for a collection of exotic animals]; *For Six Days and No Longer, to Be Seen Floating* […] *an Aerostatic Globe* (S. White, printer, Norwich [1784]).

125 *A Copy of Verses, Humbly Presented to All our Worthy Masters in the City of Norwich, by the Careful Society of Lamp-lighters, for the Year 1765* (Norwich: printed by S. White) [ESTC T6001].

Two printers came to Norwich after the 1783 *Directory*, James Bowen and John March. Bowen arrived from London in 1789 and printed the 1790 Norwich poll.[126] He died later in the same year, leaving his widow Anne destitute.[127] John March was a printer and bookseller from Great Yarmouth, in partnership with John Downes, from 1784 until 1793. He was in Norwich in August 1793, where he printed and sold several substantial works including the unsuccessful periodical publication *The Cabinet*. He was listed on a sheriff's poll of 1797, but emigrated to George Town, USA, where he died in 1804 at the age of fifty.[128]

Norwich publications, 1761–1800

ESTC lists 240 items that were either printed in Norwich or else had the name of a Norwich bookseller in the imprint for the years 1721–60. The equivalent figure for 1761–1800 is 863, representing a 360 per cent increase in the number of titles produced. This only measures items that have survived. There was also a marked increase in size of publications, whether newspapers or books. A typical Norwich publication from the 1740s was less than fifty pages, whereas G. C. Morgan's *Lectures on Electricity* of 1794 ran to more than seven hundred pages.[129] Yet these were years when the population was relatively stable and there were few major public controversies in the city.

All the publications described above were reflected during these years, only more so. There were sermons (both provoking and conciliatory), other works of religious controversy, books of poetry, history, popular science, calendars of prisoners, and a host of other printed matter. The numbers of executions in the city rose markedly during the last two decades of the century, with fifty-eight taking place between 1781 and 1800 (partly due to the loss of the American colonies for the transportation of offenders). These decades saw a plethora of last dying speeches and confessions printed in the city, for such crimes

126 Bowen advertised in the *Bury and Norwich Post*, 25 March 1789.

127 *Norwich Mercury*, 20 November 1790, 28 May 1791.

128 C. H. Timperley, *Encyclopaedia of Literary and Typographical Anecdote* (London: Bohn, 1842), p. 818; Frank J. Farrell, *Yarmouth Printing and Printers* (Great Yarmouth: Jarrold & Sons, 1912), p. 10.

129 G. C. Morgan, *Lectures on Electricity*, 2 vols (Norwich: printed by J. March; and sold by J. Johnson, St Paul's Churchyard, London, 1794), price 10*s*. 6*d*. [ESTC T99578].

as burglary, highway robbery, horse-stealing, and wilful murder. Seven examples have survived, although none with any indication of the printer. Not all such publications were genuine. *The Last Dying Speech of Miss Mary Laws* (*c*.1790) is almost certainly fictitious and was probably printed in London.[130]

Accounts of murder trials continued to be popular. *The Trial of Henry Sell, for the Wilful Murder of Mrs. Elizabeth Clark, Wife of Mr. Wm. Clark, Farrier, at Walsoken*, for example, went through two editions in 1788 and 1789.[131] These were printed by Peter Gedge, proprietor of the *Bury and Norwich Post* newspaper, which, although printed in Bury St Edmunds, enjoyed a large circulation in Norfolk. Gedge also retained a shop in Norwich and employed a distributor in London as well as an extensive circulation network in East Anglia. He appears to have specialized in publishing local murder trials during the late 1780s and early 1790s, with at least five examples surviving.

One category of publication not surviving prior to 1760 is election literature, as described in the subtitle of the *Election Magazine* of 1784: 'An Impartial Collection of the Essays, Songs, Epigrams, Cards, Reasons, Strictures, Prophecies, Letters, Questions, Answers, Squibs, Queries, Addresses, Replies, Rejoinders, &c. that Were Distributed during the Canvas and Election of Representatives for the City of Norwich, and County of Norfolk.'[132] This was a joint venture by printers supporting opposing sides to collect and republish the printed ephemera published during the election period. It was intended to be published weekly, although only two issues appeared. Norwich had a relatively large electorate, with freemen and freeholders entitled to vote annually for members of Common Council and the sheriff, and periodically for

130 *The Last Dying Speech of Miss Mary Laws, near Dereham in Norfolk, being a Full and Particular Account of her Most Cruelly and Barbarously Poisoning her Father* [ESTC T155012].

131 *The Trial of Henry Sell, for the Wilful Murder of Mrs. Elizabeth Clark, Wife of Mr. Wm. Clark, Farrier, at Walsoken, in Norfolk, at the Lent Assizes 1788, Holden at Thetford, before Sir W. H. Ashhurst, Knt., One of his Majesty Justices of the Court of King's-Bench, Taken in Short-hand* (printed and sold by P. Gedge, Bury, and at No. 10, Cockey Lane, Norwich; sold also by Kirkman and Oney, No. 79, Fleet Street, London; and by the booksellers of Norwich, Cambridge, Lynn, Wisbech, Yarmouth, Downham, Ipswich, and the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk in general, [1789?]) [ESTC N498516].

132 *The Election Magazine; or, Repository of Wit and Politics* (Norwich: printed by J. Crouse, and Messrs. Chase and Co., and sold by them; and all other booksellers in Norfolk, &c.), price 1*s*. 6*d*. [ESTC T32479] (advertised in the *Norfolk Chronicle*, 24 April 1784).

representatives for the city in Parliament. There had been hotly fought elections throughout the century, but the earliest surviving evidence of this kind of printing is in the memoirs of Luke Hansard relating to the general election of 1768: 'Printers are made great instruments at all contested Elections; They are among the principal Actors and terrible engines to carry on the contest; and thus our little office became the centre point and rallying place of poets and party squib writers.'[133] Although his office was 'open to all parties' Stephen White and his apprentice were supporters of the Tory faction, still in a minority in the city:

> I was great among the little combatants of electioneering disputants. This wetted my zeal in the Printing office; and as often as a Whiggish Song, or Squib, was to be printed, if none of my party Poets or Authors were at hand, i ventured at something myself, to place by its side, and to counteract, as i thought, its intended joke or satire; for it was no unfrequent thing, during the 3 months canvas to have a Whig and a Tory ballad side by side in the same impression.[134]

Few of the originals of these have survived from the eighteenth century, but following the election of 1768 White collected them together and published them in book form.[135] This idea was clearly a success, as many similar collections of election ephemera appeared thereafter.

More than thirty poll books printed in Norwich between 1710 and 1800 now survive, listing the names of those entitled to vote and how they cast their vote. The idea was to curb disputed election results and reduce fraud, but even such publications could give rise to controversy. There were two rival editions of the poll for 1786. In an advertisement for the one published by J. & C. Berry the compilers claimed: 'In the spurious copy of the poll, lately published by Mr. Richard Bacon, Auctioneer, there are upwards of 200 errors of various kinds. Some votes are entirely left out; and in order to counterbalance such omissions, the names of as many others, who did not vote at all, are inserted — to make

133 *Auto-biography of Luke Hansard*, pp. 13, 15.

134 *Auto-biography of Luke Hansard*, p. 15.

135 *Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose and Verse, Relative to the Contested Election for Members of Parliament for the City and County of Norwich, Anno Domini, 1768* (Norwich: printed by S. White, Magdalen Street; and the booksellers in town and country) [ESTC T119900].

up the number!'[136] Richard Bacon responded at great length and with venom:

> Mr. Berry has had the effrontery to assert that the above Poll is an inaccurate catchpenny publication, whereby he impudently means to deceive the public into an expectation that his own would be exempt from such imputations; but if either of the publications in question ought to be branded with the term *catchpenny*, the public will doubtless fix it upon that which, after so much indecent vaunting in its favour, comes forth upon an inferior paper, at a higher price & abounding in errors. Indeed there is one kind of superiority which Chase & Co. cannot but allow to Mr. Berry's poll over their's, and that is a superiority both in the *number* and *nature* of the errors.[137]

The 1790s was a decade of agitation for political reform by the working classes, influenced by the ideas promulgated by the French Revolution and in publications such as Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* (1791–92). This led to the formation of political discussion groups in major towns and cities throughout the land. Norwich alone had 'between 30 and 40 separate societies [...] besides many in the country villages'.[138] Many of these societies produced their own printed addresses to the public, which circulated in the streets.[139] As the Secretary of the Norwich Patriotic Society explained to the President of the London Corresponding Society in September 1795:

> We have the satisfaction of informing you of the very rapid increase of our Society in Norwich and Norfolk: we have at present nineteen Divisions, and more are daily forming; we circulate small pamphlets and hand bills; — we wish much to encourage cheap editions of works or select parts. The Political Progress of Great Britain is a book, in our opinion, well calculated to serve the general interest of Liberty.[140]

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136 *Norfolk Chronicle*, 26 October 1786.

137 *Norwich Mercury*, 26 October 1786. The story of the dispute is told in David Stoker, 'The Berry Family of Norwich: The Rise and Fall of a Book Trade Dynasty', *Publishing History*, 74 (2014), 67–95.

138 *Copy of a Letter from the United Societies in Norwich to the Society for Constitutional Information*; reproduced in Michael T. Davis (ed.), *London Corresponding Society, 1792–1799*, 6 vols (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2002), VI, 77.

139 For example: *At a Meeting of the Revolution Society, Held at the Bell Inn, Norwich, December 17th, 1792* ([Norwich, 1792]) ESTC N5202]; *An Address from the Patriotic Society of Norwich to the Inhabitants of that City* ([Norwich?], 1797) [ESTC N29304].

140 *Copy of a Letter from Norwich to the President of the London Corresponding Society*; reproduced in Davis (ed.), *London Corresponding Society*, VI, 169.

These publications alarmed the gentry. As Hannah More noted in a letter to a friend: 'Vulgar and indecent penny books were always common, but speculative infidelity, brought down to the pockets and capacities of the poor, forms a new era in our history.'[141] It was to counteract the so-called 'poison' of such publications that she introduced her Cheap Repository Tracts in March 1795, using the same broadside ballad and chapbook formats, distributed both by booksellers in town and by hawkers and pedlars in the countryside. Her scheme began in the West Country, but quickly spread throughout Britain and Ireland.[142] The tumultuous events taking place on the Continent were recorded in Norwich by the 'Tory' Stephen White, with a broadside titled *A Full and True Account of the Surprising Trial and Condemnation of his Most Christian Majesty Louis XVI*.[143] Likewise, the events then taking place that would lead to an uprising in Ireland may have seemed remote from East Anglia, but the trial of Arthur O'Connor and other United Irishmen in May 1798 warranted a locally published account by Peter Gedge in Bury, with an imprint including the names of ten Norfolk and Suffolk booksellers, while also offering a 'Good allowance to hawkers'.[144]

* * *

The range of locally produced publications expanded rapidly during the last quarter of the century. William Chase's *Norwich Memorandum Book* of 1766 proved to be successful and became an annual feature thereafter. It was joined by the rival *Crouse and Stevenson's Norwich and Norfolk Complete Memorandum-Book* in the 1780s, and in the 1790s by *The Norfolk Ladies Memorandum Book; or, Fashionable Repository*, the latter 'embellished with two ladies in the most fashionable full dresses

141 William Roberts, *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs Hannah More*, 3rd edn, 4 vols (London: Seeley and Burnside, 1835), II, 461.

142 David Stoker, 'John Marshall, John Evans and the Cheap Repository Tracts', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 107 (2013), 81–115.

143 *A Full and True Account of the Surprising Trial and Condemnation of his Most Christian Majesty Louis XVI., Late King of France, together with his Last Will and Testament, Written by Himself* (Norwich: S. White, [1793]) [ESTC N508866].

144 *The Trial of Arthur O'Connor, Esq., James O'Quigley, James John Fivey, John Binns, John Allen, and Jeremiah Leary, for High Treason* (printed and sold by P. Gedge, Bury; Forster, Ipswich; Stow, Stowmarket; Burkitt, Sudbury; Loder, Woodbridge; Downes, Yarmouth; Mrs Bowen, and Stevenson and Matchett, Norwich; Barker, Dereham; Marshall, Lynn; &c. &c., [1798?]) [ESTC T505967].

of the year'.[145] The second *Norwich Directory*, compiled by Thomas Peck during 1801 and published the following year, shows a still relatively prosperous city which was just beginning to suffer what would become a prolonged period of decline. If the weaving trade was now lost, throwing many artisans into poverty, new commercial enterprises such as banking and insurance had been established over the last few decades. There were now seven booksellers and one print seller listed. Two prosperous printing businesses — Richard Bacon, and Stevenson and Matchett — continued to produce weekly newspapers and undertook a range of other emerging commercial functions such as appraising, auctioneering, and estate agency. Two others — John Payne and Ann White (widow of Stephen) — appear to have survived by producing a range of small publications and an increased volume of jobbing work of all kinds.

Printing was now an essential part of the local economy. In 1700, most ordinary citizens of Norwich would have had relatively little contact with printed matter, whereas their great-great-grandchildren living a century later would come across a wide range of popular publications, official notices, advertisements, and forms. The introduction of printing to the city had had a profound impact on the lives of all but the poorest members of society and laid the foundations of a modern community.

145 *Crouse and Stevenson's Norwich and Norfolk Complete Memorandum-Book* (Norwich: Crouse and Stevenson, [1789]); *The Norfolk Ladies Memorandum Book; or, Fashionable Repository, for the year 1794, Embellished with Two Ladies in the Most Fashionable Full Dresses of the Year* (Bury St Edmund's: J. Rackham).

5. Anthony Soulby, Chapbook Printer of Penrith (1740–1816)

Barry McKay

> The greater part of the commerce in dry goods in the city of Troyes is carried by the peddlers who come here to stock up on the *Bibliothèque bleue*. If the printshop of the widow Oudot were eliminated, this branch of commerce in the city of Troyes would soon wither and dry up [...] the peddlers, no longer finding they could stock up on the *Bibliothèque bleue* as before, would not choose to go out of their way as they do now to come only to Troyes to buy merchandise and goods they could find just as well anywhere else.[1]

If one were to make a few minor changes to this statement from 1760 from the records of the city of Troyes in eastern France, one could well be referring to Penrith in the decades around 1800 and thus raising the question: how important was the production of chapbooks to the overall economy of this small Cumbrian market town, and, more importantly for the purposes of this chapter, who was responsible for their production?

Penrith's geographical location made a not insignificant contribution to its commercial well-being, for it stood at the hub of an important group of roads that provided passage south towards Kendal and onwards into industrial Lancashire, south-east across the wastes of Stainmore to Scotch Corner and from there to the Great North Road from Newcastle to London, north to Carlisle and onwards to Scotland, and east into the northern Lake District, an area that was becoming increasingly attractive

1 Robert Mandrou, *De la culture populaire aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: La Bibliothèque bleue de Troyes*; quoted in Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 261.

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to an ever-growing number of tourists. Furthermore, and perhaps most significantly for this chapter, the town was situated along the chapmen's routes — not only for those going north–south between Scotland, the Midlands, and southern England, and vice versa, but also for those seeking trade in the small towns and villages of the English northern counties and the Scottish borders.

Between the 1760s, when John Dunn began printing chapbooks in Whitehaven, and the early 1850s, twenty-six printers produced a little over five hundred chapbooks in several towns of what is now Cumbria.[2] To this figure should be added fifty or so that were printed in Newcastle and that carry a Carlisle bookseller's imprint. Only a few individual titles are recorded from the presses of several of these printers. Since these statistics are based on located and recorded examples, we must remember that absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, and it is entirely possible that a great many more await recovery or else have been irretrievably lost. Of these Cumbrian chapbooks, more than three hundred were printed in Penrith.[3] The vast majority of those were printed in the period between 1779 — the date of the earliest known chapbook printed by Ann Bell — and 1815, the last year of printing activity of Anthony Soulby.

Bell's first dated chapbook is preceded by the first separately printed edition of one of the classics of Cumbrian dialect literature, Isaac Ritson's *Copy of a Letter, Wrote by a Young Shepherd, to his Friend in Borrowdale*.[4] Whether or not this is truly a chapbook is possibly a moot point; it may have been a piece of printing for the growing tourist market, or intended to appeal to a local audience, or indeed both, and of course it would have reached at least some of its local market via the hands of chapmen. The text had first appeared in *A Survey of the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland,*

2 Until 1974, what is now Cumbria consisted of the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, together with Lancashire north of the Sands and the Sedbergh district of Yorkshire.

3 This is almost certainly a conservative figure as, at the time of writing, the author has not completed examination of a number of uncatalogued chapbook collections, including, most notably, those in Newcastle University Library, wherein a number of chapbooks printed by Francis Jollie junior during his short sojourn in Penrith have already been found.

4 *Copy of a Letter, Wrote by a Young Shepherd, to his Friend in Borrowdale*, new edn (Penrith: printed for J. Richardson, bookseller, 1788) [ESTC N27616].

and Lancashire by the local surveyor, James Clarke.[5] It also appeared in several editions in what one may call chapbook format from other Cumbrian printers, and featured in a number of other works printed in Cumbria. Isaac Ritson (1761–89), native of Eamont Bridge, a mile or so south of Penrith, was one-time schoolmaster at Penrith and a competent classical scholar, who later attended medical classes at Edinburgh and finally settled in London, where he contributed medical articles to the *Monthly Review*. He wrote the preface and much of the text of Clarke's *Survey*, but the distinguished literary career predicted for him by his friends never materialized, as he died prematurely in Islington in 1789 at the age of just twenty-eight.

The number of chapbooks printed in Penrith argues that the town deserves recognition as one of the leading provincial chapbook printing towns. Although the number may be somewhat underwhelming when compared with the titles that appeared from printers in London and Newcastle, it is significantly greater than the numbers recorded for other towns noted for their contribution to chapbook literature, such as Alnwick, Banbury, or York. Two printers dominated the chapbook trade in Penrith: Ann Bell (*fl*. 1778–1811), from whose press we can identify 120 chapbooks, and Anthony Soulby, who printed at least 116 chapbooks. For the purposes of this study, I must, for want of more information on her activities, ignore Ann Bell, other than for the occasional reference, and concentrate on Soulby.

Anthony Soulby was born in 1740, the fourth of five children of John and Anne (née Langhorne), at Kirkby Thore, a small village a few miles south of Penrith but situated over the county border into Westmorland. Nothing is known of the first twenty-eight years of his life, but he was clearly working in the book trade in Penrith by 1768, when his name appears in an advertisement in the *Newcastle Courant* as one of the booksellers from whom could be had copies of *The Child's Tutor; or, Entertaining Precepts*, published by White and Saint in Newcastle in 1768, but only recorded in ESTC in a single copy of the third edition of 1772.[6]

5 James Clarke, *A Survey of the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire* (London: printed for the author, and sold by him at Penrith, Cumberland; also by J. Robson, and J. Faulder, New Bond Street; P. W. Fores, No. 3, Piccadilly; the engraver, S. J. Neele, 352, Strand, London; L. Bull and J. Marshall, Bath; Rose and Drury, Lincoln; Todd, Stonegate, York; Ware and Son, Whitehaven; C. Elliot, Edinburgh; and most other booksellers in the kingdom, 1787) [ESTC T168323].

6 *Newcastle Courant*, 1 October 1768, p. 1.

It appears that his eldest brother, John Soulby (1730–1805), was also trading as a bookseller in Penrith at a similar time, as he is named in another advertisement, also in the *Newcastle Courant*, which predates the mention of Anthony by a few months, for the first part of Smollett's *The Present State of All Nations* (1768–69).[7] The question of whether the two brothers were trading together is raised by yet another advertisement in the *Newcastle Courant*, in which 'J. and A. Soulby' are jointly named selling the *Universal Cash-Book and Newcastle Pocket Diary*.[8] This possibility is perhaps reinforced by the lengthy imprint of *The Merry Companion* (1772), which includes 'Messrs Soulbys' of Penrith.[9] Their names also appear in the form of 'A. & J. Soulby' as agents for the *Cumberland Pacquet* on a number of occasions between January and November 1778, although when the newspaper was founded by the Whitehaven bookseller John Ware in 1774, Anthony alone was named as an agent. In February 1777, the Scottish bookseller Charles Elliot was in correspondence with John Soulby, pressing him for payment of a debt owed and promising: 'I shall do everything in my power to sell [for] you some thousand of Undress'd Quil[l]s but has very little prospect I da[re] say I Have 40 Thousand Dressed Quil[l]s of one kind and another by me w[h]ich will last me Retailing some years.'[10] Subsequently, no other printed reference to John Soulby can be found until a mention of him as 'the late Mr John Soulby, formerly a stationer' in Penrith in

7 *Newcastle Courant*, 4 June 1768, p. 4.

8 *Newcastle Courant*, 26 November 1768, p. 3.

9 *The Merry Companion, being a Collection of English and Scottish Songs, Ancient and Modern* (Newcastle upon Tyne: printed by I. Thompson, Esq., 1722; for John Brown; and sold at the New Printing Office, in the Side; by Mr Charnley, Mr Slack, Mr Chalmers, Mr Akenhead, Mr Barber, and Mr Atkinson, booksellers, in Newcastle; also by Mr Sanderson, Mr Manisty, and Mrs Clifton, in Durham; Mr Graham, in Sunderland; Mr Oliver, in Shields; Mr Vasey, and Mr Darnton, in Darlington; Mrs Hodgson, in Carlisle; Mr Muckle, in Barnardcastle; Mr Corney, and Mess. Soulbys, in Penrith; Mr Ashburner, and Mr Fenton, in Kendal; Mr Greenwood, in Kirbylonsdale; Mr Dunn, in Whitehaven; Mrs Cowley, in Cockermouth; Miss Furnance, in Wigton; Mess. M'Lacthan and Chalmers, in Dumfries; Mr Richardson, in Annan; Mr Elliot, in Kelso; and Mr Graham, in Alnwick) [ESTC T77503].

10 Peter Isaac, 'Charles Elliot and the English Provincial Book Trade', in *The Human Face of the Book Trade: Print Culture and its Creators*, ed. Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies; New Castle, DE, Oak Knoll Press, 1999), pp. 97–116 (p. 109); quoting John Murray Archives, Letter-book 2, folio 111, Charles Elliot to John Soulby, 6 February 1777.

an announcement of the marriage of his daughter, Miss Ann Soulby, in 1807.[11]

To concentrate now on Anthony Soulby. From 1771 his name starts to appear with some frequency in book trade and proprietary medicine advertisements in the *Newcastle Courant* and later in the *Cumberland Pacquet*. In that year he married Ann Bird in Penrith. In 1772, on the birth of their son Samuel, Anthony Soulby is recorded in the Penrith parish registers as a bookseller, and on the births of their other eight children between 1773 and 1790 he is variously recorded as either a bookseller or a stationer. Although regrettably little is known of Anthony Soulby's early trading activities as a bookseller, that begins to change during the second half of the 1770s. In 1778, his earliest known dated imprint appears on a work by the curate of nearby Edenhall and Langwathby, John Troutbeck's *A Sermon wherein Pious Education, and Timely Correction, of Children Are Recommended*.[12] Soulby's choice of printer for this work is a little strange, for although John Bell was a printer working in Penrith at that time, and elsewhere in Cumberland both Carlisle and Whitehaven could have provided printing work, it was actually printed in Edinburgh by William Darling, a man who on three occasions between 1773 and 1775 had been sued by various London booksellers for selling unauthorized editions of their works.

Anthony Soulby's name continues to crop up in book trade advertisements in the region's newspapers throughout the late 1770s and the 1780s; his name appears among the subscribers to Ewan Clark's *Miscellaneous Poems*;[13] and in 1780 he is named as an agent on a handbill for Cooke's English state lottery.[14] Clearly the business was making steady progress. By 1783 he had at least two apprentices, neither of whom, it appears, was entirely happy in his situation, for a notice in the *Cumberland Pacquet* records that George Goulding, aged sixteen, and Isaac Hewetson, a Quaker, aged fifteen, had absconded from his service, 'this being the second Elopement made by *Goulding* from his Servitude'.[15]

11 *Newcastle Courant*, 8 August 1807, p. 4.
12 I am grateful to Dr Sydney Chapman and Judith Clarke of Penrith Museum for drawing this book to my attention.
13 Ewan Clark, *Miscellaneous Poems* (Whitehaven: printed by J. Ware and Son, 1779), p. xx [ESTC N6099].
14 Penrith Museum.
15 *Cumberland Pacquet*, 4 November 1783, p. 3.

Soulby does seem to have had trouble with apprentices, for another, J. S. [John Sowerby?] Lough of Kendal, who had been apprenticed to Soulby in 1803, also absconded in 1809.[16]

Like his brother John, Anthony Soulby also had dealings with Charles Elliot, and the Edinburgh man seems to have been no happier with the younger brother. Soulby was in debt to Elliot for the balance of an account when Elliot wrote to him in February 1782:

> I received Several Letter from you and 3 Rms of Vile Coarse paper which you charge 6/ for pr Ream it is No Earthly use to me and not worth 3/6 it is only indeed fitt a little House it cost besides 2/ some odd of Carriage [...] Advise what I must do with your paper as I can make no Earthly use of it unless sold for waste — It was very odd of thinking of Sending me Such paper here, or that I would be foolish enough to accept of Such as a Just debt, if you mean to have any future commissions executed by me you will pay up the Old Balance & be more regular in future.[17]

It seems the Soulbys may have had an occasional tendency towards barter.

In May 1785 a Penrith bookseller, George Mark, of whom nothing else in known, placed an advertisement in the *Cumberland Pacquet*:

> WANTED a STATIONER, and
> BOOKBINDER,
>
> Penrith, April 28, 1785.
>
> That chuses to Purchase a Genteel Stock in Trade, consisting of a great Variety of Books and Stationary [*sic*] Wares, of all Sorts; a Good Circulating Library, and all Sorts of Utensils for Bookbinding. May enter into full Business, in a Well A[c]custom[e]d Shop, at Penrith, in Cumberland, which is well Situate for the Business, in a fine Country, and a very great Market on Tuesdays.
>
> For further Particulars, apply to George Mark, Bookseller, Stationer, and Bookbinder, in the Market-Place who will treat about the same.[18]

It is not unreasonable to suggest that Anthony Soulby was the man who would 'chuse' to purchase this business. While no advertisement has

16 *Cumberland Pacquet*, 21 March 1809.

17 Isaac, 'Charles Elliot and the English Provincial Book Trade', p. 109; quoting John Murray Archives, Letter-book 6, folio 34, Charles Elliot to Anthony Soulby, 10 February 1782.

18 *Cumberland Pacquet*, 3 May 1785, p. 3. The same announcement appeared in the *Newcastle Courant*, 14 May 1785, p. 3, but advertising for a 'Bookseller and Stationer'.

been located that announces a change of ownership in the business, the circumstantial evidence is compelling for at some point in the second half of the 1780s he issued *A Catalogue of A. Soulby's Circulating Library*.[19] Although undated, I suggest the catalogue dates to the period 1785–89. It was printed by John Bell, the first — and until this time the sole — printer in Penrith, who disappears from the record sometime before 1789, when his wife, or perhaps widow, Ann Bell, began her career as a printer. The catalogue advertised:

> At his Shop in Penrith, May be had a great Variety of Bibles Testaments, Prayer-Books, Blank Books for Merchants Accompts, and all Sorts of Stationery Wares, upon reasonable Terms. All kinds of books bound at a reasonable price. — Ready Money for any Library, or Parcel of old Books. New Publications from London, at the Advertised Prices, or by the Fly at one-penny each Pamphlet.

In addition, Soulby had 'Left with Mr. John Pattinson, Grocer, in Aldston [i.e. Alston], A Large Quantity of School Books', and he also offered 'Chapman Books, one hundred different Sorts and upwards'. Alas, we have no definite proof that Soulby was trading from the Market Place in Penrith's town centre before 1806, but it would seem a most desirable location for a growing retail business. Only two of his publications, both undated chapbooks, give this as his address in the imprints. Since he did not include printing in references to the range of services he offered before 1794, such references cannot be counted as evidence for his presence at the address from an early date.

Soulby's trade connections as a bookseller were widespread. Charles Elliot in Edinburgh has already been noted. The day-books of another Edinburgh house, Bell and Bradfute, show he was doing business with them in the 1790s,[20] as well as with Benjamin Crosby in London. He also had dealings with John Ware of Whitehaven, including on one occasion in 1800 taking six and a half dozen individual songs by Charles Dibdin.[21] In 1802 he supplied the poet Robert Anderson with a song by Dibdin and a collection of the most popular songs, before spending a pleasant

19 *A Catalogue of A. Soulby's Circulating Library* (J. Bell, printer, Penrith) [private collection].

20 I am grateful to Dr Iain Beavan for this information.

21 Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, Day-books of John Ware, 16 July 1800.

evening with him.[22] Not all of Soulby's relations with customers were quite so agreeable, however. On 3 February 1802, Dorothy Wordsworth noted that she had written to him, apparently concerning a copy of Chaucer that was 'not only misbound but [also] a leaf or two wanting'.[23]

It is in 1794 that we first have firm evidence of Anthony Soulby as a printer. In that year he printed a slender ten-page quarto 'Rules and Orders' for a Friendly Society.[24] It is not impossible — indeed, it is highly likely — that he printed his first chapbook the following year. A copy of *Three Choice Songs*, printed in Penrith, in Carlisle Public Library carries a manuscript inscription dated 1795.[25] If this had been printed by Ann Bell, it seems unlikely that, having traded under her own name since at least 1789, she would have referred to her business as the 'new' Printing Office. The woodcut on the title page has not been found used elsewhere by Soulby — nor by any other Cumbrian printer — but this is not surprising because Soulby eventually held a large stock of woodblocks and only rarely made repeated use of them. It does, however, pose the question as to why Soulby did not include his name in the imprint: I submit that it is possible the chapbook was commissioned by a chapman who did not wish his competitors to know the source of his supply.

Examples of Soulby's book printing are uncommon and for the most part date from 1798 onwards; furthermore, only very few examples of ephemeral printing from his press are known. Thus, when one considers that Ann Bell was well into the production of her chapbooks, and that Soulby's own circulating library contained 'one hundred different Sorts and upwards' of chapbooks, one can only suppose that Soulby saw a potentially profitable business opportunity in the production of these small books. In 1796 he advertised in the *Cumberland Pacquet* for a journeyman printer.[26] Who filled this post is not known, but it might have been one James Langden, who was in the town in 1800. With a

22 I am grateful to Sue Allan for drawing this reference in Robert Anderson's diary to my attention.

23 Dorothy Wordsworth, *The Grasmere Journals*, ed. Pamela Woof (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 62.

24 *Rules and Orders of the Friendly Society, which Commenced the 11th Day of January 1783, and Continues at the House of Thomas Dixon, George-Inn, Kirkoswald, in the County of Cumberland* (Penrith: printed by Anthony Soulby, 1794).

25 *Three Choice Songs: 1. Liberty-Hall; 2. Roger & Peggy; 3. Vicar & Moses* (printed at the new Printing Office, Penrith) [Carlisle Library, Local Studies, M176 (86)P].

26 *Cumberland Pacquet*, 9 February 1796, p. 3.

full-time journeyman printer, and therefore a press to be kept occupied, it seems not improbable that chapbook printing would be an answer to any slack press-time. Soulby printed at least 116 chapbooks between 1795 and 1815. An average of six or so a year is hardly a dramatic output, but equally is not a figure to be dismissed lightly. We must also bear in mind that he may have printed many more, as all the output figures for chapbooks in this study are based on known and recorded copies, and we do not know what proportion of his output those represent. In one instance we have evidence that he printed 2,000 copies of a chapbook, yet only rarely are surviving examples known in more than one copy.

Only three Soulby chapbooks are dated, the earliest of which — an edition of Robert Blair's *The Grave* — was printed in 1797 (Fig. 5.1).[27] The imprint states that it was also sold by R. Middleton of Hull, a geographically rather distant trade connection, and a bookseller unrecorded in Chilton's study of the book trade in Hull.[28] *The Grave* also carries a series number, in this case no. 38, on the title page. The four other chapbooks printed by Soulby that carry series numbers are *The History of Adam Bell* (no. 23), *The Adventures of Houran Banow* (no. 25), *The History of Selico* (no. 27), and *The History of Timor* (no. 28). If these series numbers are to be taken at face value and were used in a chronological sequence, then there must be at least another thirty-three Soulby chapbooks still awaiting recovery, all of them presumably dating to 1797 or earlier.

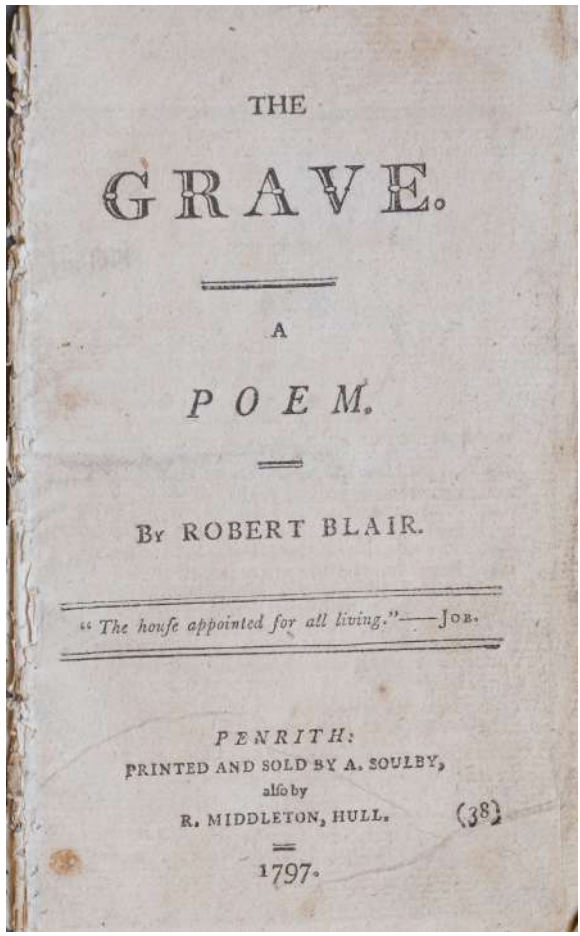
It was at about this time that Soulby's short-lived, though not undistinguished, career as a book printer began. In 1798 he printed *A Sentimental Tour, Collected from a Variety of Occurrences, from Newbiggin near Penrith, Cumberland, to London* by George Thompson of Esk-Bank Academy.[29] As stated in the advertisement on the back page of his circulating library catalogue, Soulby had established a trading presence

27 Robert Blair, *The Grave, a Poem* (Penrith: printed and sold by A. Soulby; also by R. Middleton, Hull, 1797) [ESTC T74313].

28 C. W. Chilton, *Early Hull Printers and Booksellers: An Account of the Printing, Bookselling and Allied Trades, from their Beginning to 1840* (Hull: Kingston-upon-Hull City Council, 1982). (See also ESTC T210928.)

29 G. Thompson, *A Sentimental Tour, Collected from a Variety of Occurrences, from Newbiggin near Penrith, Cumberland, to London* (Penrith: printed by Anthony Soulby, for the author; and sold by Crosby, near Stationer's Hall, Ludgate Street; Faulder, Bond Street; Anderson, Holborn, London; and the booksellers in general, 1798) [ESTC T97571].

in the town of Alston, less than twenty-five miles from Penrith but remotely situated high in the North Pennines. In 1800 Soulby is listed as a bookseller in the imprint of *Poems, on a Variety of Interesting Subjects*, attributed to a Mr Cowan of High Wigton, Dumbarton, printed in Alston by John Harrop, with whom Soulby may have had other dealings.[30]


THE

GRAVE.

A

POEM.

BY ROBERT BLAIR.

"The house appointed for all living."—JOB.

PENRITH:
PRINTED AND SOLD BY A. SOULBY,
also by
R. MIDDLETON, HULL.

1797.

Fig. 5.1. Robert Blair, *The Grave*. Author's collection.

30 *Poems, on a Variety of Interesting Subjects, both Moral and Religious; to which are added, Two Poems by the Late Dr. Watts* (Alston: printed by and for John Harrop; and sold by A. Soulby, Penrith; Jollie, Carlisle; Charnley, Bell, and Whitfield, Newcastle; Pennington, Durham; Welford, Bishop Auckland; and Heavisides, Darlington, 1800), price 1*s*. [ESTC T54963].

On 25 May 1799 the day-books of Thomas Bewick's workshop record that a 'Front[i]s.[piece to read[in]g [made] Easy' was supplied to 'Jno Soulby Printer Penrith' at a price of 16*s*. 0*d*., as well as '3 small Cuts Do' at 4*s*. 6*d*. each.[31] The 'Jno Soulby' named here is more likely to have been Anthony Soulby's son John rather than his brother. Woodcuts intended for this publication had already been ordered from Bewick by John Harrop in 1797 and 1798. Nigel Tattersfield has suggested that this publication may have originally been Harrop's idea, but it seems that he abandoned the publication and either handed over or sold the cuts to Soulby, for it was from his press that the title appeared, undated but with a preface dated Penrith, 1800.[32] Tattersfield also suggests that a cut of a piper beside a stream and beneath overarching trees was one of the three small cuts ordered from Bewick on 25 May 1799.[33] The cut was used with a chapbook titled *The New Songster* and, together with a number of typefounders' stock blocks, with W. Thompson's *A Discourse on the Nature of Christ's Kingdom* (1807).[34]

In the early years of the nineteenth century Soulby also printed an anonymous edition of *The Pleasing Instructor* by Cumbrian-born Anne Fisher (1719–78).[35] The Bewick workshop day-books reveal that on 27 February 1802 Soulby was charged £2. 4*s*. 0*d*. for '2 Cuts pleasing instructor'.[36] Then in March 1805 Soulby wrote to Bewick to commission a cut of 'The Basket-Maker', an illustration that appears opposite page 30 of *The Pleasing Instructor*.[37] It seems reasonable to posit that the book was published later in 1805, or shortly thereafter. Benjamin Crosby, the London bookseller also named in the imprint, appears to have been the London agent for a number of Soulby's publications.

31 Nigel Tattersfield, *Thomas Bewick: The Complete Illustrative Work*, 3 vols (London: British Library; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2011), TB2.517.

32 Isaac Hewetson, *Reading Made Easy; or, A Step in the Ladder to Learning* (Penrith: printed by A. Soulby; and sold by Crosby and Letterman, Stationer's Court, Ludgate Hill, London) [ESTC N472761].

33 Tattersfield, *Thomas Bewick*, TB2.126.

34 Tattersfield, *Thomas Bewick*, TB2.517.

35 *The Pleasing Instructor; or, Entertaining Moralist* (Penrith: printed by Anthony Soulby; and sold by Crosby & Co., No. 4, Stationers' Court, Ludgate Street, London) [London, British Library, RB.23.a.20806.].

36 Tattersfield, *Thomas Bewick*, II, 528.

37 Anthony Soulby to Thomas Bewick, 27 March 1805. I am grateful to the late Iain Bain for a transcription of this letter.

Over the years Soulby ordered a number of woodcuts from Bewick, including four on 24 April 1804, two of which appear in Soulby's edition of *The New Songster; or, Musical Olio*, together with the cut of a piper beside a stream noted above.[38] Not all the cuts he acquired from Bewick were for his more prestigious book printing, as cuts were also ordered for use in purely ephemeral printing. One such is a race cut, ordered on 28 March 1808, which, rather than a generalized example of a not uncommon image, is quite specific to the Penrith racecourse. With the letter in which he placed the order, Soulby included a crude sketch, 'not taken from the spot [...] Mr Bewick may do it as he thinks will look best.'[39] Among the details Soulby requested be included in the block were 'Penrith Beacon, with a Man standing beside it — viewing'. This nice attention to detail is clearly visible in the finished cut, which was used on a poster for the Inglewood Hunt Penrith Races of 1811.[40] Penrith racecourse was situated on the north side of the town, and the Beacon is shown on the cut positioned at its correct location. Posters for Penrith races exist for several years from this time until the late 1820s, but this is the only one known to have come from Soulby's press. The cuts used on the later examples differ from the Soulby block, and none includes Penrith Beacon until a poster of 1828, printed by George Foster in Penrith, which once again made use of the cut made for Soulby. There is a splendid engraving of Penrith Beacon which Thomas Hugo included in his collection of Bewick woodcuts, with the information that it came 'from Soulby's Office, Penrith'.[41] The most interesting of the cuts from the Bewick workshops, however, is one made by Edward Willis and sold on 15 March 1806 for 15*s*. 0*d*., which shows us Soulby's shop in the Market Place in Penrith, from which his chapbooks were issued (Fig. 5.2).[42]

In terms of broad subject matter, 40 per cent of Soulby's chapbooks were 'entertaining histories', heroic ballads in either verse or prose, and similar material, 25 per cent were garlands or songbooks, 25 per cent

38 Tattersfield, *Thomas Bewick*, TB2.431.

39 Grasmere, Wordsworth Trust, 2013.57.3.5, Anthony Soulby to Thomas Bewick, 28 March 1808. I am grateful to the late Iain Bain for drawing my attention to this letter and supplying me with a copy of the sketch.

40 Penrith Museum.

41 Thomas Hugo, *Bewick's Woodcuts: Impressions of Upwards of Two Thousand Woodblocks, Engraved, for the Most Part, by Thomas & John Bewick* (London: L. Reeve & Co., 1870), no. 800.

42 Tattersfield, *Thomas Bewick*, II, 892.

were religious texts or tales of a moral and improving nature, and the remaining 10 per cent comprised miscellaneous titles. Unlike several other Cumbrian chapbook printers, he did not 'pirate' many of the chapbooks from Hannah More's Cheap Repository, contenting himself with just two, *The Two Soldiers* and *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain*.

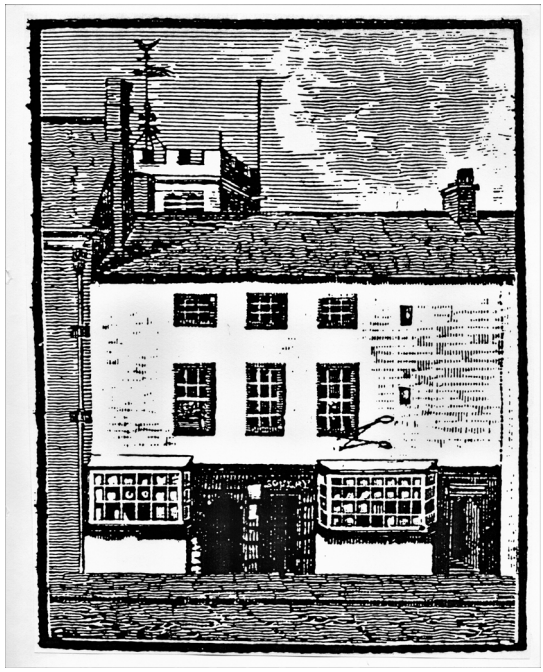


Fig. 5.2. Anthony Soulby's shop in the Market Place in Penrith. Author's collection.

Among the entertaining histories, Soulby issued editions of most standard favourites, including Robin Hood, where, with a fine measure of pedantry, he eschewed the usual form of the title and instead published it as *The History of Robert Earl of Huntington, Vulgarly Called Robin Hood*. He also published an edition of *The History of Adam Bell, Clim of the Clough and William of Cloudeslie*, a long-standing title first known in printed form in a few surviving leaves from an edition printed by Wynkyn de Worde, *c*.1505. Since the action in this ancient tale took place in Inglewood Forest, a few miles from Penrith, it would have been a strange omission had Soulby not printed it. This is one of those titles with a series number on the title page, so perhaps dates from 1797 or a little before. Ann Bell also printed an edition of *Adam Bell*, but not until 1805. This is not the only instance where the two contemporary Penrith printers issued their own editions

of chapbooks. Besides *Adam Bell*, both Soulby and Bell published *Antonio and Clarissa*, *Captain James Hind*, *Ducks and Green Peas; or, the Newcastle Rider*, *The Valiant London Apprentice*, *The Great Messenger of Mortality*, *Tom Hickathrift*, *Robin Hood*, *Seven Wise Masters*, and *The Shepherdess of the Alps*. *Tom Hickathrift* was issued in two parts by Soulby, and almost certainly by Bell, too, but only part two of her version has been located.

Several histories were printed by Soulby in more than one edition. His *Conquest of France* used a different woodcut for each edition, while both editions of *Sir James the Rose* used the same cut, though Soulby's name does not appear on one of them. One wonders whether this might have been an instance where he was commissioned by a chapman to print copies without an imprint, but also printed run-on copies with his imprint.

It seems that there were at least three editions of *Sir Lancelot du Lake*. One edition has an image of a man taking a woman by the arm, which could, at a stretch, be regarded as fitting the tale, since when he 'armed rode into the forest wide' Lancelot did indeed come across 'a damsel fair'.[43] Another edition, however, has a damaged woodcut of three cripples, which could, I suppose, represent those knights already wounded by Tarquin.[44] What is strange about Soulby's use of this woodcut is that he had another, perhaps more suitable, image of a knight fighting a giant which saw service with his editions of *Tom Hickathrift*, on the title pages of both parts, and *Sir James the Rose.* There may even be a third edition of *Sir Lancelot du Lake*, for a bookseller offered a copy for sale some years ago, noting that it also included a song, '*Ma chère amie*', which is not found with the other editions.[45] Soulby's version of *Sir Lancelot du Lake* is given a local setting by having the action take place in Inglewood Forest, which was also the haunt of Adam Bell and his fellow northern archers, and of King Arthur's court, which sat at Eamont Bridge, a couple of miles south of Penrith. Evidence of the supposed veracity of the tale is provided by the statement: 'Taken from an ancient Manuscript, losely [*sic*, lately?] found in the ruins of a Danish Temple, called Mabourgh Castle, by Mr. Scullough, of Emont Bridge, Guide to the antiquities there.'

43 *An Excellent Old Song, setting forth the Memorable Battle Fought between Sir Lancelot du Lake and Tarquin the Giant, Who Dwelt at the Giant's Cave, at Edenside, near Penrith* (Penrith: printed by Anthony Soulby) [ESTC T225026].

44 *An Excellent Old Song, setting forth the Memorable Battle Fought between Sir Lancelot du Lake and Tarquin the Giant, Who Dwelt at the Giant's Cave, at Edenside, near Penrith* (Penrith: printed by Anthony Soulby) [Carlisle Library, Local Studies, PL M176].

45 Book Bag, Catalogue 3 (1995), item 3.

Among the less common histories printed by Soulby, three stand out. The histories of *Selico* and of *Timur* display a certain uniformity of design in the layout of the titles, and, since both carry series numbers, they perhaps again date to 1797 or a little before. *The History of Timur* is not known to have been published by any other chapbook printer, and the source of the tale presents an interesting problem. Timur is a variant of Tamburlaine, and the city of Ispahan (Isfahan in modern Iran) is memorable as the place where Tamburlaine erected a *kelleh minar*, a tower of 70,000 skulls, in order to deter other cities from resisting his force of arms. This scarcely bears any resemblance to the actual tale of the ups and downs of a merchant's life recorded in this chapbook, and summarized at some length on the title page. Soulby did, however, draw on the *Arabian Nights* as a source for another chapbook, *The Adventures of Houran Banow*, which derives from the voyages of Sinbad, and he listed a four-volume set of the *Arabian Nights* in the catalogue of his circulating library. The design of the title page of *Houran Banow* resembles those of *Timur* and *Selico*, and it, too, carries a series number.

The History of Selico is the most interesting of this group. The tale is presumably an abridgement of a work by Jean Pierre Claris de Florian; indeed, the chapbook is attributed to him in a manuscript annotation to the copy in Carlisle Library.[46] It first appeared as an English verse translation from Florian's French prose in a 32-page octavo printed by R. Trewman and Son in Exeter and sold in London by G. and T. Wilkie, *c*.1794.[47] At the foot of the title page is a note: 'N.B. The Profits arising from the Sale of this Poem, are intended to be applied to the Subscription established for effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade.' Another edition was printed in London around 1800 by T. Maiden for J. Roe and Anne Lemoine, and the story was later dramatized by George Colman the Younger as *The Africans; or, War, Love, and Duty*, but neither the Soulby nor the London chapbooks make any mention of contributions to abolitionist funds.

In the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum is a bound volume of thirty Soulby chapbooks.[48] One of these chapbooks,

46 *The History of Selico* (Penrith: printed by Anthony Soulby) [Carlisle Library, Local Studies, PL M176].

47 *Selico, an African Tale* (Exeter: printed by R. Trewman and Son; and sold by G. and T. Wilkie, Paternoster Row, London; and all other booksellers), price 1*s*. 6*d*. [ESTC T182163].

48 London, National Art Library, Forster S 4to 1522.

Friburg Castle, carries an imprint that merely reads 'printed in the present year', but includes an ornament used by Soulby in *An Account of a Most Surprising Savage Girl*, which is also in the National Art Library volume.[49] The majority of the chapbooks have an 'advertisement' continuation of the imprint, which takes one of three forms:

(*i*) Thirteen chapbooks include the phrase 'of whom may be had a large assortment of histories, songs, patters, children's books, &c.', a formula used by Soulby in seven other places. One of this group, *The Shepherdess of the Alps*, is on paper watermarked 1802, so if we accept Edward Heawood's dictum that most paper in England was used within three years of manufacture, and bear in mind that one of the titles, *The Life, Adventures and Glorious Sea Engagements of the Brave Admiral Blake*, is described as 'a companion to the life of the immortal Nelson', a Soulby chapbook of which no copy has come to light, then this would allow us to place this group into the period between *c*.1802 and *c*.1807, or slightly later.

(*ii*) Five chapbooks describe Soulby's shop as one 'where may be had a great variety of histories, songs, patters, children's books, &c.', a phrase used by Soulby on two more occasions. One of the Soulby songbooks that carry this phrase includes a song celebrating Wellington's victory at the battle of Salamanca, which would date the chapbook to sometime after (probably only shortly after) July 1812.

(*iii*) The final group in this volume, which may well represent (in part at least) Soulby's swansong as a chapbook printer, include the phrase 'who has constantly on sale, a large and general assortment of histories, songs, godly books, &c.' This phrase, which was also repeated by Joseph Allison, who used several woodcuts from Soulby's shop, appears with eight Soulby chapbooks, including his final known dated chapbook, *Fun upon Fun; or, The Comical and Merry Tricks of Lepar the Taylor*, printed in 1815. Seven of these chapbooks are in the National Art Library volume, and the other is a chapbook titled *A Garland of New Songs* (including *Peace and Plenty*), the subjects of which probably celebrate the battle of Waterloo and the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815.

49 *An Account of a Most Surprising Savage Girl* (Penrith: A. Soulby, printer) [London, National Art Library, Forster S 4to 1522]. The title is erroneously attributed to John Soulby in John Meriton, with Carlo Dumontet (eds), *Small Books for the Common Man: A Descriptive Bibliography* (London: British Library; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2010), p. 675.

A quarter of Soulby's chapbook output consisted of small songbooks, invariably of eight pages and usually described on the title page as 'choice', 'excellent', or 'new', and not infrequently as 'choice new' or 'excellent new'. Songs by Burns and Charles Dibdin are occasionally included, and there is a fair sprinkling of patriotic material, as might be expected at a time when the country was at war. There are, however, few that relate to the land war, *Sandy of the Forth* and *The Battle of Salamanca* being rare examples. Most of the martial songs glorify the British navy, and almost invariably the role of the ordinary seaman. There is also a fair selection of love songs — some platonic, others decidedly less so. It was doubtless the latter that prompted a local commentator, R. S. Ferguson, to write about *Jack the Piper; or, Friar and Boy*: 'If Anthony Soulby considered this very coarse ballad a "Godly Book", he must have had a great imagination.'[50]

Another quarter of the Soulby chapbooks consisted, broadly speaking, of godly books or tales of a morally improving nature, some of the type that Charles Lamb lambasted as the writings of 'the cursed Barbauld Crew, those Blights and Blasts of all that is Human in man and child'.[51] Of overtly theological pieces, Soulby's edition of Robert Blair's *The Grave*, printed in 1797, has been briefly mentioned above. First published in London in 1743 as an octavo, a provincial edition, also in octavo, was printed in Darlington in 1776 by Marshall Vesey for the Durham bookseller Patrick Sanderson, who was also Vesey's father-in-law. Thereafter a number of duodecimo editions appeared in Scotland from printers in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, and Paisley between 1768 and 1798. English editions were printed by Catnach in Alnwick in 1796 and Merridew in Coventry, *c*.1799. Soulby also issued a second, undated edition of this title, and in the 1830s Fordyce of Newcastle printed an edition that was sold by J. Whinham of Carlisle (all the known chapbooks that carry Whinham's imprint as a bookseller were printed by Fordyce).

The Great Messenger of Mortality appeared in a number of broadside editions, including from Bow Churchyard and from John White in

50 [R. S.] 'Chancellor' Ferguson, 'On the Collection of Chap-books in the Bibliotheca Jacksoniana, in Tullie House, Carlisle, with Some Remarks on the History of Printing in Carlisle, Whitehaven, Penrith, and Other North Country Towns', *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archæological Society*, 14 (1896), 1–120 (p. 64).

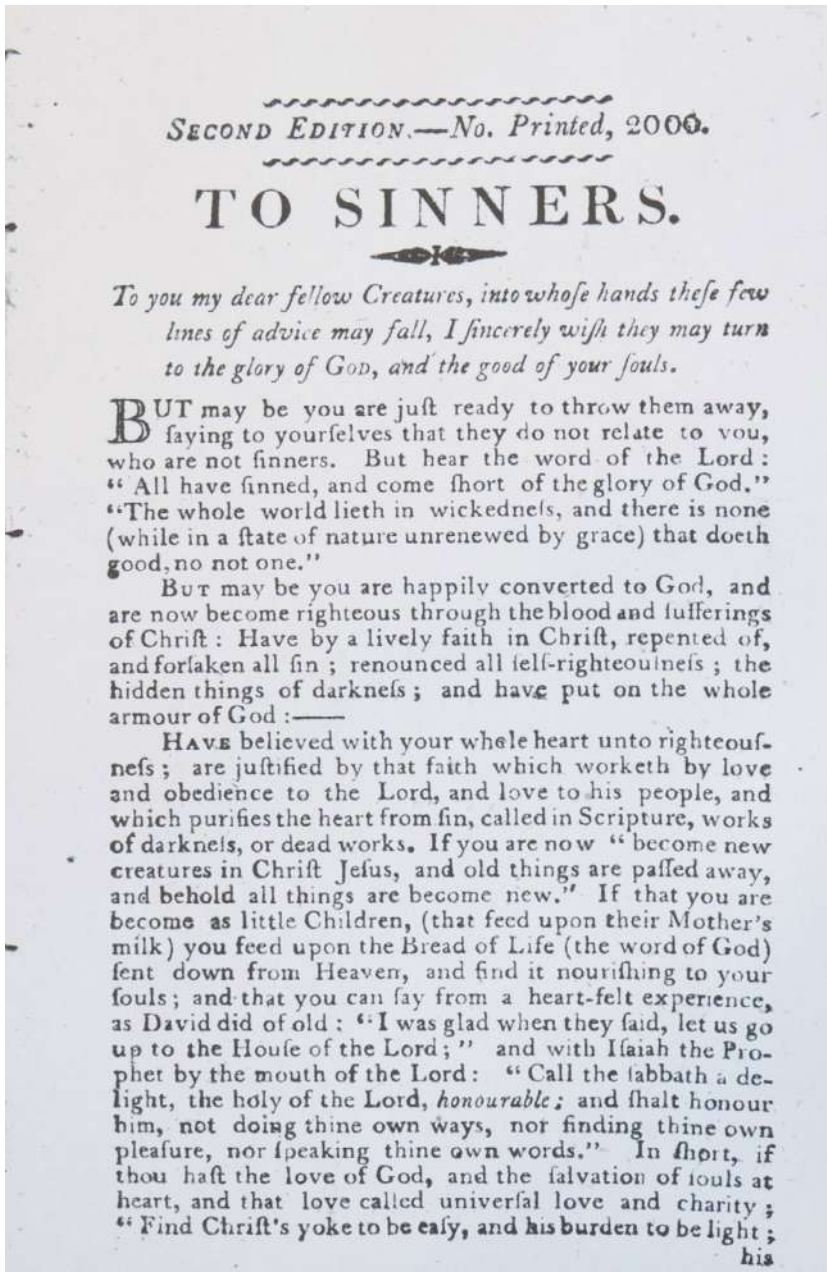
51 Quoted in Victor E. Neuburg, *The Penny Histories: A Study of Chapbooks for Young Readers over Two Centuries* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 55.

Newcastle, but the only known chapbooks are from an unknown printer in Edinburgh (*c*.1800?), John Marshall in Newcastle sometime after 1810, and three Cumbrian editions. These last were published by Soulby, *c*.1802–*c*.1807 (based on the form of advertisement in the imprint), Ann Bell, with a particularly graphic image on the title page, and Michael and Richard Branthwaite in Kendal, sometime after 1803. *Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained* was quite widely published in both broadside and chapbook editions.

Two of Soulby's theological chapbooks may be the work of a local cleric, and they read somewhat like sermons. The title page of *To Sinners* states that it was printed in two editions and, uniquely in this writer's experience, records the print run, which amounted to 2,000 copies (Fig. 5.3). The presence of a drop-title may suggest that this could be considered a tract rather than a chapbook — but then, what is a chapbook? When asked to address the problem of definition at a conference at the Victoria and Albert Museum some years ago, I discussed the matter with the late Professor Richard Landon of Toronto. Tongue-in-cheek, he offered the suggestion that a chapbook was 'a wee book vended by a chap'. I think another attendee remarked that, while he was not sure what exactly constituted a chapbook, he 'knew where he kept his collection of them'.

An Address to Parents is known in three copies. That in the Carlisle Public Library is unmarked, but one in a private collection and one in Cambridge University Library both carry the same careful manuscript textual excisions, which leads one to think they may well have been authorial amendments post-printing. In the text the author speaks highly of the Sunday school movement, which had been started by Robert Raikes in Gloucester in 1780 and spread so rapidly that by 1787 there were 1,800 pupils in Manchester and Salford alone. Indeed, one writer has noted that 'it was a significant characteristic of Sunday schools in the North of England and Wales that they were attended by adults as well as children'.[52] The only other chapbook edition located under this precise title was printed in Birmingham by Groom, *c*.1855; however, the two texts have not been compared, so the latter may not be a reprint of the Soulby chapbook.

52 Thomas Kelly, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain*, 2nd edn (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970), p. 6.



SECOND EDITION.—No. Printed, 2000.

TO SINNERS.

To you my dear fellow Creatures, into whoſe hands theſe few lines of advice may fall, I ſincerely wiſh they may turn to the glory of GOD, *and the good of your ſouls.*

BUT may be you are juſt ready to throw them away, ſaying to yourſelves that they do not relate to you, who are not ſinners. But hear the word of the Lord: "All have ſinned, and come ſhort of the glory of God." "The whole world lieth in wickedneſs, and there is none (while in a ſtate of nature unrenewed by grace) that doeth good, no not one."

BUT may be you are happily converted to God, and are now become righteous through the blood and ſufferings of Chriſt: Have by a lively faith in Chriſt, repented of, and forſaken all ſin; renounced all ſelf-righteouſneſs; the hidden things of darkneſs; and have put on the whole armour of God:——

HAVE believed with your whole heart unto righteouſneſs; are juſtified by that faith which worketh by love and obedience to the Lord, and love to his people, and which purifies the heart from ſin, called in Scripture, works of darkneſs, or dead works. If you are now "become new creatures in Chriſt Jeſus, and old things are paſſed away, and behold all things are become new." If that you are become as little Children, (that feed upon their Mother's milk) you feed upon the Bread of Life (the word of God) ſent down from Heaven, and find it nouriſhing to your ſouls; and that you can ſay from a heart-felt experience, as David did of old: "I was glad when they ſaid, let us go up to the Houſe of the Lord;" and with Iſaiah the Prophet by the mouth of the Lord: "Call the ſabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, *honourable;* and ſhalt honour him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleaſure, nor ſpeaking thine own words." In ſhort, if thou haſt the love of God, and the ſalvation of ſouls at heart, and that love called univerſal love and charity; "Find Chriſt's yoke to be eaſy, and his burden to be light; his

Fig. 5.3. *To Sinners*. Author's collection.

The Shepherdess of the Alps is a translation of Jean-François Marmontel's *La Bergère des Alpes*, one of the series of 'Contes moraux' begun in 1758, and was also the subject of an opera by Charles Dibdin in 1780. ESTC records chapbook editions in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Preston, and York. Soulby, Ann Bell, and Joseph Allison all printed editions in Penrith. The wording of the advertisement following the imprint in Soulby's edition may suggest a date of *c*.1802–*c*.1807. Of the two known copies of Soulby's edition, the one in the National Library of Scotland is printed on pale blue paper.

Again, the wording of the imprint advertisement suggests that *The Painful Sickness and Happy Death of John Boltwood* falls into the *c*.1802–*c*.1807 period. Written by G. Collison (*d*.1847), it appeared in the Cottage Library of Christian Knowledge (1806?). Apart from Soulby's edition, 'published by particular request', only one other commercial edition of this chapbook has been located and that, too, was printed in Penrith, by James Shaw (*fl*.1813–34). One wonders if the 'particular request' that Soulby publish this text was made by the same local cleric as may have written the titles noted above.

The Sunday schools and charity schools had a significant effect on literacy, although their efforts in this worthy direction — together with the output of religious publishing societies — was in no small part intended to supplant ballads and chapbooks with more moral reading matter. One of the leaders of this movement for suitable cheap literature was Hannah More (1745–1833) and her contributions to the genre were well written and, by and large, fair-minded. The success of More and her fellow contributors to the various Cheap Repository Tracts led to an over-inflation of the genre, as worthy officials of like-minded bodies climbed on to the bandwagon and flooded the market with many prosy, sententious, and occasionally downright nauseating little tracts — some, one suspects, with texts that were written around the images available to the various proprietors. Yet, it is possible that the demand for small, cheap books resulting from the increase in literacy brought about by the Sunday school movement and this outpouring of subsidized cheap literature actually stimulated the commercial chapbook trade, for there was a notable and dramatic increase in production after 1800. The Cheap Repository for Moral and Religious Publications had set out deliberately to challenge the chapbook trade by producing and distributing their

publications in a like manner. They published eighty-six titles in 1795 and 1796, and at the end of their first year the treasurer reported that 'about two million have been printed [...] besides great numbers in Ireland'.[53] That is an average print run of over 23,000 copies of each title.

One tract from the Cheap Repository that crossed the divide from the subsidized to the commercial chapbook trade was Hannah More's *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain*, which first appeared in 1795. A number of editions came from the Cheap Repository's printers — Marshall, Hazard, and Evans, as well as their Irish printers — and there were editions from similarly motivated American societies. The text was also translated into Welsh in 1810, Russian in 1815, and there was even an edition in Syriac. Apart from the religious societies' editions, there were only a few commercial editions. Outside Cumbria, copies are only known from Swindells in Manchester, Randall in Stirling, and 'printed for the booksellers' in Edinburgh. Soulby's advertisement following the imprint suggests that his edition belongs to the period 1812–15. If so, he was preceded in Penrith by Ann Bell, who printed it in 1805. George Ashburner in Ulverston also printed an edition, between 1810 and 1820.

What this and other 'piracies' of religious titles suggests is that commercial chapbook printers had scant regard for any concept of copyright. One wonders whether there was a feeling that any chapbook text was effectively in what we would today call the 'public domain', so reprinting was not considered an illegal act. Given the number of such titles that came from printers in the north of England and Scotland, one suspects that printers a long way from London were not overly concerned about possible copyright claims. Equally, it might be that Hannah More and her fellow authors were content to see their improving texts circulated as widely as possible.

Over his years as a printer, Soulby accumulated a wide range of illustrative and decorative materials, eventually numbering more than 130 known pieces. Of these, some thirty are typefounder's casts, several of which are to be found in the Stephensons' *Specimens* of 1796.[54] Over

53 Treasurer's Report, List of Subscribers, and List of Tracts at the front of a bound volume of Cheap Repository Tracts containing thirty-three chapbooks. I am grateful to the late Alex Fotheringham for drawing this to my attention.

54 James Mosley (ed.), *S. & C. Stephenson, A Specimen of Printing Types & Various Ornaments, 1796* (London: Printing Historical Society, 1990).

thirty of his woodcuts could be described as fine work. Many of these are known to have come from the Bewick workshops, but only very rarely are they used in chapbooks. The cut that appears with *Breach of the Sabbath* is certainly in the 'fine' category, and while it cannot be specifically identified, it may be one of those (on unspecified subjects) that Bewick supplied to Soulby on 3 May 1799.[55]

The remainder of Soulby's cuts can be described as ranging from near-fine to downright crude. Two out of this broad and thoroughly unprofessional classification appear to be factotum cuts. One showing two Native Americans approaching a man seated at a desk appears on the title page of *Five Excellent New Songs* (containing *Sweet Poll*), and within the text of both *The History of Lawrence Lazy* and *The Famous History of the Valiant London Apprentice*, in each case with a letter P in the hole. If there is an element of doubt as to whether this particular cut was holed for the insertion of a letter, there is no doubt about another factotum cut of a ship, which is also found in the *Valiant London Apprentice*, with no letter in the hole, in *Richard Whittington*, with a letter U in the hole, and on the title page of *Antonio and Clarissa*, with a letter N in the hole.

As is perhaps to be expected at this period, the long 's' is a frequent feature of the typography of Soulby's chapbooks. Occasionally the compositor had to fiddle to fit copy to the space available. One example is *The History of Nicholas Pedrosa*, which is set at twenty-eight lines to the page up to page 18, when it is suddenly leaded out to reduce the lines to twenty-two to the page. Even so, the copy would not fill the required space, so a song, *Ben Backstay* (generously leaded), occupies the final two and a half pages of the chapbook. The opposite problem arose with the setting of *The History of Guy Fawkes*, where part of the way down page 21 a smaller type size was suddenly adopted.

For the last decade of Soulby's life there is little surviving evidence of any activity other than chapbook printing. In 1809 his name appears as a bookseller for a book printed by one John Soulby in Barnard Castle, whose familial relationship to Anthony Soulby (if indeed there was one) has proved elusive. His imprint appears on a broadside account of a murder trial in 1814. But perhaps the most surprising item from Soulby's business to survive from this period is another edition of the

55 Tattersfield, *Thomas Bewick*, II, 888.

catalogue of his circulating library, which — unlike the earlier edition of the 1770s, issued before he commenced as a chapbook printer — contains no chapbook titles. Clearly, now that he was a printer of this important contribution to the reading matter of the commonality of England, he was not going to lend them to anyone when he could sell them.

Anthony Soulby's wife died in January 1814, and he himself died in January 1816. His will had evidently been drawn up before his wife's death as he makes bequests to her through his executors (one of whom was a yeoman named Isaac Hewetson, possibly the same as his absconding apprentice from decades before, although the name was not uncommon in Cumberland) and thence to his surviving children. These include household goods, as well as properties in Penrith and Kirkby Thore, yet no mention is made of his business premises or stock-in-trade.

For over thirty years Ann Bell and Anthony Soulby had been the printers in Penrith, and their success as chapbook printers could have been a draw to others keen to profit in that market. Francis Jollie senior, a printer of chapbooks in Carlisle, sent his son, Francis junior, to Penrith, where between 1812 and perhaps 1815 he printed chapbooks and made a couple of contributions to a pamphlet war over a local execution, wherein various clerics sought not to argue the pros and cons of capital punishment but rather competed in print over their ability to quote from scripture. After Soulby's death, a number of his woodcuts were used on chapbooks printed in Penrith by Joseph Allison. Several other printers established in the town in the later years of Soulby's life also printed a few chapbooks. Nonetheless, it is the work of Ann Bell and Anthony Soulby that raised the profile of Penrith to a significant place in the pantheon of English chapbook printing towns, and doubtless also attracted chapmen to the town, with the same sort of beneficial effects as were noted for the city of Troyes at the beginning of this chapter.

6. Chapmen's Books Printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks (1757–61)

David Atkinson

Right across early modern Europe, chapmen — itinerant pedlars, hawkers, *colporteurs* — carried and dealt in a whole range of commodities, mostly thought of as being small, cheap items that did not require much capital investment.[1] Nevertheless, Margaret Spufford's work on wills, inventories, and administrators' accounts recording the wealth at death of chapmen in England (largely from the seventeenth century but with some eighteenth-century examples) has shown that, after the Restoration, something like a consumer society was beginning to take root even among ordinary people, and that chapmen's wares were not restricted to just the cheapest items but covered the whole range, from coarse to fine, cheap to dear.[2] Not only did chapmen in some instances become quite prosperous, but among their recorded goods were individual items of some value, to be measured in shillings rather than pence.[3] Even Shakespeare's Autolycus dealt in a variety of goods — textiles, haberdashery, clothing accessories, as well as ballads — the enumeration of which is eclipsed by his

1 For an overview, see Laurence Fontaine, *History of Pedlars in Europe*, trans. Vicki Whittaker (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996).

2 Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their Wares in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), pp. 3–4, 85–105.

3 Spufford, *Great Reclothing*, pp. 149–235.

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self-characterization as a trickster, not to say thief, and of his stock-in-trade as mere 'trumpery' and 'trinkets'.[4]

Only a proportion of chapmen specialized in the trade in books, but again these are typically characterized as small books, cheaply printed, and aimed at a readership among the common people.[5] They would include broadside ballads and single-sheet chapbooks of eight or twenty-four pages, which sold for around 1*d*. and which were increasingly being printed not just in London but also in the provinces as the eighteenth century progressed. The subject of this chapter, however, is a series of 'Chapmen's Books, Printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row' in the 1750s/60s, which were listed in printed catalogues appended to several of the firm's publications. These chapmen's books were typically upwards of a hundred pages in extent, printed on several sheets, and priced at 1*s*.[6] That was twelve times the price of a broadside or cheap chapbook, and so these publications might be expected to have been aimed at a rather different market from that usually associated with the itinerant book trade.

ESTC lists some free-standing printed catalogues of chapmen's books from other booksellers, such as Daniel Pratt at the Bible and Crown in the Strand, John Trac(e)y at the Three Bibles on London Bridge, and John Bew in Paternoster Row.[7] The Woodgate and Brooks catalogues,

4 Spufford, *Great Reclothing*, pp. 88–89; Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985 [1981]), pp. 116–17.

5 Spufford, *Great Reclothing*, pp. 5–6; Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, esp. pp. 111–28; William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 339–44. See also Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 240–64; Adam Fox, *The Press and the People: Cheap Print and Society in Scotland, 1500–1785* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), esp. pp. 1–15; Niall Ó Ciosáin, *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland, 1750–1850* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2010 [1997]), esp. pp. 59–80.

6 Some bibliographers define a chapbook strictly as a small book printed on a single sheet of paper, folded into a booklet, typically of between eight and twenty-four pages. Others would say that a chapbook was anything carried and sold by a chapman. In this chapter, 'chapbook' is reserved for single-sheet publications, and books printed on several sheets are called 'chapmen's books'. The distinction is a useful one for the present purpose, and 'chapmen's books' are what Woodgate and Brooks called them.

7 For example: *An Alphabetical Catalogue of All Sorts of Chapmen's Books, Sold by Dan. Pratt, at the Bible and Crown, against York-House, in the Strand; where All Country*

however, are more comprehensive and wide-ranging in terms of content, more numerous, easier to date with some precision, and their contents can be more readily correlated with extant publications, so they make for the most comprehensive case study. Nevertheless, these kinds of wares might have been more frequently encountered in the itinerant trade, especially outside of London, than one might immediately imagine.

The Woodgate and Brooks partnership

The names of Woodgate and Brooks are not overly familiar to students of the trade in cheap print and they were located in Paternoster Row, which by the eighteenth century was the primary location (along with nearby St Paul's Churchyard) for many of London's leading booksellers, and a centre of great variety and innovation in the book trade.[8] Henry Woodgate was apprenticed to James Hodges in 1744 and freed in 1754.[9] The earliest imprints with his name are from between 1754 and 1757, when he was apparently in a partnership with Stanley Crowder, who had been apprenticed to Hodges in 1742 and freed in 1749.[10] Between 1762 and 1766 Woodgate was subject to bankruptcy proceedings.[11] Nevertheless, his name continued to appear in imprints

Booksellers May Be Furnish'd by Wholesale at the Very Lowest Prices [ESTC N65255]; *An Alphabetical Catalogue of All Sorts of Chapmen's Books, Sold by John Tracey, at the Three Bibles, on London-Bridge; where All Country Booksellers May Be Furnish'd by Wholesale at the Very Lowest Prices* [ESTC T205418]; *A Catalogue of Chapmen's Books, Printed for and Sold by J. Bew, at No. 28, in Paternoster-Row* [ESTC T142056]. None of these can easily be dated, but Pratt and Tracey probably came before, and Bew after, the period of the Woodgate and Brooks partnership.

8 James Raven, 'Location, Size, and Succession: The Bookshops of Paternoster Row before 1800', in *The London Book Trade: Topographies of Print in the Metropolis from the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; London: British Library, 2003), pp. 89–126; James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450–1850* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 168–85.

9 *Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1701–1800*, p. 174 (no. 4030); Plomer, *Dictionary, 1726 to 1775*, p. 270.

10 *Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1701–1800*, pp. 174 (no. 4021), 95–96; Plomer, *Dictionary, 1726 to 1775*, pp. 67–68.

11 Exeter Working Papers in British Book Trade History, 4: *The British Book Trades, 1731–1806, A Checklist of Bankrupts* https://bookhistory.blogspot.com/2007/01/bankrupts.html; Exeter Working Papers in British Book Trade History, 10: *The London Book Trades of the Later 18th Century, Names W–Z* https://bookhistory.blogspot.com/2007/01/berch-w-z.html.

after that date.[12] By way of illustration, editions of Peter Longueville's *The Hermit* printed for J. Wren, S. Crowder, H. Woodgate, J. Fuller, and J. Warcus survive from 1759, 1763, 1768, 1780, and 1783. At some point Woodgate may have moved to St Paul's Churchyard, where he printed and sold a newspaper called the *Constitutional Guardian* in 1770.[13] Of his partner, Samuel Brooks, there are fewer traces. He was apprenticed to James Hodges in 1750 and freed in 1759.[14] His name appears in imprints only from 1757 to 1761, and then only in partnership with Woodgate, after which he all but disappears from the records. There is just a single anomaly in the imprint of an edition of *Aristotle's Last Legacy* dated 1769 which includes the names of Woodgate and Brooks.[15]

Woodgate and Brooks were general Paternoster Row booksellers, their names frequently found in imprints along with those of others in Paternoster Row and on London Bridge. A surviving engraved trade card provides some context:

> Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks, Booksellers, at the Golden Ball (the Pastboard Warehouse) in Pater Noster Row, London. Sell Bibles, Common Prayers, Testaments, Psalters, Spelling Books, Chapmens Books, Modern Books of all kinds, great Variety of Plays and all Sorts of School Books, &c., where all Country Booksellers, Shopkeepers, School Masters, and others may be supplied at the most Reasonable Rates. NB. Shop Books, Pocket Books, &c.[16]

Around forty surviving titles were published by Woodgate and Brooks alone (Appendix 1). Several of them carry advertisements for other titles, including the catalogues of what are explicitly called 'chapmen's books'. For example, pages at both the front and back of *The Famous History of Montelion* list books priced 2*s*. and upwards, and further

12 Plomer thought Woodgate had died in 1766, but it has not been possible to verify the reference cited, which may be an error resulting from confusion around the bankruptcy proceedings (Plomer, *Dictionary, 1726 to 1775*, p. 270).

13 *The Constitutional Guardian* (printed and sold by H. Woodgate, St Paul's Churchyard; and J. Swan, opposite Norfolk Street, in the Strand; where letters addressed to the authors will be thankfully received; sold likewise by all the booksellers and news-carriers in town and country) [ESTC P2969].

14 *Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1701–1800*, p. 174 (no. 4020); Plomer, *Dictionary, 1726 to 1775*, pp. 35–36.

15 *Aristotle's Last Legacy* (London: printed for C. Hitch and L. Hawes; S. Crowder and Co.; H. Woodgate and S. Brooks; and G. Ware, Ludgate Hill, 1769) [ESTC T119654].

16 London, British Museum, Heal 17.182.

pages at the back are given over to a catalogue of chapmen's books and a catalogue of plays. The plays include duodecimos at 6*d*. each, octavos at 1*s*. 6*d*., and operas, farces, etc. at 1*s*. (with a few at 6*d*.). The partnership also advertised a series of more than twenty 'cheap and entertaining histories' written by W. H. Dilworth 'for the entertainment and improvement of the British youth of both sexes', priced at 1*s*., of which (it is said) more than 30,000 copies were sold in a year, although only a handful now survive.[17]

The catalogues of chapmen's books are not all identical, but taken together they are fairly consistent and amount to more than 140 titles, the majority of them romances and other fiction, histories, jest-books, instructional works, devotional titles, and a few songbooks (Appendix 2). Around twenty of them can be matched up with extant Woodgate and Brooks editions (it is difficult to be precise because the titles do not always conform exactly), but the majority survive in other eighteenth-century editions. The extant Woodgate and Brooks chapmen's books are duodecimos of some five or six sheets, and several of them have a price printed on the title page, which, with one exception at 9*d*., is always 1*s*. This is consistent with the Dilworth histories advertised at 1*s*. Such as it is, the evidence permits the inference that a standard price for the Woodgate and Brooks chapmen's books was indeed 1*s*., although obviously it does not preclude the possibility of some cheaper titles.

Book trade networks

The survival rate for chapmen's books printed for Woodgate and Brooks is around 15 per cent, which compares very unfavourably with, for example, rates of up to 80 per cent for 24-page chapbooks from the Dicey/Marshall firm in Bow Churchyard and Aldermary Churchyard around the mid-century, or for books priced at 6*d*. to 1*s*. published by

17 Details from *The Famous and Pleasant History of Parismus*, *The Father of his Country*, *The Life of Dr. Jonathan Swift*, *The Whole Duty of a Woman*. Both *Parismus* and *The Whole Duty of a Woman* include the statement: 'As a Proof of the extraordinary Reception they have met with, upwards of 30,000 have been sold in a Year.' Dilworth's histories were also issued by other booksellers, which may have contributed to this figure, and they were probably not (*pace* Plomer) written specifically for Woodgate and Brooks.

Thomas Sabine and Son nearer to the end of the century.[18] As a rule of thumb, one would expect books priced around 1*s*. to have lasted better than those priced around 1*d*.[19] Some other estimates are lower, and for Sabine's 1*d*. chapbooks the rate drops to just over 30 per cent, but the Woodgate and Brooks figure still looks like an anomaly that requires further consideration.

It is also the case that only half a dozen of the Dilworth histories, and none of the plays, are known to survive in Woodgate and Brooks editions. So it may simply be that the print runs were very short, or that the partnership (which only lasted a few years) was unsuccessful, perhaps contributing to Woodgate's subsequent bankruptcy. However, several more of the titles survive in editions published by Woodgate and Brooks along with other booksellers. Thomas Deloney's *History of the Gentle-Craft* was published by Woodgate and Brooks alone in 1758, and by A. Wilde, C. Hitch and L. Hawes, S. Crowder, C. and R. Ware, and Woodgate and Brooks in 1760.[20] The jest-book compendium *Laugh and Be Fat*, on the other hand, does not survive as an edition published by Woodgate and Brooks alone, but in 1761 it was published by C. Hitch and L. Hawes, S. Crowder, Woodgate and Brooks, and R. Ware.[21] If titles published by Woodgate and Brooks along with other booksellers are included in the calculations above, the survival rate rises to something more like 25 per cent.

18 David Atkinson, 'Thomas Sabine and Son: Street Literature and Cheap Print at the End of the Eighteenth Century', in *A Notorious Chaunter in B Flat and Other Characters in Street Literature*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud (London: Ballad Partners, 2022), pp. 161–85.

19 Michael F. Suarez, SJ, 'Towards a Bibliometric Analysis of the Surviving Record, 1701–1800', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 5, *1695–1830*, ed. Michael F. Suarez, SJ, and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 39–65 (pp. 55–59).

20 *The Delightful, Princely, and Entertaining History of the Gentle-Craft* (London: printed for A. Wilde, in Aldersgate Street; C. Hitch and L. Hawes, in Paternoster Row; S. Crowder and Comp., on London Bridge; C. and R. Ware, on Ludgate Hill; and H. Woodgate and S. Brookes, in Paternoster Row, 1760) [ESTC T60633].

21 *Laugh and Be Fat; or, An Antidote against Melancholy*, 10th edn (London: printed for C. Hitch and L. Hawes; S. Crowder; and H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, in Paternoster Row; and R. Ware, on Ludgate Hill, 1761) [ESTC T128726].

The Illustrious and Renown'd [or *Renowned*] *History of the Seven Famous Champions of Christendom*
— (London: printed for T. Norris, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge; for A. Bettesworth, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster Row, 1719) [ESTC T66808].
— (London: printed for T. Norris, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge; for A. Bettesworth, at the Red Lion, in Paternsoter Row, 1722) [ESTC T66809].
— 3rd edn (London: printed for A. Bettesworth, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster Row; and E. Midwinter, at the Three Crowns and Locking [*sic*] Glass, in St Paul's Churchyard, 1730) [ESTC T211719].
— 4th edn (London: printed for A. Bettsworth and C. Hitch, at the Red Lyon, in Paternoster Row; and R. Ware, at the Sun and Bible, in Amen Corner; and J. Osborn, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row; and J. Hodges, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge) [ESTC T224835].
— 5th edn (London: printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, at the Red Lyon, in Paternoster Row; and R. Ware, at the Sun and Bible, in Amen Corner; and J. Hodges, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge, 1738) [ESTC T225586].
— 6th edn (London: printed for R. Ware, at the Sun and Bible, on Ludgate Hill; C. Hitch, at the Red Lyon, in Paternoster Row; and J. Hodges, at the Looking Glass, over against St Magnus Church, London Bridge, 1750) [ESTC N67701].
— 7th edn (London: printed for C. Hitch, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster Row; R. Ware, at the Bible and Sun, on Ludgate Hill; J. Hodges, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge; S. Crowder and H. Woodgate, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1755) [ESTC T66807].
— 8th edn (London: printed for C. Hitch, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster Row; R. Ware, at the Bible and Sun, on Ludgate Hill; S. Crowder, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge; and H. Woodgate, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1759) [ESTC T154496].
— 9th edn (London: printed for L. Hawes and Comp., at the Red Lion, in Paternoster Row; C. and R. Ware , at the Bible and Sun, on Ludgate Hill; and S. Crowder, at the Looking Glass, in Paternoster Row, 1766) [ESTC N16797].
— 10th edn (London: printed for L. Hawes and Comp., at the Red Lion, in Paternoster Row; C. and R. Ware, at the Bible and Sun, on Ludgate Hill; and S. Crowder, at the Looking Glass, in Paternoster Row, 1775) [ESTC N16798].

Table 6.1. Successive editions of the *Seven Champions of Christendom*.[22]

22 Crowder and Woodgate were also involved, along with others, in an extended two-volume edition published in 1755: *The Renowned History of the Seven Champions of*

The Garden of Love, and Royal Flower of Fidelity, a Pleasant History
— 7th edn (London: printed for Tho. Norris, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge; and Martin Boddington, at the Golden Ball, in Duck Lane, 1720) [ESTC N3372].
— 7th edn [*sic*] (London: printed for Tho. Norris, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge; and Martin Boddington, at the Golden Ball, in Duck Lane, 1721) [ESTC T77686].
— 8th edn (London: printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, at the Red Lyon, in Paternoster Row; and J. Clarke, at the Golden Ball, in Duck Lane, 1733) [ESTC T67322].
— 9th edn (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row), price 1*s*. [ESTC T66367].
The Most Pleasing and Delightful History of Reynard the Fox, and Reynardine his Son [...] *to which is added, The History of Cawwood the Rook; or, the Assembly of Birds*
— 4th edn (London: printed by and for C. Brown and T. Norris; and sold by the booksellers of Pye Corner and London Bridge, 1715) [ESTC T127084].
— 5th edn (London: printed by and for T. Norris, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge, 1723) [ESTC T60837].
— 6th edn (London: printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, at the Red Lyon, in Paternoster Row; R. Ware, at the Sun and Bible, in Amen Corner; and James Hodges, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge, 1735) [ESTC T60839].
— 6th edn [*sic*] (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1758) [ESTC N35373].
The Unfortunate Lovers: The History of Argalus and Parthenia
— 4th edn (London: printed by Tho. Norris, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge) [ESTC T67324].
— 5th edn (London: printed for C. Hitch and L. Hawes, in Paternoster Row; S. Crowder, on London Bridge; C. Ware, on Ludgate Hill; and H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, in Paternoster Row) [ESTC T50415].
— (London: printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row) [ESTC T128764].

Table 6.2. Some editions of *The Garden of Love*, *Reynard the Fox*, *Argalus and Parthenia*.

Christendom, 2 vols (London: printed and sold by J. Dowse, opposite Fountain Court, in the Strand; S. Crowder and H. Woodgate, in Paternoster Row; W. Jackson, at Oxford; T. James, at Cambridge; and R. Millson, at Liverpool, 1755) [ESTC N26200].

These editions provide a useful introduction to the trade networks to which Woodgate and Brooks evidently belonged. The same booksellers' names recur with great frequency in connection with titles listed in the catalogues of chapmen's books. This is well illustrated by a long sequence of ten, mostly numbered, editions of Richard Johnson's *Seven Champions of Christendom* published between 1719 and 1775 (Table 6.1). Woodgate's name appears with two of them, although the title does not survive as an edition published by Woodgate and Brooks alone. The others named are Thomas Norris, Arthur Bettesworth, Edward Midwinter, Charles Hitch, Richard and Catharine Ware, John Osborn(e), James Hodges, Stanley Crowder, Lacy Hawes, and Henry Woodgate. Besides characteristics such as format, extent, and iconography, as a further illustration of their continuity several of these editions carry an advertisement for William Salmon's *The Country Builder's Estimator*, published by James Hodges at the Looking Glass on London Bridge (1738, 1750, 1755), and then by Stanley Crowder at the Looking Glass on London Bridge (1759) and later in Paternoster Row (1766, 1775).[23]

Nearly all of these booksellers are known to have been linked in some manner by succession, marriage, apprenticeship, and/or partnership. Thus James Hodges was apprenticed to Thomas Norris, Charles Hitch to Arthur Bettesworth, and Lacy Hawes and Richard Ware to Charles Hitch.[24] Thomas Norris's daughter (or daughter-in-law) married Edward Midwinter, and Arthur Bettesworth's daughter married Charles Hitch.[25] James Hodges succeeded to Thomas Norris's business at the Looking Glass on London Bridge, probably *c.*1730, prior to Norris's death in 1732.[26] Woodgate, Brooks, and Crowder were all apprenticed to Hodges, and sometime after Hodges was knighted by George II in 1758 he was succeeded at the Looking Glass by Crowder, who then moved to Paternoster Row when the buildings were removed

23 Surviving editions of *The Country Builder's Estimator; or, The Architect's Companion* were published by J. Hodges, *c.*1733, 1737 (2nd edn), 1746 (3rd edn), 1752 (4th edn); S. Crowder, 1758 (6th edn), 1759 (7th edn); S. Crowder and B. Collins (Salisbury), 1770 (8th edn), 1774 (9th edn). Despite these successive edition statements, the advertisements in the *Seven Champions* all refer to the 'second edition'.

24 *Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1701–1800*, pp. 250 (no. 5821), 34 (no. 799), 173 (nos. 3996, 4001).

25 Plomer, *Dictionary, 1668 to 1725*, pp. 204–05, 220–21, 34.

26 Plomer, *Dictionary, 1726 to 1775*, pp. 127–28.

from London Bridge.[27] Imprints indicate that the connections among them were dynamic over time, and some other names crop up as well, but those listed here recur sufficiently frequently to make it safe to infer a degree of business association and succession. One hesitates to use the contemporary term 'conger' in the absence of further evidence, but dynamic cartels formed to protect shared investments in printing rights were a feature of the eighteenth-century trade.[28] Some of those named here were successful and quite eminent (Hitch was Master of the Stationers' Company in 1758), but this did not preclude involvement with the chapbook — and hence chapman — trade.[29]

Table 6.2 shows a few more examples of how, according to the surviving evidence, Woodgate and Brooks editions fit into these trade networks. Table 6.3 shows some examples of the same networks where there is no surviving Woodgate and Brooks edition, even though the title is listed in their catalogues of chapmen's books. The purpose of these tables, it should be emphasized, is not to provide comprehensive bibliographical histories of the titles in question, but simply to illustrate the observable patterns and some of the questions they raise.

Edition statements, where present, indicate where Woodgate and Brooks editions fit into a sequence going back to the early decades of the eighteenth century, yet they are not always unproblematic.[30] Thus the 1735 edition of *Reynard the Fox* claims to be the sixth edition, but so does the Woodgate and Brooks edition of 1758. Editions of *Laugh and Be Fat* from 1741 and 1753, clearly from different settings of type, both claim to be the twelfth edition, while the 1761 edition published

27 Raven, *Business of Books*, pp. 168, 408 n. 54.

28 Raven, *Business of Books*, p. 89. See also Andrea Immel, 'Children's Books and School-Books', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 5, *1695–1830*, ed. Michael F. Suarez, SJ, and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 736–49 (p. 738), who infers that some of the booksellers referenced here collaborated in this way in relation to the market in children's literature.

29 For Hodges and the chapmen, see Pat Rogers, 'Defoe's *Tour* (1742) and the Chapbook Trade', *The Library*, 6th ser., 6 (1984), 275–79.

30 Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1995 [1972]), pp. 117, 317, notes the unreliability of edition statements, albeit usually because booksellers labelled new impressions as new editions rather than because edition numbers were repeated by different booksellers.

by Hitch and Hawes, Crowder, Woodgate and Brooks, and Ware claims to be the tenth, which logically should have come between the ninth edition of 1724 and the eleventh edition of 1733. More examples could be adduced, and it is far from obvious why such anomalies arose, although in some instances there may be no more complicated an explanation than a compositor thoughtlessly following a copy-text. Conversely, the retention of standing type is sufficient explanation for Thomas Norris's two issues of the seventh edition of *The Garden of Love* dated 1720 and 1721, and, over a more extended period of time, for the two issues of the seventh edition of *The Whole Art of Legerdemain* dated 1763 and 1772.

Nevertheless, where putative Woodgate and Brooks editions are missing from the record, it is sometimes possible to guess where they might have belonged on the basis of edition statements. The partnership could have been responsible for, say, a tenth edition of *The French Convert*, or a sixth edition of *The Whole Art of Legerdemain*, or a nineteenth edition of Part I of *Youth's Divine Pastime*. On the other hand, the bibliographical record for *Guy, Earl of Warwick* has no obvious space for a missing edition, and the possibility has to be entertained that Woodgate and Brooks never actually published, but merely (say) distributed, some of the titles in their catalogues, even though that would apparently contradict the statement that they were 'printed for' the partnership.

The French Convert [...] *to which is added, A Brief Account of the Present Severe Persecutions of the French Protestants*

— 7th edn (London: printed for Edw. Midwinter, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge) [ESTC T59230].
— 8th edn (London: printed for Edw. Midwinter, at the Three Crowns and Looking Glass, in St Paul's Churchyard) [ESTC T100475].
— 9th edn (London: printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster Row; R. Ware, at the Bible, in Amen Corner; and J. Hodges, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge, 1746) [ESTC T89431].
— 11th edn (London: printed for C. Hitch and L. Hawes, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster Row; and J. Hodges, at the Looking Glass, at London Bridge; and R. Ware, at the Bible and Sun, on Ludgate Hill, 1757) [ESTC T89798].

The Noble and Renowned History of Guy, Earl of Warwick

— (London: printed by W. O., for E. B.; and sold by A. Bettesworth, at the sign of the Red Lion, on London Bridge, 1706) [ESTC T135118].
— 4th edn (London: printed for A. Bettesworth, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster Row, 1720) [ESTC T177749].
— 5th edn (London: printed for A. Bettesworth, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster Row) [ESTC T135119].
— 6th edn (London: printed for A. Bettesworth, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster Row, 1729) [ESTC T82151].
— 7th edn (London: printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster Row, 1733) [ESTC T135120].
— 8th edn (London: printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, at the Red Lyon, in Paternoster Row, 1736) [ESTC N5503].
— 9th edn (London: printed for C. Hitch and L. Hawes, at the Red Lyon, in Paternoster Row, 1756) [ETC N51322].
— 10th edn (London: printed for Stanley Crowder, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge, 1759) [ESTC T131796].
— 10th edn (London: printed for Stanley Crowder, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge, 1759) [ESTC N64130].
— 11th edn (London: printed for Stanley Crowder, No. 12, Paternoster Row) [ESTC N51320].

The Unfortunate Concubines; or, The History of Fair Rosamond, Mistress to Henry II, and Jane Shore, Concubine to Edward IV

— (London: printed by W. O.; and sold by A. Bettesworth, at the Red Lion, on London Bridge, 1708) [ESTC N46587].
— (London: printed by C. Brown and T. Norris; and are to be sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1713) [ESTC N506985].
— (London: printed by and for T. Norris, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge, 1717) [ESTC T128648].
— (London: printed by and for T. Norris; and sold by Edw. Midwinter, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge) [ESTC T179852].
— (London: printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster Row; R. Ware, at the Bible and Sun, in Warwick Lane, at Amen Corner; and J. Hodges, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge, 1739), price bound 1*s*. [ESTC T222857].
— (London: printed for R. Ware, at the Bible and Sun, Ludgate Hill; C. Hitch, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster Row; and J. Hodges, at the Looking Glass, London Bridge, 1748), price bound 1*s*. [ESTC T117669].
— (London: printed for R. Ware, at the Bible and Sun, Ludgate Hill; C. Hitch, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster Row; and J. Hodges, at the Looking Glass, London Bridge, 1753), price bound 1*s*. [ESTC T128647].
— (London: printed for C. Hitch and L. Hawes, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster Row; S. Crowder and Co., at the Looking Glass, London Bridge; C. Ware, at the Bible and Sun, Ludgate Hill, 1760), price bound 1*s*. [ESTC T118175].

— (London: printed for C. Hitch and L. Hawes, at the Red Lion; S. Crowder and Co., at the Looking Glass, in Paternoster Row; and C. and R. Ware, at the Bible and Sun, Ludgate Hill, 1762), price bound 1*s*. [ESTC N62830].

The Whole Art of Legerdemain; or, Hocus Pocus in Perfection

— (London: printed and sold by A. Bettesworth, at the Red Lyon, in Paternoster Row, 1722) [ESTC T135164].
— 2nd edn (London: printed for A. Bettesworth, at the Red Lyon, in Paternoster Row; D. Pratt, at the Bible and Crown, against York House, in the Strand; John Willis and Tho. Pettit, at the Angel and Bible, in Tower Street, 1727) [ESTC T177780].
— 3rd edn (London: printed for A. Bettsworth [*sic*] and C. Hitch, at the Red Lyon, in Paternoster Row; and R. Ware, at the Sun and Bible, in Amen Corner; and J. Osborn, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row; and J. Hodges, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge) [ESTC T178040].
— 4th edn (London: printed for J. Hodges, opposite St Magnus Church, London Bridge; C. Hitch, at the Red Lyon, in Paternoster Row; and R. Ware, at the Sun and Bible, on Ludgate Hill) [ESTC T126917].
— 5th edn (London: printed for J. Hodges, opposite St Magnus Church, London Bridge; C. Hitch and Hawes; S. Crowder and Woodgate, in Paternoster Row; and R. Ware, on Ludgate Hill) [ESTC T155755].
— 7th edn (London: printed for L. Hawes and Co., and S. Crowder, in Paternoster Row; and R. Ware and Co., on Ludgate Hill, 1763) [ESTC T127028].
— 7th edn (London: printed for L. Hawes and Co., and S. Crowder, in Paternoster Row; and R. Ware and Co., on Ludgate Hill, 1772) [ESTC T155754].

Youth's Divine Pastime, Part I

— 15th edn (London: printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, at the Red Lion; and J. Batley, at the Dove, in Paternoster Row, 1732) [ESTC T212308].
— 16th edn (London: printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster Row; and J. Hodges, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge, 1734) [ESTC N46086].
— 18th edn (London: printed for C. Hitch, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster Row; and J. Hodges, at the Looking Glass, over against St Magnus Church, London Bridge, 1752) [ESTC N475292].
— 20th edn (London: printed for L. Hawes and Co., at the Red Lion; and S. Crowder, at the Looking Glass, in Paternoster Row, 1765) [ESTC T212301].

Table 6.3. Some editions of *The French Convert*, *Guy of Warwick*, *The Unfortunate Concubines*, *Youth's Divine Pastime*.

Ownership in titles

In September 1712, Charles Brown and Thomas Norris had made a large entry in the Stationers' Register of ballads and books labelled as 'old'.[31] These were all titles that had been in print in various formats in previous decades, issued by booksellers connected with the seventeenth-century ballad partnership, and it is generally thought that Brown and Norris were intending to establish ownership, presumably in the wake of the 1710 copyright act, with a view to creating a new street literature cartel.[32] Among them are twenty-four 'bound books', the majority of which survive as duodecimos of seven or eight sheets with a Norris imprint. Few of the surviving titles actually carry a price, but *The English Rogue* and *The Secretary's Guide* cost 1*s*. (*The Monarchs of England*, which ran to ten sheets, cost 1*s*. 6*d*.). The majority of these titles can be matched with titles from the Woodgate and Brooks catalogues of chapmen's books.

Subsequent to this 1712 entry, titles of this kind do not appear in the Stationers' Register, which means that, in principle at least, under the terms of the 1710 act they would have fallen out of copyright protection in 1726 (or in 1731 if they were considered as titles already in print in 1710).[33] As is well known, however, the provisions of the 1710 act were widely ignored by London publishers and a regime of effective perpetual copyright persisted until the landmark ruling in *Donaldson v. Becket* in 1774. The claim to perpetual copyright derived from the argument of the major London booksellers that ownership in a title was a common law property right which was not invalidated by the 1710 statute, backed up by aggressive business practices, the risk of expensive legal proceedings, and the authority, albeit declining, of the Stationers' Company. To what extent chapmen's books were caught up in these practices is unknown. Some of the booksellers identified here were significant figures in the London publishing trade, and it is plausible that shares in the ownership

31 The entry is reproduced in Robert S. Thomson, 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade and its Influence upon the Transmission of English Folksongs' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1974), pp. 283–87.

32 Thomson, 'Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade', p. 82.

33 For copyright, see Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1993); Mark Rose, 'Copyright, Authors and Censorship', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 5, *1695–1830*, ed. Michael F. Suarez, SJ, and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 118–31.

of titles could have passed down from Thomas Norris to his successors, although to date there is no real evidence to that effect. Nevertheless, Woodgate and Brooks (and others) may have maintained some sort of proprietary interest.

Whether such a pattern of ownership would have prevented anyone else from publishing the same titles is a different matter. There is perhaps a clue in the form of an advertisement printed with five successive editions of *The Famous and Delightful History of Fortunatus* published before and after the mid-century (Table 6.4):

> This Book having found very good Acceptance for many Impressions, some Ill-minded Persons have Printed a Counterfeit Impression in *Duodecimo*, therein falsifying the Original, and endeavouring to deprive the true Proprietors of the Copy; Therefore let the Buyer take heed of cheating himself, and encouraging such base Practices, the true Copy being sold by [the booksellers named in the imprint to each particular edition].

The Right, Pleasant, and Diverting History of Fortunatus, and his Two Sons
— 10th edn (London: printed for J. Osborne, near Dock Head, Southwark; J. King, in Moorfields; and J. Hodges, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge), price bound 1*s*. [ESTC N12936].
— 11th edn (London: printed for J. Osborne, in Paternoster Row; J. King, in Moorfields; and J. Hodges, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge, 1740), price bound 1*s*. [ESTC T65408].
— 12th edn (London: printed for J. Osborne, in Paternoster Row; J. King, in Moorfields; and J. Hodges, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge, 1752), price bound 1*s*. [ESTC T224840].
— 13th edn (London: printed for C. Hitch & L. Hawes; and S. Crowder, in Paternoster Row; and J. King, in Moorfields), price bound 1*s*. [ESTC N12950].
— 14th edn (London: printed for S. Crowder, in Paternoster Row, 1779), price bound 1*s*. [ESTC T128706].

Table 6.4. Editions of *Fortunatus* with publishers' advertisements warning of counterfeit impressions.

(*Fortunatus* appears in the Woodgate and Brooks catalogues, but does not survive in an edition published by the partnership, and neither is there any evident space for one in the numbered sequence of editions.) The supposedly 'counterfeit' impressions cannot be readily identified,

but this advertisement serves once more to illuminate the succession among a group of connected booksellers (in this instance, J. Osborne, J. King, J. Hodges, C. Hitch and L. Hawes, S. Crowder), and to reinforce the idea of a perceived sense of ownership in titles. It is possible, but probably unlikely, that the advertisement referred to shorter, 24-page chapbook versions of *Fortunatus*. A late example of these, published by J. Turner in Coventry, has the price of 1*d*. printed on the title page.[34] It seems unlikely that such a publication would have competed directly with editions priced at 1*s*.

The chapman trade

Brown and Norris, or Norris alone (Norris died in 1732, but Brown's name ceases to appear in imprints after *c*.1716, presumably in consequence of retirement or death), are perhaps best known as publishers of ballads and chapbooks. The last page of Norris's 1723 edition of *Reynard the Fox*, for example, carries an advertisement addressing the itinerant trade: 'At the afore-mention'd Place, all Country Chapmen may be furnished with all Sorts of Bibles, Common-Prayers, Testaments, Psalters, Primers and Horn-books: Likewise all Sorts of three Sheet Histories, Peny Histories, and Sermons; and Choice of Old Ballads, at reasonable Rates.' Several of Norris's 24-page chapbooks carry advertisements that list the titles of 'small Histories and Merry Books' available from the Looking Glass on London Bridge, and the same is true for Edward Midwinter and James Hodges.[35] The country chapmen may or may not have dealt in 1*s*. books alongside the 1*d*. histories and ballads, but the Woodgate and Brooks evidence confirms that at least some chapmen were handling the more expensive publications.

Are we then to distinguish different kinds of itinerant trade, or different kinds of consumers? The fact that there was, for instance, a market for a title such as *Argalus and Parthenia* both as a 120-page edition published by Woodgate and Brooks and as an abridged version of twenty-four pages published in Aldermary Churchyard can be taken

34 *The History of Fortunatus* (Coventry: printed & sold by J. Turner), price 1*d*. [ESTC T231324].

35 For example, several of the chapbooks bound together in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Harding A 56.

to imply different levels of disposable income and, more tenuously, different kinds of readers, or at least different kinds of reading. Ballads and 24-page chapbooks at 1*d*. would presumably have been easier for itinerant traders to sell at markets and fairs than titles like *The Ladies Delight; or, Cook-Maids Best Instructor* at 1*s*. The chapmen's inventories studied by Margaret Spufford are mostly annoyingly non-specific in relation to books, but some informative examples include: George Poull (Pool), of Brampton, Cumberland, in 1695, who left eleven books valued at 9*d*. each; Robert Griffin, of Canterbury, in 1707, who left thirty books valued at 10*s*. (averaging 4*d*. each), eighteen valued at 4*s*. 6*d*. (averaging 3*d*. each), and a dozen bibles valued at £1; Thomas Allen, of Petworth, Sussex, in 1692, who had thirty-nine books priced from 5*d*. to 8*d*. each, and sixteen bibles priced from 1*s*. to 2*s*. 2*d*. each.[36] Examples from Scotland later in the eighteenth century include: Donald Mackcallum, of Killin, Perthshire, in 1768, who left handkerchiefs, cloth, belts, buttons, and buckles, and a parcel of proverbs and a songbook valued at 1*s*. 9*d*.; James McTurk, of Chanlockfoot, Dumfriesshire, in 1780, who left catechisms and ballads worth 3*d*., Rochester's poems worth 6*d*., *The Gentle Shepherd* worth 1*d*., and other books ranging from a few pence to a few shillings.[37]

Some of the Woodgate and Brooks catalogues include a paragraph quite similar to Norris's cited above, but directed at country booksellers and shopkeepers rather than country chapmen: 'Where likewise may be had, Bibles, Common Prayers, Testaments, Psalters, Spelling Books, modern Books of all Kinds, great Variety of Plays, and all Sorts of School Books, &c. where all Country Booksellers, Shopkeepers, School Masters, and others, may be supplied at the most reasonable Rates.' Increasing numbers of provincial booksellers, stationers, and others were selling books by the mid-century, and they may have been customers for the 1*s*. chapmen's books more frequently than the individuals who would buy ballads and chapbooks from itinerant pedlars at markets and fairs.[38] Indeed, some of Spufford's more successful chapmen also

36 Spufford, *Great Reclothing*, pp. 154, 168; Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 122.

37 Vivienne Dunstan, 'Chapmen in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *Scottish Literary Review*, 9.1 (2017), 41–57 (pp. 45, 46).

38 John Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 28–31; Raven, *Business of Books*, pp. 141–43.

kept shops themselves, and some of them sold books alongside other goods, so that to the modern eye the distinction between chapmen and small shopkeepers is blurred, even if contemporaries could still draw distinctions based on an individual's origins.[39]

Expanding readerships

On the whole, the Woodgate and Brooks catalogues of chapmen's books are rather more weighted towards devotional titles, practical works, and works of self-improvement than, for example, the single-sheet chapbooks published in Aldermary Churchyard. Nevertheless, they do still list romances and adventures, lives and histories, jest-books, and so forth, many of which can also be found in chapbook form. There are only a couple of songbooks, and the contents of *The Vocal Companion; or, Songster's Delight* are quite different in style from the single-sheet old ballads, but even so, by the mid-century theatre and pleasure garden songs were also being published in Aldermary Churchyard as eight-page chapbooks. There are, of course, material and textual differences between books that cost 1*d*. and books that cost 1*s*., besides the difference in price, which could regulate accessibility. Nevertheless, overlap in terms of subject matter suggests that there were also some significant continuities in reading experiences.

Writers like Francis Kirkman, Samuel Johnson, and James Boswell had all enjoyed reading romances in their youth.[40] Titles such as *Argalus and Parthenia*, *Dorastus and Fawnia*, and *Parismus* — all extant in Woodgate

Michael F. Suarez, SJ, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 5, *1695–1830*, ed. Michael F. Suarez, SJ, and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 1–35 (p. 20), cites a catalogue from 1806 which indicates that Thomas Sabine and Son employed a travelling salesman, the catalogue being presumably for the benefit of local booksellers and stationers rather than individual purchasers.

39 Spufford, *Great Reclothing*, pp. 31, 58–67; Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, pp. 124–25.

40 Francis Kirkman, *The Unlucky Citizen, Experimentally Described in the Various Misfortunes of an Unlucky Londoner* (London: printed by Anne Johnson, for Fra. Kirkman, and are to be sold at his shop in Fanchurch Street, over against the sign of the Robin Hood, near Aldgate; and by most other booksellers, 1673), pp. 10–14 [ESTC R39073]; James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. R. W. Chapman, rev. J. D. Fleeman, introd. Pat Rogers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 36; *Boswell's London Journal, 1762–1763*, ed. Frederick A. Pottle (London: Heinemann, 1950), p. 299.

and Brooks editions — were no doubt easier for youngsters to tackle in abridged chapbook editions, illustrated with woodcuts. The longer versions found in the chapmen's books, with their sometimes more elaborate vocabulary, were presumably aimed at more experienced, or more determined, readers. Nevertheless, listeners as well as readers would have been able to participate in the stories when they were read out loud, in either bibliographical format, and would perhaps have been encouraged to attempt the written texts.

Only a few literary classics, in particular *Robinson Crusoe* and *Moll Flanders*, were widely known at the time through cheap chapbook abridgements.[41] There were also some longer adaptations of *Robinson Crusoe*, published by some of the booksellers referenced here.[42] The Woodgate and Brooks adaptation of *Moll Flanders*, titled *Fortune's Fickle Distribution* and priced at 1*s*., falls somewhere in between; it devotes some space to the stories of Moll's governess and her Lancashire husband, and is described by Pat Rogers as being 'halfway to a chapbook'.[43]

Other titles from the Woodgate and Brooks list of chapmen's books have their counterparts in 24-page chapbook editions. *A New Academy of Complements*, best described as a miscellaneous work of self-improvement which strays into humorous dialogue and songs, is also found in small chapbook editions which are textually distinct but cover some of the same ground, such as addresses to potential suitors, posies for rings, and a selection of songs. *Youth's Divine Pastime*, published in two parts at a time largely before a specialized market in books for children had developed, comprises bible stories rendered into verse and illustrated with woodcuts, 'very delightful for Young Persons, and to prevent vain and vicious Divertisements', according to one title page. Intended for children, *Youth's Divine Pastime* was presumably bought by, and at least initially read aloud by, parents.

The assumption is that the cheapest chapbook editions represented an extension and expansion of the market for the subject matter of the more expensive publications represented by the chapmen's books, taking account of prospective purchasers' economic resources, social horizons,

41 Pat Rogers, *Literature and Popular Culture in Eighteenth Century England* (Brighton: Harvester Press; Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble, 1985), pp. 162–97.

42 Rogers, *Literature and Popular Culture*, pp. 168–71.

43 Rogers, *Literature and Popular Culture*, p. 184.

and reading abilities and expectations. It is more useful to think in terms of expanding readerships and a spectrum of reading experiences than of any crude division of mentalities along economic and social lines, distinguishing elite from non-elite readers.[44] Nevertheless, it also looks as if diversification may have stimulated a degree of specialization within the itinerant book trade.

Woodgate and Brooks did not, so far as is known, publish any single-sheet chapbook editions. Cheap chapbook publishing had truly taken off by the mid-century, with booksellers like Dicey/Marshall specializing in ballads and chapbooks that sold for around 1*d*. Others, such as Thomas Bailey, sold criminals' lives, jest-books, devotional and instructional titles, and amatory fiction, priced mostly in the 3*d*. to 6*d*. range. The more or less standard price for amatory fiction, typically in the region of thirty-two to sixty-four pages — and published in increasing quantities during the second half of the century — remained at 6*d*. for many decades. The cost of one of the Woodgate and Brooks chapmen's books was around twelve times that of a single-sheet chapbook, and twice that of a work of cheap fiction. It remains difficult to judge the affordability of books that cost around 1*s*. One estimate would make 1*d*. in 1760 roughly equivalent to £1 today, and 1*s*. in the region of £12.[45] In that light, even a 1*d*. broadside may not have been an altogether trivial purchase, and yet it is generally understood that they sold in large, even vast, quantities. Such figures probably do not mean much if they cannot easily be judged against income and other necessary expenditures for the target market. Relative price stability during the first half of the century was followed by inflation during the second half, but the impact on different sections of the population varied greatly.[46] At the same time, population

44 It is worth noting here the similarity between titles in the Woodgate and Brooks catalogues of chapmen's books and those in the manuscript list of the servant's library at Alnwick Castle, *c*.1750–60, described in detail by Melanie Bigold, 'Sex Education, Songs, and Spiritual Guidance: An Eighteenth-Century Servants' Library', *The Library*, 7th ser., 23 (2022), 301–22, who concludes that the list represents both the oversight and reading preferences of the employer and the interests and enjoyment of the employees, and that it evidences the truly mixed economy of the book trade of the mid-eighteenth century (p. 322).

45 Robert D. Hume, 'The Value of Money in Eighteenth-Century England: Incomes, Prices, Buying Power — and Some Problems in Cultural Economics', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77 (2015), 373–416 (p. 381).

46 Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727–1783* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992 [1989]), pp. 147–49, 447–59.

size, literacy rates, book prices, consumer demand, and numbers of booksellers were all increasing during the second half of the century.[47] Cautiously, it seems plausible to think of booksellers like Woodgate and Brooks reflecting the growth of the market for print, and to think of the itinerant book trade as more diverse than the conventional picture of the petty chapman selling ballads and chapbooks for 1*d*. or so might allow.

47 Suarez, 'Introduction', pp. 3–5, 8–12; James Raven, 'The Book as a Commodity', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 5, *1695–1830*, ed. Michael F. Suarez, SJ, and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 85–117.

Appendix 1. Provisional short-title checklist of Woodgate and Brooks publications

An Address to His Majesty upon the Present Crisis (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, in Paternoster Row, 1757) [ESTC T86697]. 44 pp. 8°.

The Amours and Adventures of Two English Gentlemen in Italy (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, in Paternoster Row, 1761), price 1*s*. [ESTC N471126]. 132 pp. 12°.

An Authentick and Complete History of Witches and Apparitions (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1759) [ESTC T188854]. 116 pp. 12°.

A Cabinet Council; or, Secret History of Lewis XIV (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooke [*sic*], at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1757), price 3*s*. [ESTC T127892]. 214 pp. 12°.

A Catalogue of Chapmens Books, Printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Pater-noster-row [ESTC T200234]. 4 pp. 12°. Four pages numbered [1]–4, probably originally printed with one of the chapmen's books.

The Delightful, Princely, [*and Entertaining*] *History of the Gentle-Craft* (London: printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1758) [ESTC T60634]. 120 pp. 12°.

The English Rogue; or, Witty Extravagant, Described in the Life of Meriton Latroon (London: printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks, at the Golden Ball, Paternoster Row, 1759) [ESTC T64717]. 116 pp. 12°.

The Famous and Pleasant History of Parismus, the Valiant and Renowned Prince of Bohemia, 8th edn (London: printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row) [ESTC T71888]. 122 pp. 12°.

The Famous History of Montelion, Knight of the Oracle (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, at the Golden Ball, Paternoster Row) [ESTC T128481]. 144 pp. 12°.

The Father of his Country; or, The History of the Life and Glorious Exploits of Peter the Great, Czar of Muscovy (printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1760) [ESTC T145418]. 144 pp. 12°. By W. H. Dilworth.

The Fifteen Comforts of Matrimony, with an Addition of Three Comforts More (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1760) [ESTC T128695]. 120 pp. 12°.

The Fortunate Imposter; or, The Very Entertaining Adventures of Dick Hazard, a True Story (London: printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1759), price 1*s*. [ESTC T64739]. 120 pp. 12°.

Fortune's Fickle Distribution, in Three Parts, containing first, The Life and Death of Moll Flanders [...] *The Life of Jane Hackabout, her Governess* [...] *The Life of James Mac-Faul, Moll Flanders's Lancashire Husband* [...] (London: printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Broors [*sic*], at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1759), price 1*s*. [ESTC N18614]. 120 pp. 12°.

The Garden of Love, and Royal Flower of Fidelity, a Pleasant History, 9th edn (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row), price 1*s*. [ESTC T66367]. 120 pp. 12°.

The Gentleman and Lady's Military Palladium, for the Year of our Lord 1759 (printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, in Paternoster Row, 1759) [ESTC T61124]. 80 pp. 8°.

The Happy Orphans, an Authentic History of Persons in High Life, 2 vols (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1759) [ESTC N32838]. 2 vols. 12°.

— 2nd edn, 2 vols (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row) [ESTC N32762]. 2 vols. 12°.

The History of Francis-Eugene, Prince of Savoy (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, in Paternoster Row) [ESTC T209113]. 168 pp. 12°. By W. H. Dilworth.

The History of the Present War, between France and Great-Britain, to the Conclusion of the Year 1759 (London: printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1760) [ESTC N8194]. 168 pp. 12°. By W. H. Dilworth.

The Honour of Chivalry; or, The Famous and Delectable History of Don Bellianis of Greece (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row), price 1*s*. [ESTC T184982]. 120 pp. 12°.

Injured Innocence, a Narrative Founded on Fact (London: printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1759), price 1*s*. [ESTC N9470]. 120 pp. 12°.

The Ladies Delight; or, Cook-Maids Best Instructor (London: printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1759), price 1*s*. [ESTC N506805]. 120 pp. 12°.

The Life and Heroic Actions of Balbe Berton, Chevalier de Grillon, 2 vols (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row) [ESTC T130968]. 2 vols. 12°.

—, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row) [ESTC N33541]. 2 vols. 12°.

The Life of Alexander Pope, Esq. (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, in Paternoster Row, 1760) [ESTC T84010]. 156 pp. 12°. By W. H. Dilworth.

The Life of Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, in Paternoster Row, 1760) [ESTC T84013]. 146 pp. 12°. By W. H. Dilworth.

The Life of Frederick III, King of Prussia (London: printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1759), price 1*s*. [ESTC T178539]. 120 pp. 12°. [By W. H. Dilworth?]

The Life of Oliver Cromwell (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1760) [ESTC T134196]. 168 pp. 12°. [By W. H. Dilworth?]

The Lives and Adventures of the Most Notorious Highway-waymen [*sic*], *Street Robbers and Murderers* (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1759) [ESTC T105166]. 120 pp. 12°.

The London, Oxford, Cambridge, Coffee-House and England's Jests (London: printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row), price 9*d*. [ESTC T171685]. 120 pp. 12°.

The Most Pleasing and Delightful History of Reynard the Fox, and Reynardine his Son [...] *to which is added, The History of Cawwood the Rook; or, The Assembly of Birds*, 6th edn (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1758) [ESTC N35373]. 146 pp. 12°.

The Navy Surgeon; or, Practical System of Surgery, with a Dissertation on Cold and Hot Mineral Springs, and Physical Observations on the Coast of Guiney (London: printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1758) [ESTC N5253]. 432 pp. 8°.

John Burton, *A New and Complete System of Midwifry, Theoretical and Practical*, 2nd edn (London: printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1758) [ESTC N4953]. 440 pp. 8°.

Observations on the Account Given of the Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, &c. in Article Sixth of the Critical Review, No. 35. for December, 1758 (London: sold by H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1759) [ESTC T41763]. 40 pp. 8°.

The Pleasant and Delightful History of Dorastus, Prince of Sicily, and Fawnia, Only Daughter and Heir to Pandosto, King of Bohemia (London: printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brookes, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row) [ESTC T67323]. 120 pp. 12°.

The Unfortunate Lovers: The History of Argalus and Parthenia (London: printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row) [ESTC T128764]. 120 pp. 12°.

The Visions of Dom Francisco de Quevedo Villegas, Knight of the Order of St. James, 6th edn (London: printed for H. Woodgate, and S. Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1759), price 1*s*. [ESTC N63187]. 132 pp. 12°.

The Vocal Companion; or, Songster's Delight, being a Choice Collection of All the Celebrated New Songs Sung at the Public Gardens and Theatres (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, at the Golden Ball, Paternoster Row, 1759), price 1*s*. [ESTC T180635]. 132 pp. 12°.

The Wars of the Jews, 5th edn (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1759), price 1*s*. [ESTC N509092]. 118+ pp. (imperfect). 12°.

The Whole Duty of a Woman (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, in Paternoster Row), price 1*s*. [ESTC T223145]. 146 pp. 8°.

The Whole Life and Merry Exploits of Bold Robin Hood, Earl of Huntingdon (London: printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row) [ESTC N25807]. 122 pp. 12°.

The Wooden World Dissected, in the Character of a Ship of War, 8th edn (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, in Paternoster Row, 1761) [ESTC T201255]. 124 pp. 12°.

Appendix 2. Catalogue of chapmen's books printed with *The Father of his Country*

Academy of Compliments
Amorous Gallant
Amadis de Gaul
Adventures of Five Englishmen
Argalus and Parthenia
Aristotle's Masterpiece
Aristotle's Problems
Aristotle's Midwifery
Aristotle's Last Legacy
Arraignment of Women
Art of Gardening
Art of Money Catching
Artemidorus
Arts Treasury
Æsop's Fables
Baxter's Call
Book of Knowledge
Bunyan's Sighs from Hell
Bury's Hymns
Call of the Son of God
Cambridge Jests
Cards Fortune Book
Coffeehouse Jests
Come and Welcome
Complete Letter-Writer
Cry of the Son of God
Cynthia, a Novel
Doctor Faustus
Don Bellanis
Don Quixote
Doolittle's Call
Dorastus and Faunia
Drake, Sir Francis
Duty of Prayer
Duty of the Sacrament
Duty of Women
Earl of Essex and Queen Elizabeth
England's Monarchs
England's Jests
English Secretary
English Rogue
Exact Dealer
Female Grievances
Female Policy
Fifteen Comforts of Matrimony
Fortune Impostor
Fortunatus
Fountain of Life
Four Last Things
Francis Spira
French Convert
French Rogue
Garden of Love
Gouge's Guide
Gentle Craft
Gentleman's Jockey
Gerhard's Meditations
Gesta Romanorum
God's Wonders
Grace Abounding
Great Assize
Guy, Earl of Warwick
Help to Discourse
History of Earthquakes
History of Wales
History of Witches and Apparitions
History of the Pirates
History of the Seven Wise Masters

History of the Seven Wise Mistresses
Hocus Pocus; or, the Art of Legerdemain
Horneck on Prayer
Injured Innocence, a True History
Lucky Ideot; or, Foolls Have Fortu[n]e
Ladies Delight
Lambert on Cattle
Laugh and Be Fat
Life of Christ
Life of the King of Prussia
Life of Jonathan Wylde
Lives of the Apostles
Lives of the Highwaymen
London Bawd
London Jests
London Spy
Mariner's Jewel
Memorable Accidents
Mock Royalty, a Novel
Moll Flanders
Montelion
New Book of Songs
New Year's Gift
Nine Novels
Nine Worthies
Oxford Jests
Parismus
Pilgrim's Progress, in three parts
Pindar of Wakefield
Pleasures of Matrimony
Polidore and Julia
Prodigal Son
Profitable Recreation
Quakers Academy
Queen's Cookery
Quevedo's Visions
Religious Courtship
Reynard the Fox
Robin Hood
Robinson Crusoe
Rochester's Poems
Russel's Seven Sermons
Russel's Prayer
Russel on the Sacrament
Saint Indeed
Sally Salisbury
School of Recreation
Scotch Rogue
Secretary's Guide
Seven Champions
Shepherd's Calendar
Sinner's Tears
Spanish Rogue
Tales of the Fairies
Token for Mariners
Token for Mourners
Travels of Christ
Travels of True Godliness
Travels of True Ungodliness
Triumph of Wit
Twelve Cæsars
Twelve Novels
Two Concubines
Visions of Hell
Universal Letter-Writer
Vocal Companion; or, Songster's Delight
Wars of England
Wars of the Jews
Week's Preparation, two parts
Wit's Cabinet
Wonderful Prodigies
Young Man's Guide
Youth's Divine Pastime, 1st Part
Youth's Divine Pastime, 2nd Part

7. Slip Songs and Engraved Song Sheets

David Stoker

The early decades of the eighteenth century have been described as a time when 'music was rapidly changing in form, substance, and performance. It was becoming much more the concern of everyday folk.'[1] Prior to this, music, whether printed by letterpress or using engraved plates, was usually reserved for serious or religious compositions. *The Catalogue of All the Musick Books That Have Been Printed in England* published by John Playford in 1653 contained 'no popular songs or dance books, no theatre music', all of which would become a staple feature of eighteenth-century music publishing.[2] Engraved, as opposed to letterpress, printed music had existed in England since the 1580s, but it was only in the mid-seventeenth century that it became at all common and music became an established specialism within the engraver's trade. Members of the Playford family would continue to publish songbooks that were both engraved and printed by letterpress throughout the second half of the century.[3] After 1695, specialist music publishers such as John Walsh and, later, John Cluer began catering for the more popular market with publications that offered individual songs and collections of new songs, or 'ayers from the stage', and instruction manuals for playing

1 William C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the Years 1695–1720* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1948), p. vi.

2 Smith, *Bibliography of John Walsh*, p. v.

3 Cyrus Lawrence Day and Eleanore Boswell Murrie, 'English Song-Books, 1651–1702, and their Publishers', *The Library*, 4th ser., 16 (1936), 355–401.

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instruments in a domestic setting.[4] However, their engraved musical publications were still beyond the pockets of most of the public.

There was also a market for the publication of the words of both traditional and newly composed popular songs, only occasionally with any indication as to the tune to which they were to be sung. These were sold either collected in songbooks or as individual broadside ballads. A typical seventeenth-century broadside ballad of the type collected by Samuel Pepys would have been printed on a half-sheet of paper, using black-letter type, and might comprise either a contemporary song (or songs) or a traditional ballad. The black-letter ballads began to decline in popularity towards the end of the century, to be replaced by half-sheet white-letter ballads (printed in roman or italic type), and by a new popular printed format, the slip song. The latter remained the principal and cheapest vehicle for disseminating the words of popular songs well into the nineteenth century.

A database of slip songs

Of all the eighteenth-century printed formats, slip songs (sometimes referred to as 'slip ballads' or merely 'slips') are the most difficult to categorize or deal with from the point of view of bibliographical control. This may explain the lack of research into their format, production, and distribution, compared with chapbooks or traditional broadside ballads. They were cheap, ephemeral publications; only a fraction of the hundreds of thousands of titles and editions produced have survived, usually only as a single copy. Only a minority of the surviving exemplars include an imprint which might indicate their date and place of printing, or who was responsible for their production and sale. Where this is given it has sometimes been misinterpreted, because they were usually produced by businesses working on the fringes of the established book trade in London or by poorly documented printers working in the provinces.

4 For example: *A Collection of New Songs, with a Through Base to Each Song, and a Sonata for Two Flutes* (John Walsh, 1697) [Smith no. 13]; *A Collection of Ayers, Purposely Contriv'd for Two Flutes* (John Walsh, 1698) [Smith no. 18]; *Theater Musick, being a Collection of the Newest Ayers for the Violin, with the French Dances Perform'd at Both Theaters* (John Walsh, 1698) [Smith no. 19a]; *The Harpsicord Master, containing Plain and Easy Instructions for Learners on the Spinet or Harpsicord* (John Walsh, 1698) [Smith no. 14].

Likewise, they were sold by a network of pedlars, hawkers, patterers, and ballad singers, or else from market stalls, rather than in retail bookshops.

In order to gain a better understanding of the format, their printers and publishers, and the types of songs produced, the author downloaded 3,830 bibliographical records containing the phrase 'slip song' or 'slip-song' within the 'general notes' field from the more than 480,000 records currently in the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC). Subsequent examination of the records found several of them where the general notes field was referring to another publication, or where there was an obvious error in the description. These were discounted, and the sample was further restricted to items printed in Britain and Ireland. This left a total of 3,806 records which were used to create a database of songs which could be sorted and analysed according to the contents of the different fields.

Before presenting the results of this exercise, a more than usually strong health warning needs to be issued about the reliability of the conclusions that can be drawn from such data. ESTC is a large and detailed bibliographical source, which records the collections of many libraries and repositories throughout the world, but it is a union catalogue and cannot be assumed to be entirely consistent in its use of terminology.[5] Furthermore, the records of items that happen to have survived in libraries are not necessarily representative of the output of contemporary presses. To give one of many possible examples, 222 slip songs were printed in or assigned to the city of Salisbury, which would appear to make this the most important centre for such publications outside of London. However, 214 of these came from one little-known printer, John Fowler, who only operated within the city for a few years during the late 1780s before moving to London. The large number of entries are due to the preservation of three scrapbooks of his publications in the British Library.[6] Thus, chance survivals can skew the results. Nevertheless, ESTC is the best tool available and some interesting results are forthcoming from an analysis of its contents.

5 One library describes seven songs printed between 1713 and 1720 on single sheets with dimensions of 44 × 35 cm as slip songs, whereas virtually all other libraries would regard them as broadside ballads (ESTC N66789, N66792, N66796, N66829, N66833, N66834, N66835).

6 London, British Library, 1163.a.19., 11621.i.11., 11622.c.7.

Definition, format, illustration, and price

The use of the word 'slip' to refer to a narrow piece of paper was current in the seventeenth century, and proofs of printed books on long sheets were often referred to as 'slips'. The term 'slip song' appears to be a more recent coinage, which occurs frequently in twentieth-century literature but without any clear definition in terms of bibliographical format. The main distinguishing features of these publications are:

- content — a song or lyric of some kind
- shape — usually, but not universally, long and narrow
- format — printed on one side of a half-sheet of paper or smaller.

Leslie Shepard does not include an entry in his glossary of street literature terms, although under 'ballad' he defines a 'slip ballad' or 'single slip' as 'a single column ballad sheet, usually cut from a double column sheet'.[7] *The Oxford Companion to the Book* describes 'slip song' in terms of its shape and what it does not contain:

> Texts customarily printed on long narrow slips of paper. Music was hardly ever printed together with the words in this format; on the rare occasions when it is to be found it is usually as a decorative pretence, devoid of genuine musical significance. At best, such notations served as an aide-memoire for the reader, who would then select a suitable melody from a corpus of simple tunes known principally from oral tradition.[8]

Another recent definition is 'a song printed on a single sheet or "slip" of paper', although this does not differentiate slip songs from the broadside ballad format.[9]

Slip songs are a type of broadside ballad, in so far as they were printed on one side of the paper, and some musicologists and folk song scholars have used the terms interchangeably.[10] Yet the book trade regarded them

7 Leslie Shepard, *The History of Street Literature: The Story of Broadside Ballads, Chapbooks, Proclamations, News-Sheets, Election Bills, Tracts, Pamphlets, Cocks, Catchpennies, and Other Ephemera* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973), p. 224.

8 Michael F. Suarez, SJ, and H. R. Woudhuysen, *The Oxford Companion to the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 1161–62.

9 Kate Horgan, *The Politics of Songs in Eighteenth-Century Britain, 1723–1795* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014), p. 123.

10 The Roud Broadside Index, for instance, does not differentiate between them and simply records them all as broadsides.

as separate types of publication, at least during the eighteenth century (Fig. 7.1). Both the William and Cluer Dicey catalogue and the Dicey and Marshall catalogue treat 'old ballads' and 'slips' as separate categories. They were almost universally printed using letterpress during the greater part of the eighteenth century, although during the 1770s and 1780s a new category of engraved and etched song sheet gradually began to be introduced, perhaps aiming for a more prosperous market. Apart from a few exceptions, these are not included in ESTC, and elsewhere they are usually described as 'song-sheets'. This format does not, therefore, feature in the following analyses, but is discussed separately at the end of the chapter.

THE

Bonny Broom.

A SONG,

New set to MUSIC.

HOW blithe was I each Morn, to see
My Bonny Broom o'er the Dale;
Its Sight's the Breath, and Food to me,
I met him with good Will.

CHORUS.

O, the Broom, the Broom, the bonny, bonny Broom,
The Broom o' Cowden-Knows;
I wish I was with my dear Swain,
With his Pipe, and Ewe Lowes.

I neither wanted Kin nor Lands,
While his Flock near me lay;
He gather'd in my Sheep at Night,
And shear'd me all the Day.
O, the Broom, &c.

He tun'd his Pipe and Reed so sweet,
The Birds perch'd listning by,
The Bonny Flock stood still, and gaz'd,
Charm'd with his Melody.
O, the Broom, &c.

With him we spent our Time by turns,
Betwixt our Flock and Play,
I envy'd not the Richest Dame,
Tho' she in Silk or Gay.
O, the Broom, &c.

He did oblige me every Hour,
Could I for Kindness do?
He won my Heart, could I refuse
What e'er he ask'd of me?
O, the Broom, &c.

Hard Fate, that I must humbled be,
Going barefoot and mean!
Because I lov'd the kindest Swain
That ever yet was born.
O, the Broom, &c.

Printed and Sold at GARRATT's Printing-Office, in Lynn, Norfolk.

Fig. 7.1. *The Bonny Broom* (Lynn: printed and sold at Garratt's Printing Office, [between 1762 and 1797]). Five editions of this song are listed in ESTC, but not this one. Courtesy Lewis Walpole Library.

Determining the format of these songs has proved problematic. The subject is complex and in the absence of clear cataloguing rules different libraries appear to have adopted different practices. Surviving copies have often been trimmed, so it is not possible to determine their original dimensions. The traditional method of determining format is to examine the direction of the chain lines. If printed four to a sheet, the chain lines would normally be vertical in relation to the text, whereas with eight to a sheet they would be horizontal. Yet recent research suggests that chain lines do not provide an infallible means of determining format, especially in the eighteenth century and among printers of street literature, where double-sized sheets of paper, cut in half, might have been used.[11]

In the author's experience, a typical slip song would be around 8–10 cm in width and 25–30 cm in length, which would allow for eight single-column songs to be printed on a sheet of paper, therefore giving a format of 1/8°. This impression is confirmed by a search of the JISC Historical Texts database, which includes 1,399 examples with images.[12] There are also several examples of uncut sheets of songs in the Bodleian Library that have either eight songs to a sheet or four to a half-sheet (Fig. 7.2).[13] However, this is not borne out by the analysis of ESTC entries, where 2,822 (74 per cent) of the records are shown as 1/4°, compared with only 650 (17 per cent) as 1/8°. Shepard's definition — and the survival of numbers of joined pairs on a quarter-sheet of paper (20–25 cm) — imply that, howsoever they may have been printed, slip songs were likely sold wholesale in pairs, leaving it to the ballad seller, or perhaps even the purchaser, to separate the two parts. The etching *Friendly as a Ballad Singer at the Country Wake* (*c*.1745) and the mezzotints *The Old Ballad Singer* (1775) and *The Pretty Maid Buying a Love Song* (1780) all clearly

11 For turned chain lines in street literature, see John Meriton, with Carlo Dumontet (eds), *Small Books for the Common Man: A Descriptive Bibliography* (London: British Library; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2010), p. 903; and for double-mould paper, see Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1995 [1972]), pp. 63–65.

12 JISC Historical Texts allows cross-searching of several databases that include images, including Early English Texts Online and Eighteenth Century Collections Online https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/.

13 For example: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Firth b.26(467/468). The imprint, which falls between two of the songs (bottom left in Fig. 7.2), may indicate that they were intended to be sold wholesale either as four quarto pairs, or as a single sheet.

illustrate the sale of individual slip songs (Figs 7.3 and 7.4).[14] There are substantial numbers of unseparated pairs in ESTC (where they are often recorded in the 'copy notes' field).[15] The practice of selling songs in pairs may have become more prevalent with printers such as John Pitts and James Catnach at the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth.[16] Sometimes a single imprint is given between the two columns, sometimes each column has a separate imprint, but more often there is no imprint.

Fig. 7.2. Eight early nineteenth-century slip songs on a single sheet. Bodleian Library, Firth b.26(467/468).

14 London, British Museum, 1890,0415.335, 2010,7081.3072, 1874,1010.22; all reproduced at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection.

15 For example: *Pretty Sally, by the Light of the Moon + A New Song, called A Sprig of Shillelah, Sung by Mr. Manly, Theatre, Halifax* (printed at Jacobs Office, Halifax) [ESTC T217177, T217178].

16 Leslie Shepard, *John Pitts, Ballad Printer of Seven Dials* (London: Private Libraries Association, 1969), illustrates an eighteenth-century 'single slip' printed by John Marshall (p. 100) and eight early nineteenth-century examples printed by Pitts (pp. 116–19). He also illustrates two unseparated 'double slips' printed by Pitts (pp. 120–21).

Fig. 7.3. *Friendly as a Ballad Singer at the Country Wake* (*c*.1745), etching and engraving. British Museum 1890,0415.335. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Claude_Du_Bosc_afer_John_Laguerre,_Friendly_as_a_Ballad_Singer_at_the_Country_Wake,_British_Museum_1890,0415.335.jpg.

Fig. 7.4. *The Old Ballad Singer* (Carington Bowles, 1775), mezzotint. Courtesy Lewis Walpole Library.

More than 91 per cent of the songs are either 1/8° or 1/4° and printed in a single column on one side of the paper, but this still leaves a significant number of exceptions. Items listed with a format of 1° were ruled out, but there remain 222 examples listed with a format of 1/2°, presumably because of the dimensions and direction of the chain lines. A half-sheet, printed in landscape orientation, was the format most commonly used for broadside ballads during the eighteenth century, but there was evidently some overlap with slip songs. For the purposes of this exercise, broadside ballads are regarded as being on a half-sheet or larger, normally printed in two or more columns, whereas a slip song would be on a half-sheet or smaller, printed in a single column.[17]

There are also a few songs printed in double columns on quarter-sheets which are described as slip songs, but the proportion of these cannot be ascertained from bibliographical entries. However, there are plenty of contemporary songs with the same dimensions, but which are described only as broadside poems. For example, *A New Song, to an Old Tune* and *The Tree of Liberty, a New Song* are two very similar-looking songs — each printed in two columns, without imprint, but dating from the 1790s and calling for political reform — of which the former, but not the latter, is recorded as a slip song.[18]

Another deviation from the norm is those songs that satisfy the other criteria in terms of their shape and a single column, but that were printed on both sides of the paper. There were only seven of these, five of them dating from the first half of the century. One such is *Mr. Paul's Speech Turn'd into Verse*.[19] Why they should have been printed in this way is not clear. Finally, there are two examples where three songs written by the radical orator and writer John Thelwall survive on a single sheet, clearly intended to be separated, giving a format of 1/3°.[20] There are also

17 There are a few ESTC slip songs in two columns that have a printed border, giving a wider and shorter size, but these are a minority.

18 *A New Song, to an Old Tune — viz. 'God Save the King'* [ESTC T43008]; *The Tree of Liberty, a New Song, Respectfully Addressed to the Swinish Multitude by their Fellow Citizen, William England* [ESTC T51671].

19 *Mr. Paul's Speech Turn'd into Verse, and Explain'd for the Use of all Lovers of the Church, and the Late Queen Ann* (London: printed in the year 1716), price 1*d*. [ESTC N4394].

20 John Thelwall, *News from Toulon; or, The Men of Gotham's Expedition + A Sheepsheering Song + Britain's Glory; or, The Blessings of a Good Constitution* [ESTC T43076, T48028, N38440].

106 examples (3 per cent) with small formats such as 1/12°, and even two examples at 1/16°.[21]

One (occasionally two) crude woodcut illustrations are found on 2,358 (62 per cent) of the titles. In most of these cases, a generic and only vaguely relevant cut that the printer happened to have in stock was used. For example, *The Token*, one of Charles Dibdin's sea songs, was illustrated with a cracked woodcut representation of Noah's ark and the dove returning with a twig, which had been cut for chapbook version of the story.[22] Other woodcuts appear with several songs or in known chapbooks, and are sometimes the only means of identifying the producer of a given title. Only six examples in the database record a price — three at 1*d*. and three at ½*d*. The 1764 Dicey/Marshall catalogue quotes a wholesale price for slips of 4*s*. (48*d*.) per ream of twenty quires (a ream being forty-eight sheets) — that is, twenty copies for 1*d*.

Subject, content, and date

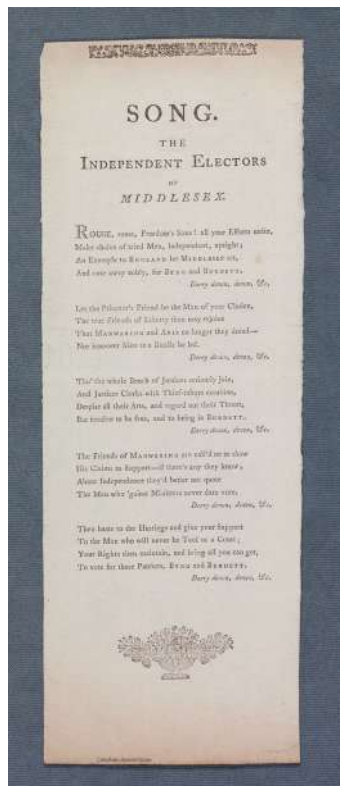
A typical slip song usually consisted of the words of a contemporary popular song, whether from theatrical performances or sung at pleasure gardens such as Vauxhall and Ranelagh. It might also be used for other purposes, such as political campaigns or sensational accounts of crimes or disasters (Fig. 7.5). Songs and ballads were one of the oldest means of political expression available to the poor, and several slip songs from the 1790s advocated liberty and constitutional reform. *The Genius of Liberty*, sung to the tune of 'Rule, Britannia!', was sold at 'the Tree of Liberty' in London's Soho.[23] No doubt Hannah More was thinking of such items when in 1795 she spoke of 'corrupt and vicious little books and ballads which

21 Because of the uncertainty in determining the format, some more recent additions to ESTC also include the dimensions within the notes field.

22 Charles Dibdin, *The Token* (sold at No. 42, Long Lane, printed in April 1794) [ESTC T51441].

23 *The Genius of Liberty* (sold by R. Lee, at the Tree of Liberty, No. 2, St Ann's Court, Soho) [ESTC T4809]. Other examples of slip songs seeking political reform are: *The Tree of Liberty* (sold, wholesale and retail, by Citizen T. G. Ballard, No. 3, Bedford Court, Covent Garden) [ESTC T207158]; Thomas Spence, *The Rights of Man, First Published in the Year 1783* (printed for T. Spence, bookseller, No. 8, Little Turnstile, Holborn) [ESTC T45086]; *Song, Sung at the Anniversary of the Society for Constitutional Information, Held at the Crown-and-Anchor Tavern, London, May 2, 1794* [ESTC N38469].

have been hung out of windows in the most alluring forms or hawked through town and country'.[24] There were no hard and fast rules as to their content, which might include both happy and sad love songs, songs relating to country or city life, patter songs, songs to dance to, humorous or satirical songs, songs in support of election candidates or seeking political reform, and at times traditional ballads and folk songs (although these were more often produced as broadside ballads). Sometimes one song was written in 'answer to' or as a 'sequel to' another famous title.[25]



SONG.

THE

INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF

MIDDLESEX.

ROUSE, come, Freedom's Sons! all your Efforts unite,
Make choice of wise Men, independent, upright;
An Example to ENGLAND let MIDDLESEX be,
And vote every nobly, for BYNG and BURDETT.

Derry down, down, &c.

Let the Patriot's Friend be the Man of your Choice,
The true Friends of Liberty then may rejoice
That MANNERING and ARIS no longer they dread—
No hoaxer him on a Bully be led.

Derry down, down, &c.

Tho' the whole Bench of Justices entirely Join,
And Justice Clerks with Thief-catchers combine,
Despise all their Arts, and regard not their Threats,
But resolve to be free, and to bring in BURDETT.

Derry down, down, &c.

The Friends of MANNERING no more I'll name now
His Claims to support—if there's any they know,
Absent Independence they'd better not quote
The Man who 'gainst Monarch never dare vote.

Derry down, down, &c.

Then haste to the Hustings and give your Support
To the Man who will never be Tool to a Court;
Your Rights then maintain, and bring all you can get,
To vote for those Patriots, BYNG and BURDETT.

Derry down, down, &c.

Fig. 7.5. *Song: The Independent Electors of Middlesex*. The names of Byng and Burdett date this to the 1802 parliamentary election. Courtesy Lewis Walpole Library.

24 *A Plan for Establishing a Repository of Cheap Publications on Religious & Moral Subjects* [ESTC T155148]. Hannah More's ballads were usually published in broadside format, but one example, *Dick and Johnny; or, The Last New Drinking Song* [ESTC T31834], was published without imprint as a 1/8° slip song.

25 For example: *The Answer to The Gown of Green* (printed by J. Grundy, Worcester) [ESTC N71051]; *The Pipe and Jug, a Sequel to The Brown Jug* [ESTC T42313].

Slip songs were not the only format in which contemporary popular songs were distributed. Publishers of street literature such as the Dicey family (1730s–60s), the Marshall family (1770s–90s), or Joshua Davenport and John Evans (1790s–1800s) all produced collections of popular songs in eight-page chapbook format. The Dicey/Marshall catalogue of 1764 refers to them as 'collections'; other sources call them 'songsters', as they were often named after singing birds. With each new edition of a given title new songs would be inserted.[26] A single song might therefore be published in several different formats throughout the course of the century.[27] Likewise, the same song might be published by two competing printers in the same town. *O(h) Dear! What Will Become of Me?* was printed as a slip song by John Marshall at No. 42, Long Lane, but was also printed and published by his rival John Evans, next door at No. 41.[28]

In the early ESTC entries no subject information was recorded, merely a limited number of genres applied to single-sheet publications.[29] The number of possible genres has grown since then and subject fields have been introduced. The overwhelming majority of the slip songs in ESTC (3,739, or more than 98 per cent) have been allocated to the 'broadside poems' genre, but 523 of these also have a second genre such as 'songs' (409), 'poems' (seventy-eight), 'ballads' (twenty-four), 'hymns' (four), 'dialogues' (two), 'plays' (two), or 'musical works' (two). Of the sixty-four entries that are not allocated to the 'broadside poems' genre, twelve have no description, forty-seven are designated 'songs', two each are 'poems' or 'satires', and one 'song-sheets'. One slip song, *Dr. Wests*

26 Dicey/Marshall catalogue (1764), p. 97: 'N. B. Each Time of Re-printing the above Song-Books, the Songs therein are always changed for New.'

27 Jennifer Batt, '"It ought not to be lost to the world": The Transmission and Consumption of Eighteenth-Century Lyric Verse', *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 62 (2011), 414–32, has traced one lyric poem, 'The Midsummer Wish', through at least fifty publications, including slip songs and broadside ballads.

28 *O Dear! What Will Become of Me?* (sold at No. 42, Long Lane) [ESTC T203635]; *Oh Dear! What Will Become of Me?* (sold at 41, Long Lane) [ESTC N71507]. Marshall later claimed in the Court of Chancery that Evans had taken copies of all his publications when he left his employ in 1793; Evans agreed that he had printed 'some few slips and publications', but denied that any of them 'were the original designs or inventions of the Plaintiff'. See David Stoker, 'John Marshall, John Evans, and the Cheap Repository Tracts', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 107 (2013), 81–118.

29 John Bloomberg-Rissman, 'Searching ESTC on RLIN', *Factotum: Newsletter of the English STC*, Occasional Paper, 7 March 1996.

Advice to his Patients, is designated as an 'advertisement', and another, *A True and Particular Account of One John Green,* has been placed in the genre of 'almanacs', although this is likely to be an error.[30]

The inclusion of three subject fields ('subject', 'corporate subject', 'person as subject') is a relatively recent development. Only one third of the entries analysed contain this information, so comparisons with the overall sample are not possible. In some instances, the subject field merely duplicates information in the genre field, such as 'songs, English — early works to 1800', or 'English poetry — 18th century'. Ninety-six entries have the subject field descriptor 'Great Britain — politics and government', sixty-nine of which also include the descriptor 'anecdotes'. Other recurring subjects for songs are 'parliamentary and local elections', 'French Revolution', 'Jacobites and the Jacobite Rebellion', and 'political satire'. More than a hundred entries have the corporate subject descriptor 'Great Britain — Parliament'. Similarly, the majority of entries with a person as subject contain the names of political figures, especially those standing for election.

Any discussion of the dates of slip songs must be extremely tentative given the lack of information included on them. Only ninety (2.4 per cent) of the 3,820 entries analysed carry a date of publication. Of these, seventy-seven are dated 1794 and also include the month of publication. This was probably the result of a legal dispute then taking place between two neighbouring printers in London (see below). A few others carry statements that may indicate a date, such as 'printed in the first year of the downfal [*sic*] of Fox' — that is, 1784.[31] Some songs can be dated with reasonable accuracy from the dates of theatrical productions from which they were taken, the dates of the events portrayed, or, in some cases, the dates of associated material.

There is not always consistency in the way that ascribed dates are shown. In two examples, the date is shown as '17—?', and in three others the date range '1700–1800' has been allocated, presumably for want of any

30 *Dr. Wests Advice to his Patients* [ESTC T199417]; *A True nad* [*sic*] *Particular Account of One John Green, Who Was Tried, Cast and Condemn'd at Stafford Assizes Last for the Barbarous and Bloody Murder of Ann Estings, his Sweetheart* ESTC T176591].

31 *The Westminster Election, a Song* (London: printed in the first year of the downfal [*sic*] of Fox) [ESTC T207212].

more precise information.[32] Others have been given purely speculative dates such as '1800?' based on nothing more than the layout and typography of the item. Where a printer or publisher is named, the date range given often corresponds to their known period of working. Thus, sixty-two items in the Harding collection at the Bodleian Library printed in Newcastle upon Tyne with an 'Angus, printer' imprint are allocated to the period 1774–1825.[33] About half of them should presumably fall outside the scope of ESTC, but there is no obvious way of telling which ones. Slip songs continued to be printed for many decades into the nineteenth century, but their printers tended to hold on to printing types and retained antiquated features such as the long 's' well after they had been abandoned by those working in the established book trade.

The earliest slip song recorded in ESTC is a song with the opening lines 'By the merry Landes date ah, / There Dwelt a jolly Miller', preserved among the Roxburghe Ballads, which carries no imprint.[34] This has been ascribed to 'ca. 1635?', and is very much an outlier, printed in a black-letter type. There appear to be no other survivors before the mid-1690s, so it has been discounted. There are three further undated titles ascribed to the 1690s, but only one of them appears at all certain, since it concerns the death of Queen Mary on 28 December 1694.[35] It is only from 1701 onwards that there is any firmer evidence to assist in dating.

Using actual or ascribed dates, or else the initial date given when there is a date range, a crude measure of the numbers surviving from each decade can be obtained. Between 1701 and 1760, this figure fluctuated between forty-one and 144 titles each year, and the slip song seems to have been a relatively minor format or genre. After 1770, there was rapid growth in the numbers of slip songs being produced (or at least surviving), with 644 titles from 1771–80, 1,011 from 1781–90, and 1,476 for the period 1791–1800. The increase may be partly due to the growth in printed matter generally, or to the spread of printing to towns and cities in

32 *A New Song, called The Cobler of Castlebury* [ESTC T490629]; *The Distracted Maids Lamentation*, [ESTC T483154]; *Joan's Ale Is New* [ESTC N71387]; *The Maidens Lamentation for the Walking-Taylor* [ESTC N71043]; *The Mock-Song, Sung by Mr. Roberts at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane* [ESTC N71042].

33 Examples are found in several volumes in the Harding collection, notably in Harding B25.

34 *By the merry Landes date ah, / There Dwelt a jolly Miller* [ESTC S124358].

35 *The Court and Kingdoms in Tears; or, The Sorrowful Subjects Lamentation for the Death of Her Majesty Queen Mary* [ESTC R217307].

the provinces. There may also be reasons associated with the genre, such as the growth in popularity of theatrical and musical performances and the opening of more pleasure gardens towards the end of the century.

Authorship and performance

Only 196 (5.2 per cent) of the 3,806 slip songs in ESTC carry any direct indication of their authorship, with phrases such as 'words by', 'written by', or 'composed by' included in the subtitle. Of these, forty-two contain initials, incomplete names, descriptors such as 'a Lady', or obvious pseudonyms such as 'Oliver Oddfish'.[36] On occasion, ballad singers used colourful language to attract attention to their wares, such as the *New Song, Warbled out of the Oracular Oven of Tho. Baker*.[37]

Only twelve examples gave any indication of specific responsibility for the music. *The Beer-Drinking Britons* is described as 'Set by Mr. Arne, and sung by Mr. Beard', although there is no indication that the words were written by Henry Woodward.[38] The twenty-three examples with the phrase 'composed by' may indicate that both words and music were written by the author. An indication of the tune to which the song was to be sung is given in 551 instances (14.4 per cent). These were often well-known tunes of the time, many of which are still popular in the present century, such as 'Rambling Boy', 'The Vicar of Bray', 'O Dear, What Can the Matter Be?', and 'The Roast Beef of Old England'.

A further 174 examples name the singer who had introduced the song, or the theatrical production in which it was introduced, twenty-eight of which also identify the author of the words. This was often the case if the performer or production were well known. Two examples are *Jacky Bull from France, Sung by Mr. Wilson, in The Agreeable Surprize* and

36 For example: *The Address, in Answer to the Petition, a New Song, by H. M.* — [ESTC T203672]; *An Epistle to Sir. Scipio Hill, from Madam Kil — k* [ESTC N5914]; *Absence, a New Song, Wrote by a Gentleman of Southampton, on a Lady Leaving that Place* (Fowler, printer, Salisbury) [ESTC T19008]; *Five Compleat Ken Crackers, by Oliver Oddfish, Esqr., a New Song* [ESTC T199748].

37 *New Song, Warbled out of the Oracular Oven of Tho. Baker, just after the D. of M — gh's Triumphal Procession thro' the City of London* [ESTC T1643].

38 Henry Woodward, *The Beer-Drinking Britons, set by Mr. Arne, and sung by Mr. Beard, at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, in the Pantomime called Mercury-Harlequin* [ESTC T197969]. Woodward's pantomime was first staged at Drury Lane on 27 December 1756.

The Rosy Dawn, Sung by Mrs. Wrighten, at Vauxhall.[39] In a few instances a song might be written and printed for a political occasion, such as *Oppression's Defeat, a Song, Sung at a Meeting of the Surry-Street Division of the Friends of the People, Written by a Member*, which is signed at foot 'T. N.'.[40] Others may have been suppositious, written on behalf of the supposed author, such as *The Lamentation of Rebecca Downing, Condemn'd to Be Burnt at Heavitree, near Exeter, on Monday, July 29, 1782, for Poisoning her Master, Richard Jarvis*.[41] Using the above-mentioned clues, musicologists and library cataloguers have assigned authors or pseudonyms to 543 (over 14 per cent) of the slip songs in the database. The authorship of the remainder is unknown.

By far the most prolific songwriter recorded in the database is the composer, musician, dramatist, novelist, and actor Charles Dibdin the Elder (*c*.1745–1814), who composed popular songs for the theatre and many songs associated with the navy, such as 'Tom Bowling'. He was responsible for 112 entries, although he is reputed to have composed more than six hundred songs during his career (the latter part of which falls outside the scope of ESTC). Other prolific songwriters include the composer and organist James Hook (1746–1827) with thirty entries, and the writer and actor John O'Keeffe (1747–1833) with twenty-three. The title of one of O'Keeffe's songs, printed by Fowler in Salisbury, took up almost as much space as the two stanzas of the song:

> Sir Gregory Gigg;
> or, the
> City Beau.
> A Favourite Song, in *The Son in Law*.
> Sung by Mr. Mills, in the Character of
> *Bouquet*, at the *Salisbury* Theatre.
> Tune – Young Jockey stole my Heart away.[42]

39 John O'Keeffe, *Jacky Bull from France, Sung by Mr. Wilson, in The Agreeable Surprize* [ESTC T200276]; James Hook, *The Rosy Dawn, Sung by Mrs. Wrighten, at Vauxhall, Set by Mr. Hook* [ESTC T45239].

40 T. N., *Oppression's Defeat, a Song, Sung at a Meeting of the Surry-Street Division of the Friends of the People, Written by a Member* [ESTC T154871].

41 *The Lamentation of Rebecca Downing, Condemn'd to Be Burnt at Heavitree, near Exeter, on Monday, July 29, 1782, for Poisoning her Master, Richard Jarvis* (Exon: printed by T. Brice) [ESTC T192847].

42 John O'Keeffe, *Sir Gregory Gigg; or, The City Beau* (Fowler, printer, Salisbury) [ESTC T48325].

Language, country, and place of publication

All but seven of the 3,820 surviving slip songs were in the English language — if one discounts the two editions of *A Speech Deliver'd by the High-German Speaking-Dog*.[43] Two of the exceptions are in Latin with English translations, printed by Fowler in Salisbury, apparently for the use of Winchester College.[44] The remaining five are in French and date from the immediate post-revolutionary period; none of them have any form of imprint, but they are assumed to have been printed in London, presumably because of their content or the collection with which they are associated. Four of them are in the same bound volume in the British Library and are provisionally dated '1790?'.[45] The fifth is a version of the famous French burlesque song *Chanton de Malbrouk*, among the Madden Ballads at Cambridge University Library, with the ascribed imprint 'London? 1795?'.[46]

The slip song format, as represented in ESTC, also appears to be overwhelmingly English, with 3,725 entries printed (or ascribed to presses) in England. This represents almost 98 per cent of the slip songs from the Britain and Ireland. Fifty-six entries are from Scotland, twenty-six from Ireland, and there are no examples from Wales.[47] In two of the Scottish cases there is clearly a mistake in the record because the imprints are from known English printers.[48] All but one of the remaining Scottish entries have no imprint and have been ascribed to presses in Edinburgh (forty-eight items), Glasgow (five items), and Aberdeen (one item) on the basis of their content or associated material. In only one instance can a

43 *A Speech Deliver'd by the High-German Speaking-Dog when He Had Audience at Kensington, Introduced by His Grace the Duke of N-wc---le* [ESTC T1659, N66843].

44 *Canticum, Sung Annually at Winchester College* [ESTC T19900]; *A Young Student's Will, Spoken Extempore to his Friend* (Fowler, printer, Salisbury) [ESTC T52898].

45 *Adieu cœur moi, allez partir ma chere* [ESTC T225641]; *Il confessoit trois dames* [ESTC T225644]; *Je suis sortie de mon pays* [ESTC T225645]; *La jeune Nanette* [ESTC T225639] (London, British Library, Cup.21.g.38/27–30).

46 *Chanton de Malbrouk; ou, La mort de Malbrouk* [ESTC T198609].

47 There are a few late eighteenth-century Welsh-language slip songs in the J. H. Davies ballad collection in Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, although these are not recorded in ESTC: for example, *Myfyrdod ar fywyd a marwolaeth* [Meditation on Life and Death] (1794), or the satirical song *Hanes Dic Sion Dafydd* [The Story of Dic Sion Dafyd] (Dolgellau: T. Williams, *c*.1799).

48 Robert Tannahill, *Jessy, the Flow'r o' Dumblain* (Evans, printer, Long Lane, London) [ESTC N71465]; *A Sup of Good Whisky* (D. Wrighton, printer, Snow Hill, Birmingham) [ESTC N72167].

Scottish slip song be confidently ascribed to a local printer — *Jervis Taking the Spanish Fleet*, with the imprint of C. McLachlan, printer, Dumfries, which can be dated to 1797 from the events described.[49] Yet there is little doubt that slip songs were regularly 'sold at the fairs and markets of central Scotland' during the eighteenth century.[50] Five of the Irish items are identified as having been printed in Dublin or else have the imprint of a known Dublin printer; the remainder have no imprint, but nineteen have been ascribed to Dublin and one each to Belfast and Downpatrick.

Of the entries from England, 3,106 (83 per cent) were either printed in London or else attributed to printers there. Yet only 113 of these specifically say so, although a further 403 entries contain addresses that are either within the city or in its immediate vicinity (notably Smithfield, Holborn, Clerkenwell, Seven Dials, and Westminster), or else that contain the name of a printer or publisher known to have been operating there. Until July 1799 there was no legal requirement for printers to identify their publications, but publishers — especially in London — often did so during the 1780s and 1790 as a means of letting customers know where to obtain supplies. The most common addresses found on ESTC slip songs are associated with well-known printers: No. 41, Long Lane, East Smithfield (John Evans, 210 examples); No. 42, Long Lane (John Marshall and John Evans, 159 examples); No. 6, George's Court, St John's Lane, West Smithfield (Joshua Davenport, sixty-six examples). However, the overwhelming majority were produced without imprint and a further 2,582 items are ascribed to unnamed London printers.

An analysis of songs from English towns and cities outside of London is also problematic. The results for the three towns with largest number of surviving entries are all skewed by chance survivals. Mention has already been made of the 214 Fowler songs out of a total of 222 from Salisbury, and the sixty-two Angus survivals out of a total of 146 from Newcastle upon Tyne. There are also eighty-eight songs with no imprint in the Bodleian Library that have been attributed to an unnamed press

49 *Jervis Taking the Spainsh* [*sic*] *Fleet* (C. M'Lachlan, printer, Dumfries) [ESTC T197434].

50 Murray Pittock, 'Scottish Song and the Jacobite Cause', in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, vol. 2, *Enlightenment, Britain and Empire* (*1707–1918*), ed. Susan Manning (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 105–09 (p. 105).

in Coventry with ascribed dates of 1768–90.[51] One of these is annotated in manuscript 'Richard Bird Printer & Composer 1780'.[52]

Fifty English provincial towns are represented, but in many instances the publication is ascribed to an unknown printer operating there. Thirty-two examples survive from the emerging manufacturing centre of Manchester; almost all have imprints that date them to the last decade of the century. These are also largely contained in three volumes in the Harding collection in the Bodleian Library.[53] Other rapidly growing towns during the last quarter of the century are less well represented, such as Birmingham (ten items), Liverpool (three items), and Leeds (no items). There are surprisingly few examples from established eighteenth-century provincial printing centres such as Bristol (two certain and one possible items), Norwich (three likely and four possible items), and York (two possible items). Each of these cities had several successful theatrical and concert venues and active presses throughout the century, several of which specialized in ephemeral publications. As with all types of ephemeral literature, it is likely that the majority of productions have been lost.

Printers and publishers

Only 612 (16 per cent) of the slip songs in ESTC include the name of a printer or publisher/distributor in an imprint. In most of these cases the same business was serving both functions. In a further 197 instances there is an address but no name given in the imprint. Thus, responsibility for production and/or distribution can be ascertained for only one song in five. The name that appears most frequently (214 imprints) is John Fowler of Salisbury. He appears to have operated a business specializing in such songs between 1785 and 1788, and created his own unique format for them, as he explained in his advertisement:

51 Oxford, Bodleian Library, G.A.Warw. b.1. These are for the most part local political songs associated with the election campaigns of Sampson Gideon Eardley, Baron Eardley, and John Baker Holroyd, Earl of Sheffield.

52 *A New Song* [ESTC N71407]. The song celebrates John Baker Holroyd's success in the Coventry parliamentary election of 1780. Another copy of the same song identifies 'Edward Bird, brasier' as the writer.

53 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Harding Ballads and Songs, vols 1–3.

> Of J. Fowler, Printer, *In Silver-street, Salisbury, A very Capital Collection Of the most Approved Songs, Duets, Trios, &c. Ancient, as well as Modern*; Many of which are not to be purchased at any other Shop in the Kingdom: and For Correctness, and Elegance, exceed every thing of the Kind yet published. The Songs, &c. are neatly printed in the Size of a large Card, on Writing Paper, with Borders of Flowers. *The Printer hereof being the Original and only Publisher of them*.[54]

Fowler's productions were not typical slip songs in that they usually had a decorative border of flowers, no woodcut illustrations, and were occasionally printed in two columns. Other provincial printers named in the imprints of six or more slip songs are Angus of Newcastle upon Tyne (sixty-three items), Shelmerdine of Manchester (eighteen items), Burbage and Stretton of Nottingham, Jennings of Sheffield, Smith of Lincoln, and Swindells of Manchester (seven items each), and Wrighton of Birmingham (six items), but these follow the usual single-column pattern.

The imprints from the London trade are probably more typical, but often list the distributor ('sold by') as opposed to the printer ('printed by'), although in many instances both functions were carried out by the same person. London imprints are also more likely to give just a distribution address without a name. For example, 120 imprints have the name John Evans or J. Evans & Co. (seventy-eight 'sold by', twenty-seven 'printed by', and fifteen 'printed and sold by'). A further 154 items have the addresses No. 41 or No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, which are associated with John Evans. He began his career working for Richard Marshall of Aldermary Churchyard, and in 1783 was appointed as manager of John Marshall's wholesale shop at No. 42, Long Lane, which after 1787 was operated in Evans's name, although still funded and supplied by Marshall. Following a dispute with his employer in March 1793, Evans moved next door to No. 41, Long Lane, where he set up a press in opposition to Marshall. The dispute was eventually resolved in December 1795. However, during the period of the dispute many slip songs with the imprint 'Sold at No. 42, Long Lane' also carry

54 *Of J. Fowler, Printer, in Silver-Street, Salisbury* (Fowler, printer, Salisbury) [ESTC T42105]. By 1789 Fowler was in business at No. 21, Newcastle Street, Strand, London, and no longer specializing in songs. He is known until *c.*1795.

dates of publication as a way of differentiating them from those printed and published by Evans next door.[55]

The name of Joshua Davenport, also from West Smithfield, is found in 118 imprints (twenty-two 'printed by' and ninety-six 'printed and sold by'). As with the productions of the Angus family in Newcastle, it is likely that a high proportion of these post-date 1800, especially since sixty-four of them have an address that he occupied between 1800 and 1808.[56] The vicinity of Smithfield, on the outskirts of the City of London, was an important area for the production of street literature, associated with ballad printers and publishers since the seventeenth century.[57] Two others identify the printer there as J. Thompson.[58] Five slip songs were printed for the radical bookseller Thomas Spence, whose imprints describe his address at No. 8, Little Turnstile, Holborn, as 'the Hive of Liberty' and himself as a 'patriotic bookseller and publisher of *Pig's Meat*'.[59]

The most prolific printer and publisher of slip songs during the eighteenth century barely features in the ESTC database, because they hardly ever included an imprint on these publications. This was the Dicey/Marshall publishing enterprise, which operated from premises in Bow Churchyard between 1736 and 1763, and in Aldermary Churchyard between 1753 and 1806.[60] The catalogue issued by William and Cluer Dicey in 1754 spoke of 'near two thousand different sorts of slips; of which the new Sorts coming out almost daily render it impossible to make a Complete Catalogue'. That number had risen to 'near three

55 For details of Evans's career and his dispute with Marshall, see Stoker, 'John Marshall, John Evans, and the Cheap Repository Tracts'.

56 William B. Todd, *A Directory of Printers and Others in Allied Trades: London and Vicinity, 1800–1840* (London: Printing Historical Society, 1972), p. 53, shows Davenport located at Nos. 6/7, Little Catherine Street, Strand, 1790–99, and No. 6, George's Court, St John's Lane, [West Smithfield], 1800–08.

57 Shepard, *John Pitts*, p. 39.

58 *Pat of Kilkenny* (Thompson, typr., No. 21, Upper East Smithfield) [ESTC T196395]; *Merry Deverting Song, called The Riddle* (printed by J. Thompson, 21, East Smithfield) [ESTC T201883].

59 Charles Morris, *A New Irish Song, by Captain Morris* (printed for T. Spence, at the Hive of Liberty, No. 8, Little Turnstile) [ESTC T6695]; *A Parody, upon the Song of Poor Jack* (printed for T. Spence, No. 8, Little Turnstile, Holborn, patriotic bookseller and publisher of Pig's Meat) [ESTC T224033].

60 David Stoker, 'Another Look at the Dicey-Marshall Publications, 1736–1806', *The Library*, 7th ser., 15 (2014), 111–57. The firm continued in business selling children's books until the 1830s, but appears to have withdrawn from selling songs and ballads towards the end of the eighteenth century.

thousand' in 1764 when Cluer Dicey and Richard Marshall produced their catalogue. There are two references to Bow Churchyard among the slip songs in ESTC, but both are actually half-sheet broadside ballads printed in four or five columns, and so have been discounted.[61] There is only one reference to Aldermary Churchyard in the database, for *The Blue Bell of Scotland* printed by John Marshall between 1793 and 1800, with words adapted to take account of the war with France.[62] Were it not for the records of the two Chancery suits brought by John Marshall against John Evans in 1793 and 1794, little would be known of Marshall's activities in this area, or that he was the proprietor of the business at No. 42, Long Lane between 1783 and 1796.

Many surviving Dicey/Marshall slip songs without imprints can be identified because the woodcuts used correspond with others of their productions. For example, the song *Ground Ivy* uses the same woodcut of a woman carrying a staff as the chapbook history *The Whole Life and Death of Long Meg of Westminster*, which has an Aldermary Churchyard imprint.[63] Likewise, the song *Country Toby* uses the woodcut of an old man with a rake that is used with *The Arraigning and Indicting of Sir John Barleycorn*, which survives in chapbook editions with Bow Churchyard, Aldermary Churchyard, and 'printed and sold in London' imprints.[64] The crude woodcut of a woman sitting in front of curtains that appears with *The Blue Bell of Scotland* also appears with several other contemporary slip songs, including *The Bonny Lass of Aberdeen*.[65] The work of Giles Bergel and others using ImageMatch software will no doubt lead to further identifications.[66]

61 *The Crafty Lover; or, The Lawyer Outwitted* (printed and sold at the Printing Office in Bow Churchyard, London) [ESTC T34369]; *The Children in the Wood: or, The Norfolk Gentleman's Last Will and Testament* (printed and sold in Bow Churchyard) [ESTC T30582].

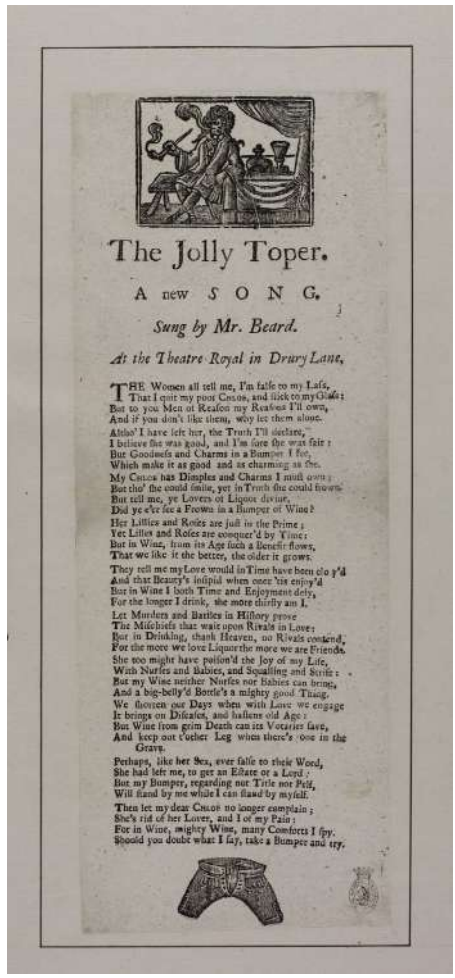
62 *The Blue Bell of Scotland* (printed by J. Marshall, Aldermary Chur[c]hyard, London) [ESTC T22922]. Another slip song is *The Christening Little Joey; or, The Devil t* [*sic*] *Pay* (printed by J. Marshall, London) [ESTC T191602], but does not include the Aldermary Churchyard address.

63 *Ground Ivy, a New Song* [ESTC T199996]; *The Whole Life and Death of Long Meg of Westminster* (printed and sold in Aldermary Churchyard, London) [ESTC T52454].

64 *Country Toby, a New Song* [ESTC T199154]; *The Arraigning and Indicting of Sir John Barleycorn, Knt.* (printed and sold in Aldermary Churchyard, London) [ESTC T22429].

65 *The Bonny Lass of Aberdeen* [ESTC T198305].

66 Giles Bergel, et al., 'Content-Based Image-Recognition on Printed Broadside Ballads: The Bodleian Libraries' ImageMatch Tool', paper presented at IFLA WLIC 2013, Singapore http://library.ifla.org/209/1/202-bergel-en.pdf.



The Jolly Toper.

A new SONG.

Sung by Mr. Beard.

At the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane,

THE Women all tell me, I'm falſe to my Laſs,
That I quit my poor Cælos, and ſtick to my Glaſs:
But to you Men of Reaſon my Reaſons I'll own,
And if you don't like them, why let them alone.

Altho' I have left her, the Truth I'll declare,
I believe ſhe was good, and I'm ſure ſhe was fair:
But Goodneſs and Charms in a Bumper I ſee,
Which make it as good and as charming as ſhe.

My Cælos has Dimples and Charms I muſt own;
But tho' ſhe could ſmile, yet in Truth ſhe could frown:
But tell me, ye Lovers of Liquor divine,
Did ye e'er ſee a Frown in a Bumper of Wine?

Her Lillies and Roſes are juſt in the Prime;
Yet Lillies and Roſes are conquer'd by Time:
But in Wine, from its Age ſuch a Benefit flows,
That we like it the better, the older it grows.

They tell me my Love would in Time have been clo y'd
And that Beauty's inſipid when once 'tis enjoy'd
But in Wine I both Time and Enjoyment defy,
For the longer I drink, the more thirſty am I.

Let Murders and Battles in Hiſtory prove
The Miſchiefs that wait upon Rivals in Love;
But in Drinking, thank Heaven, no Rivals contend,
For the more we love Liquor the more we are Friends.

She too might have poiſon'd the Joy of my Life,
With Nurſes and Babies, and Squalling and Strife:
But my Wife neither Nurſes nor Babies can bring,
And a big-belly'd Bottle's a mighty good Thing.

We ſhorten our Days when with Love we engage
It brings on Diſeaſes, and haſtens old Age:
But Wine from grim Death can its Votaries ſave,
And keep out t'other Leg when there's one in the Grave.

Perhaps, like her Sex, ever falſe to their Word,
She had left me, to get an Eſtate or a Lord:
But my Bumper, regarding not Title nor Pelf,
Will ſtand by me while I can ſtand by myſelf.

Then let my dear Cælos no longer complain;
She's rid of her Lover, and I of my Pain:
For in Wine, mighty Wine, many Comforts I ſpy.
Should you doubt what I ſay, take a Bumper and try.

Fig. 7.6. *The Jolly Toper* (*c*.1770). The woodcut of the man smoking a pipe appears on at least six Dicey/Marshall broadside ballads. Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland through the Creative Commons 4.0 International Licence.

Locations and collectors of slip songs

The last fields of an ESTC record indicate the locations and shelfmarks (where known) of recorded copies of each edition. The analysis of these indicated that there are 4,930 copies recorded in seventy-five repositories in Britain and Ireland, mainland Europe, North America, and Australia.

That is to say, there is an average of 1.3 copies per title, or the majority of surviving songs exist in a single copy only. Three major British libraries dominate the holdings, with 1,959 items recorded in Cambridge University Library, 1,189 in the British Library, and 1,086 in the Bodleian Library.

The Cambridge songs are virtually all from the collection of '16,354 garlands, slips and sheets', dating from between 1775 and 1850, acquired by Sir Frederic Madden, mostly during the years when he was the Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum. Following Madden's death in 1873, this collection was sold to Henry Bradshaw, librarian of Cambridge University, whose executors later sold it to the university. Most of Madden's eighteenth-century material came from an earlier collector, the mathematician, surveyor, and orientalist Reuben Burrow. This was acquired by Madden in 1835 and his diary for 1837 shows that he also sought out materials from old ballad printers:

> called again at Pitts, who had looked out for me 58 dozen, all printed by himself since the year 1790. He used formerly to reside at 14 Gt. St. Andrew St. and has been in business, he says, for 39 years. Pitts told me, he had a large collection of old Ballads by other printers, which he had purchased about 40 years since, and offered to sell them to me; an offer, which of course, I accepted. I paid for the 58 dozen £ 1.9.0. […] He told me he had them chiefly from Wise, in Rosemary Lane and of a man who lived in Tyler St., Clare Market […] before he set up business himself, was apprentice to Marshall in Aldermary Churchyard, the printer of penny histories etc.[67]

The origins of most of the songs in the Bodleian Library can be readily identified due to the library's practice of allocating shelfmarks to named collections. Many of these come from well-known collectors such as Charles Harding Firth, (1857–1936), Regius Professor of Modern History (eighty-six items), John Johnson (1882–1956), printer to the University of Oxford (fifty-seven items), Francis Douce (1757–1834), Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum (sixteen items), and Lord George Curzon (1859–1925), Foreign Secretary (ten items relating to Napoleon). By far the most important collection of songs, with 627 items, is that of

67 Robert S. Thomson, 'Publisher's Introduction: Madden Ballads from Cambridge University Library'. Madden's papers concerning his ballad collection are at Cambridge University Library, MS Add.2646, MS Add.2687.

Walter Harding (1883–1973), who was born in Britain but lived in Chicago and pursued a career as a music hall pianist and cinema organist.[68]

Most of the slip songs in the British Library cannot be identified from ESTC as coming from known collections, with the single exception of those items that were once part of the Roxburghe Ballads. This collection contained primarily early broadside ballads originally collected by Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford (1661–1724) and later owned by John Ker, 3rd Duke of Roxburghe (1740–1804) who added to the collection. They were purchased by the British Museum in 1845. Two libraries in the USA with substantial collections of slip songs are the New York Public Library (136 items) and Harvard University Libraries (133 items).

Engraved song sheets

During the late 1770s and the 1780s an upmarket version of the letterpress slip songs gained popularity as a new format for the distribution of songs. On these sheets the words of the song were engraved and an appropriate illustration etched or burnished using mezzotint on to a soft metal plate for printing, usually in 1/4° format. The words are usually arranged in two or three columns, and the illustration is larger and more detailed than was possible with a narrow slip song, giving a squarer shape, with dimensions of around 26 × 18 cm.[69] The earliest survivors in this format are satirical songs, but by the 1780s they are mostly songs associated with theatrical productions, by Charles Dibdin and others, which may have been sold to theatre- and concert-goers to enable them to sing along with the actors. There are also a few surviving examples of songs celebrating naval or military victories.[70] As engravings, the publisher's name and address and the date of first publication were usually included, in order to obtain the protection of Engraving Copyright Act of 1767. Very few of these have been entered in ESTC, but many examples are preserved in the Bodleian Library and the Museum of London.[71]

68 W. N. H. Harding, 'British Song Books and Kindred Subjects', *Book Collector*, 11 (1962), 448–59; Karen Attar (ed.), *Directory of Rare Book and Special Collections in the UK and Republic of Ireland*, 3rd edn (London: Facet Publishing, 2016), pp. 320–21.

69 An example, *The Chapter of Kings*, published by John Marshall on 17 March 1795, is illustrated in Shepard, *John Pitts*, p. 99.

70 For example: *Admiral Hotham Triumphant* (published April 21, 1795, by I. Marshall, No. 4. Aldermary Churchyard, London) [Museum of London, A19358].

71 Museum of London, A19346–A19367.

The earliest example known to the author is an undated song satirizing Lord Bute, entitled *Gisbal Triumphant*, which has the imprint of Richard Marshall at No. 4, Aldermary Churchyard (Fig. 7.7).[72] The engraving and etching is dated March 1763, but Richard Marshall was the proprietor of the press between 1770 and his death in 1779. Two further examples of the format, this time satirizing William Pitt's tax policies, survive in the Bodleian Library with the imprint of E. Rich, No. 55, Fleet Street, dated 1785 and 1787, respectively.[73]

Fig. 7.7. *Gisbal Triumphant* (Richard Marshall, c.1770), etching and engraving. British Museum 1868,0808.4290. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gisbal,_Triumphant_(BM_1868,0808.4290).jpg.

There are fifty-two examples of song sheets published by Charles Sheppard, an engraver of No. 19, Lambeth Hill, London, on the Bodleian Library ballads website, dating from 1786 until the early nineteenth century. John Marshall also printed substantial numbers during the

72 *Gisbal Triumphant, a New Song* (sold by R. Marshall, at No. 4, in Aldermary Churchyard, London) [London, British Museum, 1868,0808.4290].

73 *Mr. Axe and Mr. Tax: The Fame of the Shop; or, Billy's Desert* (published by J. Barrow, Aug. 30, 1785; sold by Parsley, Christ Church, Surry; and by Rich, No. 75, Fleet Street) [Oxford, Bodleian Library, Firth b.22(f. 93)]; *The Politic Farmer; or, A Fig for Taxation, a New Song* (published as the Act directs, by E. Rich, No. 55, Fleet Street, 1 February 1787) [Oxford, Bodleian Library, Firth b.22(f. 94)].

1790s, although only one is included in ESTC.[74] In Marshall's case he could produce the same song in different formats for different markets. Thus *The Jolly Ringers*, a song by Charles Dibdin from his opera *Castles in the Air*, was produced as a letterpress slip song in April and May of 1794, and as an engraved song sheet on 9 July 1794.[75]

John Evans and his cousin Thomas Evans, of No. 79, Long Lane, Smithfield, also both published in this format. Some of the John Evans titles have dates as far back as 1786 with the address as No. 42, Long Lane. This was a date when, according to Marshall's testimony in his chancery suit, Evans was still working as manager of the shop and before he was permitted to operate the business in his own name.[76] So, either Marshall had allowed his manager a remarkable degree of freedom to publish on his own behalf, or else these items are reprints by Evans of earlier publications that have not survived. John Evans lost his legal battle with John Marshall in September 1795 and was forced to leave the premises at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, where he had operated under his own name for several years. He promptly moved next door to No. 41 and set up a new business. He also teamed up with another neighbouring publisher of popular prints, George Thompson of No. 50, Old Bailey, and No. 43, Long Lane, to produce the satirical song sheet *The Irish Newsman*. This time the image was in mezzotint (Fig. 7.8).

After the expiry of his lease on No. 42, Long Lane in April 1796, Marshall gave up the printing ballads and songs in favour of the Cheap Repository Tracts. Soon afterwards, Evans moved back and occupied both the adjacent properties. He would continue a successful business there, producing all kinds of street literature under the imprints of John Evans & Co., Howard and Evans, and John Evans and Son, until his death in 1820.[77] Both John and Thomas Evans continued to produce

74 Charles Dibdin, *Happy Jerry* (published March 11, 1794, by I. Marshall, No. 4, Aldermary Churchyard, London) [ESTC N70727].

75 Charles Dibdin, *The Jolly Ringers, Sung by Mr. Dibdin* (sold at No. 42, Long Lane, printed in May 1794) [ESTC T200909, T29172]; *The Jolly Ringers* (published July 9, 1794, by I. Marshall, No. 4, Aldermary Churchyard, London) [Museum of London, A19357].

76 For example: *Friend & Pitcher* (publish'd June 13, 1786, by I. Evans, No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, London) [Oxford, Bodleian Library, Harding B 12(32)]. This song would be reprinted many times as both a slip song and engraved song sheet over succeeding decades.

77 For Evans's nineteenth-century career, see David Stoker, 'The Later Years of the Cheap Repository', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 111 (2017), 317–44.

letterpress slip songs and engraved song sheets well into the nineteenth century, and the two formats were also adopted by other key figures in the nineteenth-century street literature trade, including John Pitts and James Catnach.[78] Richard Dadd's watercolour painting of *The Ballad Monger* shows that these publications were still popular in the 1850s.[79]

Fig. 7.8. *The Irish Newsman* (George Thompson and John Evans, 1795), mezzotint. British Museum 2010,7081.1172. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Irish_Newsman_(BM_2010,7081.1172).jpg.

* * *

78 Shepard, *John Pitts*, chapters 2 and 3.

79 Image available at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1953-0509-2.

This essay has been a preliminary foray into an under-researched subject, primarily based on ESTC bibliographical records and electronic surrogates. There are, undoubtedly, many other surviving eighteenth-century slip songs in local libraries, record repositories, and private collections that are not recorded in ESTC, or else lying uncatalogued in libraries that already have substantial recorded collections. There is a real need to identify and record them before beginning to look more closely at the items themselves and how they were published and distributed.

8. 'The Arethusa': Slip Songs and the Mainstream Canon

Oskar Cox Jensen

The year 1796 was a minor one at the end of a century that showed no signs of winding down. In China and Russia, new emperors took the throne; in France, a future emperor married his patron's mistress, Joséphine de Beauharnais, before leaving to bloody the fields of northern Italy. In Britain, Edward Jenner inoculated young James Phipps, his gardener's son, against smallpox, while (with greater relevance to the present readership) Robert Burns's adaptation of 'Auld Lang Syne' was first published in that year's edition of James Thompson's *Scots Musical Museum*. Meanwhile in London a fourteen-year-old boy called William Brown was getting up to tricks worthy of his twentieth-century namesake:

> Being one evening short of money, I hit upon a project to get some; the ballad singers of London were at that time singing with great éclat, the song called the Arethusa; I determined to take advantage of the circumstance, so getting a number of old newspapers, in the evening I took my station at the end of several streets, (having previously cut them into slips resembling songs) I began to sing the above, and so rapid was the sale, (in the dark) that in a quarter of an hour I had sold about forty at a halfpenny each, not considering it safe to remain too long in a place I shifted into the middle of Chancery-Lane, Holborn, where I struck up as usual; when I had sold about twenty more an old gentleman opened a door opposite to me, he had a wig on, held a candle in one hand and a stick in the other, and said to me 'you scoundrel, if you don't get you gone directly I'll have you sent to the watch house'; I bade him good night and departed.[1]

1 William Brown, *A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of William Brown* (York: T. Weightman, 1829), p. 13.

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In this chapter, I want to talk about the slips that William Brown purported to sell. Along with their more elevated counterpart — the single-page musical score — they were perhaps *the* iconic material innovation of eighteenth-century print-musical culture. As their material, printed dimension has been discussed so admirably by David Stoker in the previous chapter, this chapter will act as a companion piece in which I try to think about the slip songs' content, origins, and their mediatory place in the wider culture. Far from being bound by the realm of 'cheap print', slips were passports between diverse but communicating worlds: street and pleasure garden, public house and theatre, the cheap printers of urban Britain and the conservatoires of Vienna and Italy. Before embarking on that journey, however, I would like to spend some time with William Brown's anecdote and unpick the implications of his mischievous prank.

The slips that William Brown sold

By the time William Brown had his memoir printed in 1829 he was a village schoolmaster, though still far from respectable. Hailing from rural Devon, the son of a cooper, he moved with his family to London at the age of six and despite a solid working-class education at a day school he was loose on the town by his teens — the time at which, in the mid-1790s, he embarked upon his fondly remembered escapade. Concerned as we are with the history of cheap print in the eighteenth century, there are many things we can take away from the story.

Not least worthy of note — it is, after all, the detail that enables the trick — is the fact that in the dark (remembering that this was before the first gas lamps) one form of cheap print could much resemble another. Brown informs us only that he 'got' a 'number of old newspapers' — presumably for free (or near enough), the material value of the waste paper as recycling for pulp or kindling being negligible, and its contents being worthless after a few days had passed. This in itself recalls the verdict of a more reputable ballad singer, David Love, that 'stale' topical songs could not sell.[2] The two media,

2 David Love, *The Life, Adventures, and Experience, of David Love*, 3rd edn (Nottingham: printed by Sutton & Son, for the author, 1823), p. 66. Love himself was not above subterfuge of Brown's sort, however, as on the same page he confesses to disposing of these same 'stale' ballads by 'crying, it is all found out, and the rogues will be

newspaper and slip, were also alike enough in form — organized in columns of relatively dense text and printed in a modern white-letter font — for a newspaper divided into vertical strips to pass as a series of slip songs. Far from suggesting, however, the outdated idea that the newspaper effectively *replaced* the ballad, the points of resemblance reinforce an impression of two contemporary forms developing in tandem.

I am less concerned with the materiality of Brown's sham slips than with what they tell us of both practice and provenance. The first-hand account reinforces the evidence of a wealth of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century images — paintings, prints, woodcuts — all depicting the active ballad singer performing from a slip song, with a further sheaf of slips to hand or in a basket.[3] This was the hegemonic format of songs performed in city streets from the second half of the eighteenth century onwards for perhaps a hundred years, until the vastly improved economies of scale afforded by increasingly cheap songsters rendered the slip redundant, and costly even at ½*d*. While a single slip *could* contain multiple songs, one below another, the form favoured a single song of a relatively limited number of stanzas, and thus reinforced a coherent identity between the things the audience heard, saw, and bought from a ballad singer. The song in the ear was the song they bought — bought for itself, because it appealed — and though a couple of nineteenth-century accounts point to a singer performing only the early stanzas of a longer song before repeating herself, again there is a supposition in favour of a unity between the complete performance of, say, a four-stanza song to a street audience gathered for no more than three or four minutes, and the object subsequently purchased.

This pushes us towards an eighteenth-century culture based upon the performance of easily marketed works: accessible, relatively short songs combining melodic and textual interest, consumed in the street and memorized for domestic re-performance. This is the act ritualized

hung [...] some people said we have found out you [*sic*]; this we knew some weeks ago; others asked me, What is found out? I said, buy it, and you will see.'

3 Simply searching the word 'ballad' in the British Museum's online database yields dozens of examples, of which perhaps the most iconic is Henry Robert Morland's, frequently reproduced under numerous titles all including the words 'Ballad Singer' (*c*.1764).

in the famous poem published in the *Weekly Register* on 9 January 1731 (and again in most works of ballad scholarship for the past forty years) in which people 'Gather about, to hear the tune', make their purchase, and go off 'Humming it [...] Endeavouring to learn the song.' This practice moves away from an early modern view of ballad culture where the thing that mattered was a long textual narrative unfolded across a succession of stanzas and set to a tune the melody of which (in purely musical terms) was more or less incidental.[4] To borrow the words of an unfashionable musicologist, Edward T. Cone, in the case of 'songs for which the strophic form is prescribed — hymns and ballads, for example [...] we hear the music less as a theme with variations than as an unchanging background for the projection of a text, which is the real centre of interest. Indeed [...] one hardly hears the music of a hymn [or ballad] at all.'[5] As we shall see, this was far from always being the case even in the seventeenth century, while the culture of the eighteenth-century slip song strongly militates against any such model. Instead, it affirms the inherently musical interest of the song — it catches hold of the ear, it entertains, and its tune is sufficiently memorable to be passed on in the space of a short street performance (repeated across only a few stanzas) and is as likely to be a novelty as an old, familiar air. This is a culture with at least as much in common with the twentieth-century pop song as with the medieval or early modern long-form ballad. It might well have been the tune, rather than the topical words, that was the exciting new element in any given performance — and such was certainly the case with 'The Arethusa' (see Appendix, p. 216).

'The Arethusa' (Roud 12675)

More than a century ago, the origins of 'The Arethusa' sparked one of those tedious epistolary controversies in which the great song collectors specialized — in this case between Frank Kidson and William H. Grattan

4 This early modern perspective has been challenged by Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), which includes two long chapters on ballad culture.

5 Edward T. Cone, *The Composer's Voice* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), p. 49.

Flood, with Lucy Broadwood eventually weighing in as mediator.[6] All parties agreed that the melody of the 1796 'Arethusa', far from being entirely original, was based on a tune from around 1730 known as the 'Princess Royal'. Kidson attributed this to an anonymous composer at the English (which is to say, Hanoverian) court. Grattan Flood was adamant that the tune could be traced back to the great Irish harpist Turlough O'Carolan (1670–1738), and it must be said that he presented some compelling evidence in his favour, in the shape of a certified O'Carolan composition identical in structure and rhyme scheme, with a remarkably similar melody in the B-section.[7] While Broadwood's attempted reconciliation — 'As to the birthplace or parentage of the above tunes: who can, who need decide? Certain it is, that two such musical nations as the English and Irish have not inhabited the same islands for centuries without a plentiful exchange of verse and melody' — has a ring of English complacency, even wilful forgetfulness of the two countries' power relations, we can still take her point.[8] Any objective verdict on the tune's origin is, to my mind, the least interesting thing about it when compared with the historical processes that took it from first thought to William Brown's trick.

Before even listening to the song itself we can trace a journey that, though remarkable, was wholly typical of eighteenth-century song, going from trained professional musician to street urchin, from court or countryside to city, in a symbiosis of orality and print. Before making its way on to a slip — 'The Arethusa', as Brown implies in his opening sentence, *was* being sold on slips in 1796 — the tune 'Princess Royal' had been through various sheet music editions in English, Irish, and Scottish collections of dance tunes before coming to the attention of William Shield (1748–1829), a noted Northumbrian composer based

6 [Frank Kidson], 'New Lights upon Old Tunes: "The Arethusa"', *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 35 (1 October 1894), 666–68; Wm. H. Grattan Flood, 'The Irish Origin of Shield's "Arethusa"', *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 43 (1 May 1902), 339; W. H. Grattan Flood, 'The Irish Provenance of Three English Sea-Song Melodies', *Musical Times*, 51 (1 November 1910), 712–13; W. H. Grattan Flood and Lucy E. Broadwood, '"The Arethusa" Air and "Hussey's Maggot"', *Musical Times*, 52 (1 January 1911), 26–27.

7 It is worth noting that the British Library have sided with Grattan Flood here too, attributing 'The Arethusa' to O'Carolan in most of their entries for the song. The original O'Carolan source for 'The Arethusa' is commonly known as 'Miss MacDermott'.

8 Flood and Broadwood, '"The Arethusa" Air', p. 27.

in London.[9] Shield, a songwriter who rather specialized in adapting airs from both North Britain and (via his friend and colleague John O'Keeffe) Ireland, rearranged the tune as 'The Arethusa', with words by the playwright Prince Hoare, and it was performed by Charles Incledon, the leading tenor of his day, in the role of Cheerly in their farcical afterpiece *Lock and Key*, opening at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, on 6 February 1796.[10]

Covent Garden, one of the two royally sanctioned patent theatres, was prohibitively expensive for a working-class audience. Nor would the masses have had access to the printed music since even single-song scores tended to cost at least 1*s*. in late eighteenth-century London, besides requiring musical literacy. Yet as Brown makes clear, the song was a huge hit on the London streets, performed 'with great éclat' by ordinary ballad singers. As its many entries in the Roud index attest, it certainly got about, in books, songsters, chapbooks, and garlands, enduring well into the twentieth century, by which time it had also been incorporated as the third movement of Sir Henry Wood's 1905 *Fantasia on British Sea Songs*, a fixture of the Last Night of the Proms. Most pertinently, it appeared on slips from Bridlington, Carlisle, Durham, Liverpool, London, Newcastle, and Preston. These cheap print editions were, of course, not licensed — they acknowledged neither Shield nor Hoare, neither of whom would have seen a penny from their sale. Yet such publications will have been the means of access for the vast majority of the song's eventual audience.

Happily, this song resists the argument that cheap print culture prioritized the transmission of printed texts over musical performance. Not only was William Brown not, in fact, selling a genuine text but

9 To cite one example from each country, 'Princess Royal' was published in John Walsh, *The Compleat Country Dancing-Master* (London: I. Walsh, 1731) (a 1715 edition by the same publisher appears to have a different tune); by William Mainwaring of Corelli's Head, College Green, Dublin, in 1743; and in Alexander MacGlashan, *Collection of Scots Measures, Hornpipes, Jigs, Allemands, and Cotillions* (Edinburgh: N. Stewart, 1778).

10 There is a suggestion in the memoirs of William Parke, a musician in the Covent Garden orchestra, that the song debuted as early as 1794 in *Netley Abbey*, but if so it must have been an ad hoc interpolation, as it is not included in the full score of that production at London, British Library, D.287.(4.). See also William T. Parke, *Musical Memoirs; Comprising an Account of the General State of Music in England*, 2 vols (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830). A full reduction of *Lock and Key* for German flute can be viewed online at London, British Library, c.105.v.(3.). 'The Arethusa' is on pp. 24–25.

rather the by-product of his own sung performance — thereby emphasizing the pleasurable and recognizable qualities of his song — but the song in question is highly dependent upon its original music. Rather than being written in a standard ballad metre it takes the form of ten-line stanzas of uneven length, with a complex rhyme scheme: *aaabccd*(internal)*eeb*. There is, I think, no question of its being sung to any tune but its own. Brown, like any solo singer, will have made the song his own (just as I myself cannot resist substituting two staccato crotchets for the more languid minim and crotchet of Shield's version on every '–thusa' of 'Arethusa', which to my ear lends the tune a more swashbuckling quality). But the song's popularity in 1796 will have rested on its status as a memorable musical hit, associated with Incledon's celebrity but standing up in its own right as an accessible, stirring, pleasurable melody — song as musical entertainment in the sense we understand it today, where the distinctive contours of the tune are of supreme importance to its effect (Fig. 8.1).

Although the song's structure is uncommon, its journey is a familiar one. Any number of hit slip songs came to London from Ireland during this century via compilations of dance tunes, 'The Black Joke' being perhaps the best known.[11] Many more originated on the London stage or in its pleasure gardens. They were united by their distinctive musical (as well as textual) interest, providing a constantly replenished repertoire of tunes that circulated by simultaneous print and oral transmission — tunes that had an aesthetic as well as a functional quality. Their mass dissemination, far from being envisioned or intended by their theatrical creators, was enabled by the agency of a hungry, discriminating mass market which would appropriate the songs it wanted from elite spaces with no conception of intellectual copyright, paying literally small change for access to a host of songs. So it was that William Brown, an untutored, immature boy from Devon, could play as central a part as any in the circulation of such a song, learning the tune from his fellow ballad singers who would originally have obtained it by, for instance, saving up for a cheap seat at the theatre or eavesdropping on rehearsals at the pleasure gardens.[12] This was a healthy, irreverent

11 Paul Dennant, 'The "barbarous old English jig": The "Black Joke" in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Folk Music Journal*, 10.3 (2013), 298–318.

12 The ways in which ballad singers obtained their melodies are discussed further in Oskar Cox Jensen, *The Ballad-Singer in Georgian and Victorian London* (Cambridge:

mass musical culture. The slip song was its iconic physical incarnation, cheap, minimalist, unlicensed. It is a culture I have taken to calling the 'mainstream'.[13]

Cambridge University Press, 2021), chapters 3, 4.

13 Cox Jensen, *The Ballad-Singer*, chapter 4.

Fig. 8.1. William Shield's arrangement of 'The Arethusa' (first stanza). London, British Library, H.1653.b.(28.).

The mainstream in the long eighteenth century

In the second half of this chapter I want to introduce the case for the eighteenth century as the crucial era for the establishment of a mainstream song culture, spanning both social and geographical differences across Britain, which remains familiar to this day. The slip song is perhaps its ultimate material incarnation: the cheap, ephemeral, accessible product that enabled a repertoire meant for the middling denizens of major cities to be enjoyed by all ages and all classes. The slip, of course, did not exist in a vacuum. Mediating between the printers and their public there were William Brown's peers, the ballad singers. I have made the case elsewhere, and at length, for the indispensable role of the ballad singer in turning these songs into a ubiquitous cultural product, heard everywhere, their words on the page but their tunes in

the mouth.[14] Here, I would like to think a bit more about the repertoire itself across the long eighteenth century.

To generalize: between the Restoration and what might be conceived of as the triumph of harmony in the middle third of the nineteenth century, when even the masses began to consume their music in four-part vocals or to the accompaniment of chord progressions constructed on piano or guitar, there was a period of more than 150 years when the mainstream song adhered to a very narrow set of characteristics. It was strophic, organized in a succession of stanzas (and often choruses) set to repetitive music. The music could range in complexity from an eight- to a 32-bar form, but was most commonly sixteen bars arranged (more or less) in an AABA structure. On this count, 'The Arethusa' is about as exceptional as things could get. Thanks to its particular origins with O'Carolan, its tune is twenty bars long rather than sixteen. Even here, however, the final part concludes with a return to the closing cadence of the eight-bar A section.

In other respects, though, it conforms entirely to wider mainstream conventions. Its modulations between keys are straightforward and return emphatically to their starting point. Its range in pitch is broad enough to allow for the melodic contours and leaps that lend it interest and distinction as a tune, with dramatic highs and lows, but remains at all times within the compass of the amateur singer, rather than the two-octave and more spans of some operatic arias. Its implied tempo is that of a 'pop' song. The mainstream songs found on slips do not appear to have gone to the extremes represented either by the most dirge-like of psalms or by the showy speeds of certain patter songs familiar from the opera or later music hall (think of the 'Largo al factotum' aria from Rossini's *Barber of Seville*, with its tongue-twisters sung *allegro vivace*). Above all — and this is the ultimate hallmark of the mainstream song, particularly during the long eighteenth century — when stripped of its arrangement and reduced to a bare vocal melody, it is still eminently singable (Fig. 8.2). As words and tune alone, it retains all the drama, interest, and scope for aesthetic enjoyment that allowed it to function in the musically minimal world of the street ballad singer, the alehouse, the open road or the sea, and the poor household. Nor

14 Cox Jensen, *The Ballad-Singer*, chapter 4.

is this a compositional accident. For all that Shield includes a bass, the occasional chord, and embellishments for flute, even the commercial sheet music of 'The Arethusa' points to a conception of songwriting that is led by melody.

Fig. 8.2. 'The Arethusa', vocal melody.

As I have discussed elsewhere, such an approach amounted to a national ideology during this period.[15] Both English song and the 'national' airs of the Celtic nations were thought of by contemporary musical theorists as essentially simple and melodic.[16] Over-ornate

15 Oskar Cox Jensen, '"True Courage": A Song in History', in *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture*, ed. Oskar Cox Jensen, David Kennerley, and Ian Newman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 115–36.

16 There has been a recent upsurge of interest in the concept of the national air in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. See, for example, Celeste Langan, 'Scotch Drink and Irish Harps: Mediations of the National Air', in *The Figure of Music in Nineteenth-Century British Poetry*, ed. Phyllis Weliver (Abingdon and New

melodicism was associated with Italy; chromaticism and a focus on harmony were associated with Germany. The English songwriters who composed for the theatres, ballad operas, or pleasure gardens seem to have written tunes first and then fitted basses or triads to them afterwards. Of course, this was necessarily the case with those many songs, such as 'The Arethusa', that arranged or adapted pre-existing melodies from tune-books for fiddle or flute.

This compositional practice, exemplified by the composer Charles Dibdin purportedly writing the song 'True Courage' in his head while walking round his garden before dinner and only later adding a plain accompaniment in line with his own pedagogical theories, also reflected performance practice.[17] Performances of these songs at venues such as Covent Garden, Sadler's Wells, Astley's Amphitheatre, Vauxhall Gardens, or the Rotunda at Ranelagh were usually accompanied by small orchestras, primarily strings and woodwind.[18] Domestic performances in middle-class parlours were usually accompanied by a keyboard part performed on the harpsichord, spinet, forte-piano, or, ultimately, pianoforte. Yet for all that, they were *led* by the singer who was invariably the star performer, whether on stage or in her own home. Even when they were visible, the instrumentalists were rarely known by name.[19] Prevailing modes of theatricality (remembering that this song culture was inextricably bound up with the theatre) dictated a character-led vocal performance, reinforced by the invariable presence of fermata over important notes in sheet-music transcriptions, or indications of

York: Routledge, 2016 [2005]), pp. 25–49; *Studies in Romanticism*, 58.4 (2019), special issue on 'Song and the City': Ian Newman and Gillian Russell, 'Metropolitan Songs and Songsters: Ephemerality in the World City', *Studies in Romanticism*, 58.4 (2019), 429–49 (pp. 433–35); James Grande, 'London Songs, Glamorgan Hymns: Iolo Morganwg and the Music of Dissent', *Studies in Romanticism*, 58.4 (2019), 481–503. See also the Romantic National Song Network rnsn.glasgow.ac.uk.

17 Cox Jensen, 'True Courage'.

18 There is now a wealth of literature on the music of the pleasure gardens to supplement the original resource, Warwick Wroth, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1896). See especially David Coke and Alan Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); Penelope J. Corfield, *Vauxhall, Sex and Entertainment: London's Pioneering Urban Pleasure Garden* (London: History and Social Action, 2012); Jonathan Conlin (ed.), *The Pleasure Garden, from Vauxhall to Coney Island* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

19 The best recent account of this culture is Berta Joncus, *Kitty Clive, or The Fair Songster* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2019).

rallentando (gradually slowing down) and *a tempo* (returning to the previous speed).

All these conventions indicate a culture of melody-led song, with skilled accompanists following the gestures and performance decisions of the singers. The writers, subservient to these better-paid stars and aware of their songs' afterlives in less formal spaces, were therefore in the business of turning out short, pleasurable, memorable melodies, motivated by both ideology and pragmatism. Such was the mainstream song: versatile, mobile, basic.

Creating a canon

In conceiving of or representing their compositional style as national, as English or British, these songwriters and their publics were, predictably, talking out of their hats, or at least their wigs. A great many of the composers of mainstream song were English and performed a high degree of Englishness in their lives, writings, and choice of lyrical content for their compositions. Set against this, a smaller number of highly influential songwriters came from the European mainland. More importantly still, the vast majority of English composers either travelled abroad for their musical training or were trained by foreigners in England.

The best way of demonstrating this is to create a canon, which also serves our wider purpose of gaining a general understanding of mainstream song culture. The assembling of a formidable series of names, dates, works, and associations is an entirely unreconstructed act and historiographically discreditable in the extreme, and it is not an end in itself, although it does lead us to ask why no such recognized canon exists in the way it does for poets, novelists, composers of instrumental music, or exponents of practically any other cultural form. Rather, it is a necessary precondition if we are to draw any firm analytical conclusions about the supremely important yet historically marginalized body of songwriters responsible for the generation of mainstream melodies.

There is no getting away from the fact that this is a canon of white men in wigs, so I may as well cave in to the formal conventions of the 'great man' narrative and say that the long eighteenth-century mainstream stretched from Henry Purcell (1659–95) to Henry Bishop

(1786–1855).[20] Except that Purcell, by far the best-known name on the list, was preceded by his family friend Matthew Locke (*c*.1622–77), who himself had various antecedents that early modernists would doubtless wish to make part of the conversation. So perhaps I should adopt a wholly arbitrary cut-off point of 1700. The fact that such respectable, court-based, baroque composers as Locke and Purcell were part of the same mainstream song culture as the slips peddled by the urchin William Brown may at first seem faintly surprising. If so, it is because we have forgotten something well known.

More than eighty years ago, Roy Lamson and Robert Gale Noyes compiled astonishing records of the cheap print editions of works by the great English Restoration composers.[21] Lamson wrote that, 'Stolen bodily by broadside-balladists for airs to their doggerel verses, many of Purcell's melodies became familiar street-tunes', and, citing as his prime example 'If Love's a Sweet Passion', an aria from *The Fairy Queen* conforming in every respect to the characteristics of mainstream song, went on to say: 'Only Matthew Locke's "The Delights of the Bottle", the setting of a song in Shadwell's opera *Psyche* (1675), comes into competition. Locke's tune was popular for eleven ballads, but to Purcell's "If love's a sweet passion" at least thirty-five broadsides were sung.'[22]

This is, of course, a crucial point. While the words of many mainstream songs originated with ballad poets and ballad singers themselves, especially since so many were contrafacta or parodies (although authorship might equally reside with Dryden, Pope, or Byron), the melodies — each of which could sustain numerous textual re-settings — appear, where their origin is known, to have come entirely from or via the trained composers of the theatres and pleasure gardens. Lamson and Noyes go on to cite many other luminaries whose works were enjoyed as much indirectly by a demotic street audience as they were directly by their own well-heeled patrons and audiences.

20 Details for the following paragraphs derive from two main sources, *ODNB* and Oxford Music Online, the latter of which incorporates the *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Evidence for the slip song editions of the named 'hit' songs derives primarily from the Bodleian Library's Broadside Ballads Online.

21 Robert Gale Noyes and Roy Lamson, 'Broadside-Ballad Versions of the Songs in Restoration Drama', *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, 19 (1937), 199–218; Roy Lamson, 'Henry Purcell's Dramatic Songs and the English Broadside Ballad', *PMLA*, 53 (1938), 148–61.

22 Lamson, 'Henry Purcell's Dramatic Songs', pp. 148–49.

If this eloquent truth has somehow fallen out of our consciousness, it is primarily down to the influence of the great post-war cultural historian Peter Burke, whose view of the eighteenth century was one whereby popular and elite culture consciously uncoupled, with the two tribes no longer sharing the common culture of an earlier time.[23] Burke includes songs and ballads in his remarkably broad analysis of early modern European culture, and here he is regrettably indebted to Francis James Child for his information, with consequences that are all too predictable.[24] Burke attributes sole historical agency to the elite, whom he sees as abandoning what was once a common culture to the masses, to whom it was left as a residual, subordinate part of a severed whole. This takes no account of the operation of the mainstream, which in the case of song was founded on the systematic appropriation of elite and middling material by a dynamic mass market. This led more than one composer to lament the immense hypothetical royalties lost to this piracy. Charles Dibdin the Younger even sought legal advice on whether it would be worthwhile prosecuting the worst-offending printers, as his father had done (it was not).[25] But mention of the Dibdins recalls me to my purpose, which is to follow the illustrious names of Locke and Purcell with their eighteenth-century successor songwriters.[26]

The early part of the century was dominated by a contemporary of Purcell who contrived to live rather longer, Richard Leveridge (1670–1758), composer of any number of famous songs, principally for the new

23 Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd edn (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009 [1st edn, 1978]).

24 Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, p. 367.

25 Charles Dibdin the Elder complained in 1803 that: 'I have already been under the very unpleasant necessity of commencing prosecutions against fourteen persons who have pirated my productions', while his son was warned off prosecutions by his own printer who advised that 'you'll get damages awarded you no doubt, but you'll have your own expenses, £60 perhaps, to pay; for the People that publish these things are too poor to pay damages or your expenses'. See Charles Dibdin, *The Professional Life of Mr. Dibdin*, 4 vols (London: Charles Dibdin, 1803), I, vi; George Speaight (ed.), *Professional & Literary Memoirs of Charles Dibdin the Younger* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1956), p. 47.

26 The fourteen names I have selected for the eighteenth century, while not precisely objective, are included on the basis of their acknowledged prominence in slip editions; as such, there is no place for Thomas Linley (or his son), despite their being a key part of this world, as none of their compositions seems to have attained true mainstream status.

genre of ballad opera.[27] Leveridge's three best-known compositions are the rearranged melody of 'A Cobler There Was' (often known as 'Derry Down'), 'Black-Ey'd Susan', and 'The Roast Beef of Old England'. His only rival in importance must be Henry Carey (1687–1743), composer of 'Sally in our Alley' and rumoured to be responsible for the form of 'God Save the King' that arose in the eighteenth century. His son, George Saville Carey (1743–1807), another prolific songwriter, said proudly (if contortedly) of his own songs that 'when they have been yelled through the loud discordant lungs of an itinerant ballad-singer, where they have more been attended to from the incident than the music by the plebeian listeners in the streets of London, or sung as Tom of Bedlam did his frantic scraps, "at fairs, or wakes, or market-towns" [...] my relatives hereafter, when I may *be* no more, though I may have done so *little*, may be glad, trifling as they are, that I have done so *much*'.[28]

A still more noteworthy father-son pairing was that of Thomas (1710–78) and Michael (1740–86) Arne, the former the composer of numerous successful and enduring songs, of which 'Rule, Britannia!' is the most remarkable. The latter's more modest contribution to the mainstream is typified by the song sometimes known as 'Loose Ev'ry Sail'. Thomas Arne's almost exact contemporary was William Boyce (1711–79), once again best remembered for a bellicose naval hit, 'Heart of Oak'. The next generation gave rise to the Vauxhall Gardens songwriters, among whose leading lights was Johann Christian Bach (1735–82), the youngest son of Johann Sebastian. Of his many influential Vauxhall songs, the one that proved the most successful in cheap print was 'Cease a While Ye Winds to Blow', which became known as 'The Wanderer' and spawned many answers and imitations.[29]

Bach had a close colleague in Samuel Arnold (1740–1802), whose biggest slip hit may have been 'Little Sally's Wooden Ware', but whose most enduring mainstream melody is surely his arrangement of 'Oh Dear, What Can the Matter Be?'. The 1740s were a good decade for prolific and staggeringly influential songwriters, ushering into the world Charles

27 For the ballad opera genre, see Berta Joncus and Jeremy Barlow (eds), *'The Stage's Glory': John Rich, 1692–1761* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011).

28 George Saville Carey, *The Balnea*, 2nd edn (London: J. W. Myers, 1799), p. vii.

29 For Bach (as a special case), see Johann Christian Bach, *Favourite Songs Sung at Vauxhall Gardens, Originally Published in London, 1766–1779*, ed. Stephen Roe (Tunbridge Wells: Richard Macnutt, 1985).

Dibdin the Elder (*c*.1745–1814), James Hook (1746–1827), and William Shield (*c*.1748–1829), who wrote perhaps four thousand songs between them. In their cases, it seems absurd to single out individual songs, but those best known today might be, respectively, 'Tom Bowling', 'The Lass of Richmond Hill', and 'Bow Wow Wow', especially since the consensus has been reached that Shield merely arranged 'The Arethusa'.

Similarly prolific (though understandably less fêted) was William Reeve (1757–1815), responsible for endless stage-Irish compositions such as 'Land of Potatoes', and noteworthy to this readership for setting Charles Dibdin the Younger's lyric 'Hole in the Ballad'. More celebrated was Stephen Storace (1762–96), whose afterpiece *No Song, No Supper* alone yielded two great hits in 'The Dauntless Sailor' and 'With Lowly Suit', also known as 'The Ballad-Singer's Petition'.[30] Actor-singer Charles Dignum (*c*.1765–1827) had hits of his own composition in the topical 'The Fight off Camperdown' and the perennial 'The Disabled Seaman', themes that reached their zenith in the best known of John Braham's (*c*.1774–1856) many songs, 'The Death of Nelson', preceded by 'The Death of Abercrombie' and less tragic hits such as 'The Beautiful Maid'. With Braham we might be said to have exhausted the eighteenth century, but it is worth concluding with a towering composer of the early nineteenth to illustrate how the tradition continued. Henry Bishop (1786–1855) was in every way a typical mainstream songwriter, whose biggest song, 'Home, Sweet Home', has left as large a mark on anglophone culture as any yet mentioned.

Characterizing the canon

Having assembled a brief list of names and dates, the natural questions are what to do with it and whether it was worth compiling in the first place. Happily, there are features common to both the songs and their composers that are helpful in trying to characterize the eighteenth-century mainstream. Thinking about the songs, given the wider concerns of this volume, it is interesting how they differ from their seventeenth-century predecessors. While there is a strong musical similarity and a

30 Storace boasts one of the best biographies of these composers, in Jane Girdham, *English Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London: Stephen Storace at Drury Lane* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

general flavour of the baroque, one objective change that took place with the advent of the Georgian era was that the songs became shorter. Not in their original, stage incarnations — since those of Purcell, Locke, and their contemporaries were of similar and relatively brief duration — but in their transition to the street and the slip.

In the seventeenth century, stage songs appropriated by ballad printers and singers, and transferred to broadsides, were generally lengthened by any number of stanzas so as both to fill the sheet and to meet the expectations of singers and audiences.[31] A broadside edition of Locke's 'The Delights of the Bottle' (quoted by Noyes and Lamson) is headed with the following apologia:

> Gallants, from faults he cannot be exempt,
> Who doth a task so difficult attempt;
> I know I shall not hit your features right,
> 'Tis hard to imitate in black and whight.
> Some Lines were drawn by a more skilful hand,
> And which they were you'l [*sic*] quickly understand;
> Excuse me therefore if I do you wrong,
> I did but make a Ballad of a Song.[32]

The final couplet is fascinating, suggesting a period when 'ballad' and 'song' were to be contrasted on grounds of length, and perhaps performance context. Although not all songs published in cheap print editions during the eighteenth century were necessarily shorter than before, there is a definite trend to be observed, especially as regards the mainstream songs that were taken from the theatres and pleasure gardens and reproduced on slips. While the reasons for this change are beyond the scope of this chapter, the result was a far greater conformity between the two versions — rarely more than four or five stanzas of distinctive music, with their material form (the slip) reifying these new qualities of brevity and portability.

As for the songwriters, clear themes emerge. Of my fourteen names (sons not counting), nine were born in London, one's birthplace is unknown, and only the three great names of the 1740s hailed from

31 Noyes and Lamson, 'Broadside-Ballad Versions', p. 199.

32 *The Delights of the Bottle; or, The Town-Gallants Declaration for Women and Wine* (printed for P. Brooksby, at the Golden Ball, near the hospital gate, in West Smithfield) [ESTC R14001].

elsewhere in England — Southampton, Norwich, and Swalwell (Northumberland). Bach, of course, born in Leipzig, is the other exception. All came from lower-middling backgrounds, a couple were illegitimate, and just two (save Bach) were from musical families. Shield's father was a music teacher, and Storace's played the double bass. The rest were typically sons of craftsmen and clerks. Their sources of musical education were various, encompassing tutors, choir schools, apprenticeships, and organists, but one uniting theme is the cosmopolitanism of their musical influences. This is extremely important given the rather xenophobic, little-England discourse that framed the song culture of the century, and the fact that so many of their enduring hits were patriotic odes to the navy and the sea. In fact, nine of the thirteen English composers demonstrably owed their training to continental musicians, who were overwhelmingly Italian, and even Dibdin, a locus for jingoistic discourse, taught himself everything he knew out of Rameau. Storace was a second-generation Neapolitan immigrant, and Braham suffered from anti-Semitism during his rise to fame.

Nor were they all given to writing endless sea songs. Even Dibdin's constituted just some 9 per cent of his repertoire.[33] Rather, it was this part of their output that found the greatest favour with cheap printers and their publics, especially during a century of almost ceaseless warfare. In fact, all of them worked constantly with Italian, German, and French musicians, in the theatres and especially the pleasure gardens, where they were just as likely to turn out romantic and pastoral songs. This last point underlines the most glaring common feature: that all of them were employed in London. Although regional song cultures continued to thrive in the eighteenth century, during which time regional printers also began to flourish and London itself was constantly being renewed by influences from the continent and also from the English regions, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, the mainstream itself was characterized by a strongly metropolitan focus. These white men in wigs were Londoners, if sometimes only by adoption; they were of lower-middling origin; and they owed their craft as much to the continent as to England.

33 Cox Jensen, 'True Courage'.

Finally, they may have been men, but as recent scholarship has underlined, the songs often owed their initial success to the performances and celebrity of female singers, a fact that became unavoidable during the first flush of ballad opera and that remained the case well into the nineteenth century, when Catherine Stephens, Eliza Vestris, and many others became household names.[34] None of which is to try and retro-fit a progressive narrative on to what was clearly a deeply patriarchal society, a fact reinforced by the series of father and son songwriters, including not only Arne and Carey but also the Linleys and, if the writers of the words are taken into account, the Arnolds and Dibdins too. There are subtleties to be teased out and the cosmopolitan nature of 'English' song should certainly be highlighted, but this was essentially a clubbable metropolitan culture of relative (if not absolute) privilege which became, if only through the work of the slip song press, perhaps the single most significant cultural force of the century.

* * *

Why am I, in an act of wilful anachronism and against all the revisionist tenets of social and cultural history, writing this chapter now? Surely, if a canon demonstrably exists, then it has long since been dismantled as 'old hat'? Yet no such canon has ever been constructed. The two isolated works that perhaps come the closest to the attempt are an anthology of sheet music produced by Alfred Moffat and Frank Kidson in 1911 as a successor to an earlier compilation stretching from the Elizabethan to the mid-Georgian period (and therefore eschewing the century-based periodization I have advanced here), and a great scholarly tome from 1973, now long out of print, by Roger Fiske.[35] Neither work actually argues for the recognition of its subjects as a coherent and culturally important body, and Fiske's attitude to the composers he discusses is complex and conflicted, sometimes tipping into outright disdain.

34 Joncus, *Kitty Clive*; Tiffany Potter (ed.), *Women, Popular Culture, and the Eighteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); David Kennerley, *Sounding Feminine: Women's Voices in British Musical Culture, 1780–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

35 Alfred Moffat (ed.), *English Songs of the Georgian Period*, with historical notes by Frank Kidson (London: Bayley & Ferguson, 1911); Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).

There are several reasons for this neglect. The canon as a historical phenomenon is a product of the nineteenth century, of the Victorian impulse to categorize, combined with the Romantic idealization of the individual genius. As primarily commercial songwriters, employed by theatres and working to commission, the figures discussed here were especially resistant to a narrative of spontaneous artistic self-expression. On a practical level, they fell short when compared to poets, playwrights, novelists, or painters. Working with writers, composers were usually only half of the story, and contemporaries tended to anthologize English songwriting with regard to verse over melody.[36] Some writers, such as John Gay and David Garrick, enjoyed far greater renown than their musical partners. Moreover, although some of the songwriters performed or sang their own works, others relied on actors from the outset. It is no coincidence that the nineteenth century venerated Dibdin above all others, because only he united the roles of poet, composer, and performer. Nor were most of the composers solely or even primarily songwriters; rather, songwriting was just one component of a wider body of work, both instrumental and vocal. While arguments might be — and sometimes were — made for the rude vitality and character of English song, there are very few defences of English music in general during the eighteenth century, when the withering assessment of Charles Burney generally held sway.[37]

These difficulties — and, above all, a self-conscious inferiority complex about English music which would only be compounded in the nineteenth century — explain the historical lack of a songwriting canon.[38] That these composers remain relatively neglected today is in part down to the same reasons as in the past, but also down to a decline in the cultural capital of song.[39] As a historicized art form it holds relatively low status, and the significance of this sort of song in particular has been largely obscured by

36 A prime example is John Aikin, *Essays on Song-Writing, with a Collection of Such English Songs as Are Most Eminent for Poetical Merit*, 2nd edn (London: Evans, 1810).

37 Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, 4 vols (London: printed for the author, 1776–89). This is all thoroughly discussed in Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, esp. p. vi.

38 As typified by the notorious titular phrase of Oscar Schmitz, *Das Land ohne Musik: Englische Gesellschaftsprobleme* (Munich: Georg Müller, 1904).

39 Neglected, that is, by musicologists, the inheritors of the '*Land ohne Musik*' problem, above all, although there are now signs of revisionism from excellent scholars such as Amélie Addison, Alice Little, Ian Newman, and Brianna Robertson-Kirkland.

the far greater scholarly interest in the 'ballad' (however defined), a field especially rich in the early modern period. There is perhaps a tendency, by historians, musicologists, and literary scholars, to underestimate the vast cultural importance and influence of the sorts of songs found on slips, which reached further than any other medium.

It does not help that the subject can seem so unfashionable. The mainstream (as exemplified by these composers) lacks the glamour of labouring-class cultural production; the political tendencies of many of its standout hits are often unsavoury; the composers were, as individuals, a rather boring and unlovely lot. When coupled with the low aesthetic status of the compositions, the prospect is not attractive. Against all of which, I can only raise the historian's objection, that these songs *mattered*. They sold in their hundreds of thousands; they were consumed by all classes. Their tunes formed a large part of the musical life of most Britons; their texts mediated every social development, from nationalism, to sociability, to gender roles and relations. The material processes of their distribution provide a fascinating model of working-class appropriation of middling and elite culture, while giving the lie to any narrative of an insular English culture cut off from the wider world. And after spending a while with songs like 'The Arethusa', it is even tempting to make the case that they are still worth singing.

Appendix

Come all ye jolly sailors bold,
Whose hearts are cast in honour's mould
While England's glory I unfold,
Huzzah to the Arethusa!
She is a frigate tight and brave
As ever stemm'd the crashing wave,
Her men are staunch to their fav'rite launch
And when the foe shall meet our fire,
Sooner than fight we'll all expire,
On board of the Arethusa!

'Twas with the spring-fleet she went out,
The English Channel to cruise about,
When four French sail, in show so stout,
Bore down on the Arethusa.
The fam'd Belle Poule straight ahead did lie,

The Arethusa seem'd to fly,
Not a sheet, nor a tack, nor a brace did she slack
Tho' the Frenchmen laugh'd, and thought it stuff,
But they knew not the handful of men how tough
On board of the Arethusa!

On deck five hundred men did dance
The stoutest they could find in France
We with two hundred did advance
On board the Arethusa.
Our Captain hail'd the Frenchman, ho!
The Frenchman then cried out hallo!
Bear down, d'ye see, to our admiral's lee,
No no, says the Frenchman, tha t can't be,
Then I must lug you along with me
Says the saucy Arethusa!

The fight was off the Frenchman's land
We forc'd them back upon their strand
For we fought till not a stick would stand
Of the gallant Arethusa.
And now we've driv'n the foes ashore
Never to fight with Britons more,
Let each fill a glass to his fav'rite lass,
A health to our captain and officers true,
And all who belong to the jovial crew
On board of the Arethusa!

9. Story Books, Godly Books, Ballads, and Song Books: The Chapbook in Scotland, 1740–1820

Iain Beavan

Two book reviews, nearly a decade apart, have encouraged — if not actually enjoined — those writing on the chapbook and its forms either to move beyond strict (analytical and historical) bibliographical engagement, or else, in so far as chapbooks are assumed to have 'represent[ed] popular mentalities', to attempt to make those features clearer.[1] We might first summarily consider four factors — social, legal, economic, and cultural — that together contributed to the increased number of chapbooks produced in Scotland.

Social, legal, economic

The first factor — which might *prima facie* seem somewhat counter-intuitive — was population growth (particularly urban) and urban migration. A growing and ever more concentrated urban population, and increasing industrialization, provided printers with a potential commercial market, although it is important to bear in mind (as T. C.

1 R. A. Houston, 'Review of *Folk in Print: Scotland's Chapbook Heritage, 1750–1850*, ed. Edward J. Cowan and Mike Paterson', *Scottish Historical Review*, 88 (2009), 181–83; Oskar Cox Jensen, 'Review of *Street Literature of the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud', *Modern Philology*, 116 (2018), E30–E33.

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Smout has observed) that 'even as late as 1820 seven Scots out of ten still lived in rural communities: the farm and the village were still not replaced as the typical social environment in which a man spent his life'.[2]

The second factor relates to the confused legal background under which Scottish printers had hitherto worked. Of the thirty-nine active printing localities identified in Scotland to 1800, only fourteen had presses before 1750. The printing trades in Edinburgh and Glasgow, which can be dated to earlier centuries, were far larger than elsewhere, and produced very large numbers of chapbooks, yet of those other towns and cities now recognized as centres of eighteenth-century chapbook production, most saw printing begin after the 1770s.[3] Economically and legally, this is unsurprising, as jurisdictional differences over perpetual common-law copyright were finally settled in 1774 and the numbers of printers in Scotland consequently increased. The result was, as the Edinburgh printer William Creech is said to have noted, 'in every town there is now a printing press [...] The country is overrun with a kind of literary packmen, who ramble from town to town selling books. In the little inconsiderable town of Falkirk there is now set up a printing press [...]'.[4] It is also worth noting that the printer in Falkirk in 1774 to whom Creech referred was Daniel Reid, whose output included chapbooks and whose business, taken over in 1783 by Patrick Mair, established that town as a major producer of Scottish chapbooks.[5]

2 T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560–1830* (London: Fontana, 1972), p. 242.

3 Anette Hagan, 'The Spread of Printing', in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, vol. 2, *Enlightenment and Expansion, 1707–1800*, ed. Stephen W. Brown and Warren McDougall (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp. 112–17: Aberdeen (printing dated from 1622); Stirling (1571); Falkirk (1766); Paisley (1769); Greenock (1778); Kilmarnock (1780); Ayr (1790). Chapbooks were occasionally printed elsewhere in Scotland (e.g. Banff, in the very late 1790s). Our understanding (particularly of the earlier, formative period) has been transformed by Adam Fox, *The Press and the People: Cheap Print and Society in Scotland, 1500–1785* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

4 Gwyn Walters, 'The Booksellers in 1759 and 1774: The Battle for Literary Property', *The Library*, 5th ser., 29 (1974), 287–311 (p. 308).

5 The autobiography of the chapman David Love, *The Life, Adventures and Experiences of David Love*, 3rd edn (Nottingham: printed by Sutton & Son, for the author, 1823), p. 31, probably refers to Daniel Reid: 'Lucky for me, a book-printer had taken his residence in Falkirk; I bought small books of him very cheap, and gave him a copy to print.'

The third background factor can be put as a twofold question. What percentage of the Scottish population could actually read a chapbook, and did that percentage increase with time? The question of literacy in Scotland has preoccupied historians, and their answers (based on differing methodologies and data) have led to some divergence and disagreement. Their comments, however, suggest a relatively high level of functional literacy by the end of the eighteenth century. Making use of comments within the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, Don Withrington concluded that 'in many very different areas of the country, literacy in reading at least was very widespread'.[6] R. A. Houston concluded that male *illiteracy* in lowland Scotland in the mid-eighteenth century stood at around 35 per cent, and 'the rise to nearly universal literacy which we can see during the 1850s must have come at some stage during the later eighteenth or early nineteenth century'.[7] However, even in the 1770s illiteracy levels among women throughout Scotland were higher than those for men because of the contemporaneous economic realities and social attitudes. And male literacy levels varied geographically. A relatively high level in Edinburgh in the early and mid-eighteenth century has been asserted;[8] however, readership levels in the sparsely populated Scottish Highlands, much of which was at the time Gaelic-speaking, were lower. Houston suggests 50–60 per cent male illiteracy,[9] though in some Highland areas the situation was reportedly considerably worse.[10]

Such figures and summaries do not and cannot provide a full explanation of the noticeable uplift in chapbook production, particularly from the 1780s, as they take no account of cultural preferences and taste,

6 Donald J. Withrington, 'Schooling, Literacy and Society', in *People and Society in Scotland, 1760–1830*, vol. 1, ed. T. M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison (Edinburgh: John Donald with the Economic and Social History Society of Scotland, 1988), pp. 163–87 (pp. 172–73).

7 R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England, 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 56.

8 Adam Fox, 'The Emergence of the Scottish Broadside Ballad in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 31 (2011), pp. 169–94 (p. 176, citing several sources).

9 Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity*, pp. 56–67.

10 Society for the Education of the Poor in the Highlands, [*Resolutions ... Brief Statement*] (Inverness: printed at the *Inverness Journal* Office, by James Fraser, 1818), printed inauguration notice in University of Aberdeen, Special Collections and Archives, Innes of Cowie papers, MS 2970/2/4.

but they do supply some deeper appreciation of the social, demographic, and economic conditions relating to the increase in printing activity in Scotland. The market (and one that could be further encouraged) for printed material for the lower orders, not just in the towns and cities, was in significant measure met by the chapbook. In 1837, J. G. Lockhart described 'Penny Chap-books' as 'still in high favour among the lower classes in Scotland', and this view, although much modified, remains essentially unchallenged.[11] The Rev. Charles Rogers wrote disapprovingly of one aspect of eighteenth-century Scotland: 'Ribald songs and profane ballads were everywhere. The Falkirk Chapmen books, impure in every page, constituted the literature of the people.'[12] In similar fashion, the writer of an article on 'The Scotch Penny Chap-Books' in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* judged that 'without an unreasonable stretch of authority, they might all have come within the jurisdiction of the Society for the Suppression of Vice [... They] constituted for many years a universal literature among the lower classes of persons, both old and young.'[13] And, putting aside the moral judgements, the assessment of the readership groups stands largely accepted.

Cultural

Garlands — that is, song collections — constituted more than 50 per cent of the output of Scottish chapbooks over the later eighteenth century. While it would be fair to say that such chapbooks were purchased and read largely by the lower classes, their form of expression places them in the wider context of song culture in Scotland. This point has been made forcefully in Thomas Crawford's landmark work on *Society and the Lyric*, wherein he distinguished five types of popular song in eighteenth-century Scotland, among them slip or chapbook songs and broadside or 'stall' ballads, which, he argued, 'did not appeal to five separate publics or even to two — the "masses" and the "educated"; they appealed

11 J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 7 vols (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell; London: John Murray, and Whittaker, 1837–38), I, 122.

12 Rev. Charles Rogers, *Scotland, Social and Domestic: Memorials of Life and Manners in North Britain*, Grampian Club [series], 1 (London: Griffin, 1869), p. 60.

13 'The Scotch Penny Chap-books', *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, 3 April 1841, p. 84.

in varying degrees to all of lowland Scotland'.[14] He laid out some of the functions of popular lyric (which, in the present context, relates largely to chapbooks): 'they transmitted past attitudes and emotions [...] they provided a medium in which people of all ages could share such experiences as love, tragic emotion, "social glee", and bacchanalian abandon'.[15] Such popular song culture did not, of course, spontaneously come into existence with the arrival of the printing press, nor with the attainment of literacy — scholars have long recognized that its existence was rooted in a predominantly oral society and that there was much interaction between literate and oral cultures.[16]

Citing Crawford's work, scholars have recently reaffirmed the importance and significance of the large number of 'formally published songbooks' emanating from Scotland.[17] Indeed, we can extend Crawford's seventy-one eighteenth-century titles (his count taken to 1786 only) with a further forty-six (these up to 1800) to give a very provisional total of 117 Scottish-published songbooks.[18] A general overlap in content between these songbooks and the chapbook garlands is quickly detectable. As an example, *The Lark*, printed for Robert Clark in Edinburgh in 1768, contains some eighty-six songs, of which nearly 39 per cent can be readily identified as having also appeared in Scottish-printed chapbooks.[19] It is also worth noting that some of the songs in *The*

14 Thomas Crawford, *Society and the Lyric: A Study of the Song Culture of Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1979), p. 9. See also Thomas Crawford, 'Lowland Song and Popular Tradition in the Eighteenth Century', in *The History of Scottish Literature*, vol. 2, *1660–1800*, ed. Andrew Hook (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), pp. 123–39 (pp. 123–24).

15 Crawford, 'Lowland Song and Popular Tradition', p. 132.

16 Crawford, *Society and the Lyric*, p. 7; Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity*, chapter 6.

17 Katherine Campbell and Kirsteen McCue, 'Lowland Song Culture in the Eighteenth Century', in *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Traditional Literatures*, ed. Sarah M. Dunnigan and Suzanne Gilbert (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), pp. 94–104 (pp. 94–95).

18 This figure includes fifteen Scottish-printed editions, plus one from Berwick, of Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany*. Such songbooks were not cheap. *The Tea-Table Miscellany*, 9th edn (1733), and 10th edn (1740), printed in London, sold there for 3*s*., and a further 3*s*. if the music notation was wanted.

19 Whether the contents of *The Lark: A Collection of Choice Scots Songs; together with a Few Songs for the Bottle* (Edinburgh: printed for Robert Clark, bookseller, 1768) [ESTC T178387] had been expurgated needs further investigation, as some British publishers were careful to remove what might have been taken to be obscene pieces. See the advertisement for *The Polite Songster* in the *London Evening Post*, 31

Lark (for example, 'Bessy Bell and Mary Gray', 'Down the Burn, Davie', and 'Katharine Ogie') also appeared in chapbooks printed in Newcastle upon Tyne. *The Linnet*, printed and sold by J. & M. Robertson in Glasgow in 1783, has an even higher percentage, with around 50 per cent of the 109 songs therein appearing in Scottish chapbooks, although in some cases not until the nineteenth century.[20]

As might be expected, versions of some of the more famous historical (border) ballads that were printed in Scotland were also included in chapbooks printed in northern England. Examples from the Angus family of Newcastle upon Tyne — major printers of chapbooks and broadsides — include *Chevy-Chase* and *Sir James the Rose*, and they were also responsible for editions of *The Pleasant and Delightful History of Johnny Armstrong*, a border ballad that appeared many times in London and elsewhere in England. It was also known in Scotland and was included on an Aberdeen broadside printed by James Chalmers III in 1776.[21] The overlap between the popular song culture of (mainly lowland) Scotland and the northern counties of England went far beyond the border ballad. This can be seen in Angus's two slip song editions of *The Soldier's Return*, one of them very close to Burns's version, and within their many chapbooks Scottish songs such as 'Maggie Lauder', 'Auld Lang Syne', and 'Come Under my Plaidie'.[22]

There is little doubt that some chapbooks printed in Newcastle that contained Scottish songs were intended for distribution and sale within Scotland, but presumably not exclusively so. Angus's editions of *A Garland of New Songs, containing 1. Moll of the Wood; 2. The Soldier's Lass; 3. Come under My Plaidie; 4. The Answer* may have sold on either — or

January 1760: 'Care has been taken to insert no obscene pieces, so much and so justly complained of in other Works of this Kind.' (*The Lark,* published in 1765, the contents of which are discussed in Crawford, *Society and the Lyric*, pp. 13–14, was a considerably larger work and the two books appear to be unrelated in terms of publication, although there is, unsurprisingly, some overlap in content.)

20 *The Linnet; or, Chearful Companion, being a Select Collection of the Most Favourite and Admired Scots and English Songs* (Glasgow: printed and sold by J. & M. Robertson, 1783) [ESTC T178326].

21 *John Armstrong's Last Good-Night* (6 May 1776) [ESTC T29104].

22 Some of the literary magazines of the northern English counties, such as *The Satellite* (earlier issues published in Carlisle, later issues in Newcastle) and the *Alnwick Magazine*, also quickly started to include Burns's compositions, which rapidly passed into chapbook form in both Scotland and the rest of Britain.

both — sides of the border.[23] The figure of the collier appears somewhat more often in Northumbrian chapbooks than in those from Scotland, but the absorption by a Scottish printer of a piece from Tyneside was not unknown. Edward Chicken's poem *The Comical History of the Collier's Wedding* was printed in Niddery's/Niddry's Wynd, Edinburgh (i.e. Alexander Robertson), in chapbook form in 1779, and again by Charles Randall in Stirling in 1808.[24]

There are lingering issues over quite how far and how deeply concepts relating to popular culture can be applied without qualification in chapbook analysis. As physical objects, it is unproblematic to describe chapbooks as part of popular *material* culture. But discomfort may arise when elements of the definition of culture — usually those that centre around the concepts of shared meanings and values — are employed to form some broad idea of a class or group *mentalité*.[25] While some cohesiveness can reasonably be argued for chapbooks by affirming that they consist of a number of common compositional forms, literary genres, and broad themes, the more closely and narrowly their textual contents are considered, the clearer it becomes that, in terms of general attitudes, values, and conduct, there was considerable divergence. Chapbook themes (such as social status and conditions, aspirations to social advancement, prophecies and foretelling) have frequently been identified and systematized, but such modes of categorization may not reflect how the original readers regarded the contents.[26]

Firstly, approaches to these themes varied widely — for example, compare *The Happy Beggars*,[27] with sentimental songs like *The Begging*

23 *A Garland of New Songs, containing 1. Moll of the Wood; 2. The Soldier's Lass; 3. Come under my Plaidie; 4. The Answer* ([*colophon*] Angus, printer) [ESTC T40459, T40460].

24 *The Comical History of the Collier's Wedding in Fyfe*, wrote by a Kirkaldy Gentleman, new edn (Edinburgh: printed and sold at the Printing Office in Niddery's Wynd, 1779) [T215478]; Edward Chicken, *The Comical History of the Collier's Wedding at Benwell, near New Castle upon Tyne* (Stirling: printed and sold by C. Randall, 1808) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2866(18)].

25 Peter Clark and R. A. Houston, 'Culture and Leisure, 1700–1840', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. 2, *1540–1840*, ed. Peter Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 575–613 (p. 576).

26 Many themes are elucidated in Edward J. Cowan and Mike Patterson, *Folk in Print: Scotland's Chapbook Heritage, 1750–1850* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007).

27 *Jockie to the Fair, with The Answer; to which are added, The Turkish Lady; The The* [*sic*] *Happy Beggars* (entered according to order) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2846(42)] (almost certainly printed by the Robertson family (the

Girl and *The Blind Beggar Boy*.[28] Chapbook songs touching on begging tended not to criticize that way of life or disapprove of those who adopted it, whether driven by misfortune or choice; rather, they portrayed the differing attitudes of beggars themselves, such as independence and perhaps fatalism, as opposed to vulnerability and fear. To that limited extent, many of the songs identified with the beggars. *The Happy Beggars* portrays a distinct way of life, separate from the rest of society, a situation of which the beggars were totally accepting. It is an attitude sometimes detectable in the autobiography of William Cameron ('Hawkie'), whose lifestyle wavered between earning a small income by selling chapbooks and ballads on the streets, and sharing rat-infested lodgings with vagrants.[29]

Secondly, the reactions of most individual readers to the songs are now largely irrecoverable and we may be thrown back on pursuing an exploration of some of the more frequently appearing themes, when they occurred, and the attitudes they expressed.[30] For example, *An*

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woodcut used appears on their chapbook *The Northern Dit*ty of 1808). 'The Happy Beggars' in printed form can be traced back at least to *The Tea-Table Miscellany*, vol. 4 (1740), p. 348. See also Crawford, *Society and the Lyric*, chapter 10, for a sustained discussion, including on 'beggar pastoral'.

28 *Six Excellent New Songs: The Begging Girl; My Only Joe and Deary, O; The Blind Beggar Boy; The Galley Slave; Scotland's Comfort; Bleak Was the Morn* (Edinburgh: printed by J. Morren) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2808(6)]. 'The (Poor/Little) Blind Beggar Boy, (a Pathetic Ballad)', by John C. Cross (the title varies), is one example of very many songs that were first performed in English music halls in the 1790s and later picked up by literary and poetic miscellanies, and then by chapbook printers. It was printed in *The Asylum; or, Weekly Miscellany*, 41 (10 June 1795), 239, a periodical published by William Bell in Glasgow's Saltmarket. Such 'music hall' contents in chapbooks indirectly raise the question of the extent to which such texts were intended for an urban readership.

29 [William Cameron], *Hawkie: The Autobiography of a Gangrel*, ed. John Strathesk (Glasgow: David Robertson & Co., 1888). See also Michael Harris, 'A Few Shillings for Small Books: The Experiences of a Flying Stationer in the 18th Century', in *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print, 1550–1800*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1998 [1990]), pp. 83–108 (esp. p. 89), on David Love, chapman in Scotland before he removed to England.

30 Roger Chartier, *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances and Audiences* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), p. 92: 'One must challenge [...] any approach claiming that the repertoire of the literature of colportage expressed the *mentalité* or the "world view" of popular readers. Such an argument, commonly found in works on the French *Bibliothèque bleue*, the English chapbooks [...] is no longer acceptable.'

Invitation to North America published by James Chalmers III in Aberdeen in September 1783.[31] The song was written in response to perceived economic hardship, but simultaneously reflected the end of the American Revolutionary War. It refers to 'The times they grow harder in Scotland ev'ry day' — increases in the price of grain and its being exported to France — and 'Manufactories in Scotland are grown so very bad, / For weavers and combers there's no work to be had'. The song held out the prospect of a more prosperous life in New York or Nova Scotia, where pay and living conditions were supposedly better than in Scotland. It is also a song that might be thought to express an attitude approaching a resigned acceptance of the prevailing economic conditions, which could only be escaped by emigration.

The Complaint of the Poor portrays the vulnerability of the poor, exploited by 'meal-mongers, ingrossers, forestallers and all', and appeals to wider society for compassion:

> Poor people of Scotland with tears in their eyes
> Stand and look at a sixpenny loaf with surprize,
> Our markets so dear makes our hearts for to bleed,
> When they hear their poor children crying for bread.[32]

More importantly yet, it could be argued that both the contents and the general tone of *The Complaint of the Poor* contain hints of the beginnings of nineteenth-century working-class consciousness.

The familiarity of the Scots with alcoholic liquor is very evident within chapbook literature.[33] The temperance movement may have taken off after the 1820s, but differing attitudes to drink and its effects appear quite regularly in Scottish chapbooks of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, veering from the indulgent, such as *The Toper's Advice*, to the expression of considerable concern over the

31 *Six Excellent New Songs: I. Get Married Betimes; II. An Invitation to North America; III. The Eating of the Oysters; IV. The Betrayed Shepherd; V. The Drowned Mariner; VI. Betty Brown* (printed in September 1783) [ESTC T174282]. The woodcut appears in Chalmers's publications and the form of dating is characteristic of Chalmers.

32 *The Married Man's Lament; or, Fairly Shot of Her; to which is added, The Butcher's Daughter; The Roving Young Man; Todlan Butt, and Todlan Ben; The Complaint of the Poor* (entered according to order) [ESTC T173523].

33 T. C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People, 1830–1950* (London: Fontana, 1987), chapter 6, 'Drink, Temperance and Recreation'.

social consequences of alcoholism.[34] Hector Macneill's *Scotland's Skaith; or, The History o' Will & Jean*, with its focus on the deleterious effects of drink, clearly reflected a wider anxiety. It was published in various formats by Charles Randall in Stirling in what appear to have been five separate editions (some of them chapbooks) in 1795, and also in Dumfries, Carlisle, and Workington before 1801. By the time Victorian respectability and the temperance movement took it on, the alternative title was sometimes modified — for example, *The History of Will and Jean; or, The Sad Effects of Drunkenness*.[35] It is at this point, too, that questions might arise about the level of disapproval — often enough characterized as implacable — of Hannah More and the Cheap Repository for Moral and Religious Tracts, towards the contents of at least some of the chapbooks. While the tone differed, More's *The Carpenter; or, The Danger of Evil Company*, also published in 1795, addressed exactly the same concerns as *Scotland's Skaith*.[36]

Echoes of Jacobitism — a largely, though by no means entirely, Scottish movement — appeared in various forms. It is a thoroughly rehearsed and discussed theme, but one that again reflects a variety of attitudes towards the uprisings. While a sense of nostalgic national identity could be said to come through most of the songs, a few (such as *The New Way of Lochaber*, ostensibly written by a prisoner taken at Culloden and imprisoned at Carlisle) express disillusionment with the insurgency.[37] More poignant songs, such as versions of Burns's *The Highland Widow's Lament*, did not start to appear in Scottish chapbook

34 *The Dandy-O; to which are added, Tippet Is the Dandy-O; The Toper's Advice; Picking Lilies; The Dying Swan* (Glasgow: printed by J. & M. Robertson, 1799, Saltmarket) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2835(14)].

35 *The History of Will and Jean; or, The Sad Effects of Drunkenness* (Glasgow: printed for the booksellers) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2852.B(10)].

36 *The History of Will and Jean; or, The Sad Effects of Drunkenness* (Glasgow: printed for the booksellers) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2852.B(10)].

37 *The Galloway Shepherds; to which is added, The Royal Highlanders Farewel; The New Way of Lochaber; with The A*[*n*]*swer; Love Inviting Reason; I Fear It Is Love* (entered according to order) [ESTC T184462] (almost certainly printed by the Robertson family); *The Merchant's Garland, composed of Several Excellent New Songs: I. The Sailor and the Merchant's Daughter; II. A New Song, Call'd Loughaber; III. The Answer; IV. A New Song an* [*sic*] *a Hundred Years Hence* (licensed and enter'd according to order) [ESTC T39239]; *A Garland of New Songs, containing 1. The Bonny Lass of Bannachie; 2. 'Twas within a Mile of Edinbro'; 3. A New Song Called Loughaber; 4. The Answer to Loughaber* ([*colophon*] Angus, printer) [ESTC T40481].

form until the 1820s.[38] But whatever sense of national identity may have been reflected by Jacobite poems and songs, the threat of the then-present common external enemy to Britain encouraged a more general cohesiveness and patriotism, as was made explicit in large numbers of chapbooks of the 1790s and early 1800s.[39]

Marriages were happy, contented, to be avoided, to be regretted, abusive, frustrating, or loving. Unexpected meetings could break down social barriers and lead to happy (and fortuitous) relationships, as explained in *The Jolly Sailor; or, The Lady of Greenwich*, found in a chapbook that includes a number of songs with nautical themes and carries a title-page woodcut of a sailor and a lady in an affectionate embrace.[40] It is widely accepted that such songs would have been frowned upon by the late eighteenth-century evangelical propagandists, such as Hannah More and Sarah Trimmer, partially because of its crossing social divides, but far more because of its reliance on circumstance and sheer chance for both the sailor and the Lady of Greenwich to achieve mutual happiness. Such emotional fulfilment had to be earned by hard work, dutifulness, and religious observance.[41]

True, warm affection and companionship is found in versions of *John Anderson my Joe* that appeared in several chapbooks.[42] The many variants of *John Anderson*, at least to the early 1800s, all seem to have been created by a combination of elements from the distinctly sexually

38 *Two Popular Songs, viz. Falkirk Fair; Highland Widow's Lament* (Falkirk: printed in the year 1825) [Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, L.C.2828.A(2)]: 'I was the happiest of a' the clan [...] Till Charlie, he came o'er at last, / Sae far to set us free.'

39 Oskar Cox Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song, 1797–1822* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

40 *The Jolly Sailor; or, The Lady of Greenwich; to which are added, Pretty Peggy's Love to Sailor Jack; The Sailor's Widow's Lament for his Death on Board the Trial; Merry May the Maid Be; When Late I Wander'd* (Glasgow: printed by J. and M. Robertson, Saltmarket, 1803) [Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, L.C.2837(29)].

41 *Family Magazine*, 2 (July 1788), 451: 'Diligence is the mother of good luck, and God gives all things to honest industry.'

42 *Poor Jack; to which are added, The Tar for All Weathers; Bold Jack; John Anderson my Joe* (Stirling: printed by C. Randall) [ESTC T44038]; *The Matrimonial Farce; or, Three Weeks after Marriage; to which are added, John Anderson my Joe; Sweet Poll of Plymouth; The Vicar of Bray; The Lamp-Lighter* (entered according to order) [ESTC T171942] (probably printed by the Robertson firm of Glasgow); *Six Excellent New Songs: The Belfast Maid's Lament; John Anderson my Jo; The Yellow Hair'd Laddie; Lass of the Brow of the Hill; The Butcher's Frolic; or, The Affrighted Tailor; Every Man to his Humour* (Edinburgh: printed by J. Morren) [ESTC T174353].

loaded version in *The Merry Muses of Caledonia* and Burns's heavily modified composition. And married couples could become reconciled, even after less than exemplary behavior by either or both parties. The story of Peter and Betteries (or Betterish) appeared widely in chapbook form.[43] Although it is easy to identify the prominence of the patriarchy in marital relationships in so many chapbook songs, it was nonetheless a characteristic of all social groups; it was a reflection of far more than the culture of the lower orders.

It is almost certainly the case that the single most common theme in Scottish chapbook garlands is that of love and its pursuit. But this, too, is a reflection of far more than the preoccupations of the lower orders in eighteenth-century Scotland, though they may have had their own distinctive expression.[44] Expressions of devotion were commonplace, but affection, if it had ever existed, could go sour and lead to disdain. The chorus of *I Wish that You Were Dead, Goodman* is striking in its directness:

> I wish that you were dead, goodman,
> And a green sod on your head, goodman,
> That I might ware my widowhood,
> Upon a ranting highlandman.[45]

It is, however, clear that there were particular aspects of the lives of some groups within the lower orders that did reflect a common attitude. The fragility of human relationships constituted a commonly held anxiety. It is evident particularly in the chapbooks of the last

43 *The Woman's Spleen Abated; or, A Little Labour Well Bestowed, in Quelling the Rage and Fury of a Scold* (Glasgow: printed by Robert Sanders, and are to be sold in his shop, 1716) [ESTC T179863]; *Peter and Betterish; or, The Woman's Spleen Abated* (Aberdeen: printed in the year 1739) [ESTC T206305] (printed by James Chalmers II); *The History of Peter and Betteries; or, A Little Labour Well Bestowed* (Edinburgh: printed and sold in Niddry's Wynd) [ESTC T27873] (printed by Alexander Robertson); *The Woman's Spleen Abated; or, A Little Labour Well Bestowed, in Quelling the Rage and Fury of a Scold* (Glasgow: printed by James and John Duncan) [ESTC N492256].

44 Crawford, *Society and the Lyric*, p. 16; Crawford, 'Lowland Song', p. 135.

45 *Two Excellent New Songs, called The Midnight Messenger; I Wish that You Were Dead Goodman* (printed by J. Chalmers & Co., Castle Street, Aberdeen) [Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library, PR 974.A1/894] (printed by James Chalmers III). The song had previously appeared in [David Herd (ed.)], *The Ancient and Modern Scots Songs, Heroic Ballads, &c.* (Edinburgh: printed by and for Martin & Wotherspoon, 1769) [ESTC T78132]. Goodman/gudeman = either husband or farm owner; in the context of the present song, possibly both.

decades of the eighteenth century, a time when Britain as a whole required manpower for war. Songs on the related themes of 'The Soldier's Farewell' or 'The Sailor's Farewell' which described the pain of parting were common, printed as slip songs or in chapbooks throughout Britain, and continued into the nineteenth century. The Robertson firm in Glasgow had (at least) two similar and frequently used woodcuts of a sailor with his sweetheart or wife, on shore, with a ship in the background, which appeared (among others) with *The Gosport Tragedy* and *The Jolly Sailor; or, The Lady of Greenwich*.[46] Thomas Bewick recorded, 'in cottages everywhere were to be seen [prints of] the "Sailor's Farewell" and his "Happy Return" '.[47] The motif can be seen in ceramic work from at least the 1760s, and it appeared again dominating a mezzotint print of Charles Dibdin's 1789 song 'Poor Jack', much performed in places of public entertainment.[48] And with this, not just visual but yet more textual connections appear as the popularity of brave and steadfast 'Poor Jack' was not missed by chapbook printers in England and Scotland, who added Dibdin's song to their publications in the 1790s or early 1800s.

There is a general point to be drawn out here, which is that some of the songs (and stories) included in chapbooks printed in Scotland were indeed distinctively Scottish, but very many were not. Scottish readers' tastes also encompassed material emanating from south of the border. Any idea that Scottish-printed chapbooks necessarily expressed some form of undiluted Scottishness is wide of the mark. It can, however, reasonably be claimed that the very combination of songs in any particular chapbook is essentially Scottish, in the sense that it represents

46 *Gosport Tragedy; or, The Perjured Ship Carpenter; to which are added, The Scots Bonnet; The Relief by the Bowl; Get Married as Soon as You Can* (Glasgow: printed by J. & M. Robertson, Saltmarket, 1801) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2836(16)]; *The Jolly Sailor; or, The Lady of Greenwich* (n. 40 above).

47 *A Memoir of Thomas Bewick, Written by Himself* (Newcastle upon Tyne: printed by Robert Ward, Dean Street, for Jane Bewick, Gateshead; London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862), p. 247.

48 London, British Museum, 1887,0307,E.193 (earthenware tile, *c*.1760–70); 2010,7081.3129 (mezzotint, 1790). See also Nicholas Grindle, 'Dibdin and John Raphael Smith: Print Culture and Fine Art', in *Charles Dibdin and Late Georgian Culture*, ed. Oskar Cox Jensen, David Kennerley, and Ian Newman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 158–67; Jon A. Gillespie, 'Dibdin, Charles (*bap*. 1745, *d*.1814), actor, composer and writer', *ODNB* https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7585.

an attempt by a Scottish printer to represent the tastes of his assumed local and regional readership.

A preliminary quantitative view

Any attempt to calculate how many distinct chapbook editions were actually published over the eighteenth century is fraught with extreme difficulty.[49] But without the construction of an (albeit very imperfect) set of data, we are fundamentally hampered as to any form of quantifiable overview whatsoever. An initial investigation through ESTC, supplemented with checks across the records of major research libraries,[50] suggests that the number of chapbook titles printed in Scotland from 1780 to 1800 (inclusive) ranges between *c*.1,200 and *c*.1,345 editions (Table 9.1).[51] Chapbook production had not only increased markedly over the period (very crudely, over sixty-five new editions every year), but had also become much more geographically

49 Some chapbooks are very rare, which leads researchers strongly to suspect that not all are actually known. Difficulties can relate to the chapbooks themselves. Indeed, there are differences of opinion as to what even counts as a chapbook. Some printers (thoughtlessly for subsequent historians) did not give up business in December 1800, the end point for ESTC. Many printers did not date their works, and many imprints do not give a place of publication. There are listing/cataloguing difficulties, particularly the problem of the sufficiency of catalogue records for identification purposes. Because so many chapbooks are undated, there has been a marked, albeit understandable, tendency to date them to the beginning or end of a decade. Beyond these challenges, we do not necessarily know what influences and preferences acted on contemporaneous collectors. And bibliographical work on detecting variants within titles has been uneven.

50 Likely chapbook titles, identified by either format and associated pagination, printer, or subject or genre headings in the British Library, Bodleian Library, National Library of Scotland, Glasgow University Library, and Aberdeen University Library.

51 A range is given so as to allow for the fact that many chapbooks are undated, with no evidence to suggest a publication date, so a proportion of them (here assumed to be 50 per cent) might have fallen into the early nineteenth century. The greatest problem arises with printers such as John Morren of Edinburgh, whose trading dates stretched from 1790 to 1822, but who did not date his works (few of which can be dated on internal evidence). The method adopted here was to take his total known output of 255 titles, distribute this figure annually over his entire career, and then calculate the output for 1790–1800 inclusive, which gives a figure of eighty-eight titles.

widespread, reflecting the spread of Scottish printing activity as a whole.

Locality	Chapbook editions provisionally identified	Approx. percentage (rounded)
Aberdeen	81	6%
Dumfries	11	< 1%
Dunbar	14	1%
Edinburgh	378	28%
Falkirk	110	8%
Glasgow	563	42%
Stirling	89	6.5%
Other localities and Scottish unknown	100	7%
Total	**1,346**	

Table 9.1. Estimated number of chapbook editions published in Scotland, 1780–1800.

There is often little enough that can be said about chapbooks without being acutely aware that whatever propositions are advanced may be subject to challenge. This is true even of the appropriate use of the word 'chapbook'. Fortunately, Matthew Grenby has put forward a workable framework which proposes indicative characteristics — physical form (predominantly imposed and contained within a single sheet and of small format, and paper quality might usefully be included here); cost; distribution by hawkers; content — and, as Grenby suggests, it was the 'relationship between these traits that caused contemporary readers to understand a text as a chapbook'.[52] This allows for a pragmatic approach, and one that resonates with those eighteenth-century

52 M. O. Grenby, 'Chapbooks, Children, and Children's Literature', *The Library*, 7th ser., 8 (2007), 277–303 (p. 278). Duodecimo format (12º) was particularly common. See John Meriton, with Carlo Dumontet (eds), *Small Books for the Common Man: A Descriptive Bibliography* (London: British Library; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2010), p. 898. There are exceptions to the conventionally accepted 24- or 32-page limit for a chapbook. Editions of *Thomas the Rymer*, for example, regularly exceeded this figure. Here, Brash & Reid's *Poetry, Original and Selected*, Cameron & Murdoch's 'celebrated pieces', and Stewart & Meikle's poetic series, all including material by Burns and all published in Glasgow, are considered as poetry pamphlets rather than chapbooks.

printers' advertisements and notices that indicate what a chapman may actually have carried.

Analyses of chapbooks have tended to overlook those of a religious nature, particularly in the later decades of the eighteenth century, while giving prominence to more imaginative (humorous, exciting, emotionally stirring) genres. An exception to this is found in the contribution by Adam Fox, wherein he discusses the evolution and establishment of the Scottish chapbook to the mid-century, and, in particular, the stock of Robert Drummond.[53] But quite what conventions and criteria might be applied to the phrase 'religious chapbooks' is far from straightforward.[54] Ann Matheson has recently written: 'Religion dominated eighteenth-century Scottish life in a way difficult for the twenty-first-century reader to comprehend [...] the observance of religion and all its outward forms forged the way people thought and behaved.'[55] There is more than sufficient evidence from printers' notices and chapmen's recollections to conclude that cheap religious works regularly bulked out the hawker's pack. Although having to call on early and mid-nineteenth-century examples, we can draw attention to,

53 Adam Fox, '"Little Story Books" and "Small Pamphlets" in Edinburgh, 1680–1760: The Making of the Scottish Chapbook', *Scottish Historical Review*, 92 (2013), pp. 207–30.

54 The criteria adopted (with few exceptions) in the present chapter for inclusion as a 'religious chapbook' are: produced by already recognized chapbook printers; an author otherwise known or acknowledged for having published in chapbook form; no indication of further distribution through booksellers in the 'regular' trade; and, where known, of a common chapbook format, such as 12°. This does not contradict the parameters suggested by Fox '"Little Story Books" and "Small Pamphlets"', p. 209, and is also in line with the most frequently encountered chapbook formats identified by Meriton, with Dumontet (eds), *Small Books for the Common Man*, p. 913 (Table 3). Nevertheless, unlike, say, garlands, we are left with a high degree of individual judgement as to what should count as a 'religious chapbook'. What can be conceived of as small religious or doctrinal pamphlets (for example, sermons, catechisms), sold from printers' shops and sometimes far exceeding the conventional 24- or 32-page limit, were also regularly carried by some chapmen. Moreover, the definition in terms of content is complex. How, for instance, should the many small format, short catechisms in Gaelic printed in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Inverness be regarded? See Rev. Donald Maclean, *Typographia Scoto-Gadelica; or, Books Printed in the Gaelic of Scotland from the Year 1567 to the Year 1914* (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1915).

55 Ann Matheson, 'Religion', in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, vol. 2, *Enlightenment and Expansion, 1707–1800*, ed. Stephen W. Brown and Warren McDougall (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp. 459–70 (p. 459).

for example, the travels of John Magee through Scotland and England in 1806 and 1808:

> As I carry with me in my travels a few pious books and sermons for sale, when I enter any house, and shew these articles, the common salutation I get is, we want no good books; for we have more good books than we have time to read. Others cry, we cannot read, we would much rather have something to eat and drink; Others would run and shut the door.[56]

James Chalmers III of Aberdeen placed advertisements in two religious works issued from his press, *Translations and Paraphrases of Several Passages of Sacred Scripture* (1776) and *The A B C, with the Shorter Catechism* (1783). What is interesting about these notices is not the (hardly surprising) presence of religious titles, but that they included several secular works. Thus, the works advertised in *Translations and Paraphrases* include *The Mevis: A Collection of the Best English and Scots Songs*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Valentine and Orson*, *Hocus Pocus*, and *Tom Thumb's Play Book*. And in Chalmers's *A B C* he drew attention to the fact that he had a 'Great Variety of Story-books, Ballads, Mother's Catechisms, Larger Catechisms [...] Proverbs &c.' for sale.

Catechisms did not make up the entirety of the hawker's religious stock, although the history of travelling merchants offering such material for sale can be traced in Scotland to at least the late sixteenth century.[57] The lengthy imprint and advertisement of Daniel Reid's 1775 printing of Thomas Boston senior's sermon *Worm Jacob Threshing the Mountains* suggests that sermons were taken up by chapmen:

> Falkirk printed, *where travelling chapmen may be served with a great variety of* Bibles, Testaments, Books *in* Divinity, School Books, also small Histories, *Rev. Mr*. Renwick's *Sermons*, Rev. Mr. Ralph *and* Ebenezer Erskine's

56 John Magee, *Some Account of the Travels of John Magee Pedlar and Flying Stationer, in North & South Britain, in the Years 1806 and 1808* (Paisley: printed by G. Caldwell, jun., 1826), p. 18. See Oskar Cox Jensen, 'The *Travels* of John Magee: Tracing the Geographies of Britain's Itinerant Print-Sellers, 1789–1815', *Cultural and Social History*, 11 (2014), 195–216.

57 William Cramond, *The Records of Elgin, 1234–1800*, 2 vols (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1903–08), II, 60–61: 'It is appointit that the haill inhabitantis of this burgh [i.e. Elgin] be warnit be sound of the hand bell to buy catecheis sa lang as the merchantis ar in the toun.'

> *Sermons*, *Rev. Mr.* Townshend's *Sermons, and many others too tedious to mention*. — 1775.[58] (original italicization)

This was a piece of advertising that Reid used several times over his career, and evidence for the sale of sermons and other religious texts by chapmen can be found in advertisements from his successor, Patrick Mair, and also from Alexander Robertson of Edinburgh, who advertised sermons by Willison, Bunyan, Peden, Boston, Cameron, Hall, and other worthies, 'and none of the above Sermons exceeds Four-pence to one Penny'.[59]

Just as advertisements for secular works are found with religious titles, so advertisements for religious texts appeared with secular works. One of the lengthiest lists, running to eleven titles is on the overall title page of Daniel Reid's 4*d*. edition of *The Gentle Shepherd and Shepherdess* (1782).[60] Reid's list is important because not only does it give an (albeit fleeting) impression of the stock he was carrying, but even a cursory examination shows a number of editions otherwise not known (Table 9.2).

58 Rev. Thomas Boston, *Worm Jacob Threshing the Mountains: A Sermon Preached on a Sacramental Occasion* (Falkirk printed; where travelling chapmen may be served with a great variety of bibles, testaments, books in divinity, history, school books, also small histories, Rev. Mr Renwick's sermons, Rev. Mr Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine's sermons, Rev. Mr Townshend's sermons, and many others too tedious to mention, 1775), price 1*d*. [ESTC T179561].

59 Ebenezer Erskine, *The Angel's Seal Set upon God's Faithful Servants* (Edinburgh: printed by Alexander Robertson, Niddry's Wynd, 1782) [ESTC T75160]. Similar titles are advertised for chapmen in *Peter's Repentance, after He Had Denied His Lord and Master Jesus Christ* (Glasgow: printed and sold by J. & J. Robertson, 1776) [ESTC T25775] and *A Token for Mourners; or, The Advice of Christ to a Distressed Mother* (Belfast: printed by James Magee, at the Bible and Crown, in Bridge Street, 1780).

60 *The Gentle Shepherd and Shepherdess* (Stirlingshire Printing Office, in Falkirk: printed and sold by Daniel Reid, near the Old Kirk, 1782). The volume also carries a separate title page for Allan Ramsay, *The Gentle Shepherd, a Scots Pastoral Comedy* (Falkirk: printed and sold by Daniel Reid, at the Stirlingshire Printing Office, in the High Street, 1782) [Aberdeen University Library, SB 82:3985 Cha co 1]. Reid's list is important because not only does it give an (albeit fleeting) impression of the stock he was carrying, but even a cursory examination shows a number of editions otherwise not known. It was first noticed and discussed in William Walker, *Some Notes on Chap-Books* (Aberdeen, [1931?]), p. 2.

Title	ESTC no.	Printer (if known)
Fiery Pillar of Heavenly Truth [by Alexander Gosse, 72 pp. 8°]	N18667	Daniel Reid, Falkirk
Faith's Plea on God's Word [by Ralph Erskine, 32 pp. 12°]	T186255	Daniel Reid, Falkirk
Rent Vail of the Temple [by Ralph Erskine, 44 pp. 8°]	T230914	Daniel Reid, Falkirk
Christ the People's Covenant [by Ralph Erskine, 64 pp. 8°]	T165478	John Bryce, Glasgow
A Cry to the Whole Earth [by John Welch]	No edition known in or before 1782	
Mr Welch's Life and Prophecies [32 pp. 12°]	T194378	Daniel Reid, Falkirk
Mr Peden's Life and Prophecies [56 pp. 8°]	T168937	Daniel Reid, Falkirk
Thomas the Rhymer's Whole Book of Prophecies [48 pp. 12°]	T180400	Alexander Robertson, Edinburgh
Mr Peden's Sermons [probably an edition of *The Lord's Trumpet*, sometimes published with two prophetical sermons]	Too vague for closer analysis	
Reverend Mr Erskine's Harmony of the Divine Attributes [64 pp. 8°]	T166614	John Bryce, Glasgow An edition by Reid is known in 1783
Mr Willison's Young Communicant's Catechism	N70194 or T177728	
Proof and Mother's Catechism [*Mother's Catechism* is by John Willison]	Too vague for closer analysis	
Father's Catechisms, &c. [*Father's Catechism*, by Robert Lang, 24 pp. 12°]	T203273	Alexander Robertson, Edinburgh

Table 9.2. Titles advertised with Daniel Reid's 4*d*. edition of *The Gentle Shepherd* (1782): 'Where Travellers and Shopkeepers may have the following Books (among many others)'. Editions cited are those that may have been referred to by Reid. It is also entirely possible that Reid printed editions of some of the titles, copies of which are now not known. The physical size of some of the works is such that they challenge the conventional criteria for chapbooks.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that during this period it was only chapmen based in Scotland that dealt in religious titles and for whom catechisms were a stock-in-trade. Some mid-century imprints of the Newcastle printer John White carry generalized wording to the effect that, 'chapmen may be furnished with sermons, histories, ballads, &c.'.[61] Shorter catechisms were often combined with alphabet tables. Entirely typical of this group is John Morren's printing of *The A, B, C, with the Shorter Catechism, Appointed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland* [...] *to which are added, Short and Easy Questions, and Hymns for Children*.[62] As Margaret Spufford has observed, though of an earlier period, many catechisms were designed especially to include the mother in religious upbringing.[63] And so it was in eighteenth-century Scotland. The Rev. John Willison's *The Mother's Catechism*, of which ESTC records thirty-three editions in various formats, published in Britain and America (in English and Gaelic) has prefatory remarks addressed to 'Christian parents', who were charged with the responsibility of ensuring that they did not 'lead [their children] straight to hell and damnation'.[64]

The structure of catechisms lent itself to parody, a fact lighted upon almost certainly by Charles Randall of Stirling who printed off *The English Lady's Complete Catechism* (*c.*1800), thus: 'Q. How do you employ your time now? / A. I ly in bed till noon, dress all the afternoon, dine in the evening, and play at cards till midnight.'[65] And if not parody, then straightforward witticism, as with *The Scots Piper's Queries; or, John Falkirk's Cariches*, which appeared from presses in Glasgow, Stirling, and Falkirk around 1800.

61 ESTC T195530, T300528.

62 *The A, B, C, with the Shorter Catechism, Appointed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland* [...] *to which are added, Short and Easy Questions, and Hymns for Children* (Edinburgh: printed and sold by J. Morren, East Campbell's Close, opposite the east side of the Meal Market, Cowgate; where may be had Brown's, Willison's Young Communicants, Mothers, and Proof Catechisms, large and small Proverbs, &c.) [ESTC T19062]. For Morren, this is an extremely rare announcement of what stock he held.

63 Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and Its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985 [1981), p. 211.

64 John Willison, *The Mother's Catechism for the Young Child; or, A Preparatory Help for the Young and the Ignorant, in Order to their Easier Understanding the Assembly's Shorter Catechism* (Falkirk: printed and sold by T. Johnston, 1799), p. 2 [ESTC T170255].

65 *The English Lady's Complete Catechism* (Stirling: printed in this present year), p. 4 [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2882(20)].

What is noticeable about the Scottish chapbook sermons of the eighteenth century is that many were by ministers who could be placed within an Evangelical tradition. Some (for example, Samuel Rutherford, James Renwick, and Alexander Peden) were seventeenth-century individuals, recognized as Covenanters, while others (such as Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine) had felt driven to take an independent stand against the position of the Church of Scotland and to establish the Associate Presbytery.[66] Scholars have already noticed that 'Erskine and Thomas Boston were among the writers most widely read by the eighteenth-century peasant [in Scotland].'[67] The pronouncements of two leaders of the First Secession (1733), the brothers Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine (especially those of the latter), were frequently printed in chapbook form. Ralph Erskine's communion sermon *Faith's Plea upon God's Covenant*, far from being condemnatory, adopted a hopeful, pardoning, and rewarding approach in exhorting respect for God's commandments, and was printed in chapbook form at least six times in the 1770s and 1780s.

Some sermons of Thomas Boston senior, and to a much lesser extent those of his son, Thomas junior — the former of decidedly Calvinist convictions, the latter a founder of the Relief Church (1761) — were offered by the chapbook printers.[68] *Worm Jacob Threshing the Mountains* by Thomas Boston senior, a text (taken from Isaiah 41:14) that emphasized faith and grace, was printed at least seven times in eighteenth-century Scotland, with another edition in Newcastle by Thomas Saint. Alexander Peden 'combined a kind of second sight (insight and foresight together) with impassioned forewarning of imminent peril' and his prophetical sermons 'assumed a denunciatory directness'.[69] His biography and predictions proved a popular subject for chapbook printers, through to the 1840s, although the resultant publications tend to be somewhat

66 Matheson, 'Religion', p. 463.

67 Smout, *History of the Scottish People*, chapter 13, esp. pp. 308–09. Alexander Somerville, *The Autobiography of a Working Man* (London: Gilpin, 1848), refers several times (e.g. p. 39) to his father, who was a carter and labourer, reading religious titles, including Erskine, almost exclusively in the late eighteenth century.

68 The Erskine brothers were printed in small format editions (mostly twelve- or 24-page) over ten times post-1780, most often by Glasgow presses. Thomas Boston seems to have been a relative favourite of the Falkirk presses, with seven post-1780 editions out of thirteen.

69 D. F. Wright, 'Peden, Alexander (1626?–1686), Preacher', *ODNB* https//doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21756.

larger than the usual chapbook. That said, John Morren reduced his *Life and Prophecies of the Reverend Mr Alexander Peden* to eight pages in 1799.[70]

The overall contents of Scottish chapbooks changed somewhat over the century, and the single largest detectable difference was the declining percentage of religious titles compared with song collections. From the 1780s onwards, the chapbook became a major force for the distribution of songs, with approximately 51 per cent of the total. No other subject or category (*none* of them mutually exclusive) came near it. Tales (for example, *The Seven Champions of Christendom*) accounted for 12 per cent, followed by witty stories and accounts (for example, *The Comical and Witty Jokes of John Falkirk the Merry Piper*) at 6.5 per cent, and religious, including 'moral conduct', chapbooks (for example, *A Key to Open Heaven's Gate*) at 13 per cent. Such a change in content, and its timing, broadly agrees with the gradual move towards the reading of more fictional material observed by George Robertson, who suggested that the 1760s was the pivotal decade.[71]

Although medieval and early modern romances, stories of legendary figures, and pseudo-histories continued to appear in English chapbooks throughout the eighteenth century, their appeal in Scotland during the later part of the century seems to have been relatively limited. *Guy of Warwick*, an otherwise very popular and widely printed work, is not known to have been issued from an eighteenth-century Scottish press at all, and *The History of Thomas Hickathrift* only very rarely.[72] *The Tragedy of Jamie and Nancy of Yarmouth* was a popular text and appeared in chapbook form in Scotland, under varying titles, at least six times in editions all dated 1770 or later. It was also printed in chapbooks from Newcastle, Manchester, Dublin, and North America, and on broadsides from London and from James Chalmers III in Aberdeen (1775).

The Factor's Garland first started to appear as a chapbook in Scotland in the 1740s, with nine editions to the end of the century, and was still available in that form a century later, printed (probably stereotyped) in Falkirk. As a narrative it evidently resonated widely, with editions

70 *The Life and Prophecies of the Reverend Mr Alexander Peden* (Edinburgh: printed and sold in East Campbell's Close, Cowgate, 1799) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2813(2)].

71 George Robertson, *Rural Recollections; or, The Progress of Improvement in Agriculture and Rural Affairs* (Irvine: P. Cunningham, for the author, 1829), p. 107. See also Matheson, 'Religion', p. 469.

72 Fox, '"Little Story Books" and "Small Pamphlets"', p. 213.

throughout Britain and also in America. *The Children* (*Babes*) *in the Wood* was a hugely popular and widespread story which appeared in print throughout Britain, including at least nine times in Scotland during the eighteenth century. While modern readers find the deaths of the children (who are abandoned and left to starve) shocking, the fundamental morality of the story — which is aimed at parents, not children — lies in the element of divine retribution after they have been callously treated by adults, including their relatives, and ultimately forsaken as a result of avarice. Humorous stories sold well and went through many editions. *The Comical Tricks of Lothian Tom* went through at least twelve eighteenth-century Scottish editions, *Fun upon Fun; or, The Merry Tricks of Leper the Taylor* six editions (none outwith Scotland), and *The Witty and Entertaining Exploits of George Buchanan* possibly as many as twenty Scottish editions.[73]

The printers of Scottish garlands (chapbook song collections) exercised a broad choice in what they included. Some songs were regarded as old, others highly topical. The garlands themselves were sometimes linked by an overall theme, sometimes not at all. 'The Blythesome Wedding (Bridal)' is said to have first appeared in print in 1706 in James Watson's *Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems*, and remained a regular choice in the many songbooks published over the century. It finally moved into chapbook orbit in the 1790s and was included in garlands printed in Edinburgh and Glasgow. 'For the Love of Jean' (also known as 'Jocky Said to Jeanie') appeared in the 1724 (first) and subsequent editions of Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany*. It did not appear in chapbook form until 1802, when it was included in three separate garlands from the Robertson press in Glasgow.[74] And this

73 See also R. H. Cunningham (ed.), *Amusing Prose Chap-books, Chiefly of Last Century* (London: Hamilton, Adams; Glasgow: T. D. Morrision, 1889); John Fraser, *The Humorous Chap-books of Scotland*, 2 parts (New York: H. L. Hinton, 1873–74).

74 *The Laird of Logie, an Old Song; to which are added, The Sailor's Epitaph; or, Tom Bowling under the Hatches; The Phoenix.; 'Twas Yes, Kind Sir; For the Love of Jean* (Glasgow: printed by J. & M. Robertson, Saltmarket, 1802) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2837(6)]; *The Luckie Plou'-boy; to which are added, The Lamp-lighter; Virtue and Wit, the Preservatives of Love and Beauty; Sweet Jean of Tyrone* (Glasgow: printed by J. & M. Robertson, Saltmarket, 1802) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2836(10)]; *The Vanity of Pride; to which are added, Matrimonial Deafness; Young Men Are Deceitful; For the Love of Jean; The Distressed Maiden; with The Answer; The Men Will Romance* (Glasgow: printed by J. & M. Robertson, Saltmarket, 1802) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2835(33)].

neatly demonstrates a characteristic of many songs in chapbooks: they were picked up by printers, exploited over a few years, then dropped from the repertoire.

The ballad *Edom of Gordon* was first printed by the Foulis brothers in 1755 as a single twelve-page item, then later by James Chalmers III in Aberdeen in the 1780s or a little later.[75] Given that the text is close to Foulis's, the use of 'new' in Chalmers's title is a typical example of publisher's licence. But its presence and presentation does raise the suspicion that the ballad was included (at least by Chalmers) either as a piece of conscious antiquarianism and not aimed at the lower classes at all, or else as an attempt to copy the Foulis edition. The first lines of the fourth stanza are indicative: 'O see ze nat, my mirry men a'? / O see ze nat quhat I see?' To what extent 'ze' would have been recognized and pronounced as 'ȝe', as in Older Scots, remains unanswered.[76]

Francis James Child wrote of *Thomas the Rymer* that his 'fame as a seer' was 'after the lapse of nearly or quite six centuries, far from being extinguished';[77] and James Murray observed that 'The "Whole Prophecies" continued to be printed as a chap-book down to the beginning of the present [nineteenth] century, when few farm-houses in Scotland were without a copy of the mystic predictions of the Rhymer and his associates.'[78] These assertions are supported by some twenty-five Scottish editions to the end of the century, with (at a conservative estimate) a further ten into the nineteenth century. At often more than thirty pages it could stretch the conventions of what constitutes a chapbook, and by the time the basic text was expanded with additional prophecies by 'Marvellous Merlin, Bede, Berlington, Waldhave, Eltrain, Banester, and Sybilla' nearly forty pages were needed. The text also contains elements that, during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic

75 *Edom of Gordon, an Ancient Scottish Poem, never before printed* (Glasgow: Robert and Andrew Foulis, 1755) [ESTC T86547]; *Two Excellent New Songs, called Will Ye Go and Marry; to which is added, Edom of Gordon* [Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library, PR 974. A1/895].

76 Similar features are found in Chalmers's *Three Excellent New Songs, called the Young Laird of Ochiltree; Macpherson's Rant; Hey Jenny Come Down to Jock*, where the spelling 'sche' is used for 'she'.

77 Francis James Child (ed.), *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 5 vols (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1882–98), I, 317.

78 James A. H. Murray (ed.), *The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune*, Early English Text Society, O.S. 61 (London: N. Trübner, for the Early English Text Society, 1875), p. xlii.

Wars, caused 'much distress and consternation in the border counties of Scotland, where people were fearing an invasion'.[79] If Rymer's prophecies created anxiety among the people, the power of prophetic print was able to disconcert the government in other parts of the United Kingdom, particularly during the 1820s. In response to a question about what the 'peasantry' read in Ireland, a witness to a government enquiry stated that it consisted of 'generally common spelling books and story books, and one very dangerous book that is circulated through the country called Pastorinie's Prophecy; the circulation of it in the south of Ireland is quite astonishing'.[80]

The chapbook song collections were far from a constant repackaging of long-standing material. Their contents could reflect contemporaneous events. *The Tax'd Dogs' Garland* was a song that reflected on recent legislation. Among the reasons that had led to the introduction of a dog tax in 1796 was that it provided another source of government revenue, and it was seen as a way of reducing poaching and the worrying of livestock by dogs. Some, indeed, argued that it might have the effect of diverting the income of the lower orders away from feeding dogs and towards feeding themselves.[81] The song itself appeared in chapbooks from Falkirk and Stirling.[82]

Some chapbooks were not only topical but made an immediate local reference, although that is not to say that the content was merely of such interest. *Four Excellent New Songs*, printed in 1785 and ascribed to a Paisley press, offered its prospective readers *The Memorable Battle of*

79 Child (ed.), *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, I, 317.

80 *Report of the Select Committee on Condition of Labouring Poor in Ireland and on Application of Funds for their Employment*, House of Commons Papers, 561 (London: House of Commons, 1823), p. 28. The witness referred to an edition of *The Prophecies of Pastorini*, a pseudonym for Bishop Charles Walmsley, who foretold the collapse of Protestantism and the visitation of God's punishments on the enemies of Catholicism. A 32-page edition, printed in Dublin by Thomas and Robert Conolly, costing 5*d*., is known.

81 These comments are heavily dependent on Ingrid H. Tague, 'Eighteenth-Century English Debates on a Dog Tax', *Historical Journal*, 51 (2008), pp. 901–20.

82 *The Humorous Exploits of Mally Dyver; to which is added, The Farmer's Witty Remarks on the Dog-Tax* (licensed according to order; [*colophon*] T. Johnston, printer, Falkirk, 1802; where a good assortment of pamphlets may be [had] in wholesale on the lowest terms) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2828.B(8)]; *The Tax'd Dogs' Garland; to which are added, The Maid of Primrose-Hill; Hap Me with thy Petticoat* (Stirling: printed and sold by C. Randall, 1806) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2864(19)].

Bannockburn, which has obvious nationalist references, while another song, *Galloping Dreary Dun*, is a very close match to 'A Master I Have' which formed part of a comic opera, *The Castle of Andalusia*, first performed in 1782. It raises an interesting question as to how well this last song was recognized along the Clyde coast, and to what extent it reflected opera attendance in the area.

The appearance of works of Robert Burns in chapbook and broadside form has been closely mapped by Craig Lamont, so that the publication details of *The Calf* (1787), *The Prayer of Holy Willie* (1789), and *An Address to the Deil* (1795), among others, are well documented.[83] The appearance of Burns's songs and poems in chapbook garlands seems to have started early and continued with increasing frequency to the end of the 1820s.[84] Charles Randall's printing of *My Nannie O* and *The Peck o' Maut* around 1795 is typical.[85] Burns's death in 1796 was felt throughout Britain and was quickly reflected in a variety of literary forms. From a Kilmarnock press came *Burns' Widow's Lament*, and Thomas Johnston in Falkirk printed *A Solemn Dirge on the Death of R. Burns, Poet*.[86]

What depth of thought was given to the completion and textual layout of Scottish — and, more broadly, British — chapbooks is debatable. There is much evidence of what was effectively padding, usually by placing a short song or poem on the last page, mainly for reasons of length. Examples are very common. *The Soldier's Wife* has an additional song, comprising two four-line stanzas, set on the last page.[87] A single eight-line stanza neatly completes the last page of Charles Randall's *The Sailor Dear*.[88] If a further song or poem was not felt requisite, then the

83 Craig Lamont, 'A Bibliography of Robert Burns for the 21st Century, 1786–1802' (2018) https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/Media_518307_smxx.pdf.

84 Iain Beavan, 'Burns and Chapbooks: A Bibliographer's Twilight Zone', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 43 (2017), pp. 321–27.

85 *Eight Songs: My Nannie O; The Peck o' Maut; Willie Wastle; Wandering Willie; Jocky and Jenny; The Braw Wooer; Death of Sally Roy; Oaths in Fashion* (Stirling: printed by C. Randall) [ESTC T32462].

86 *Four Songs: The Banks of Clyde; Burns' Widow's Lament; Crooked Disciple; The Sprig of Shilelah* (Kilmarnock: printed for the booksellers) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2856(28)]; *The Perthshire Gardeners, a Popular New Song; to which is added, The Constant Shepherd; and A Solemn Dirge on the Death of R. Burns, Poet* (printed by T. Johnston) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, 5.6150(37)].

87 *The Soldier's Wife; or, The Fruits of a Victory; to which is added, Let Fortune's Angry Tempest Blow* (printed for the booksellers) [ESTC T160127].

88 *The Sailor Dear; with The Answer; to which is added, A Hunting Song* (Stirling: printed by C. Randall) [ESTC T200532].

last page of the chapbook could be completed with a woodcut. A good example is *Three Excellent New Songs* printed in August 1784, where the cut occupies more space than the final stanza on the last page.[89]

The title of a garland could either stand for the entire piece, as, for example, *Black-Ey'd Susan's Garland, in Four Parts*, or else refer just to the first song in the work, a style adopted particularly by Newcastle chapbook printers, as, for example, *The Greenwich Pensioner's Garland*, where the other songs have no relevance either to Greenwich or to a government pension.[90] It would, however, be mistaken to conclude that the inclusion of songs in chapbook garlands was necessarily indiscriminate. A Newcastle *Garland of New Songs*, for example, consists of four songs all linked by being on broadly Scottish themes.[91] An amorous theme is explicit in *Seven Love Songs* printed in Kincardine, and George Miller of Haddington brought out a collection of *Sea Songs*.[92]

The adjective 'new' sometimes functioned as little more than a marketing ploy and an attempt to inject an element of contemporaneity into the work (Fig. 9.1). For example, in *A New Garland* printed in Falkirk, *Captain Ward and the Rainbow* had been floating around since the previous century, and *There's my Thumb I'll Ne'er Beguile* was in Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany* in 1724 and subsequent editions.[93] John Morren's

89 *Three Excellent New Songs, entituled, I. The Irishman's Ramble; or, Drunk at Night and Dry in the Morning; II. Peggy Bawn; III. The Answer to Peggy Bawn* (printed in August 1784) [ESTC T174859]. Although ESTC assigns it to Glasgow, it is almost certainly by Chalmers of Aberdeen. The woodcuts on the title page were used contemporaneously by James Chalmers III, and the style of dating, 'printed in August 1784', was also used, albeit not uniquely, by Chalmers.

90 *Black-Ey'd Susan's Garland, in Four Parts* (Edinburgh: printed by J. Morren, Cowgate) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2805(20)]; *The Greenwich Pensioner's Garland, containing Several Excellent New Songs: I. The Greenwich Pensioner; II. The Tobacco Box; III. The Neglected Tar; IV. Poll and my Partner Joe* (licenced and entered according to order) [ESTC T35877].

91 *A Garland of New Songs, containing 1. The Bonny Lass of Bannachie; 2. 'Twas within a Mile of Edinbro'; 3 A New Song, called Loughaber; 4 The Answer to Loughaber* ([*colophon*] Angus, printer) [ESTC T40481].

92 *Seven Love Songs: Och hey Johnnie Lad; Thou Bonnie Wood o' Cragie Lea; Ane & Twenty Tam; Logan Water; The Land o' the Leal; &c.* (Kincardine: W. Liddell, printer) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2861.A(1)]; *Sea Songs: The Tempest; The Wat'ry Grave; Heaving of the Lead; Far, Far at Sea* (Haddington: printed by G. Miller; at whose shop may be had a variety of pamphlets, ballads, children's books, pictures, catechisms, &c., wholesale and retail) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2853.A(3)].

93 *A New Garland, containing Three Excellent New Songs, viz. 1. The Highlandman's Lament. 2. Captain Ward and the Rainbow; 3. There's my Thumb I'll Ne'er Beguile* (Falkirk: printed and sold at the south gate of the Old Kirk, in High Street) [ESTC T186166].

Three Excellent New Songs was right to the extent that *Lord Douglas's Tragedy*, although far from new, had not long been in print, and chapbook versions of that particular ballad would be criticized by Walter Scott as being 'in a state of great corruption'.[94] If it were inappropriate to use the word 'new' in relation to the contents, then a common stratagem was to suggest that the chapbook as material object was new by incorporating 'printed this present year' into the imprint.

Crime and punishment seem to have been addressed in Scotland either on broadsides or half-sheets, or else in longer, much more sustained accounts, although the Edinburgh printer Robert Brown's account of Margaret Dickson, 'ill hangit Maggy', was contained within a single folded sheet.[95] The number of post-1780 Scottish chapbooks given over to executions or lesser punishments is relatively few — initial indications suggest around fifteen. As a publishing form, the chapbook evidently did not meet market expectations for lurid accounts of executions, and it would have required something particularly shocking to have persuaded a chapbook printer to commit eight or sixteen pages of type to the event (though the nineteenth-century Burke and Hare scandal was an exception). That said, Patrick Mair in Falkirk must have thought that the deaths, some fifty years earlier, by shooting and suicide, of members of the Smith family would constitute a saleable sensational text, though any sense of immediacy or topicality would have dissipated by the time of its publication in 1785, when he issued the eight-page *Surprising and Melancholy Account of Richard Smith*.[96] John Morren adopted a somewhat different approach and *The Lamentation of Thomas*

94 *Three Excellent New Songs: Jeany Diver; Lord Douglas's Tragedy; Rindordin; or, The Mountains High* (Edinburgh: printed by J. Morren) [ESTC T174861]; [Walter Scott], *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, 2nd edn, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Longman and Rees, 1803), III, 244.

95 *The Last Speech, Confession and Warning of Margaret Dickson, Who Was Execute in the Grass-Mercat of Edinburgh, for the Unnatural Murder of her Own Child, on Wednesday the 2d of September 1724* (Edinburgh: printed by Robert Brown, in the middle of Forrester's Wynd, 1724) [ESTC T193695]. For her 'wonderful restoration', see 'Account of the Hanging of Margaret Dickson', *Scots Magazine*, December 1808, pp. 905–06.

96 *Surprising and Melancholy Account of Richard Smith, Book-binder, and Prisoner for Debt within the Liberty of the King's-Bench, and Bridget Smith, his Wife, Who Were Found Hanging near their Bed, and in Another Room, their Child, about 2 Years Old, Was Found in a Craddle* [*sic*] *Shot through the Head* (Falkirk: printed and sold at the Printing Office, in the High Street, opposite to the Cross Well; where variety of other pamphlets are sold in wholesale and retail, 1785) [ESTC T192950.] See further Philippa Marks, 'Suicide Pact of Bookbinder's Family' http://blogs.bl.uk/untoldlives/2012/01.

Smith and George Stevenson, the Horse Stealers was simply included among *Four Excellent New Songs*, undated, but presumably 1807 when Smith and Stevenson were executed in Edinburgh.[97]

SIX EXCELLENT.
NEW SONGS,
CARZY JANE
The death of Crazy Jane.
The Temple,
The Threaten't Invaſion,
A man's a man for a' that.
Auld Lang Syne.
Edinburgh Printed by J. Morren.
NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND EDINBURGH

Fig. 9.1. *Six Excellent New Songs* (Edinburgh: printed by J. Morren) [National Library of Scotland, L.C.2808(1)]. The title page illustrates Morren's typographical carelessness ('Carzy'). Most interestingly, it includes two Burns songs, both close to the 'authorized' or 'accepted' versions, but in neither case is the authorship acknowledged. Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland through the Creative Commons 4.0 International Licence.

Addendum on aspects of print history

No Scottish printer issued chapbooks to the exclusion of other print forms, though a few came very close to it. The available evidence suggests that the printing of chapbooks in Scotland was dominated by just a few

97 *Four Excellent New Songs: The Lass of Benoehie; The Banks of the River; The Rose Bud; The Lamentation of Thomas Smith and George Stevenson, the Horse Stealers* (Edinburgh: printed by J. Morren) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2807(31)].

firms. The Robertson family of Glasgow are said to have made £30,000 from the sale of their chapbooks, which they started printing in the 1770s and continued until 1809.[98] Up to and including 1801 (mercifully, Robertson titles were dated) they produced, very conservatively, 214 chapbook editions (religious and moral material, *c*.22 per cent; tales, *c*.15 per cent; song collections, *c*.35 per cent). And Adam McNaughtan has calculated that between 1802 and 1809 the firm produced 'some 150 eight-page song garlands'.[99] However, this total of around 369 titles is probably too low (see below).

The Robertson brothers' premises were in the Saltmarket, where conditions appear not to have been ideal. The northern end of the street in the late eighteenth century was described as having 'abominably dirty closes [...] At the bottom of one of those, up an outside stair, in an old-fashioned Flemish-looking house, lived two famous booksellers, J. and M. Robertson.'[100] By the 1780s, the Saltmarket, which formed part of the historic city centre, accommodated merchants and tradespeople (such as grocers, hatters, and ironmongers), and several connected with the printing trade, among them John Williamson, James Duncan, Peter Tait, John Bryce, Robert Ferrie, James Robertson, and John Mennons. In 1785, of those engaged in the book trade, the shop of James Duncan, printer and bookseller, was liable to the highest amount in shop tax (£10), and James Robertson's premises was liable to pay £9 10*s*. By the mid-1790s, however, records indicate that the Robertson family was prospering and was the only one in the Saltmarket that had to pay both carriage and horse taxes.[101]

Their prosperity up until that time *seems* to have been founded on printing, publishing, and selling a high percentage of religious texts, children's books, and relatively few chapbook titles. Their early chapbooks include *The Young Coal-man's Courtship to a Creelwife's Daughter* (1782), *The Comical Sayings of Pady from Cork* (1784), and

98 George MacGregor, 'Chap-Literature of Scotland', in *The Collected Writings of Dougal Graham, 'Skellat' Bellman of Glasgow*, ed. George MacGregor, 2 vols (Glasgow: T. D. Morison, 1883), I, 68–80 (p. 78).

99 Adam McNaughtan, 'A Century of Saltmarket Literature, 1790–1890', in *Six Centuries of the Provincial Book Trade in Britain*, ed. Peter Isaac (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), pp. 165–80 (p. 166).

100 'Senex' [Robert Reid], *Glasgow Past and Present*, ed. David Robertson, 3 vols (Glasgow: David Robertson & Co., 1884), I, 121.

101 National Records of Scotland, Cart Tax Rolls, Dog Tax Rolls, E326/8/18/45, E326/9/11/81 http://Scotlandsplaces.gov.uk.

possibly (though lengthy at forty pages) *The Witty and Entertaining Exploits of George Buchanan* (1777). Together with James Duncan, they appear to have conducted a significant amount of business in printing and/or selling children's books, most of modest cost, and not all of them unremittingly didactic or moralizing. Their 1*d*. works included *Tom Thumb's Folio*, *The Puzzling Cap*, *Nurse Truelove's Christmas Box*, *The House that Jack Built* and (an almost ubiquitous title) *The London Cries* 'with twenty-six cuts'. *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes*, at 156 pages, was more expensive at 6*d*.[102]

From an analysis of ESTC, it might appear that the Robertson brothers radically changed their publishing strategy in 1799 in three major ways. Their annual printed output rose considerably, and the number of chapbooks they produced increased very markedly. For the two years 1799 and 1800, chapbooks constituted more than 90 per cent of their output (as identified by imprint). And the type of chapbook they published also changed, with eight-page garlands becoming their preferred form (Fig. 9.2). But the change in strategy may be more *apparent* than real. *The Dandy-O* was published under the vague imprint 'entered according to order', but then exactly the same set of five songs, in the same order but reset (there are some minor textual differences), appeared under the imprint of J. & M. Robertson, Saltmarket, in 1799.[103] Similarly, *The Surprizing Adventures of Jack Oakum & Tom Splicewell* 'printed in the year 1798' was also reset and issued in 1800 with the imprint of J. and M. Robertson, with exactly the same woodcut of a dancing man.[104] Moreover, apart from the cuts, the typographical style

102 Information taken from a list printed in *A New History of England* (Glasgow: printed and sold by J. & J. Robertson, and J. Duncan, booksellers, 1777), pp. 187 ff. [ESTC T186672].

103 *The Dandy-O; to which are added, Tippet Is the Dandy-O; The Toper's Advice; Picking Lilies; The Dying Swan* (entered according to order) [ESTC T190596]; *The Dandy-O; to which are added, Tippet Is the Dandy-O; The Toper's Advice; Picking Lilies; The Dying Swan* (Glasgow: printed by J. & M. Robertson, 1799, Saltmarket) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2835(14)].

104 *The Surprizing Adventures of Jack Oakum & Tom Splicewell* [...] *to which is added, The Merry Revenge; or, Joe's Stomach in Tune* (printed in the year 1798) [ESTC N25874]; *The Surprizing Adventures of Jack Oakum & Tom Splicewell* [...] *to which is added, The Merry Revenge; or, Joe's Stomach in Tune* (Glasgow: printed by J. and M. Robertson, 1800) [ESTC T65125]. The dancing man cut is yet another small piece of evidence for the overlap of the chapbook trade between Scotland and northern England. A similar cut appears with *Four New Songs: 1. Billy Taylor; 2. The Insulted Sailor; 3. The Brazier's Daughter; 4. Bonny Bet of Aberdeen* (Alnwick: printed 1792) [ESTC T40101]; and the general motif is found again on the early nineteenth-century *Sprig of Shillelagh*

and layout in these examples is identifiably that of the Robertson brothers, all of which indicates that a proportion (currently unquantifiable) of chapbooks with an 'entered according to order' style of imprint actually came from their press.[105]

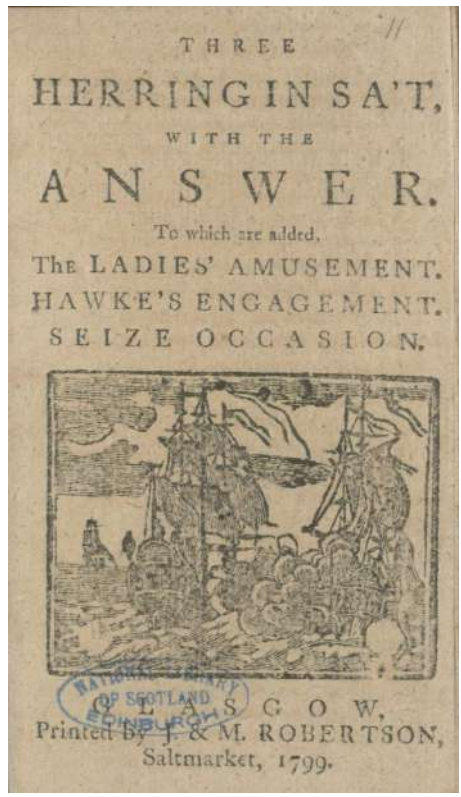

Fig. 9.2. *Three Herring in Sa't* (Glasgow: printed by J. & M. Robertson, 1799) [National Library of Scotland, L.C.2835(11)]. Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland through the Creative Commons 4.0 International Licence.

and Shamrog [*sic*] *So Green; Dear Mary to Thee; Burns' Farewell; The Banks of Ayr; & My Friend and Pitcher* (printed by Graham & Lennin, Down [i.e. Downpatrick]) [Belfast, Ulster Museum, Cleland Chapbooks, BELUM.X188.1980].

105 As another example, the title-page woodcut on *Patie's Wedding; or, All Parties Pleased; to which are added, Absence Ill to Bide. Johnny and Mary; The Braes of Yarrow* (entered according to order) [ESTC T180468] is the same as that on *An Excellent Old Song, intitled Maggy Lauther; to which are added, The Farmer's Son; The Fond Swain and Sleeping Maid; The Sailor's Return* (Glasgow: printed by J. & M. Robertson, Saltmarket, 1802) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2837(24)].

Thomas Duncan, who published many broadsides, was almost certainly also responsible for nine out of perhaps a total of eleven chapbooks in Gaelic printed up to the early nineteenth century. Of those nine, eight were for distribution and sale by Peter Turner, an Inverary-based chapman. Gaelic chapbooks can indirectly pose a definitional problem, if a criterion for chapbooks is that they were largely not distributed and sold through the regular trade but though itinerant chapmen, which is a distinction that works in the context of a predominantly urban book trade but is not so easy to sustain in a rural environment.

John Morren, in business in Edinburgh between 1790 and 1822, is perhaps a somewhat overlooked printer, though his output (predominantly of chapbooks, with some broadsides) was considerable, with (conservatively) over 245 titles, some 65 per cent of which were garlands, followed by tales at around 16 per cent.[106] He married into a printing family — one that was a major producer of chapbooks — when in 1784 he married Isobel Robertson, daughter of Alexander Robertson. Chapbooks could generate sizeable profits, and Morren's estate was worth over £5,000 at his death in 1822.[107] He was also perhaps lucky not to have been the subject of prosecution, as he was named (by his own brother) in a sedition trial as having printed 1,000 copies of a radical handbill.[108] High-quality, meticulous printing is not exactly associated with the production of chapbooks, but even within those qualifications Morren was a particularly careless printer. Typesetting and presswork were poorly undertaken and the results were often illegible, with titles such as *Five Songs* and *The Happy Stanger*.

Morren presents print historians with similar problems to those posed by the Robertson brothers. He almost certainly printed three separate editions of *Black-Ey'd Susan's Garland* (for convenience A, B, and

106 At least 95 per cent of Morren's known output consists of chapbooks and broadsides, but in 1797 he 'printed for the author' a two-volume novel called *Evening Amusements; or, What Happens in Life* (Edinburgh: printed for the author, by J. Morren, 1797) [ESTC T183781], by a Mrs M'Donald.

107 https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk *sub* wills and testaments.

108 *An Account of the Trial of Thomas Fyshe Palmer* (Perth: printed by R. Morison, junior, for R. Morison and Son, booksellers, Perth; and Vernor and Hood, Birchin Lane, London, [1793]), p. 71 [ESTC T117134]; *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanours*, vol. 23 (London: R. Bagshaw; Longman & Co., 1817), p. 514.

C). A has two title-page woodcuts, one of which is of a rowing boat, and is 'printed by J. Morren, Cowgate'.[109] B has an additional song, *Here Awa, There Awa*, and a single title-page woodcut showing a ship in full sail, and is 'printed by J. Morren'.[110] C has the same title as A, and the same woodcut as B, but is 'printed for the Company of Flying Stationers'.[111] One plausible interpretation is that the editions with Morren's imprint were sold by the printer himself, but he also produced an edition for sale by chapmen.

Morren recycled standard or popular texts. He printed at least three editions of *The Babes in the Wood* and the same number of *The Gosport Tragedy*, but to each he added a different subordinate song. Different editions of *The Babes in the Wood*, for example, had either *The Yorkshire Beauty*, *The Bonny House of Airly*, or *The Sailor's Adieu*. Morren's father-in-law Alexander Robertson had previously worked his way through almost the entire list of chapbook humorous stories, witticisms, and pseudo-histories during the 1770s and 1780s. And as with the Robertson family, there is reason to believe that Morren used the 'entered according to order' form of imprint. Thus there are two editions of *The Poor Nevoy Press'd at the Desire of the Deceitful Uncle; or, Young Grigor's Ghost* with the same woodcut of a highland soldier, sword and shield in hand, one of which was 'printed by J. Morren' while the other was 'entered according to order'.[112]

Up to the 1760s, 'garland' in Scottish chapbook titles usually indicated a sustained verse narrative, a pattern that can be detected from *The New Glousiershire* [*sic*] *Garland*, printed in Edinburgh by John Reid senior in 1704 through to *Sweet William of Plymouth's Garland* ascribed to a Glasgow press at the end of the 1760s.[113] By the 1740s, 'garland' was also being

109 *Black-Ey'd Susan's Garland, in Four Parts* (Edinburgh: printed by J. Morren, Cowgate) [ESTC T189577].

110 *Black-Ey'd Susan's Garland, in Four Parts; to which is added, Here Awa, There Awa* (Edinburgh: printed by J. Morren) [ESTC T189579].

111 *Black-Ey'd Susan's Garland, in Four Parts* (Edinburgh: printed for the company of flying stationers) [ESTC T189580].

112 *Poor Nevoy Press'd at the Desire of the Deceitful Uncle; or, Young Grigor's Ghost, in Three Parts* (entered according to order) [ESTC T228786]; *Poor Nevoy Press'd at the Desire of the Deceitful Uncle; or, Young Grigor's Ghost; to which is added, Green Grows the Rashes* (Edinburgh: printed by J. Morren) L.C.2805(19). (Scots 'nevoy' = nephew.)

113 *The New Glousiershire* [*sic*] *Garland* (licensed according to order; printed by J. Reid, Bells Wynde, 1704) [ESTC T96976]; *Sweet William of Plymouth's Garland, in Four Parts* (printed in the year 1769) [ESTC T168299].

used in the closely related sense of a collection of shorter songs. *The Irish Boy's Garland* printed in Edinburgh by Robert Drummond in 1744 is an early example.[114] The taste (and market) for short song collections had found clear expression by the 1760s, with at least six song chapbooks all beginning with the title [*n*] *Excellent New Songs* from the Edinburgh press of William Forrest, and from Alexander Robertson mostly in the 1770s.

Scottish chapbook printers were undoubtedly acutely aware of competition emanating not only from their own localities but also from other parts of the country, and their advertisements and notices responded to it. In two editions of *The Witty and Entertaining Exploits of George Buchanan* (*c*.1780 and 1787) Alexander Robertson placed notices that 'That Shop-keepers, Chapmen, and Flying Stationers, will be served [...] at as reasonable prices as in Newcastle, Glasgow, or Edinburgh'.[115] In 1782 he went further and advertised 'A great variety of Histories, Pamphlets and story books, Children's books, with a great variety of pictures. A large assortment of Curious Song books, Ballads, &c. Both in Whole-sale, to serve Merchants, and Chapmen, at as low prices as any in Britain.'[116]

Robertson was not alone. Falkirk chapbook printers reacted similarly, though they were perhaps more concerned with competition nearer to home. In extended imprints in both religious chapbooks and garlands, Daniel Reid and his successor, Patrick Mair, announced that travelling chapmen could be served with a whole variety of books 'as cheap as in Edinburgh or Glasgow'.[117] The challenges of competition could to an extent be overcome by increasing and extending distribution channels through cooperation. Although direct evidence of this is very thin, Patrick Mair tried this around 1790, collaborating with George Caldwell

114 *The Irish Boy's Garland, compos'd of Three Excellent New Songs: I. The Irish Boy; II. The Bony Irish Girl; III. The Valiant Sailor* (Edinburgh: printed and sold in Swan Closs, a little below the Cross Well, north side of the street, 1744) [ESTC T300128].

115 I am grateful to Prof. Adam Fox for this reference.

116 *The Angel's Seal Set upon God's Faithful Servants* (Edinburgh: printed by Alexander Robertson, Niddry's Wynd, 1782) [ESTC T75160].

117 *Jamy and Nancy of Yarmouth; with The Flowers of the Forest, Old and New Way; and Canst Thou Leave thy Nancy* (Falkirk printed; where travelling chapmen may be served with variety of books in divinity, history, poetry, spelling books, books in arithmetick, small sermons, proverbs, catechisms, and writing paper, as cheap as in Edinburgh or Glasgow, at the Printing Office, in High Street, near the south gate of the church [ESTC T187787].

senior in Paisley, a successful bookseller and circulating library owner, and printer of chapbooks and prints (Caldwell's son, also George, continued the business and produced many chapbooks from the 1820s to the 1840s).[118]

The chapbooks of James Chalmers III of Aberdeen can usefully be viewed in the context of his printing and publishing activities as a whole. Aberdeen was very much a regional capital, with two separate university institutions, King's College and Marischal College, which pulled students in from the region. James was one of four generations of a family of Aberdeen printers that until the nineteenth century held an almost constant monopoly on newspaper publishing in northern Scotland (the *Aberdeen Journal*, founded in late 1747), printed the *Aberdeen Almanack* (restarted in 1771), the *Aberdeen Magazine*, the *Literary Chronicle and Review* (1788–90), and much material for the civic authorities, as well as publishing a large number of books (often by subscription) and sermons, and remaining the major publishing enterprise in the region despite increasing competition.[119] In spite of its being a strong advertising medium, Chalmers does not appear to have used his newspaper to draw the attention of either hawkers or readers to his chapbooks. But what the *Journal* did offer was an extensive network of contacts and country sellers. We also know that Chalmers established a distribution chain for the *Aberdeen Almanack* which stretched as far as Inverness, some 120 miles to the north.[120] This perhaps unexceptional accumulation of facts illustrates that Chalmers & Co. was at the centre of a series of regional distribution networks which could be exploited for the distribution of the nearly eighty chapbooks and forty broadsides

118 *A New Garland, containing Three Excellent New Songs: viz. I. Bold Alexander; 2. Jack Rand's Farewel to Miss Roach; 3. The Faithful Swain's Love-Letter to a Beautiful Young Lady* (Falkirk: printed and sold at the Printing House; and by Mr Caldwall, in Paisly [*sic*]; where travellers can be served with great variety of books as cheap as in Edinburgh or Glasgow) [ESTC T186165]. For Caldwell, see K. A. Manley, *Books, Borrowers and Shareholders: Scottish Circulating and Subscription Libraries before 1825, a Survey and Listing* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, with the National Library of Scotland, 2012), pp. 57, 217.

119 Iain Beavan, 'Chalmers family (*per.* 1736–1876)', *ODNB* https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/64303 .

120 Aberdeen University Museums and Special Collections, MS 3167, William R. MacDonald, 'The Distribution of Books and Periodicals in the North-East of Scotland [...] 1750–1800' (unpublished among his professional papers on Scottish bibliography).

and slip songs that they printed.[121] We know, for example, that the *Aberdeen Almanack* was sold by booksellers, merchants, and postmasters in the smaller townships of north-east Scotland, among whom was James Davidson of Banff, who himself printed some five undated (but *c*.1800–10) chapbooks.[122] In addition to such distributors, there are stray references to travelling hawkers. *The Elegy on the Death of Peter Duthie* (*d*. 1812), 'upwards of eighty years a flying stationer', stated that he carried in his pack 'Almanacks frae Aberdeen', along with several chapbooks.[123] Charles Leslie was said, allowing for poetic exaggeration, to have travelled through Angus, Buchan, Strathbogie, the Garioch, and the Mearns selling Chalmers's song chapbooks.[124]

In memoriam

Scottish chapbooks continued at a high rate of production for the first two decades of the nineteenth century and then declined markedly. George Miller, printer and bookseller of Haddington and Dunbar, died in 1835, and his publishing output exemplifies some of the pressures faced by chapbook printing. Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century Miller's output included chapbooks, with such familiar titles as *The Comical Sayings of Pady from Cork* and *The Battle of Prestonpans*, after which between 1802 and 1804 he began a 'Cheap Tract' series (not dissimilar to the Cheap Repository Tract initiative) and ceased further production of chapbooks. In 1813 he brought out his *Cheap Magazine; or, Poor Man's Fireside Companion*, an 'improving' but short-lived publication, subsequently replaced by the *Monthly Monitor and Philanthropic Museum*.

121 Iain Beavan, 'The Chapbooks and Broadsides of James Chalmers III, Printer in Aberdeen: Some Re-discoveries and Initial Observations on his Woodcuts', *Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, 10 (2015), 29–85 (since 2015 a further eleven chapbooks have been identified).

122 *Aberdeen Journal*, 4 February 1807.

123 *Memoirs of the Late John Kippen, Cooper, in Methven, near Perth; to which is added, An Elegy on Peter Duthie, Who Was upwards of Eighty Years a Flying Stationer* (Stirling: printed by C. Randall), p. 21 [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2868(1)].

124 [*The*] *Garioch Garland;* [*or, The*] *Life and Death of the Famous Charles Leslie, Ballad-Singer, Commonly Called Musle-Mow'd Charlie, Who Died at Old Rayne, Aged Five Score and Five; to which is added, Two Excellent New Songs, entitled and called Johny Lad; and The Old Way of the Highland Laddie, by the Foresaid Author* (licensed and entered according to order) [ESTC T176926] (printed by James Chalmers III).

As *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* agonizingly eulogized in 'Verses to the Memory of Mr. George Miller':

> No more, from door to door,
> The lounging pedlar hawked his poisoned lore;
> For now, subservient to one virtuous end,
> Amusement, with instruction, thou didst blend.
> And, lo! Where Brougham and Chambers blaze in day,
> Thou went before, and gently cleared the way.[125]

125 *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, 30 October 1835, p. 288. On Miller, see Graham Hogg, 'Latter Struggles in the Life of a Provincial Bookseller and Printer: George Miller of Dunbar, Scotland', in *Periodicals and Publishers: The Newspaper and Journal Trade, 1750–1914*, ed. John Hinks, Catherine Armstrong, and Matthew Day (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; London: British Library, 2009), pp. 139–59.

Appendix

Simplified list of *major* Scottish chapbook printers, 1750s–1800, based on the Scottish Book Trade Index https://www.nls.uk/catalogues/scottish-book-trade-index/.

Location	Printer	Dates of chapbook activity
Aberdeen	James Chalmers III	1770s–1800
Edinburgh	Robert Fleming, 1724–69 (Pearson's Closs, 1725–35)	1724–69
	Robert Drummond 1740–52 (Swan's Closs, 1746–52)	1740–52
	Alexander Robertson (Niddry's Wynd, 1773–84; foot of the Horse Wynd, 1785–95; frequently address only in imprints)	1773–95
	James Robertson (Horse Wynd, 1792–1806)	1790–1809
	John Morren (Cowgate)	1790–1822
Falkirk	Daniel Reid	1773–83
	Patrick Mair, 1783–97 (as *printer*, previously bookseller); took over Daniel Reid's business	1783–97
	Thomas Johnston, succeeded father-in-law Patrick Mair	1797–1831
Glasgow	William Duncan (Saltmarket)	1717–64
	John Bryce (Briggait (Bridgegait) and Saltmarket)	1742–87
	James Duncan senior (Trongate)	1749–1809
	James Duncan junior (Saltmarket)	1769–1824
	Robertson family: brothers John and James, then James and Matthew (Saltmarket)	1774–1809
	Robert Hutchinson & Co. (Saltmarket)	1796–1831
	Thomas Duncan (Saltmarket)	1801–26
Stirling	Charles Randall	1793–1812
	Business passed to wife Mary (1813–20), who sold it to William Macnie in 1820	
	Apprentices included John Fraser; independent business as John Fraser & Co., 1816–	

10. Alphabet Pies, Animal Quacks, and Ugly Sisters: John Evans and the Growth of Cheap Books for Children

Jonathan Cooper

The printer and bookseller John Evans has conventionally been regarded more as a follower than a leader. Long in the shadow of the Marshall family, under whom he served as employee, Evans was, in the last decade of the eighteenth century, seemingly prolonging the lifespan of the type of publication that had hitherto typified the Aldermary Churchyard press and which it was abandoning in search of 'respectability'.[1] The place of business he established for his work, and which was retained by his family for a further forty-five years, was originally Marshall's, and what seems to have been his 'big break' came courtesy of Marshall when he fell out of favour with the instigators of the Cheap Repository Tracts. Nevertheless, Evans had a distinct career. Stretching into the 1800s (just), he was arguably the last printer of the traditional 'penny history' in the capital, a text and illustrative tradition that dated back at least to the printers and publishers of the mid-seventeenth century;[2] he

1 See David Stoker, 'The Pitfalls of Seeking Respectability: The Rise, Fall and Rise Again of John Marshall, "the Children's Printer"', in *Profits from the Nursery*, ed. Brian Alderson and Andrea Immel (London and Princeton: Children's Books History Society and Cotsen Children's Library, 2023), pp. 115–86.

2 For instance, he published an edition of *The Witch of the Woodlands; or, the Cobler's New Translation* (London: Howard & Evans, printers, Long Lane, London) [ESTC T128649], *c*.1805, with text and illustrations that had not developed noticeably since

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was a major link in the production of broadside ballads and slip songs between Marshall and the later printers Pitts and Catnach; and, as this chapter will show, he was a significant and heretofore underappreciated printer of street literature specifically for children.

John Evans was born in 1753. He was the younger son of Thomas Evans, a silversmith, and his wife Elizabeth, and was baptized on 18 November at St Giles Cripplegate.[3] He joined the Aldermary Churchyard press under Richard Marshall in the 1770s, and by 1779 was a sufficiently trusted employee to be a witness of Richard Marshall's will.[4] In 1783 he was appointed by the Marshall family (ownership of the business then shared between Richard's son John, his nephew James, and his widow Eleanor) to run the firm's new shop at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield.[5] For tax reasons, from 1787 the business had Evans's name on the shop front, although stock was still provided by the Marshalls. By this time John Marshall had established himself as second only to the Newbery firm as a publisher of books for children, and No. 42, Long Lane was a 'front window' for his children's books, as well as for broadsides and other cheaper parts of the Aldermary Churchyard range. A broadside advertisement dated May 1793 lists 114 children's book titles (a slightly misleading number because some include, and others exclude, multiple volumes).[6] Thus children's books, along with traditional broadsides and chapbooks, were Evans's bread and butter in Long Lane.

Evans later stated that he was approached by James Marshall to go into partnership with him in late 1789, at the time of the dissolution of John Marshall & Co. Instead, however, he accepted a new contract from John Marshall, allowing him more freedom. He made a bid to set up his own business in early 1793 when the lease on the Long Lane shop ran out. This precipitated a protracted personal and legal dispute between

its predecessor, *The Witch of the Woodlands; or, The Coblers New Translation* (printed by A. P. for W. Thackeray, at the Angel, in Duck Lane, neer West Smithfield) [ESTC R217039], *c*.1670–80(?).

3 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:JQLN-7C3.

4 Kew, National Archives, PROB 11/1057/27.

5 David Stoker, 'John Marshall, John Evans, and the Cheap Repository Tracts', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 107 (2013), 90–102.

6 *A Catalogue of John Marshall's Publications for the Instruction and Amusement of Young Minds* (The above are printed and sold, wholesale and retail, by John Marshall, Number 17, Queen Street, Cheapside, and Number 4, Aldermary Churchyard, in Bow Lane, London; and may be had of the booksellers in town and country, May 1793.) [ESTC T30138].

Evans and Marshall, culminating in Evans setting up his own press at No. 42, Long Lane.[7] During August and September 1793 Evans and Marshall possessed half of the shop each, before Evans moved his own business next door to No. 41.[8] It is from this address that Evans began to issue children's books with his name on the title page, although all of his surviving dated publications for children come from the first and second decades of the nineteenth century.

However, as has never been fully revealed until now, Evans's interest in publishing, as well as selling, children's books dated back to nearly a decade before. John Evans entered a dozen titles in the Stationers' Register on 19 November 1785, presenting nine copies of each to the clerk, Robert Horsfield. These were all children's titles and comprised examples of a number of different styles of book — including an alphabet book, *The Pretty Alphabet; or, Pleasant Pastime of A.B.C.*; two books of riddles, *A New Riddle Book, being a Curious Whetstone for the Wit of Young Children by Mr Christopher Conundrum* and *The Puzzle Cap*, an adaptation of one of Madame d'Aulnoy's tales, *Princess Fair Star and Prince Cherry*; a factual book, *A Concise History of All the Kings and Queens of Europe*; and a Hogarthian progress in miniature, *The Pleasing History of Master Playful and Master Serious*.

In the Stationers' Register, Evans is named as the only and whole owner of each title. He certainly did not enter the titles on John Marshall's behalf. None of the titles entered by Evans appears on Marshall's advertising broadside of 1793, nor among the records of surviving copies of Marshall's children's books from this period. It may even be that Evans was the author of these little books — although, if so, he was evidently 'inspired' by Marshall's juvenile offerings such as *The Golden Alphabet*, *The Pleasing Gift; or, A Collection of New Riddles*, and *The Whitsuntide Present; or, The History of Master George and Miss Charlotte Goodchild*, which themselves owed much to John Newbery's titles such as *The Whitsuntide Gift*. These titles were thus in direct opposition (a charitable soul might describe them as 'additional reading') to Marshall's publications, even while they were being sold in Marshall's

7 Details of the dispute, which ran from 1793 to 1795, are set out in Stoker, 'John Marshall, John Evans, and the Cheap Repository Tracts'.

8 A record of insurance held by the London Metropolitan Archives, MS 11936/368/621072, reveals that on 29 October 1793 this property was owned by William Flower, undertaker, near Ludgate Hill in Fleet Market, and that he was renting it to 'John Evans, printer'.

shop. The imprints of surviving copies make this explicit: no printer or publisher is named, but the books are 'sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, London'.

There was no recorded Marshall press at No. 42, Long Lane before 1793,[9] so it is a matter of speculation by whom and where Evans's little books were printed. The obvious answer is in Aldermary Churchyard itself, but it is difficult to imagine Marshall sponsoring what was essentially a rival series of publications that gave no credit to himself or his business. The only credible reason why this could have happened is if Evans may have threatened to walk away from No. 42, Long Lane, and Marshall allowed him his own by-line as a retainer in order to prevent this. Yet Marshall did allow Evans quite a lot of leeway to operate under his own account. For instance, Marshall printed all the advertising literature for Evans's patent medicines. He also allowed Evans to sell copies of Marshall's publications at retail price and pocket the difference — or, at least, so Evans claimed. Perhaps Marshall would not have worried too much about a few small books, especially if he had been paid to print them.

More probably, Evans found another printer. An obvious candidate would be George Thompson, who in the mid-1790s reprinted and co-published with John Evans reissues of many of the titles Evans had first published in 1785. George Thompson was free of the Stationers' Company by 1792 and was located first at No. 50, Old Bailey, and then from *c*.1796 at No. 43, Long Lane. However, it may be that Evans used Thompson as a printer while he was still an apprentice.

Another printer, who is known to have printed for John Evans, as well as his brother Thomas, later in the 1790s, was Philip Norbury of Brentford.[10] Norbury also printed for George Thompson. This 'out of towner' thus used a number of 'licensed outlets' in the city to sell his children's books, and John Evans could have been another such earlier in his career. If he had helped out John Evans in the 1780s, Evans may have later returned the favour by finding Norbury a number of city distribution centres. It has also come to light recently that Norbury

9 Stoker, 'John Marshall, John Evans, and the Cheap Repository Tracts', p. 92. The address had, however, previously been used as Robert Coster's printing office *c*.1783 (ESTC T192559).

10 For example: *The Entertaining and Remarkable History of Robin Hood* (printed by P. Norbury, Brentford; for G. Thompson, 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane); *The Adventures of Sir Richard Whittington* (P. Norbury, for T. Evans) [private collection].

came into the possession of — and used many of — John Newbery's woodblocks.[11] If Norbury was Evans's printer, which would seem the likeliest situation, this would tie in with the Newbery-esque subject matter of some of Evans's early children's books. For example, Evans produced *The Puzzle Cap*; Newbery had produced *The Puzzling Cap*.[12] Further, Norbury and Evans editions of *The Royal Primer, Humours of the Fair, The Entertaining History of Tommy Gingerbread*, and *Tom Thumb's Folio* are all recorded, and these are all Newbery titles (albeit Newbery's hero was named Giles Gingerbread). *The Pleasing Story of the House that Jack Built; also The Death and Burial of Cock Robin* contains the cumulative rhyme that (probably first) appeared in Newbery's *Nurse Truelove's New Year's Gift*.[13] Marshall obtained the blocks from this, and the Thompson and Evans and the Norbury editions appear pretty much identical.[14] The surviving copy of *The Good Boy and Girls' Lottery, All Prizes and No Blanks* advertises that the book was sold in Long Lane and 'by the booksellers in Town and Country', so even if this is really a Norbury printing, it would seem that Evans was making the most of distribution channels established by (or on behalf of) Marshall, including, probably, his mini-army of chapmen.[15]

A further candidate is Robert Bassam. In 1785 he was a newly established neighbour of Evans, being based at 53, St John's Street, Smithfield, and printed a number of small children's books towards the end of century. He is a strong candidate as a copy of *A Concise History of All the Kings and Queens of Europe* appeared, with the identical titling to the Evans book, in auction with his imprint.[16] There is also the survival of *A Pretty Riddle Book, being a Choice Whetstone for the Wit of Young Children*, by 'Mr. Christopher Conundrum, Riddle Maker in Ordinary to the King

11 See Brian Alderson, *Woodcuts for Good Boys and Girls, Used by John Newbery and his Successors* (Upper Denby: Fleece Press, 2020).

12 Sidney Roscoe, *John Newbery and his Successors, 1740–1814* (Wormley: Five Owls Press, 1973), no. J312.

13 Roscoe, *John Newbery and his Successors*, no. J270.

14 Birmingham Central Libraries, LL A p 087.1/1800 [ESTC T167966].

15 *The Good Boy and Girl's Lottery, All Prizes and No Blanks, as Drawn in the Presence of Master Tommy Trim, Corporal Trim's Cousin* (sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield; and by the booksellers in town and country) [ESTC N8534]. The copy at University of California, Los Angeles Library, CBC PZ6 .G591 1790, from the collection of d'Alte Welch, has the note 'John Evans pr.' in Welch's distinctive hand at the foot of the title page.

16 Dominic Winter Auctions, South Cerney, 12 December 2013, lot 3.

and Queen of the Fairies', printed by Bassam.[17] Another one of Evans's 'first twelve' has the identical title save for the substitution of 'New' for 'Pretty' and 'Curious' for 'Choice'. If Bassam did not print for Evans, then one was pinching from the other; 'Christopher Conundrum' was evidently more of a pirate than a discoverer of new lands. Indeed, riddle books tended to recycle old material from earlier publications, changing the title and sometimes attempting to promote false freshness by adding 'new' to it. Perhaps it is best to conclude that little original thinking went into Evans's earliest efforts.

It is tricky to conclude just how original any of Evans's publications actually were, as the survival rate of his earliest titles is dismal. A few have survived in institutional collections. A copy of *Tommy Truelove's Present* is in the Cotsen Children's Library at Princeton University (where it is attributed to Evans, but to a date between 1792 and 1795, rather than the actual date of 1785), with the contemporary initials 'HBG' in a childish hand.[18] *A Concise History of All the Kings and Queens of England* is in the library of the University of California, Los Angeles. Evidently, Evans was sufficiently encouraged to continue with new titles after the initial dozen. A copy of *Pretty Pastime for Little Folks* is in the Morgan Library & Museum, New York, and includes an advertisement for twenty-eight new books for children, sold wholesale at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, which includes all the titles Evans registered in 1785.[19] The same list but with its own title added at the end of the 'Threepenny Books' is found at the end of *Pretty Tales and Pretty Things for Good Children*, bringing up to twenty-nine the titles produced by Evans in the 1780s or very early 1790s.[20] Twenty-eight of these were priced at 3*d*. or less, which compares with the thirty-nine titles also at 3*d*. or less listed in John Marshall's 1793 broadside advertisement for children's books from Aldermary Churchyard. Evans seems to have been taking

17 *A Pretty Riddle Book, being a Choice Whetstone for the Wit of Young Children* (London: printed by R. Bassam, No. 53, St John's Street, West Smithfield), price 2d. [ESTC T122887].

18 *Tommy Truelove's Present* (sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield) [Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 52775 Pams / Eng 19 / Box 008].

19 *Pretty Pastime for Little Folks, containing Many Diverting Stories and Variety of Entertainment* (sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, London), price 3*d*. [ESTC N38948] (viewed in situ July 2012).

20 *Pretty Tales and Pretty Things for Good Children* (sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, London) [ESTC N20525]. A copy at Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce adds. 288 (lacking six leaves), bears the inscription 'M. H. Haskoll October 19 1792' on a front flyleaf.

a calculated risk producing so many new titles all at once. Since he was perfectly placed as shop manager to gauge demand, he no doubt saw a gap in the market. Francis Newbery, John's nephew, had done exactly the same thing when he started out.

It is possibly no coincidence that almost all of Evans's books were produced, from the beginning, at the lower end of the price range. He probably perceived that there was a relative shortage of children's books available for families on a tighter budget but who had managed to acquire literacy, 'for the Instruction and Amusement of *Young Minds*', as John Marshall's advertisement has it. Evans seems also to have tried, ostensibly, to undercut the bigger firms such as Newbery. His *Puzzle Cap* was sold at 2*d*., Newbery's *Puzzling Cap* at 3*d*. Yet, *caveat emptor* — Evans's edition was almost certainly forty-eight pages in extent, while Newbery's ran to ninety-five pages.

Evans was to push this cheapness, or affordability, to a whole new level in his next children's publishing and first solo printing project. Thus Evans was staying true to the street literature tradition in which he had been brought up under Richard Marshall, whereas John Marshall was clearly seeking to move to a more middle-class market.[21] What he did was to become so much the norm that his role as an innovator has never been considered. Sometime between Michaelmas 1793 and March 1796 at least three sixteen-page children's books were rolled off his new, or at least newly installed, press at No. 41, Long Lane: *The Tragical Death of A Apple-Pye*; *The Life and Death of Jenny Wren*; and *Cinderilla*.

This, in itself, was not remarkable. Although such slender books were not common, they were not unknown. Richard Marshall had produced some in the 1770s,[22] and William and Cluer Dicey probably even earlier.[23] In the provinces they were, or would soon be, produced by booksellers

21 Stoker, 'Pitfalls of Seeking Respectability'.

22 *Cock Robin: A Pretty Gilded Toy for Either Girl or Boy, Suited to Children of All Ages* (printed and sold by R. Marshall, in Aldermary Churchyard) [ESTC T100724]; *The Tragical Death of A Apple Pye, Who Was Cut in Pieces and Eat by Twenty-Five Gentlemen* (printed and sold by R. Marshall, Aldermary Churchyard) [ESTC T100725]; *The Child's New Year's Gift: A Collection of Riddles* (sold at the Printing Offee [*sic*], in Aldermary Churchyard) [ESTC T100711]; *The House that Jack Built: A Diverting Story for Children of All Ages* (sold at the Printing Office, Aldermary Churchyard) [ESTC T100712]. All at London, British Library, 11621.e.4.(21.–24.).

23 *The House that Jack Built: A Diverting Story for Children of All Ages* (sold at the Printing Office, in Bow Churchyard) [ESTC T190834]. See David Stoker, 'Another Look at the Dicey-Marshall Publications, 1736–1806', *The Library*, 7th ser., 15 (2014), 111–57 (p. 143).

such as William Appleton in Darlington and Major Morgan of Lichfield. However, there is no evidence that John Marshall was interested in or produced such flimsy matter himself. No books of this kind with his imprint from the 1780s or 1790s have been discovered, and there is no mention of any in the 1793 advertisement. Instead, the old sixteen-page books were 'doubled up'. For instance, *The House that Jack Built* and an abridged *The Child's New Year Gift* were put together to make a 32-page book. In some ways, therefore, the sixteen-page format was a return to the past rather than an innovation.

Yet there is something fresh and new about John Evans's productions. Yes, his *The Tragical Death of A Apple-Pye* is a rehash of Richard Marshall's publication, which itself may be a fragmentary survival of a much earlier primer, but it was dressed in wondrous new clothes. A copy, formerly belonging to Justin G. Schiller and now in the Cotsen Children's Library, is housed in wrappers illustrated in sanguine.[24] Apparently uniquely for the period, these not only advertise the book's price, emphasizing its innovative cheapness at ½*d*., but also its printer. It does away with the Newbery and Marshall conceit that their least expensive books were without price and the required payment of 1*d*. was only for the (gilt 'Dutch' paper) binding, thereby (consciously or not) diminishing the importance of text and illustrations.[25] Evans gives no such free gift. The attractive coloured covers with their depiction of comic cartoon speaking animals, a foreshadowing of countless others over the coming two centuries, is as intrinsic to the book experience as the contents, but not more so. The cheapness is laid on thick — the price ½*d*. appears three times on the wrappers — as is the 'street' nature of the publication. The character on the book's lower cover is the familiar street figure of the bellman, albeit in the guise of a dog. Not only does he reveal the book's price, but also where it could be bought — 'at Mr Evan's's' (*sic*) — thus proving that the wrappers were designed specifically for this printer and perhaps even for this specific title. It was commonplace for sellers of street literature to cry out the cost of their products and to emphasize

24 *The Tragical Death of A Apple-Pye, Who Was Cut in Pieces and Eat by Twenty-Five Gentlemen* (sold by J. Evans, 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield), price ½*d*.

25 Cited by M. O. Grenby, *The Child Reader, 1700–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 73.

their cheapness. This innovation allows the street to enter the shop and home, normalizing the focus on undercutting that continues today.[26]

The second surviving copy of this title is bound in the more conventional Dutch gilt paper and may possibly be considered a different 'issue'.[27] Inspection of sammelbands, such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce adds. 6, reveals that the same title by the same printer bought by the same person at apparently the same time could have different styles of wrappers. This suggests that the whole issue of wrappering was largely haphazard, and thus emphasizes the unusual nature of Evans's tactic.

It had become quite common for an advertising puff for the publisher to appear in the text of children's books, as well as a list of other available titles printed at the back of the book. For instance, in the Mary Ann Kilner-authored Marshall publication *Jemima Placid; or, The Advantage of Good-Nature* the reader is told that Jemima has been given a mission to buy some children's books in London, which 'may be bought at Mr. Marshall's somewhere in some churchyard, but Jemima must inquire about it'.[28] Indeed, just such a puff appears in *The Tragical Death of A Apple-Pye* itself: 'if my little readers are pleased with what they have found in this book, they have nothing to do but to run to Mr. Evans's, No. 41 Long-lane, West-Smithfield, where they may have several books, not less entertaining than this, of of [*sic*] the same size and price'. The wording is adapted from Marshall's original, which Evans was evidently using as his model. It was, of course, a necessary change to the text, but one cannot help but imagine the particular relish with which Evans replaced Marshall's name with his own.

The second of the three surviving sixteen-page titles from this period, *The Life and Death of Jenny Wren*, does not have such a venerable history as *The Tragical Death of A Apple-Pye*, but it did go on to have a very long life and the text was being issued in virtually the same form eighty years later. This, though, would seem to be the title's first appearance (with the usual proviso that an antecedent is perhaps waiting to be discovered, or might be lost forever). It is a curious confection. Like its

26 For instance, in the context of newspaper price wars. The *Daily Star* has run a tagline in modern times that read '10p cheaper than *The Sun* and a lot more fun'.

27 Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library, PR974.A1 no. 146.

28 Mary Ann Kilner, *Jemima Placid; or, The Advantage of Good-Nature, Exemplified in a Variety of Familiar Incidents*, 2nd edn (London: printed and sold by John Marshall and Co., No. 4, Aldermary Churchyard, in Bow Lane), p. 25 [ESTC N1032].

well-established predecessor, *Cock Robin*, it opens with a portrait of the protagonist and an establishing rhyme (albeit not one as memorable as Richard Marshall's 'Little Robin Red-Breast / Sat upon a Pole, / Wiggle waggle went his Tail / and poop went his hole').[29] This merriment is followed immediately by a cold douche for the young reader, 'Here lies Cock Robin, / Dead and cold, / His end this book / Will soon unfold', before launching into the famous 'Who kill'd Cock Robin?' rhyme.

The structure, and potential history, of *The Life and Death of Jenny Wren* is more complicated.[30] It is evidently a bringing together and editing of various source materials. The first section, 'The Life of Little Jenny Wren', has the subtitle in rhyme 'How she was sick, / And got well again'. This part seems to be related to the Scottish traditional song 'The wren scho lyes in care's bed' (Roud 6942), matched with new material.[31] That it is not just a thoughtless insertion is shown by the great care that has been taken to match the woodcut illustrations to the text, and then to provide a running commentary on the pictures to explain them to the young reader, 'Here's Jenny on the glass, / Eating the sops very fast', and to insert moral lessons, 'Jenny's very naughty tho', / To use her husband Robin so'. It is reminiscent of the sort of romantic dialogue that appeared in numerous forms in songs and chapbooks such as *A Pleasant and Delightful Dialogue between Honest John and Loving Kate*, which Evans himself printed.[32] It would seem that John Evans really was taking the apparently trivial seriously.

The second section, 'The Death of Little Jenny Wren', ostensibly follows on from the first, but seems to come from a totally different direction. After the initial scene-setting, 'Jenny Wren was sick again, / And Jenny Wren did die, / Tho' doctors vow'd they'd cure her, / Or know the reason why', the reader is introduced to a grotesque gallery of charlatan doctors in animal form (in Doctor Goose's case, a literal quack), whose ridiculous assertions regarding the dead Jenny meet

29 The original *Cock Robin* was probably that printed in *Tommy Thumb's Pretty Song Book, Voll.* [*sic*] *II* (sold by M. Cooper) [ESTC T81480].

30 *The Life and Death of Jenny Wren, for the Use of Young Ladies and Gentlemen* (printed and sold by J. Evans, 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield, London).

31 See also an attempt to tie the song and the chapbook rhyme to pagan tradition (not something that the Opies would necessarily have approved of) at https://dreamingpath.wordpress.com/2014/12/10/winter-solstice-robin-and-wren/.

32 *A Pleasant and Delightful Dialogue between Honest John and Loving Kate* (printed by Howard & Evans, 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, London) [Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, L.C.2739(08), L.C.2739(09), L.C.2738(15)].

with stinging responses from the authorial voice. Thus, Doctor Jack Ass's 'See this balsam, / I make it, / She yet may survive, / If you get her to take it', elicits the retort, 'What you say, Doctor Ass, / Perhaps may be true; / I ne'er saw the dead drink tho', / Pray, Doctor, did you?' The whole section is a lampoon on the dubious medical treatments that were widely available in the eighteenth century, and beyond. The same practices had been placed in the spotlight decades earlier in *The Modern Quack* (1718).[33] *The Modern Quack* was reissued by Mary Cooper in 1752, a decade after her own foray into the publication of children's books with *Tom Thumb's Pretty Song Book*.[34] It is perhaps too fanciful to suppose that *Jenny Wren* originates in a lost Cooper title, although both Marshall and Evans seem to have been inspired by Cooper for their *Tom Thumb's Plaything*. It is perhaps less fanciful to think of *Jenny Wren* not only as a further feather in Evans's children's printing cap, but also as a stab in Marshall's back. In the autumn of 1793, when *Jenny Wren* may have been printed, Evans and Marshall were at war again, but this was a war over the sale of patent medicines. Evans and his new partner, William Howard, had bought the right to manufacture and sell Dr Waite's Worm Medicine, which Marshall rapidly tried to emulate with 'an improved preparation' of his own.[35] Evans responded with an advertisement on the front page of *The World* of 11 November which called out Marshall by name. It might be imagined that an attack on a fraudulent medical practice as a subject for a children's book would have appealed to him at the time.

The final stanza, which is an editorial addition to the rhyme, is: 'Now if you'd more of Robin know, / Where you bought this I'd have you go, / And then for what for this you gave, / You there Cock Robin's life may have.' So, *The Life and Death of Jenny Wren*, like *The Tragical Death of A Apple-Pye*, ends with an advertisement for Evans's new style of children's books. The implication is that Evans also printed, or planned to print, a sixteen-page *Cock Robin* at this time, although no such volume survives.[36]

33 *The Modern Quack; or, The Physical Impostor, Detected* (London: printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms, in Warwick Lane, 1718) [ESTC T93454].

34 *The Modern Quacks Detected* (London: printed for M. Cooper, at the Globe, in Paternoster Row, 1752) [ESTC T41331].

35 Stoker, 'John Marshall, John Evans, and the Cheap Repository Tracts', pp. 84–88.

36 The earliest known sixteen-page edition from John Evans is *The Death and Burial of Cock Robin* (printed by Howard & Evans, Long Lane, London, 1809) [private

A further connection between Evans's *Jenny Wren* and *The Tragical Death of A Apple-Pye* is apparent in the wrappers of the two works. The only surviving copy of *Jenny Wren* is also dressed out in splendid illustrated sanguine wrappers.[37] The images for the two books are evidently drawn by the same hand, and they are part of a numbered series. The wrappers for *Jenny Wren* have a small number '2' on the upper cover, and those for *The Tragical Death of A Apple-Pye* have the numbers '3' and '4' on the lower and upper cover, respectively. The illustrated covers again feature speaking animals in contemporary dress, but they spout not advertising slogans but vitriolic attacks on the French: 'I'll bite the French dogs / I'll kill all the frogs', and 'And now my dear wench / I'll kill all the French'. Evans had form when it came to attacks on the French. A slip song of the same period from No. 41, Long Lane is entitled *Down with the French! or, Let Them Come if They Dare*.[38] Anti-French sentiment was everywhere in 1793, since France had declared war on Britain and the Netherlands on 1 February, and appeared widely in cartoons by Thomas Rowlandson and others. Although nationalistic sentiments had appeared earlier in the century in children's books, this is an unusually forthright example of such militaristic propaganda aimed directly at children. It was not the last, and there are several aggressively anti-French sentiments expressed in later cheap children's books, including Evans's own *Tom the Piper's Son*.[39]

The third surviving sixteen-page title, *Cinderilla*, is perhaps the most revolutionary (Fig. 10.1).[40] That it is a stand-alone edition of the Perrault fairy tale is rare enough. Although Cinderella and her slipper had become familiar to British readers through the 1729 English translation of Perrault's *Contes* by Robert Samber, and she had been included in

collection]. However, he had printed the rhyme as part of a 32-page volume, *The Death and Burial of Cock Robin; also The Pleasing Story of the House that Jack Built; to which is added, The Poetical Alphabet* (G. Thompson, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, Smithfield) [Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 63438 Eng 18].

37 Michael Heseltine, the doyen of cataloguers of early children's books at auction, put it succinctly in his description of the book when it appeared at Bloomsbury Auctions in 2007: 'Chapbooks of this type are rarely found in wrappers.'

38 *Down with the French! or, Let Them Come if They Dare* (sold by J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane) [ESTC N71527].

39 Such propaganda would become common later on, perhaps reaching its zenith during the Second World War with the comic characters 'Addie and Hermy, the Nasty Nazis' in the *Dandy* and 'Musso the Wop / He's a big-a-da flop' in the *Beano*.

40 *Cinderilla; or, The Little Glass Slipper* (printed and sold by J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane).

anthology collections aimed at children throughout the eighteenth century, such as those produced by Newbery, there were very few stand-alone editions. Those that were produced owed much, if not everything, to Samber, and this was equally true of a prose edition that Evans produced in association with Thompson.

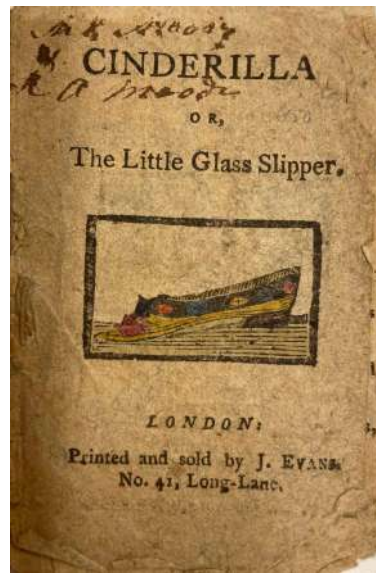

Fig. 10.1. *Cinderilla*, **34**.(1.) (upper cover). Private collection.

This sixteen-page edition, though, was a different beast, and can be said to be the first book that truly adapted Perrault specifically for English children. Indeed, it went on, almost certainly unbeknownst to those who came after, to influence everything from pantomime to Walt Disney animation. It was, unlike earlier Cinderellas, densely illustrated with an image on every page. It is a picture story-book in every sense, and the reader is 'talked through' the narrative by being directed to the pictures. It is also in verse — and not highfalutin verse but direct rhyme, accessible to the young and, in certain turns of phrase, iconic. Later verse editions tended to be less direct and amusing. Evans's version also coins (apparently) the deathless phrase 'ugly sisters', and appeared a decade before Cinderella became a pantomime sensation in London. The wrappers for the surviving scruffy but precious copy are long gone, but were perhaps in sanguine and with little numbers '5' and '6' at their head.

With the turn of the century John Marshall once more turned his mind to children's books (and with immense success), but he went upmarket. His *Cinderilla*, for instance, was 'Embellished with Coloured Engravings' — and very smart they were, too — and priced at 6*d*.[41] Evans remained plebeian, one might even say 'retro'. In the first decade of the nineteenth century he even produced a hornbook — an object more closely identified with earlier times.[42]

* * *

Just after the turn of the century, Evans, now in association with William Howard of Reading, who had been his partner in the medicine retail business since 1792,[43] produced a stream of new sixteen-page children's chapbook titles, which were to be adopted by numerous other publishers, in London, Scotland, and the provinces, and became mainstays of the genre in later years. He also produced children's alphabets that were more profusely illustrated than *The Tragical Death of A Apple-Pye*. The most popular, judged by the number of times it was reissued between 1805 and 1820, was *The Pretty ABC* (Fig. 10.2). The text consists of a rhyming alphabet — 'A was an admiral, looking on for a fleet / B was a beggar, that begg'd in the street' — with each of the letters illustrated as an appropriately populated woodcut. Although there does not appear to be an earlier recorded issue of this alphabet, it has a decidedly 1793 feel to it — 'L was Louis that lost his poor head [...] Q was the Queen of France at the Guillotine [...] V was Valenciennes, which the Duke of York took'.

41 *Marshall's Edition of the Popular Story of Cinderilla; or, The Little Glass Slipper, Embellished with Coloured Engravings* (London: John Marshall, 1817) [London, British Library, 012806.de.21.(6.)].

42 New York, Morgan Library & Museum, PML 84665. See also Andrew W. Tuer, *History of the Horn Book*, 2 vols (London: Leadenhall Press, 1896; rpt. Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1971), II, 174–75, and cuts 152, 153, 155. Tuer reports, 'In regard to this firm [...] upwards of a million and a half of varnished cardboard horn-books were destroyed by them as obsolete and worthless.' If this is anything like accurate, it suggests a huge print run for some of Evans's material, which could not be guessed at from its low survival rate.

43 Stoker, 'John Marshall, John Evans, and the Cheap Repository Tracts', p. 90.

Fig. 10.2. *The Pretty ABC*, **64**.(1.) (upper cover). Private collection.

Other titles included cumulative rhymes in the tradition of *The House that Jack Built*, such as the ghoulishly titled *The Delightful Play of the Children in the Wood*, which was a game of forfeits, and which builds to the climax:

> This is the church bell that was tolled — when they buried the coffins that did hold — both the parents dead and cold — that left the bright and shining gold — that tempted the uncle cruel and bold — that hired the ruffians that rode a straddle — on the horses with bridle and saddle — that frightened the little robin red-breast — of all the birds he was the best — he brought the leaves that served for a shroud — to cover the two little children so good — starved to death in Blackbury Wood.

There were also 'show and tell' books where various scenes are depicted and described. The most interesting of these is probably *A Description of Bartholomew Fair*. The fair was a subject particularly close to home for printers like John Evans who worked in Smithfield. Many of their customers would have enjoyed the various side-shows and partaken of 'smoaking hot sausages' at the annual August fair, and it was hopefully a time of good sales at Evans's shop. An interesting aspect

of this publication is how closely it chimes with surviving written material about the fair, as an inspection of three of the pages reveals when set beside passages from Thomas Frost's *The Old Showmen and the Old London Fairs*. Thus a woodcut in *A Description of Bartholomew Fair* is captioned 'Here a Linnet discharges a cannon in rage' (p. 11), while Frost records that:

> Twelve or fourteen canaries and linnets were taken from their cages, and placed on a table, in ranks, with paper caps on their heads, and tiny toy muskets under their left wings. Thus armed and accoutred, they marched about the table, until one of them, leaving the ranks, was adjudged a deserter, and sentenced to be shot. A mimic execution then took place, one of the birds holding a lighted match in its claw, and firing a toy cannon of brass, loaded with powder.[44]

Another woodcut is captioned 'Here's a cow with Two Heads, and with both she can eat' (p. 12), and Frost has 'In 1803 [...] was exhibited at Bartholomew Fair, a two-headed calf'.[45] Then the Evans publication has 'Here's one without arms at work with her toes' (p. 15), which surely refers to 'Miss Biffin, who, having been born without arms, painted portraits with a brush affixed to her right shoulder, and exhibited herself and her productions at fairs as the best mode of obtaining patronage'.[46]

Through the first decade of the century these books seem to have been issued first in illustrated sepia wrappers and then, from 1809, in illustrated plain wrappers. For instance, the earlier of the two (known) Howard and Evans printings of *The Pretty ABC* was issued in the earlier style wrappers with the woodcut and lettering in red — 'This book and Stilts / For an Halfpenny' on the front wrapper, and 'This Book and Swing / For an Halfpenny' on the rear wrapper. The later printing was in tune with the other 1809 issues, with wrappers illustrated and lettered in black. The front wrapper has a vignette of a man with a barrel organ and dancing dog, captioned 'Tune Dance and Book / for a Halfpenny';

44 Thomas Frost, *The Old Showmen and the Old London Fairs*, 2nd edn (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1875), p. 189.

45 Frost, *The Old Showmen and the Old London Fairs*, p. 217.

46 Frost, *The Old Showmen and the Old London Fairs*, p. 210. Sarah Biffin (1784–1850) seems to have started appearing at Bartholomew Fair in 1804 when she entered the employ of the showman Emmanuel Dukes. She went on to have a remarkable career that was showcased in an exhibition titled 'Without Hands: The Art of Sarah Biffin' at Philip Mould's Gallery, Pall Mall, 1 November–21 December 2022.

the rear wrapper has a vignette of a man with a peep show, captioned 'Galanti Show and Book for an Halfpenny'. This practice seems to have become less regular after 1811. In that year, on 10 April, William Howard died and, as the *London Gazette* announced the following month, John Evans carried on the business.[47] Perhaps in an attempt to reinforce his grip on the market, Evans seems to have produced a fresh spurt of reprints at this time. Unusually for children's chapbooks quite a number survive, some still folded but unstitched and uncut as if they were never sold.[48] It is also possible that Howard's death caused a disruption to his medicine vending, which encouraged an overdrive on printing for children to claw back income.

There is good evidence that Evans did not leave the type of his children's books standing between printings. We are helped in tracing this because some of these imprints are, most unusually, dated. For instance, on page 4 of the Howard and Evans *Old Mother Hubbard and her Dog*, dated 1809, the last line of text reads 'The Dog was a laughing', which the tiny woodcut illustration shows him to be doing. Some two years later, however, the undated John Evans printing has 'She found him a laughing' (Figs 10.3 and 10.4).[49] Also, the other three lines on the same page have typographical omissions (indicated here by square brackets): '[She] went to the Undertaker's / [t]o buy him a Coffin, / [W]hen she came back.' In addition, the 'laughing dog' woodcut has been swapped with the 'He was reading the News' woodcut from page 13. Again, when *The Pretty ABC* was reset for reissue in 1809 a number of errors crept in. 'G was a good girl, saying her grace' has been inverted so she is more a 'good girl, stood on her head'. Also, a mess has been made of 'V was Valenciennes' so that it was by the 'Dukef [printed upside down] oYork took'. However, when the J. Evans and Son printing came out the Duke of York remained in his imperfectly set state, suggesting the text had been left standing — but while the woodcut for G has been restored to the right way round, that for F is now upside down.

47 *London Gazette*, 23–27 April 1811, p. 764 (notice dated 24 April 1811).

48 For example: a copy of *The House that Jack Built*, J. Evans & Son, Pamela Harer, her sale, PBA Galleries, San Francisco, 19 February 2015, lot 217 [private collection].

49 The 1805 John Harris edition has 'The dog was laughing'. The Evans text may preserve something of the archaic 'a-loffeing'.

Fig. 10.3. *Old Mother Hubbard and her Dog* (Howard and Evans), **71**.(1.) Private collection.

Fig. 10.4. *Old Mother Hubbard and her Dog* (John Evans), **71**.(2.*a*.) Private collection.

In 1813 John Evans's brother Thomas died. Both brothers had printed broadsides, slip songs, traditional chapbooks, and children's chapbooks. Thomas was arguably even more creative and innovative than John in the field of children's chapbooks during the first decade of the nineteenth century. It is he who seems to have collected, edited together, and expanded to fit the sixteen-page format a whole series of nursery rhymes. These included such later nursery staples as *Tom the Piper's Son*, *Jack Sprat*, *Jack and Jill*, *Little Tom Tucker*, and *Jack*[*y*] *Jingle and Sucky Shingle*. Credit for the creation of these seminal children's texts has generally been given to one or other of the later printers, such as James Catnach of Monmouth Court, James Kendrew of York, or John Rusher of Banbury, whose works have been better chronicled, and in the case of the last two have survived in vast numbers. As with so much else, the Opies generally had it right on the origin of these texts. So, John and Thomas Evans were both neighbours and rivals, and there was some overlap among their titles. However, there also seems to have been at least some acknowledgement of each other's 'property'. Thomas 'copied' John's *Cinderilla*, but they both had their own editions of *Cock Robin*, *Mother Hubbard*, and *Jenny Wren*. However, John never printed Thomas's best-known publication, *Dame Trot and her Comical Cat*, originally from 1803, during his brother's lifetime, and only began producing this and the other 'original' titles listed above after his brother's death, when he evidently inherited or bought his shop and stock.[50] John's *Tom the Piper's Son*, on close examination, would seem to be identical to his brother's save for the imprint. Had Thomas really kept his children's chapbooks in standing type, or is this an incredibly early example of stereotyping? Sue Dipple's copy of a 32-page *Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* had the seemingly unique printing information 'T. Evans, No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield' on the title page (i.e. John's address), but was contained in wrappers that gave Thomas's address, '79, Long-Lane'. John also had a sister, Mary (later Williams).

A study of other firms' imprints reveals that Evans did not just sell his own material. He (or his heirs) also sold works printed by J.

50 A record of insurance held by the London Metropolitan Archives, MS 11936/469/909297, dated 16 August 1815, reveals that John was the owner of Nos. 42 and 79, Long Lane.

Bysh of Paternoster Row (*The History of Tom Thumb*), T. & R. Hughes of Ludgate Street (*The Royal Alphabet*), Dean and Munday (*New and Complete Hieroglyphical Bible*), Watts and Bridgewater of Queen Street, Grosvenor Square (*The Child's Third Book*), J. Rose of Bristol, J. Poole of Taunton (*Juvenile Poems; or, the Alphabet in Verse*), and J. G. Rusher of Banbury (a 48-page *Divine Songs*, *Reading Made Most Easy*, *Filial Remembrancer*).

Besides his Long Lane address, Evans eventually owned a house in Hermitage Place, St John's Street Road, Islington, which was built in 1812. By 1816 a second son had joined the printing interest, as in that year both John Edward Evans and Charles Evans were admitted to the Stationers' Company and the two of them were to continue their father's printing business. They combined new titles, sometimes by established writers such as Lucy Sarah Atkins Wilson, but more often than not fairly generic morality tales and efforts where the text seems to have been an afterthought once the illustrations had been chosen, along with reissues of their father's and uncle's work. Charles died in 1828, and John Edward carried on alone in Long Lane until 1839 and died on 21 July 1857 at Granville Lodge, Hammersmith, aged seventy-three. There was a third son, Benjamin, who does not appear to have been associated with the printing interest. He was left £1,500, which was paid in annual instalments of £300. His sister, Mary Williams, survived him but his wife seems not to have.

Of all John Evans's publications for children, the sixteen-page titles seem to have been his signature publications. They were the ones that were reprinted most and copied by other printers over the following decades. Indeed, it may have been as a retaliatory act against the later established (but more famous) London printings of James Catnach, John Pitts, and Thomas Batchelar that John Edward Evans reissued his father's sixteen-page corpus, from stereotype plates, in the 1830s. John Evans himself had died at Hermitage Place on 5 March 1820, just over a month after George III.[51] With the death of that long-lived and troubled king the eighteenth century could be said to have ended. In some ways it was appropriate for Evans to have left the scene at the same time. He did

51 His death was announced in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 90 (1820), pp. 284–85. His will was proved on 1 February 1821 (Kew, National Archives, PROB 11/1639/46).

as much as anyone to create the cheap children's book and to develop it from a thing of obscurity into a nineteenth-century phenomenon that brought illustrated children's books, and later comics, into the hands of millions of children from all backgrounds.

Appendix 1

Provisional short-title checklist of children's books printed or published by John Evans and his heirs

A list of the books known, through physical survivals or advertisements, to have been printed prior to John Evans's death in 1820 and then afterwards by his sons. Titles are numbered in approximately the order in which they were first issued. Some titles appeared under a variety of imprints and, when known, these are listed beneath the entry for the first known edition. If a title is duplicated in the list, these are completely different editions, with different illustrations and perhaps different textual content. Identified copies are listed with current locations, where known. Those marked with an asterisk * have been examined at first hand. A list of this kind does not pretend to be definitive, and it is hoped and expected that new titles will emerge in due course. It does, though, reveal Evans to be one of the most prodigious printers and publishers of 'street' children's books in the 'long eighteenth century'.[52] Nos. 1–12 were entered in the Stationers' Register on 19 November 1785. The titles of these have been taken from the Stationers' Register entries, and where no copy survives to check this may not have been the exact printed title.

1780s

1. *The Puzzle Cap, being a Collection of New Riddles the Whole Calculated to Enliven the Winter Evenings by Promoting Innocent Mirth*

(1.) — (sold at 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, [1785]). 48 pp. Advertisement (two-penny books).

2. *Tommy Truelove's Present, containing a Variety of Pictures with Suitable Verses & Applications Moral & Entertaining, Something in Every Picture Here You'll Find to Please the Fancy & Improve the Mind*

(1.) — (sold at 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). viii, 42, [4] pp. ESTC N67244.

(*a*.) Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 52775 Pams / Eng 19 / Box 008. Cotsen Catalogue *A11 1141.

(*b*.) Free Library of Philadelphia, \RBD\CB\E\[1792]\T598T\.

(2.) — (G. Thompson, 43, and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1796. viii, (1), 10–42, (4–44) pp. David Miles Books, 2012, 100 × 65 mm,

52 For instance, the seemingly ubiquitous James Kendrew is credited with only fifty-seven titles by Roger Davis, *Kendrew of York and his Chapbooks for Children* (Collingham: Elmete Press, 1988).

priced at £2,000 and subsequently sold. Reappeared as Amanda Hall Rare Books, Teffont 41, July 2019, no. 37, at £3,500.*

3. *The Pretty Alphabet; or, Pleasant Pastime of A.B.C., Written for the Instruction of All Who Would Become Scholars & Great, by Means of their Learning; to which is added, The History of Fanny.Fairly Who from a Girl Became a Great Lady*
(1.) — (sold at 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, [1785]). 24 pp. Advertisement (penny books).

4. *The Story of Princess Fairstar & Prince Cherry, with an Account of Prince Cherry, Prince Bright Sun & Prince Felix's Travels to the Burning Mountain to Find the Dancing Water, the Singing Apples, & The Little Green Bird*
(1.) — (sold at 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, [1785]). 24 pp. Advertisement (penny books).

5. *A New Riddle Book, being a Curious Whetstone for the Wit of Young Children by Mr Christopher Conundrum Riddle Maker, in Ordinary to the King and Queen of Fairies*
(1.) — (sold at 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, [1785]). 24 pp. Advertisement (penny books).

6. *A Trip to the Fair; or, Amusement for Good Children, by Peter Playfull, Esqr.*
(1.) — (sold at 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, [1785]). 24 pp. Advertisement (penny books).

7. *The History of Master Playfull & Master Serious, Showing How the Former Became Rich by Following the Advice & Imitating the Good Manners of the Latter*
(1.) — (sold at 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). Advertisement.
(2.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). 24 pp. University of California, Los Angeles Library, CBC PZ6 .H62967 1820.

8. *The Pleasing History of Master Sammy Steady, a Pattern for Children, Who Because He Was Always Fortunate, & Was Beloved, & Rewarded by Every Body, with Some Account of the Good Mr Worthy and his Sister, Adorned with a Variety of Cuts*
(1.) — (sold at 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, [1785]). 24 pp. Advertisement (penny books).

9. *Nurse Teachem's Golden Letter Book, being the First Step by which Children Must Begin to Ascend the Ladder of Learning, containing the Twenty Four Letters & as Many Pictures, for the Amusement of Good Boys & Girls; to which is added The Entertaining History of Charles Chearfull, Who Became a Great Man by Being Good Humoured*
(1.) — (sold at 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, [1785]). 24 pp. Advertisement (penny books).

10. *A Concise History of All the Kings and Queens of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the End of King George the Seconds Reign, Adorned with Cuts of All the Kings & Queens since the Norman Conquest*
(1.) — (sold at 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, [1785]). 48 pp. Advertisement (two-penny books).

(2.) — (London: sold by John Evans at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield; and by the booksellers in town and country). 48 pp. University of California, Los Angeles Library, CBC DA28.1 .C66 1811.

11. *The Good Boy & Girl's Lottery, All Prizes & No Blanks, as Drawn in the Presence of Master Tommy Trim, Corporal Trims Cousin*

(1.) — (sold at 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, [1785]). 24 pp. Advertisement (penny books).

(2.) — (London: sold by John Evans at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield; and by the booksellers in town and country). ESTC N8534. 24 pp. University of California, Los Angeles Library, CBC PZ6 .G591 1790.

12. *King Pippin's Delight, a New Collection of Pretty Poems*

(1.) — (sold at 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, [1785]). 24 pp. Advertisement (penny books).

(2.) — (Published by G. Thompson, at No. 43, and J. Evans, No. 41, Long-Lane, West-Smithfield). *c*.1796. Sotheby's, London, 1 December 1988, lot 113 to Justin Schiller for £1,350; Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 2496 Eng 18.*

1790s

13. *Pretty Pastime for Little Folks, containing Many Diverting Stories, and Variety of Entertainment*

(1.) — (London: sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1790. [1–4], 5–65, [66–70] pp. 104 × 64 mm. New York, Morgan Library & Museum, PML 81628.*

14. *Raree Show*

(1.) — (London: sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1790. 24 pp. Advertisement (penny books).

15. *Child's Curiosity Book*

(1.) — (London: sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1790. 24 pp. Advertisement (penny books).

16. *Pretty Tales and Pretty Things for Good Children, by Peter Pratewell, Esq*.

(1.) — (London: sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). 70 pp. ESTC N20525.

(*a*.) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce adds. 288. 102 × 64 mm (lacking six leaves) inscribed 'M. H. Haskoll October 19 1792' on a front flyleaf.*

(*b*.) University of California, Los Angeles Library, CBC PZ6 .P887p 1790.

(*c*.) Sotheby's, London, 9 June 1975, lot 863 to the dealer Winifred Myers for £30.

17. *The Adventures of Cinderilla*

(1.) — (London: sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). 24 pp. Advertisement (penny books).

(2.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). [1–4], 5–23, [24] pp. Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 338. 100 × 65 mm. Prose version.

A decade later Thompson printed a curious alternative *Cinderilla; or, The Little Glass Slipper* (London: G. Thompson, November 22, 1804). London, National Art Library, 60.Z.497 (g). Engraved throughout and with fold-out flaps.

18. *The Diverting Story of Little Red Riding-Hood: Written for the Diversion of All the Little Masters and Misses in the World*

(1.) — (London: sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c.*1790. 24 pp. Advertisement (penny books).

(2.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). ESTC N64739. 24 pp. Free Library of Philadelphia, RBD CB E.1791.D641s.

19. *A Book of Stories*

(1.) — (London: sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c.*1790. 48 pp. Advertisement (two-penny books).

20. *The History of Little Billy Boots*

(1.) — (London: sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c.*1790. 48 pp. Advertisement (two-penny books).

21. *A Dish of Sweetmeats Collected by Master Harry Honeycomb*

(1.) — (London: sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c.*1790. 48 pp. Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library PR974.A1 1976.

22. *The History of Tom Noddy and his Sister Sue, containing Variety of Entertaining Adventures, Embellished with Cuts*

(1.) — (London: sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c.*1790. 48 pp. Advertisement (two-penny books).

(2.) — (London: published by G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). ESTC T490598.

(*a.*) London, British Library, C.194.a.1108.

(*b.*) Pretoria, National Library of South Africa, RBC/18/e.

(*c.*) David Miles Books, 2012, 102 × 64 mm, priced at £2,200 and subsequently sold.*

(*d.*) Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library PR974 .A1 1977.

(*e.*) Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 153369.

According to Andrea Immel, *Princeton, NJ Library Chronicle*, 62.1 (2000), p. 129, the text is 'an excerpt from one of John Newbery's scarcest titles, *A Pretty Plaything for Children of All Denominations*'.

23. *The Little Bible; or, A Compendious History of the Holy Scriptures: for the Use of Children*

(1.) — (London: sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c.*1790. 48 pp. Advertisement (two-penny books).

(2.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). ESTC N33740. 48 pp. Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library, BS551.A2 L.

24. *A Step to Fortune; or, The History of a Little Great Man*
(1.) — (London: sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1790. 48 pp. Advertisement (two-penny books).
(2.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). Advertisement.

25. *The Royal Primer*
(1.) — (London: sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1790. 72 pp. Advertisement (three-penny books).
(2.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1795. Sotheby's, London, 24 November 1978, lot 423, where it is described as a 'close copy of the Newbery editions', sold to Quaritch for £85.

26. *Tricks and Fancies with Many Pretty Stories by Master Merry-fellow*
(1.) — (London: sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1790. 72 pp. Advertisement (three-penny books).
This is likely to be very similar to the Marshall title, *Tales, Tricks, and Fancies of Martin Merryfellow, a Little Boy Who Joined Mirth with Wisdom* (London: John Marshall, at No. 4, Aldermary Church Yard, in Watling Street). See Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 28180 English 18.

27. *Dr. Watts's Divine Songs for Children*
(1.) — (London: sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1790. 72 pp. Advertisement (three-penny books).
(2.) — (J. & C. Evans, 42, Long-Lane). 1820s. Mallam's, Oxford, 4 November 2015, lot 606, drab paper covers.

28. *The History of Patty Prettyways*
(1.) — (London: sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1790. 72 pp. Advertisement (three-penny books).

29. *The Royal Spelling Book; or, A New and Easy Guide to the English Language, suited to Children of all Ages, by J. Taylor Schoolmaster, in London*
(1.) — (London: sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1790. Advertisement (sixpenny books).

30. *The Entertaining History of Master Charles Curious; Interspersed with Anecdotes of Miss Inquisitive, and the Adventures of Miss Trifle*
(1.) — (London: sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1790. Advertisement (sixpenny books).

31. *Youth's Mirror; or, The History of Master and Miss Lively, with the Adventures of Miss Eager and Master Obstinate*
(1.) — (London: sold at No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1790. Advertisement (sixpenny books).

32. *The Tragical Death of A Apple-Pye, Who Was Cut in Pieces and Eat by Twenty-Five Gentlemen*
(1.) — (sold by J. Evans, 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield), price ½*d*. [ESTC N2772]. 16 pp.

(*a*.) Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 2043 Eng 18. 95 × 60 mm. Wrapper printed in sanguine. On upper cover engraved illustration, numbered '2', of a cat in a dress, tail to the book's spine, and a dog in a coat and hat with a feather, tail to the book's fore-edge, churning butter. From a speech bubble the cat says, 'With, the Book you may take / All, the Butter I make' [*sic*]. Below the illustration is printed, also in red, 'The Country Lass and Book / for an Halfpenny'. On lower cover illustration of a dog, tail to the book's fore-edge, dressed as a bellman in coat and hat with bell in his right hand and a booklet in his left hand, and a cat in a dress and hat with a feather, tail to the book's spine, with a rose appearing over her right shoulder. From a speech bubble the dog says, 'Oyes. Oyes. Oyes. / Mr. EVAN's's / Book's / a Halfpenny a piece' [*sic*]. Below the illustration is printed, 'This Book Bell and / Bellman for an Halfpenny'.*

(*b*.) Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library PR974.A1 no. 146. Dutch floral paper wrappers.

(2.) — (printed by Howard & Evans, 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, London, 1809). Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 14103. 101 × 55 mm. Plain wood-engraved wrappers. On upper cover two boys carry a 'Guy' on poles, with text 'Guy Fawkes and Book for an Halfpenny'. On lower cover two boys stand by a bonfire with lit fireworks in their hands, with text 'A Bonfire and Book for an Halfpenny.*

(3.) — (printed by John Evans, 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, London) [ESTC N27728]. *c*.1811.

(*a*.) London, British Library, Ch.820/37.(2.). 90 × 55 mm.*

(*b*.) Henry Mayor Lyon; now London, British Library C.121.aa.5.(Ev.6.).*

(*c*.) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opie N 589. No wrappers, single folded sheet.*

(*d*.) Toronto Public Library, Osborne NR A APP. No wrappers, single folded sheet. Osborne 1, 89 illustrated on p. 102 of catalogue.

(*e*.) Bryn Mawr, PA, Mariam Coffin Canaday Library, Ellery Yale Wood Collection of Children's Books and Young Adult Literature, PR1111.E38 A66 1800z d. https://archive.org/details/TheTragicalDeathOfAApplePye. No wrappers.

(*f*.) Sotheby's, London, 1 June 1989, lot 339, to Ash Rare Books. Sotheby's, London, 20 October 1992, lot 1422 (with one other), sold for £506, described in the catalogue as 'in exceptionally good condition and [...] probably from unsold stock'. The cataloguer has probably hit the nail on the head here as the survival rate for this printing is (comparative to others) remarkably large.

(*g*.) David Miles Books, reported for sale from 2012 at £625. No wrappers.*

(4.) *The Tragical Death of a Apple Pie* (London: printed and sold by J. E. Evans, 42, Long Lane). 1830s.

(*a*.) London, British Library, 12805.a.28.(2.). No wrappers.*

(*b*.) Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 14 November 1991, lot 146 (6 of 20 J. E. Evans chapbooks bound together). Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184. No wrappers.*

33. *The Life and Death of Jenny Wren, for the Use of Young Ladies and Gentlemen; being a Very Small Book, at a Very Small Charge, to Learn Them to Read before They Grow Large*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. Evans, 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield, London). 16 pp. *c*.1794. L. G. E. Bell; later Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 14 November 2007, lot 43, sold for £550. Now London, British Library, C.194.a.1033. 100 × 60 mm. Wrapper 102 × 61 mm, printed in sanguine on thick un-watermarked paper. On upper cover, numbered '4', a boar 'I'll kill all the Frogs' wielding a sword and riding a dog 'I'll bite the French dogs', with text 'This Noble Lighthorseman and Book for a Halfpenny'. On lower cover, numbered '3', a bewigged dog in a uniform kneels before a cat holding a union flag as a standard 'And now my dear wench, I'll kill all the French', with text 'This Book and Flag for a Halfpenny'. Housed in an envelope labelled 'Scarce chap book Jenny Wren', dated xi/x/x (i.e. 11 October 1910), £3/10/0. Copy misdated in both library and auction catalogues to *c*.1810/11.*

(2.) — (Howard & Evans, 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, 1809).

(*a*.) Justin Schiller, New York, Occasional List 5, 205 (April 1983), engraved pictorial wrappers $250, unsold; later University of California, Los Angeles Library, CBC PZ6 .J4505 1809.

(*b*.) Susan Dipple; later Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184; now Private Collection. 101 × 55 mm. Wrapper 101 × 57 mm, printed in black. On upper cover two girls with their dolls, with text 'My Doll walks'. On lower cover a boy with a rifle over his shoulder marching to the beat of his friend's drum, with text 'A Young Soldier'. Partly unopened, suggesting unsold stock (or sold immediately to a contemporary collector).*

(*c*.) Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 2976. Cotsen Catalogue *B1 3152. 95 × 52 mm. Single folded sheet inserted loosely into plain engraved wrappers (identical design to Susan Dipple copy).*

(3.) — (printed by John Evans, 42, Long Lane). *c*.1811.

(*a*.) *A Catalogue of the Library Formed by Edward Arnold* (privately printed, 1921), no. 291 (8).

(4.) — (J. Evans & Son, 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, 1813). University of Bristol, Arts and Social Sciences Library, Restricted HCLC.

(5.) — (J. Evans & Sons, 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1818

(*a*.) University of California, Los Angeles Library, CBC PZ6 .J4505 1813. Illustrated wrappers.

(*b*.) London, National Art Library, 60.T.136.

(6.) — (J. & C. Evans, 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). 1820s. Edgar Oppenheimer; later Sotheby's, London, Oppenheimer Collection of Children's Books, Part Six, 14 October 1977, (part of) lot 2777A, sold to Marjorie McNaughtan. Stencil-coloured woodcuts.

(7.) — (printed by J. E. Evans, Long Lane). 1830s.

(*a*.) Susan Dipple; later Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184.*

(*b*.) London, British Library, 12805.a.28.(16.). No wrappers.*

34. *Cinderilla; or, The Little Glass Slipper*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane). 16 pp. *c*.1794. Kit Robins. Sotheby's, London, 19 March 1981, lot 54, sold for £38 to Justin Schiller; Pamela Harer, her sale, PBA Galleries, California, 19 February 2015, lot 172, sold for $700; now Private Collection. 89 × 57 mm. No wrappers. First two pages with coloured illustrations.*

(2.) *Cinderella; or, The Little Glass Slipper* (printed by John Evans, 42, Long Lane). *c*.1811.

(*a*.) London, British Library, Ch.800/276(6). 90 × 55 mm. No wrappers.*

(*b*.) Bryn Mawr, PA, Mariam Coffin Canaday Library, Ellery Yale Wood Collection of Children's Books and Young Adult Literature, PR1111.E38 A66 1800z.

(*c*.) *A Catalogue of the Library Formed by Edward Arnold* (privately printed, 1921), no. 291 (7).

(3.) — (printed and sold by J. E. Evans, 42, Long Lane). 1830s.

(*a*.) London, British Library, 12805.a.28.(5.). 100 × 60 mm. No wrappers. This copy misbound 1–2, 5–8, 3–4, 13–14, 9–10, 11–12, 15–16.*

(*b*.) Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 14 November 1991, lot 146 (19 of 20 J. E. Evans chapbooks bound together). Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184. No wrappers.*

In verse (see Appendix 2) and, considering its pleasing quality, rare — the only known later editions are by Thomas Evans, J. Kendrew of York, S. and J. Keys of Devonport, and Ryle of Seven Dials.

35. *The Death and Burial of Cock Robin; also, The Pleasing Story of the House that Jack Built; to which is added, The Poetical Alphabet*

(1.) — (G. Thompson, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, Smithfield). [1–3], 4–31, [32] pp. Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 63438 Eng 18. 102 × 62 mm. Dutch floral paper wrappers.*

36. *Cries of London*

(1.) — (G. Thompson, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, Smithfield). Advertisement (penny books).

37. *Tommy Gingerbread*

(1.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). 24 pp. Advertisement (penny books).

38. *Humours of the Fair*

(1.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). 24 pp. Advertisement (penny books).

39. *Tom Thumb's Folio*

(1.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). 24 pp. Advertisement (penny books).

40. *Picture Alphabet*

(1.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). 24 pp. Advertisement (penny books).

41. *The Wallet, which contains a Complete Collection of Riddles, Calculated Entirely for the Amusement and Improvement of Youth, Adorned with Cuts*

(1.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). [1–4], 5–30, [31–32] pp. New York, Morgan Library & Museum, ECB 086028. 98 × 66 mm. Dutch floral paper wrappers.*

42. *The Remarkable History of Tom Jones*

(1.) — (Printed and Sold by G. Thompson, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, Smithfield). *c.*1795. 32 pp. Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 154118 Eng 18. Cotsen Catalogue *A11 1019. 102 × 62 mm. Dutch floral paper wrappers, inscribed 'H.F., Henry Fairbrother, his book, August 2nd, 1803, Woodhurst, Sussex.'

43. *King Pippin*

(1.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). 48 pp. Advertisement (two-penny books).

44. *Merry Andrew*

(1.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). 48 pp. Advertisement (two-penny books).

45. *Steps to Fortune*

(1.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). 48 48 pp. Advertisement (two-penny books).

46. *Abou Casum*

(1.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). Advertisement (three-penny Books).

47. *Little Stories for Little Children*

(1.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). Advertisement (three-penny books).

48. *Windsor Castle*

(1.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). Advertisement (six-penny books).

49. *Wise Fables for Children*

(1.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). Advertisement (six-penny books).

50. *History of the Little White Mouse*

(1.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). Advertisement (six-penny books).

This title is probably a reworking of a story printed in the mid-1780s by H. Turpin (see ESTC T085911).

51. *Reading Made Easy*

(1.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). Advertisement (six-penny books).

52. *Goody Two Shoes*

(1.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). Advertisement (six-penny books).

53. *Philip Quarle*

(1.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). Advertisement (six-penny books).

54. *Robinson Crusoe*

(1.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). Advertisement (six-penny books).

55. *The Entertaining and Remarkable History of Robin Hood*

(1.) — (printed by P. Norbury, Brentford; for G. Thompson, 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane). 32 pp. David Miles Books, 2012, subsequently sold.*

There is a seemingly identical printing by Norbury for Thomas Evans in Washington, Library of Congress, PZ6 .W76 1809.

56. *Spelling, Reading, and Pictures, Intended Not Only to Instruct but Please All Good Little Boys and Girls*

(1.) — (G. Thompson, No. 50, Old Bailey; and J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield). 48 pp. University of California, Los Angeles Library, CBC PE1119.A1 S64 1796. Printed on paper watermarked 1796.

57. *A New Drawing Book of Shipping*

(1.) — (Published by I. Evans, No. 41 & 42, Long Lane, West Smithfd., and G. Thompson, No. 43 Long Lane, 1796). 6 fols. Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library 2036 Eng 19. Cotsen Catalogue *A11 848. 110 × 190 mm. Six leaves of engraved plates, each with three versions of the same scene: an outline version to copy, a fully detailed engraved version, and a hand-coloured engraving.

58. *The New Year's Gift, being a Gilded Toy for Little Masters and Misses to Learn their A B C, containing The History of the Apple-Pye, with Verses Adapted to Each Letter in the Alphabet Two Different Ways* [...] by Jacky Goodchild

(1.) — (J. Evans & Co.). 16 pp. Justin Schiller catalogue 28, no. 111, 'uncut, stitched as issued, choice copy $95'. A seemingly unique imprint for an Evans children's book, but used in the early years of his work on the Cheap Repository Tracts. This work is an abbreviation of an earlier work of a similar title printed by John Marshall, a copy of which is New York, Morgan Library & Museum, PML 82437.

(2.) — (printed by Howard & Evans, 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). c.1807. Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 14104 English 18. 96 × 57 mm. Plain engraved illustrated wrappers. On upper cover a boy throwing a stick after a dog. On lower cover a boy fishing in a pond. These are landscape illustrations

within roundels and not in the same style as the other plain Howard and Evans wrappers. This printing has 'Tow' (instead of 'Two') on the title page.*

(3.) — (printed by J. Evans and Sons, Long Lane). *c*.1818. Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, NR GOO.

(4.) — (printed by J. E. Evans, Long Lane). 1830s.

(*a*.) London, British Library, 12805.a.28.(22.).*

(*b*.) Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 14 November 1991, lot 146 (16 of 20 J. E. Evans chapbooks bound together). Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184. No wrappers.* This edition retains 'Tow' on the title page and, other than the imprint, looks identical to the edition of Howard and Evans. It is presumably inconceivable that the Evans family kept the type set for more than two decades, which raises the question whether Evans was using an early form of stereotyping in the first decade of the century.

1800s

59. *The Pleasing Companion, containing The Renowned History of Little Red Riding-Hood; and The Fairy, a Tale*

(1.) — (London: printed and sold by J. Evans, Long Lane, West Smithfield). ?*c*.1800. 32 pp. Mrs Berkeley, Worcester (UK), lent to Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru (National Library of Wales), Old Times Children Books no. 768 in 1929; University of California, Los Angeles Library, CBC PZ6 .P705 1820].

The Fairy is based on a Perrault story, *Diamonds and Toads*. This title is tentatively placed at this point; it may have come earlier or later.

60. *Divine Songs, Attempted in Easy Language, for the Use of Children; to which are added, Prayers for Children*

(1.) — (London: printed and sold by Howard and Evans 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield; for the booksellers and stationers in town and country). *c*.1805. 90 pp. New York, Morgan Library & Museum, E1 18 E 082321. David Miles Books online catalogue, 1 February 2023.

61. *The Entertaining History of Miss Patty Proud; or, The Downfall of Vanity, with the Reward of Good-Nature, Adorned with Cuts for the Amusement and Instruction of Youth*

(1.) — (London: printed and sold by Howard and Evans, 41, Long Lane, West Smithfield) *c*.1803. 30 pp.

(*a*.) David Miles Books, on sale at £1,750 in 2012 and later sold. 96 × 90 mm. Dutch floral wrappers.

(*b*.) Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, SB ENT (DRAWER).

62. *Tom Thumb* [*sic*] *Play-Thing, Part the First*

(1.) — (Howard and Evans, printers, 1804). [1], 2–6, [7], 8–13, '15', 15–16 pp. London, Bloomsbury Auctions, 21 April 2005, (part) lot 1388; Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 153858. 92 × 57 mm. Wrappers printed in sanguine. On upper cover agirl with a doll, with text 'This Book and Dol[l] for an

Halfpenny'. On lower cover a boy dressed as a soldier, with text 'This Book and Gun for an Halfpenny'. From a speech bubble the boy says 'Ratara Ratarade'.

(2.) *Tom Thumb's Play-Thing, Part the First* (printed by Howard and Evans, 42 Long Lane, West Smithfield, Lond[on]). *c*.1809. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opie G323. 88 × 60 mm. Printed on blue-ish paper and incorrectly bound (1–8, 13, 14, 11, 12, 9–10, 15–16 pp.) into plain buff wraps. This has been reset as there are various differences in the text from the 1804 printing.

(3.) — (printed by John Evans, 42, Long Lane, London). *c*.1811. London, British Library, Ch.800/276. (19.). 90 × 55 mm. No wrappers.

(4.) — (J. & C. Evans, 42, Long Lane, London). 1820s. Brian Alderson collection.

(5.) — (printed and sold by J. E. Evans,). 1830s. Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 14 November 1991, lot 146 (14 of 20 J. E. Evans chapbooks bound together). Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184. No wrappers.* The title page was illustrated in Andrea Immel and Brian Alderson, Tommy Thumb's Pretty Song-Book: The First Collection of English Nursery Rhymes, a Facsimile Edition with a History and Annotations (Los Angeles: Cotsen Occasional Press, 2013). This and *Part the Second* (no. 63 below) are seemingly largely made up from *Tom Thumb's Plaything, with The Life of the Author, containing, among Other Adventures, his Surprising Escape out of the Cow's Belly; to which is added, The History of Master and Miss Verygood* (printed and sold by John Marshall and Co., at No. 4, in Aldermary Churchyard, Bow Lane), from the 1780s, a copy of which briefly appeared in David Miles Books online catalogue. Admittedly, this is a title that Evans could have had a lot to do with from his time with Marshall, but its contents perhaps hark back to a lost, even earlier, title. The illustration of the piper and Tom Thumb on a tightrope may recall a George Bickham original.

63. *Tom Thumb's Play-Thing, Part the Second*

(1.) — (printed by Howard and Evans, 42 Long Lane, West Smithfield, London, 1809), price ½*d*. 16 pp. Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, SB TOM (DRAWER). Plain pictorial wrappers. 'Galanti Show' on upper cover and 'Tune dance' on lower cover.

(2.) — (printed by John Evans, 1809), price ½*d*. London, British Library Ch. 800 /276.(20.).

This is almost certainly the 1809 Howard and Evans printing with revised imprint following Howard's death but with no attempt to change the date.

(3.) — (printed by J. & C. Evans, Long Lane, London). 1820s. Brian Alderson collection. See Brian Alderson, *A Lilliputian Miscellany: Bio-bibliographical Notes on a Collection* ([Newcastle upon Tyne]: Newcastle University, Seven Stories, 2017).

(4.) — (printed and sold by J. E. Evans. 1830s. Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 14 November 1991, lot 146 (15 of 20 J. E. Evans chapbooks bound together). Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184. No wrappers.*

64. *The Pretty ABC, being a Complete Alphabet to Entice Children to Learn their Letters*

(1.) — (London: Howard & Evans, 42 Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1804. 16 pp. Pamela Harer (purchased from David Miles Books for $1,875), her sale PBA

Galleries, California, 19 February 2015, lot 352 for $1,300. Private Collection. 100 × 60 mm. Wrappers printed in sanguine. On cover a boy on small stilts with text 'This Book and Stilts for an Halfpenny'. On lower cover a girl on a swing slung between trees, with text 'This Book and Swing for an Halfpenny'.*

(2.) (London: Howard & Evans, 42 Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1809. [1], 2–6, [7], 8–15, [16] pp. Haarlem, Bubb Kuyper, 29 November 2011, lot 1118; now Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 14105. 100 × 57 mm. Plain engraved wrappers. On upper cover a street musician with a wind-up music box and dancing dog, with text 'Tune Dance and Book for an Halfpenny'. On lower cover a street entertainer with a galanti show on his back and accompanied by a tambourine player, with text 'Galanti Show and Book for an Halfpenny'.*

The text and illustrations for this edition were reset from the previous Howard and Evans printing — for example, the letter 'G' is printed upside down.

(3.) — (printed by J. Evans & Son, 42, Long Lane, West Smihfield [*sic*], London). *c*.1815. [1–2], 3–16 pp.

(*a*.) Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 15655, purchased from David Miles Books for $450. 90 × 60 mm. Single sheet folded but uncut. No wrappers.*

(*b*.) Bryn Mawr, PA, Mariam Coffin Canaday Library, Ellery Yale Wood Collection of Children's Books and Young Adult Literature, PR1111.E38 A66 1800z d.

(*c*.) *A Catalogue of the Library Formed by Edward Arnold* (privately printed, 1921) no. 291 (3).

In this printing it is 'F' that is printed upside down rather than 'G'; on p. 7 there is an extra 'the' and on p. 8 no 'was' before 'Louis'.

(4.) — (J. Evans and Sons). *c*.1818. Susan Dipple; later Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184.

(5.) — (printed and Sold by J. E. Evans). *c*.1830s. Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 14 November 1991, lot 146 (1 of 20 J. E. Evans chapbooks bound together). Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184. The composite volume subsequently 'broken' by the dealer David Miles and this title later offered by Marlborough Rare Books as item 3 in their catalogue for the California Book Fair, February 2019, at £1,250. No wrappers.*

65. *A Description of Bartholomew Fair and the Funny Folks There, with Pictures of the Most Eminent Performers and Curious Animals*

(1.) — (London: Howard and Evans, printers, 42, Long Lane, 1806). [1], 2–7, [8], 9–16 pp. London, Bloomsbury Auctions, 21 April 2005, (part) lot 1388; David Miles Books, $3,000 to Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 153668 Pams / Eng 19 / Box 003. Illustrated wrappers printed in sanguine. On upper cover Joan (Punch's wife) with bottle and glass, with text 'This Book and Joan for an Halfpenny'. On the lower cover Punch smoking a pipe, with text 'This Book and Punch for an Halfpenny'.

(2.) — (printed by John Evans, 42, Long Lane, London, [1]811).

(*a*.) Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, P DES (DRAWER FOLIO).
(*b*.) London, British Library, Ch. 800/276.(3).
(*c*.) Bryn Mawr, PA, Mariam Coffin Canaday Library, Ellery Yale Wood Collection of Children's Books and Young Adult Literature, PR1111.E38 A66 1800z d.
(*d*.) *A Catalogue of the Library Formed by Edward Arnold* (privately printed, 1921) no. 291 (5).

66. *Divine Songs, Attempted in Easy Language, for the Use of Children; to which are added, Prayers for Children*
(1.) — (sold by Howard and Evans, printers to the Cheap Repository for Moral and Religious Tracts, No. 41 and 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). c.1806. 80 pp. Seattle, Suzzallo and Allen Libraries, PR3763.W2 A65 1801.

67. *Cock Robin; or, A Pretty Gilded Toy* (Fig. 10.5)
(1.) — (Howard and Evans, 42, Long-lane, London, 1809). 16 pp. Susan Dipple; later Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184). Private Collection. Wrapper 101 × 57 mm, printed in black. On upper cover two girls with their dolls, with text 'My Doll walks'. On lower cover a boy with rifle over his shoulder marching to the beat of his friend's drum, with text 'A Young Soldier'. Partly unopened, suggesting unsold stock (or sold immediately to a contemporary collector.*
(2.) — (printed by John Evans, 42, Long Lane, London). *c*.1811.
(*a*.) Sotheby's, London, 9 February 1981, lot 7, to Peter Stockham, who later that year issued a facsimile. A copy is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opie N636.
(*b*.) Gratian Maxfield, Sotheby's sale, lot 7. Sotheby's, London, 29 November 1989, lot 151(5), to Blackwell's.
(*c*.) Susan Dipple; later Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184.*
(*d*.) Princeton, NJ. Cotsen Children's Library, (CTSN) 2228. Cotsen Catalogue * A1 250. No wrappers.*
(*e*.) London, British Library, 12805.a.28.(7.).* London, British Library, Ch.820/27.(3.).* No wrappers.
(*f*.) *A Catalogue of the Library Formed by Edward Arnold* (privately printed, 1921), no. 291 (14).
(*g*.) University of Bristol, Arts and Social Sciences Library, Restricted HCLC.
This printing appears to have been made, at least in part, on a particularly brittle stock of paper.
(3.) — (printed and sold by J. E. Evans, 42, Long Lane, London). 1830s. Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 14 November 1991, lot 146 (9 of 20 J. E. Evans chapbooks bound together). Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184. No wrappers.*

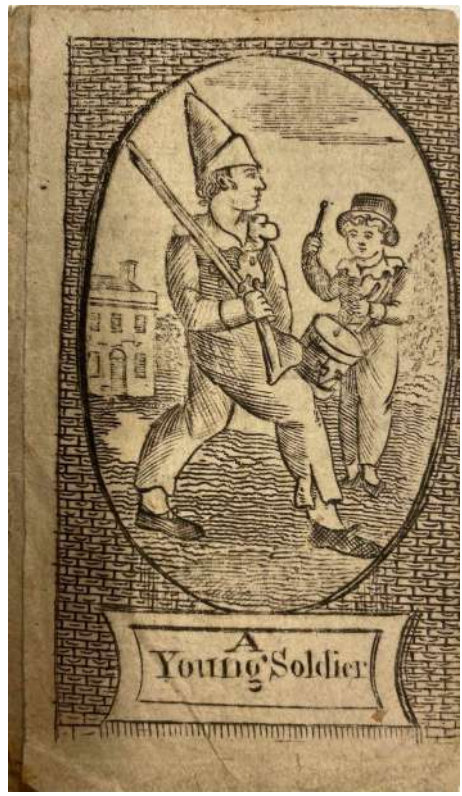

Fig. 10.5. *Cock Robin*, **67**.(1.) (lower cover). Private collection.

68. *The Child's New Year's Gift, a Collection of Riddles*

(1.) — (Howard and Evans, 1809). 16 pp. No copy recorded as surviving, but see note below J. Evans & Son edition.

(2.) — (J. Evans & Son, 42, Long Lane, 180 [*sic*]).

(*a*.) London, British Library, Ch. 800/276.(4.).

(*b*.) Bryn Mawr, PA, Mariam Coffin Canaday Library, Ellery Yale Wood Collection of Children's Books and Young Adult Literature, PR1111.E38 A66 1800z d.

This looks suspiciously as if the (presumed) '9' from an 1809 Howard and Evans edition has been removed from the plate when this title was reissued *c*.1815.

(3.) — (printed by John Evans, 42, Long Lane, London). *c*.1811. *A Catalogue of the Library Formed by Edward Arnold* (privately printed, 1921) no. 291 (10).

(4.) — (printed and sold by J. E. Evans,). 1830s. London, British Library 12805.a.28.(21.).

69. *The House that Jack Built, a Diverting Story for Children of All Ages* (Fig. 10.6)

(1.) — (Howard and Evans, 1809). 16 pp. No copy recorded as surviving, but see note below on J. Evans & Son edition.

(2.) — (John Evans, 1809).

(*a*.) *A Catalogue of the Library Formed by Edward Arnold* (privately printed, 1921) no. 291 (11).

(*b*.) Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library PR974.A1 no. 148.

(*c*.) University of Bristol, Arts and Social Sciences Library, Restricted 9/4/1.

It looks as if there has been attempt to smudge or remove the '9' in the 1809 date. As with *The Child's New Year's Gift* (above), this is likely to have been a reissue of a Howard and Evans printing. It uses different woodcuts from the earlier Thomas Evans edition and so is not an example of inherited stock being rebranded (see *Jack and Jill, Tom the Piper's Son*, and *Jacky Jingle* below).

(3.) — (J. Evans & Son, 1809)

(*a*.) Pamela Harer, her sale, PBA Galleries, California, 19 February 2015, lot 217 for $375. Private Collection. Single folded sheet.*

(*b*.) London, British Library, Ch. 800/276.(11.).*

(*c*.) Bryn Mawr, PA, Mariam Coffin Canaday Library, *Ellery Yale Wood Collection of Children's Books and Young Adult Literature*, PR1111.E38 A66 1800z d.

(4.) — (printed by J. E. Evans, 4 [*sic*] Long Lane, London).

(*a*.) Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 14 November 1991, lot 146 (5 of 20 J. E. Evans chapbooks bound together). Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184. No wrappers.*

(*b*.) Pamela Harer, her sale, PBA Galleries, California, 19 February 2015, lot 218 for $98.

Fig. 10.6. *The House That Jack Built*, **69**.(3.*a*.) (whole sheet). Private collection.

70. *The Delightful Play of the Children in the Wood*

(1.) — (Howard and Evans, 1809). 16 pp.

(*a*.) Susan Dipple; later Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, part of lot 184. Private Collection. Wrapper 101 × 57 mm, printed in black. On upper cover text 'Gleaners'. On lower cover text 'Hay Makers'.*

(*b*.) Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, FT CHI (DRAWER).

(2.) — (printed by John Evans, Long Lane). *c*.1811.

(*a*.) University of Bristol Library, Historic Children's Literature Collection, Store 420329n.

(*b*.) Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 15656). No wrappers. Priced $350 with bookseller's code on upper cover.*

(3.) — (J. Evans & Son). *c*.1815.

(a.) London, British Library, 12805a.28.*

(b.) New York Public Library, *KH 1813 Delightful 15-505.

(4.) — (printed and sold by J. E. Evans, Long Lane). 1830s. Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 14 November 1991, lot 146 (4 of 20 J. E. Evans chapbooks bound together). Susan Dipple; later Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, part of lot 184.*

71. *Old Mother Hubbard and her Dog*

(1.) — (printed by Howard and Evans, 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, London, 1809). 16 pp. Susan Dipple. Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, part of lot 184. Private Collection. 101 × 57 mm. Plain pictorial wrappers. On upper cover two boys admire fish in a bottle, with text 'Little Fishes'. On lower cover a boy holding a stolen nest, with text 'Young Birds'.*

(2.) — (printed by John Evans, 42, Long Lane, London). *c*.1811.

(*a*.) Private Collection. 79 × 50 mm. Wrappers printed in sanguine. On upper cover a female cook. On lower cover a bun seller. These wrappers look like a remainder of earlier stock as they are reminiscent of the type of wrapper design used more generally until around 1805. The accompanying text has been lost when the book was severely trimmed.*

(*b*.) London, British Library, Ch. 800/276.(16.). 90 × 55 mm. No wrappers.*

(3.) — (printed and sold by J. E. Evans, Long Lane, London), 1830s.

(*a*.) Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 14 November 1991, lot 146 (12 of 20 J. E. Evans chapbooks bound together). Susan Dipple; later Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, part of lot 184.*

(*b*.) London, British Library, Ch.800/276.(16.).*

72. *History of Abraham Croft and the Good Grandson*

(1.) — (printed by Howard and Evans, Long Lane, West Smithfield. *c*.1809. 16 pp. London, National Art Library, 60.Z.89. 94 × 60 mm. Dab colouring to illustrations. *Small Books for the Common Man*, no. 294 (also illustrated on the covers of the volume).[53] 'Price only on [*sic*] half penny' on title page.

53 John Meriton, with Carlo Dumontet (eds), *Small Books for the Common Man: A Descriptive Bibliography* (London: British Library; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2010).

73. *The Affecting History of the Babes in the Wood: To which is added Two Fables for the Instruction of All Good Children*
(1.) — (printed and sold by Howard and Evans, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1809. [5], 6–30, [2] pp. London, National Art Library, 60.Z.89. 99 × 64 mm. Embossed paper wrappers with floral design. *Small Books for the Common Man*, no. 293.

74. *The Picture Gallery; or, Pleasing Exhibition of Original Subjects*
(1.) — (printed and sold by Howard and Evans, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1809. 32 pp. Sotheby's, London, 7 June 1991, lot 262 (two of four).

75. *Robin Hood's Garland*
(1.) — (London: Howard and Evans). *c*.1809. 96 pp. David Miles Books online catalogue, 1 February 2023.

76. *The Visit; or, History of Master Henry and Miss Louisa Bountiful, Founded on Facts*
(1.) — (printed and sold by Howard and Evans, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1809. 32 pp.
(*a*.) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opie A1399.
(*b*.) London, British Library, C.194.a.691. With an ownership inscription dated 1811.
This title was issued around the same time by Joseph Parks in Dundalk.

77. *The Historian; or, Memoirs of Dick Dolittle and Charles Somners, Enriched with Beautiful Engravings*
(1.) — (printed and sold by Howard and Evans, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1809. 36 pp. David Miles Books online catalogue, 1 February 2023.

78. *The Present; or, Child's Pleasing Companion, Embellished with Beautiful Engravings*
(1.) — (printed and sold by Howard and Evans, Long Lane, West Smithfield,). *c*.1809. 36 pp. David Miles Books online catalogue, 1 February 2023.

79. *The Nosegay; or, Sweet-smelling Blossom as for Good Children, Enriched with Beautiful Engravings*
(1.) — (printed and sold by Howard and Evans, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1809. 36 pp. David Miles Books online catalogue, 1 February 2023.

80. *Moral Tales or Fire-side Companion*
(1.) — (printed and sold by Howard and Evans, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1809. 36 pp. David Miles Books online catalogue, 1 February 2023. Yellow wrappers, with woodcut. Price 2*d*.

81. *Evergreen*
(1.) — (London: printed and sold by Howard and Evans). *c*.1809. 36 pp.
(*a*.) Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 27709. 131 × 85 mm. Three engraved plates printed on coloured paper.*
(*b*.) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opie A 1312.

82. *Curious Adventures of the Beautiful Little Maid Cinderella*

(1.) — (London: printed and sold by Howard and Evans). *c*.1809. ?36 pp. Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library, PR974.A1 no. 135. Illustrations coloured, printed wrappers.*

1810s

83. *Pretty Stories for Pretty Children*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. Evans). *c*.1811. 24 pp.

(*a*.) London, British Library, C.194.a.644. Covers dyed yellow to simulate a wrapper.*

(*b*.) Sotheby's, London, 16 May 1996, lot 2.

(2.) — (Evans & Son, Long Lane, W. Smithfield). *c*.1815. Auckland War Memorial Museum, PZ6 PRE.

84. *The Raree Show*

(1.) — (printed by John Evans, 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1811. 16 pp.

(*a*.) Susan Dipple. Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, part of lot 184. No wrappers.*

(*b*.) London, British Library, Ch.800/276.(17.).*

(*c*.) Bryn Mawr, PA, Mariam Coffin Canaday Library, Ellery Yale Wood Collection of Children's Books and Young Adult Literature, PR1111.E38 A66 1800z d].

(*d*.) *A Catalogue of the Library Formed by Edward Arnold* (privately printed, 1921) no. 291 (6)

(*e*.) University of Bristol, Arts and Social Sciences Library, Restricted HCLC.

(2.) — (printed by J. E. Evans, Long Lane, London). 1830s.

(*a*.) Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 14 November 1991, lot 146 (8 of 20 J. E. Evans chapbooks bound together). Susan Dipple. Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, part of lot 184.*

(*b*.) London, British Library, Ch.800/276.(23).*

85. *The Life of Jack Sprat, his Wife and Cat*

(1.) — (printed by John Evans, 4 [*sic*], Long Lane, London). *c*.1811. 16 pp. London, British Library, Ch. 800/276.(13.).*

(2.) — (J. E. Evans).

(*a*.) London, British Library, 12805.a.28.(13.).*

(*b*.) Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 14 November 1991, lot 146 (20 of 20 J. E. Evans chapbooks bound together). Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184, no wrappers.*

86. *Jack and Jill, and Old Dame Gill* (Fig. 10.7)

(1.) — (sold by J. Evans, No. 42, Long Lane). *c*.1813. 16 pp.

(*a*.) London, British Library, Ch. 800/276.(12.).*

(*b*.) Bryn Mawr, PA, Mariam Coffin Canaday Library, Ellery Yale Wood Collection of Children's Books and Young Adult Literature, PR1111.E38 A66 1800z d).

(*c*.) Justin Schiller, his sale, Texas, Heritage Auctions, 16 December 2020, lot 45067, sold for $2,750. 91 × 60 mm.

(*d*.) *A Catalogue of the Library Formed by Edward Arnold* (privately printed, 1921) no. 291 (9).

The woodcut on p. 9 is printed upside down. This is a most interesting imprint. The first point to note is that, for the first time since the previous century, Evans uses the formula 'sold by', and this is with good reason. This book is in fact identical in its woodcuts and very similar in its typography, down to printing omissions such as 'pape' for 'paper' on p. 3, to the edition printed by Thomas Evans [cf. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce adds. 6 (1)]. So, this was either leftover stock inherited after Thomas's death with new information on the title page, or a reprint, perhaps using standing type.

(2.) — (printed by J. Evans & Sons). *c*.1817. Justin Schiller, catalogue 55 (2010), no. 17, offered at $4,000; later his sale, Texas, Heritage Auctions, 16 December 2020, lot 45073, sold for $625. Private Collection.* 103 × 56 mm.

The woodcut on p. 9 is no longer printed upside down.

(3.) — (printed by J. [E.] Evans, Long Lane, London). 1830s.

(*a*.) London, British Library 12805.a.28.(18.).*

(*b*.) Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 14 November 1991, lot 146 (13 of 20 J. E. Evans chapbooks bound together). Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184, no wrappers.*

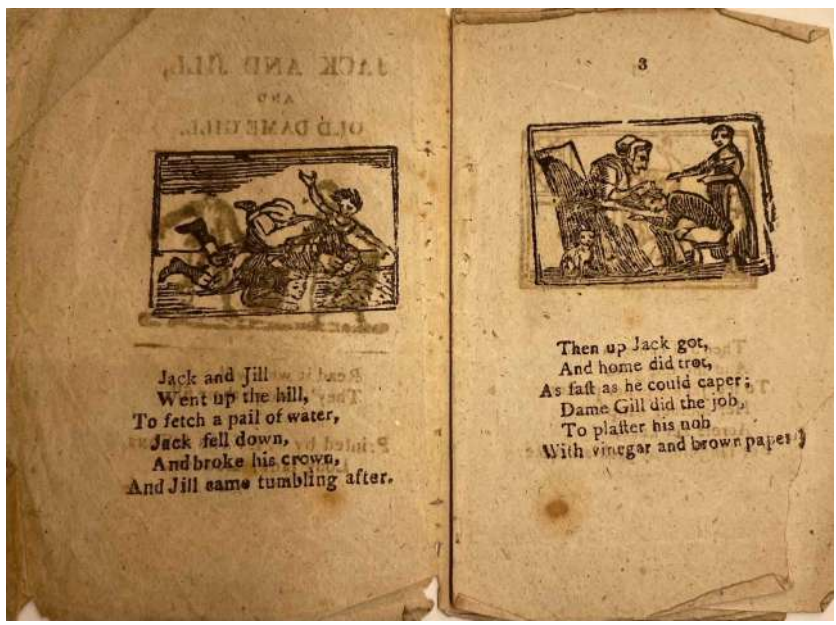

Fig. 10.7. *Jack and Jill, and Old Dame Gill*, **86**.(2.). Private collection.

87. *Tom the Piper's Son*

(1.) — (sold by J. Evans, No. [*sic*], Long Lane). *c*.1813. 16 pp.

(*a*.) London, British Library, Ch. 800/276.(18.).*

(*b*.) *A Catalogue of the Library Formed by Edward Arnold* (privately printed, 1921) no. 291 (1).

(2.) — (J. E. Evans.) 1830s.

(*a*.) London, British Library, 12805.a.28.(27.).*

(*b*.) Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 14 November 1991, lot 146 (18 of 20 J. E. Evans chapbooks bound together). Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184, no wrappers.*

This title is another example of an issue using stock inherited from Thomas Evans.

88. *Jacky Jingle and Sucky Shingle*

(1.) — (John Evans, 42, Long Lane). *c*.1813. 16 pp. *A Catalogue of the Library Formed by Edward Arnold* (privately printed, 1921) no. 291 (12).

(2.) — (J. and C. Evans, 42, Long Lane). 1820s. Bloomington, Indiana University, Lilly Library, PR974 .A1 161.

(3.) — (J. E. Evans). Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 14 November 1991, lot 146 (7 of 20 J. E. Evans chapbooks bound together). Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184, no wrappers.*

This edition uses the same woodcuts as that of Thomas Evans [cf. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce adds. 6 (1), Douce adds. g.5] and thus it seems very likely that it was issued by John Evans with other titles that he had inherited from his brother *c*.1813.

89. *Old Dame Trot and her Comical Cat*

(1.) — (John Evans, 42, Long Lane). *c*.1813. 16 pp. *A Catalogue of the Library Formed by Edward Arnold* (privately printed, 1921), no. 291 (13).

(2.) — (J. & C. Evans, Long Lane). Vancouver, University of British Columbia Library, PZ6 1820z O423. Imperfect, lacking pp. 13/14.

(3.) — (J. E. Evans, Long Lane, London). Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 14 November 1991, lot 146 (17 of 20 J. E. Evans chapbooks bound together). Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184. No wrappers.*

This edition reuses the woodcuts from Thomas Evans's famous 'first edition' of *Old Dame Trot* printed in 1803. Cf. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce adds. 6 (27, 28).

90. *The Courtship, Marriage, and Pic-nic Dinner of Cock Robin & Jenny Wren*

(1.) — (John Evans, 42, Long Lane. *c*.1813. 16 pp. No copy recorded as surviving, but see note below on J. E. Evans edition.

(2.) — (printed by J. E. Evans, Long Lane. Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 14 November 1991, lot 146 (10 of 20 J. E. Evans chapbooks bound together). Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184. No wrappers.*

This edition uses the same woodcuts as that of Thomas Evans [cf. Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library, PR974 .A1 52] and thus it would seem very likely that it was

issued by John Evans with other titles that he had inherited from his brother *c*.1813.

91. *The Child's Alphabet, Emblematically Described and Embellished by Twenty-Four Pictures*

(1.) — (John Evans, 42, Long Lane). *c*.1813. 16 pp. No copy recorded as surviving, but see note below on J. E. Evans edition.

(2.) — (printed by J. E. Evans, Long Lane).

(*a*.) Yale University, British Art Center, PE1119 .C45 1820.

(*b*.) London, British Library, 12805.a.28.(8.).*

(*c*.) Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 14 November 1991, lot 146 (2 of 20 J. E. Evans chapbooks bound together). Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184, no wrappers.*

It seems more than possible, from stylistic comparisons, that this edition uses the same woodcuts as a 'lost' edition of Thomas Evans, and if so it would seem likely that it was first issued by John Evans with other titles that he had inherited from his brother *c*.1813. It has the same text as the book printed by J. and M. Robertson in Glasgow in 1805 [Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, Pams / Eng 19 / Box 013 153907]. The picture alphabet used here has a long lineage. It appeared in an edition of *A Guide for the Childe and Youth* (London: T. J., for Dixy Page, 1667) [ESTC R177789], a copy of which is at Keele University.

92. *Butterfly's Ball and Grasshopper's Feast*

(1.) — (John Evans, 42, Long-Lane). *c*.1813. 16 pp. No copy recorded as surviving, but see note below on J. E. Evans edition.

(2.) — (printed by J. E. Evans, Long Lane). Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 14 November 1991, lot 146 (3 of 20 J. E. Evans chapbooks bound together). Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184. The composite volume was subsequently 'broken' by the dealer David Miles and this title subsequently in the Brian Alderson collection. No wrappers.*

It seems more than possible, from stylistic comparisons, that this edition uses the same woodcuts as a 'lost' edition of Thomas Evans, and if so it would seem likely that it was first issued by John Evans with other titles that he had inherited from his brother *c*.1813.

93. *Pretty Poems, Songs, &c., in Easy Language*

(1.) — (London: printed and sold by J. Evans, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1813?. 32 pp. Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library PR974.A1 no. 147.*

94. *Divine Songs, Attempted in Easy Language, for the Use of Children*

(1.) — (J. Evans and Son, 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1814. 36 pp. David Miles Books online catalogue, 1 February 2023.

95. *Interesting History of Little King Pippin, with a Fragment, Embellished with Engravings*

(1.) — (London: Evans and Son, printers, No. 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1814. 40 pp. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vet. A6 e.2808. Ownership inscription of John Forsyth dated 31 December 1820 London.*

96. *The Diverting History of Jumping Joan and her Dog and Cat*

(1.) — (Evans and Son). *c*.1814. 20 pp. Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 33189. Ownership inscription 'Richard J. W. Sellwood his Book Januwary [*sic*] 9th 1815'. Blue wrappers.*

97. *A Trip to the Aviary* (Fig. 10.8)

(1.) (Evans and Son, printers, 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield, London). *c*. 1814. 38 pp. Private Collection. 140 × 90 mm. Printed blue wrappers headed 'Juvenile Library'. Price 4*d*. Woodcuts childishly coloured.*

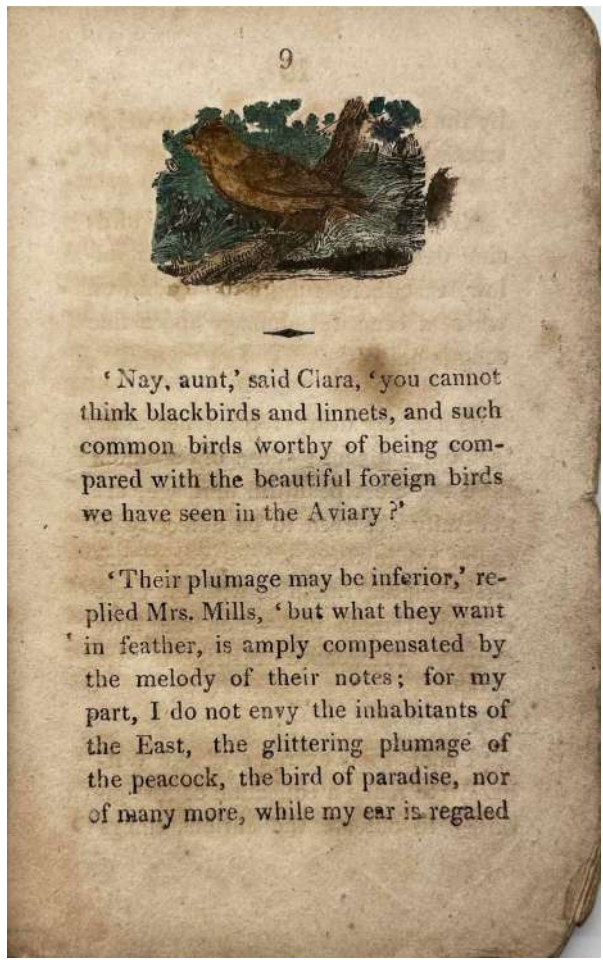

Fig. 10.8. *A Trip to the Aviary*, **97**.(1.). Private collection.

98. *Story Book.*

(1.) (Evans and Son, printers, Long Lane, W Smithfield, London). *c*.1814. 16 pp. The Honresfield Library, collected by William Law (1836–1901). London, British Library Hon.134.(8.).

99. *Feast of Sweet Things*

(1.) (Evans and Son, printers, Long Lane, W Smithfield, London). *c*.1814. 16 pp. The Honresfield Library, collected by William Law (1836–1901). London, British Library Hon.134.(9.).

100. *Exhibition of Some of the Wonders of God in Creation*

(1.) — (Evans and Son). *c*.1815. 37 pp.

(*a*.) Blackwell's, Oxford, Catalogue A1062, no. 318. 135 × 88 mm. Printed pale yellow wrapper.

(*b*.) Columbus, Ohio State University Library, BS660 .E94 1813z.

101. *The Pious Parents' Gift; or, A Plain and Familiar Sermon.*

(1.) — (Evans and Son). *c*.1815. [20] pp.

(*a*.) Cambridge University Library, CCE.7.25.26.

(*b*.) Oxford, Bodleian Library, 2703 f.15 (3).

(2.) — (J. E. Evans). 1830s. Advertisement in *Amusing Anecdotes of Various Animals*. The (uncredited) author is William Mason (1719–91).

102. *The Universal Spelling Book*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. Evans and Son, Long Lane, West Smithfield). 1817. 144 pp. Guy Tristam Little; London, National Art Library, 60.J.47.

103. *The Deluded Youth; or, The Folly of Bad Company*

(1.) — (Evans and Sons, printers, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1817. 24 pp. Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, SB DEL (DRAWER).

104. *The History of Joe Grant*

(1.) — (Evans and Sons, printers, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1817. 20 pp. Susan Dipple; later Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, part of lot 184*. Blue wrappers with woodcut, described as part of the 'Juvenile Library'.

105. *Amusement Hall; or, The Good Child's Reward*

(1.) — (Evans and Sons, printers, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1817. 24 pp. Susan Dipple; later Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, part of lot 184; later Brian Alderson collection. Blue wrappers with woodcut, described as part of the 'Juvenile Library', 'to engage the youthful mind / with harmless tails like these / the author's sole design is / to instruct as well as please'.*

106. *The Bad Boy Reformed by Kindness; to which is added, The Little Miser*

(1.) — (Evans and Sons, printers, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1817. 32 pp. University of California, Los Angeles, CBC PZ6 .H7165 1821.

107. *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes; to which is added, The Rhyming Alphabet; or, Tom Thumb's Delight.*

(1.) — (London: printed & sold by J. Evans & Sons, 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1817. 32 pp. University of California, Los Angeles Library, CBC PZ6 .G64 1820c.

That this was actually printed by Evans seems unlikely as on p. 30 is printed 'Marsden, Printer, Chelmsford'.

108. *The Death & Burial of Cock Robin; to which is added, The Tragical Death of an Apple-Pie; also, The History of Master Watkins, Adorned with Cuts*

(1.) — (published by J. Evans and Sons, 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c.*1819. 24 pp. Price 1*d*. Dublin, Trinity College Library. OLS B-16-885.

This was almost certainly printed by Isaac Marsden of Chelmsford, whose name is on the wrappers of the Dublin copy. It seems he had a working relationship with Evans, evidenced by no. 107 above.

109. *Little Fisherman and Shepherd Boy*

(1.) — (Evans and Sons, printers, 42, Long-Lane, West Smithfield). *c.*1817. 24 pp. Bearnes, Hampton & Littlewood, Exeter, 6 March 2019, lot 261 to Antiquates, Wareham, Dorset, their Juvenile and Education Catalogue 2019, item 36 at £450.00. Buff wrappers with woodcut illustration. Contains three short stories, 'The Little Fisherman', 'The Shepherd Boy', and 'The Wandering Truant'.

110. *Rhymes for the Nursery. A Pretty Book for a Good Child*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. Evans and Sons, 42, Long-Lane). *c.*1818. [1], 2–15, [16] pp. Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library, 38721 Eng 18. 96 × 63 mm. Contemporary drab wrappers signed 'Charlotte Coles, 1820'.*

The Princeton catalogue incorrectly has this as a 'J. Evans & Co.' imprint, but it may indeed be a reissue of a 'lost' much earlier work.

(2.) — (printed and sold by J. & C. Evans, Long-lane). *c.*1821. [1], 2–5, [6–7], 8–15, [16] pp. New York, Morgan Library & Museum, PML 85000. 97 × 50 mm. Wrappers printed in sanguine. Upper cover boy with whip and what seems to be a wooden horse on wheels with a human torso and head(!) with text 'A wooden p[ ] and book for an Halfpenny', lower cover a girl in a mask scaring a boy with text 'This Ugly Face and Book for an Half Penny'. The wrappers in the style of those used for Howard and Evans books between *c.*1804 and 1807.*

Brian Alderson and Felix de Marez Oyens, *Be Merry and Wise: Origins of Children's Book Publishing, 1650–1850* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2006), p. 52: 'The rhymes [...] and their accompanying pictures are drawn entirely from *The Royal Primer*, which Newbery and others had put together in the early 1750s'.

111. *A Pretty Book.*

(1.) — (Evans and Sons, printers, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c.*1818. 16 pp. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opie M770(23).*

The woodcut on the title page shows two soldiers. This woodcut had appeared on p. 9 of *Market Woman*, printed by Knevett, Arliss, and Baker, *c.*1811, suggesting that Evans came into possession of at least some of that firm's stock.

(2.) — (J. & C. Evans, printers, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c.*1821. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opie M770(2).*

There are differences from the Evans and Sons printing. The woodcut on the title page shows two boys with cricket bats. The image on the final page is also different from the earlier printing. Some of the contents are presented in a different order.

112. *Medley; or, Picture Book for Good Children*

(1.) — (Evans and Sons, printers, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1818. No copy recorded as surviving, but see note below J. & C. Evans edition.

(2.) — (printed and sold by J. & C. Evans, Long Lane). *c*.1821. [1], 2–15, [16]pp. New York, Morgan Library & Museum, PML 80105, 87 × 61 mm. No wrappers.*

This looks to be part of a 'group' of publications with, among others, *Rhymes for the Nursery* and *A Pretty Book*, known in both Evans and Sons and J. & C. Evans editions, so it is probably a fair assumption that a 'lost' edition of this work appeared in John Evans's lifetime.

113. *The Ruin'd Youth; or, History of Samuel Rudkin*

(1.) — (Evans and Sons, printers, 42, Long [Lane] West Smithfield). *c*.1819. 16 pp. Exeter Library, Children's Book Collection, Moon 313. 96 × 60 mm. Lacking one leaf.

114. *Divine Songs, Attempted in Easy Language, for the Use of Children*

(1.) — (J. Evans and Sons, 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1819. 36 pp. Brian Alderson collection.*

1820s

Titles existing only with the imprint of John Evans's successors and published after his death. Some may possibly be reissues of works first printed by Evans himself but for which no copy has heretofore been traced.

115. *Blowing Bubbles, an Instructive Book*

(1.) —— (J. & C. Evans, printers, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1821, 16 pp. Dominic Winter Auctions, South Cerney, 15 June 2023, (part of) lot 435. Private Collection. The woodcuts on the first and final pages dab coloured.

116. *Tales for Children*

(1.) — (J. & C. Evans, printers, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1821, 16 pp. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opie M770(17)* and (24).* The first of these two copies has the woodcuts on the first and final pages dab coloured.

117. *Pretty Hymns for Pretty Children*

(1.) — (J. & C. Evans, printers, Long Lane, West Smithfield). *c*.1821. 16 pp.

(*a*.) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opie M770(21).*

(*b*.) Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library PR974 .A1 162.

118. *One of the Prettiest Books in the Shop*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. & C. Evans, Printers, Long Lane, W. Smithfield). 1820s. 16 pp.

(*a*.) Brian Alderson collection.*

(*b*.) Samuel W. Mangin (1821–89), Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library (CTSN) 92008 (9).

The Princeton copy is part of a sammelband with an ownership inscription dated 24 August 1826.

119. *William, the Little Miser*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. & C. Evans) 1820s. 16 pp. Dominic Winter Auctions, South Cerney, 15 December 2022, (part of) lot 473. Private Collection. Title page and last page woodcut dab coloured. Price ½*d*. on title page. No wrappers.*

120. *An Account of Three Cousins*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. & C. Evans, Long Lane, W. Smithfield). 1820s. 16 pp. Susan Dipple; later Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, part of lot 184.* Price ½*d*. on upper cover.

121. *The Passionate Boy*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. & C. Evans). 1820s. 16 pp. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, RB.s.435(7).

122. *A New Alphabet of Hieroglyphics, consisting of Twenty-Six Texts of Scripture, with a Cut to Each*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. & C. Evans). 1820s. 16 pp. The Honresfield Library, collected by William Law (1836–1901). London, British Library, Hon. 118.(2.).

123. *The Courtship, Marriage, and Pic-Nic Dinner of Cock Robin & Jenny Wren*

(1.) — (London: printed by J. & C. Evans, Long Lane, West Smithfield). 1820s. 12 pp. Price 1*d*. Montreal, McGill University Library, PN970 E93 C6 1821.

This is in a different format with different illustrations from the smaller 16 pp. book of the same title.

124. *The History of Good Little Dinah*

(1.) — (London: printed and sold by J. and C. Evans). 1820s. 24 pp.

(*a*.) Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, RB.s.435(6).

(*b*.) Susan Dipple; later Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, part of lot 184.*. David Miles Books online catalogue, 1 February 2023.

125. *The History of a Good Child*

(1.) — (London: printed and sold by J. and C. Evans). 1820s. 24 pp. David Miles Books online catalogue, 1 February 2023. 100 × 63 mm. Buff wrappers illustrated with woodcut. Price 1*d*. penny on upper cover.

126. *The History of Sam Jones: An Entertaining Book*

(1.) — (London: printed and sold by J. and C Evans). 1820s. 24 pp. Seattle, University of Washington Libraries, Suzzallo and Allen Libraries, Special Collections, Rare Books PR3991.A1 S26 1821. Buff wrappers illustrated with woodcuts.

127. *Evening's Amusement; or, Facts and Scraps for the Young*
(1.) — (London: printed and sold by J. and C Evans). 1820s. 36 pp. London, National Art Library, 60.R Box VI (ix).

128. *Holiday Amusement; or, Moral and Instructive Tales*
(1.) — (London: printed and sold by J. and C Evans). 1820s. 36 pp. University of California, Los Angeles Library, CBC PZ6 .H7165 1821.

129. *The Juvenile Scrap-Book; or, Amusement and Instruction for the Young*
(1.) — (London: printed and sold by J. and C Evans). 1820s. 36 pp. Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, K JUV (DRAWER).

130. *A Delightful History for a Good Child*
(1.) — (London: printed and sold by J. and C Evans). 1820s. 16 pp. Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, B AFF (DRAWER).
Unlike the Cheap Repository tracts that Evans printed in abundance in the printing style of the old 'penny histories', this and the following seven tracts are, by their format and presentation, assuredly designed for children. Their content suggests they were perhaps aimed at the burgeoning Sunday School prize market.

131. *The Affectionate Friend*
(1.) — (London: printed and sold by J. and C Evans). 1820s. 16 pp. Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, B AFF (DRAWER).

132. *The Value of Time*
(1.) — (London: printed and sold by J. and C Evans). 1820s. 16 pp. Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, B AFF (DRAWER).

133. *The Teacher's Best Gift*
(1.) — (London: printed and sold by J. and C Evans). 1820s. 16 pp. Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, B AFF (DRAWER).

134. *A Serious Address to Youth*
(1.) — (London: printed and sold by J. and C Evans). 1820s. 16 pp. Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, B AFF (DRAWER).

135. *A History of the Happy Children*
(1.) — (London: printed and sold by J. and C Evans). 1820s. 16 pp. Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, B AFF (DRAWER).

136. *The Pleasing History of Edwd. Poole*
(1.) — (London: printed and sold by J. and C. Evans). 1820s. 16 pp. Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, K JUV (DRAWER).

137. *Memoir of Miss Mary Sewell, of Halsted, Essex*
(1.) — (London: printed and sold by J. and C. Evans). 1820s. 16 pp. Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, K JUV (DRAWER).

Mary Sewell died aged twenty on 19 February 1814. The basis of this text is her obituary by 'J. B.' (James Bennett or Bogan) in the *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, 22 (1814), 471– 72.

138. *The History of Mother Goose, and the Golden Egg*

(1.) —— (Evans, Smithfield). 8 pp. Dominic Winter Auctions, South Cerney, 15 June 2023, (part of) lot 435. Private Collection.

A highly unusual title as the only small-scale eight-page children's book from the Evans family. The cuts are different from those in the J. E. Evans versions.

139. *A Little Book about Little Birds*

(1.) — (London: printed and sold by J. and C. Evans, 1826). 16 pp. Montreal, McGill University Library, Sheila R. Bourke Collection, PN970 E93 L58 1826.

140. *A Little Book about a Horse*

(1.) — (London: printed and sold by J. and C Evans, 1826). 16 pp. Montreal, McGill University Library, Sheila R. Bourke Collection, PN970 E93 L5 1826. This and its avian counterpart are most unusual in being dated.

141. *A New and Entertaining Riddle-Book, containing a Choice Collection of Enigmas, Riddles, Charades etc.*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. and C. Evans). 1820s. [5], 6–36 pp. threepenny book. Gumuchian & Cie, Les livres de l'enfance du XVe au XIXE Siècle, Paris, 1930, no. 6210; New York, Morgan Library & Museum, PML 80895, 144 × 78 mm. Blue wrappers.*

142. *A Collection of Curious & Entertaining Enigmas*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. and C. Evans, at their Juvenile Library, 42 Long Lane). 1820s. 24 pp. threepenny book. *Small Books for the Common Man*, no. 282. London, National Art Library, 60.S.69. 139 × 88 mm. Green wrappers.

143. *The Child's New Story Book*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. and C. Evans, at their Juvenile Library, 42 Long Lane). 1820s. 24 pp. threepenny book. *Small Books for the Common Man*, no. 281. London, National Art Library, 60.S.50. 138 × 89 mm. Dark green wrappers.

144. *The Harp: or Pleasing and Instructive Poetry*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. and C. Evans, at their Juvenile Library, 42 Long Lane). 1820s. 24 pp. threepenny book.

(*a*.) *Small Books for the Common Man*, no. 283. London, National Art Library, 60.S.67. 139 × 88 mm. Blue wrappers.

(*b*.) Susan Dipple; later Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184.

145. *The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. and C. Evans, 42 Long Lane, West Smithfield). 1820s. 24 pp. Price 2*d*.

(*a*.) Susan Dipple; later Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184, yellow wrappers.*

(*b*.) *Small Books for the Common Man*, no. 284. London, National Art Library 60.S.48 137 × 88 mm. Yellow wrappers.
(*c*.) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Johnson Chapbooks 99.*

146. *The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*
(1.) — (printed and sold by J. and C. Evans, 42, Long Lane, West Smithfield). 1820s. 32 pp. Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library PR974 .A1 167.
(2.) — (J. E. Evans, Long Lane, Smithfield). 1830s. 32 pp. London, British Library 12809.aa.35.(1.).

147. *The Child's Spiritual Treasury*
(1.) — (printed and sold by J. and C. Evans, at their Juvenile Library, 42 Long Lane). 1820s. 24 pp. London, National Art Library, 60.S.51.

148. *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes*
(1.) — (printed and sold by J. and C. Evans). 1820s. 24 pp. Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, SB GOO 1822.

149. *The Coral Necklace*
(1.) — (printed and sold by J. and C. Evans). 1820s. 36 pp. Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, COLL SHO.
(2.) — (J. E. Evans). 1830s.
(*a*.) Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library PZ6.W75 C78 1829.
(*b*.) Henry Mayor Lyon; London, British Library C.121.aa.5.(Ev.5).
(*c*.) Gumuchian & Cie, Les livres de l'enfance du XVe au XIXE Siècle, Paris, 1930, no. 1856.
(*d*.) David Miles Books online catalogue, 1 February 2023.
Written by Lucy Sarah Atkins Wilson.

150. *The Pearl Bracelet*
(1.) — (printed and sold by J. and C. Evans). 1820s. 36 pp.
(*a*.) London, British Library, 012807.de.37.
(*b*.) London, British Library, 012808.k.1.(4.).
(2.) — (J. E. Evans). 1830s.
(*a*.) Henry Mayor Lyon; now London, British Library, C.121.aa.5.(Ev.4).
(*b*.) Henry Mayor Lyon; now London, British Library. C.121.aa.5.(Ev.5).
(*c*.) Montreal, McGill University Library, Sheila R. Bourke Collection, PN970 E94 P43 1829.
(*d*.) David Miles Books online catalogue, 1 February 2023.
Written by Lucy Sarah Atkins Wilson.

151. *The Escapes, Wanderings and Preservation of a Hare*
(1.) — (printed and sold by J. and C. Evans). 1820s. 36 pp.
(*a*.) Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, SB ESC (DRAWER).
(*b*.) Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library PZ6 .E74.

(*c.*) Edgar Oppenheimer; then Sotheby's, London, 22 October 1974, lot 855 to D. Gibbins for £35.

(2.) — (J. E. Evans). 1830s. David Miles Books online catalogue, 1 February 2023. Woodcuts coloured.

152. *Augustus and his Squirrel*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. and C. Evans). 1820s. 36 pp. Henry Mayor Lyon; now London, British Library C.121.aa.5.(Ev.1).

153. *The Orphan of Honfleur*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. and C. Evans). 1820s. 36 pp. Henry Mayor Lyon; now London, British Library C.121.aa.5.(EV.2).

154. *The Child's Best Guide to Learning; or, Reading Made Completely Easy*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. E. Evans, Long Lane, West Smithfield, 1829). 72 pp. Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, B AFF (DRAWER).

1830s

155. *Little Tom Tucker*

(1.) —— (printed and sold by J. E. Evans, Long Lane, Smithfield). 1830s. 24 pp. price 1*d*. Dominic Winter Auctions, South Cerney, 15 June 2023, (part of) lot 435. Private Collection. Blue wrappers with woodcut illustration.*

156. *Jack and Jill and Old Dame Gill*

(1.) —— (printed and sold by J. E. Evans, Long Lane, Smithfield). 1830s. 24 pp. price 1*d*. Dominic Winter Auctions, South Cerney, 15 June 2023, (part of) lot 435. Private Collection. Buff-coloured wrappers with woodcut illustration.*

157. *Jumping Joan*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. E. Evans, Long Lane, Smithfield). 1830s. 24 pp. Price 1*d*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opie N 814. 103 × 66 mm. Blue wrappers with woodcut illustration.*

158. *Jack Horner's Pretty Toy*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. E. Evans, Long Lane, Smithfield). 1830s. 24 pp. Price 1*d*.

(*a.*) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opie N 788. 104 × 66 mm. Yellow wrappers with woodcut illustration.*

(*b.*) Susan Dipple; later Sotheby's, London, 15 July 2010, (part of) lot 184. Blue wrappers with woodcut illustration.*

(*c.*) Dominic Winter Auctions, South Cerney, 15 December 2022, (part of) lot 473, blue wrappers. Private Collection.*

The Bodleian catalogue suggests that the last three leaves of this work were originally destined for *Jumping Joan* and vice versa. This is on the basis of typographical, rather than textual, grounds. Facsimiles of the Opie collection copies of both books were produced by Holp Shuppan (Tokyo, 1992). The

principal portion of the text here is made up of the cumulative rhyme that is usually known as 'The Woman and her Pig', but is here a Goat. That this is a survival of an earlier tradition is suggested by the presence in an American book list, *Catalogue of Books, Stationary, Cutlery, etc. for Sale at Carey, Stewart, and Co's Store, No, 22, North Front-Street, Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Carey, Stewart, and Co., 1791), of a *Jack Horner's Pretty Toy* – annotated in Virginia L. Montijo, 'Reprinting Culture: Book Publishing in the Early Republic' (unpublished dissertation, Department of History, College of William and Mary in Virginia, 2001), p. 73.

159. *The History of Mother Goose and the Golden Egg*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. E. Evans, Long Lane, Smithfield). 1830s. 24 pp. Price 1*d*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opie N 908. 103 × 65 mm. Blue wrappers with woodcut illustration.*

The woodcut of Mother Goose flying to the moon on the back of a goose employed on the title page and repeated on p. 5 has become the best known of all of the Evans woodcut illustrations since adopted by the eminent collectors and nursery rhyme pioneers Peter and Iona Opie for use on their personal bookplate.

160. *The History of Frederick Manly*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. E. Evans, Long Lane, Smithfield). 1830s. [5], 6–23, [1] pp. *Small Books for the Common Man*, no. 285. London, National Art Library REN MB.FREM.EV. 106 × 64 mm. Grey wrappers.

161. *The House that Jack Built*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. E. Evans, Long Lane, Smithfield). 1830s. 24 pp. *Small Books for the Common Man*, no. 286, London, National Art Collection, Renier Collection MB. HOUJ.EV. 104 × 67 mm. Brown wrappers.

162. *The Adventures of Whittington and his Cat*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. E. Evans, Long Lane, Smithfield). 1830s. 32 pp. Edward R. Moulton-Barrett; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vet. A6f. 861. Yellow wrappers with woodcut illustration, lacking six leaves.*

163. *A Waggon Load of Gold for Little Masters and Mistresses*

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. E. Evans, Long Lane, Smithfield). 1830s. 24 pp.

(*a*.) Blackwell's, Oxford, Catalogue A1062 [1976], number 331 at £9.00. 135 × 88 mm. Woodcuts crudely coloured, printed grey wrappers.

(*b*.) Spencer George Perceval (1838–1922); Cambridge, University Library, CCE.7.67.23.

164. *The History of Aladdin*

(1.) — (J. E. Evans, Long Lane, Smithfield). 1830s. 32 pp. London, British Library, 12809.aa.35.(2.).

165. *Cinderella; or, the Little Glass Slipper, an Amusing Tale*

(1.) — (J. E. Evans, Long Lane, Smithfield). 1830s. 32 pp. London, British Library, 12809.aa.35.(3.).

166. *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves*

(1.) — (J. E. Evans, Long Lane, Smithfield). 1830s. 32 pp. London, British Library 12809.aa.35.(4.).

167. *The History of King Pippin, and his Golden Crown*

(1.) — (J. E. Evans, Long Lane, Smithfield). 1830s. 32 pp. London, British Library, 12809.aa.3.5(5.).

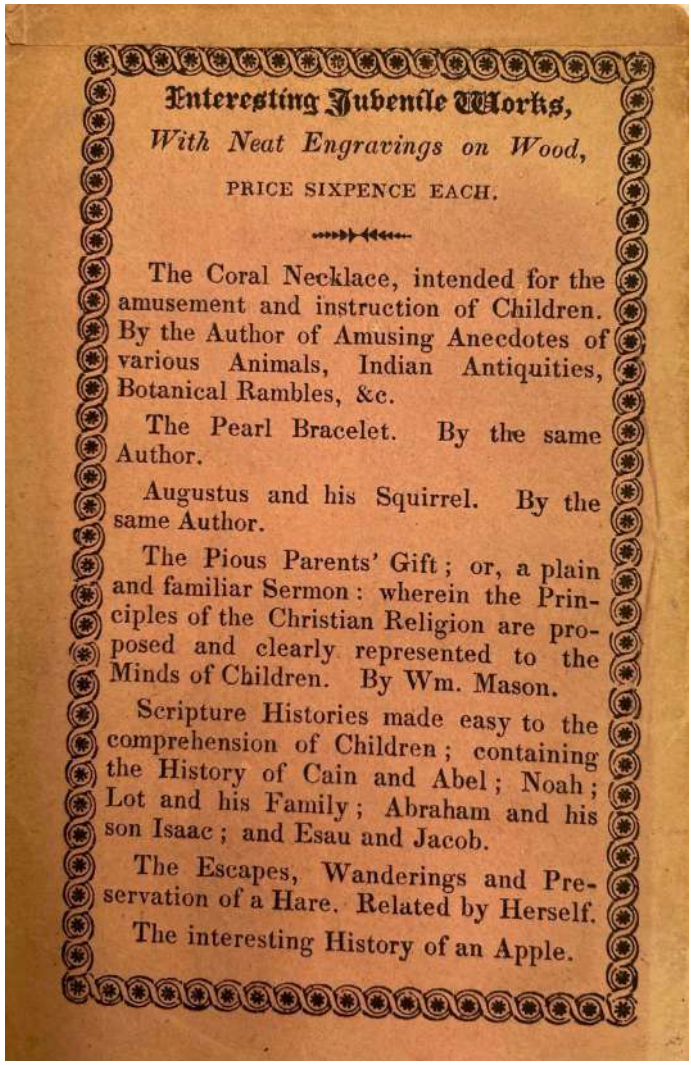

Fig. 10.9. *Amusing Anecdotes of Various Animals*, **168**.(1.) (lower cover advertisement). Private collection.

168. *Amusing Anecdotes of Various Animals* (Fig. 10.9)

(1.) — (printed and sold by J. E. Evans, Long Lane, Smithfield). 1830s. 36 pp. Price 6*d*. All copies seem to have buff card wrappers with woodcut illustration, except (*j*.).

(*a*.) Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library, PZ6.W75 A78 1829.

(*b*.) Princeton, NJ, Cotsen Children's Library (CTSN) 3097.

(*c*.) Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, SB WIL (DRAWER).

(*d*.) Montreal, McGill University Library, Sheila R. Bourke Collection, PN970 E94 A78 1829.

(*e*.) Henry Mayor Lyon; now London, British Library C.121.aa.5.(Ev.3).*

(*f*.) University of California Los Angeles Library, CBC PZ6 .W695am 1829.

(*g*.) Christie's, New York, 13 December 2006, (part of) lot 10.

(*h*.) David Miles Books online catalogue, 1 February 2023.

(*i*.) Private Collection.*

(*j*.) Dominic Winter Auctions, South Cerney, 15 December 2022, (part of) lot 473. Blue-grey wrappers.

Written by Lucy Sarah Atkins Wilson. Described as the 'second edition' on the title page, a clue to the date of its first printing, or at least its composition, lies on p. 14: ' "Henry the Seventh ascended the throne of England in 1485," said Mr L. After some little calculation, Frederic found that three hundred and thirty-seven years had elapsed since that event.' After some little calculation, I find that this means this scene is set in 1822.

The (comparatively) huge number of surviving copies in near pristine condition suggests that a large number of this title remained unsold and emerged further down the line to be offered as 'ex-shop stock'. Copy (*j*) above has been re-priced at 4*d*., down from 6*d*., suggesting it was sold as a 'remainder' or 'clearance'. This in turn suggests that it was one of John Edward Evans's final publications before the business closed in 1839.

169. *Scripture Histories Made Easy to the Comprehension of Children*

(1.) — printed and sold by J. E. Evans, Long Lane, Smithfield). 1830s. 36 pp. No copy located. Advertisement in *Amusing Anecdotes of Various Animals*.

170. *The Interesting History of an Apple*

(1.) — printed and sold by J. E. Evans, Long Lane, Smithfield). 1830s. 36 pp. No copy located. Advertisement in *Amusing Anecdotes of Various Animals*.

This and the preceding title, quite possibly coming at the very end of J. E. Evans's printing career, may never have been printed at all before the business closed. It may sadly be that we never have the chance to judge for ourselves quite how interesting the Apple's life turned out to be. It is in any case ironic that the last title on this list shares a fruit with one of John Evans's first solo printing and publishing ventures some forty-five years earlier.

Appendix 2

Text and Illustrations of *Cinderilla* (Fig. 10.10)

1. Here Cinderilla you may see,
2. A beauty bright and fair,
3. Her real name was Helena,
4. Few with her could compare,
5. Besides she was so very good,
6. So affable and mild,
7. She learned to pray, and read her book
8. When she was quite a child.
9. Here her mother-in-law you see,
10. One of the worst of hags,
11. Who made her do all drudgery work,
12. And clothed her with rags;
13. And after she had done her work
14. Her mother-in-law would tell her,
15. That cinders she might sit among,
16. And call'd her Cinderilla.
17. These are her two Sisters-in-law,
18. Both deformed and ordinary,
19. Although they dress as fine as queens,
20. Which you may think extraordinary;
21. But neither of them scarce can read,
22. Nor pray to God to bless 'em,
23. They only know to patch and paint,
24. And gaudily to dress 'em.
25. This is the King's fine gallant son,
26. Young, handsome, straight, and tall,

He invited all the ladies round
For to dance at a ball;
Which when the ugly sisters heard,
They dressed themselves so fine,
And off they set, being resolved
At this grand ball to shine.
This is the Fairy you see here,
With a wand in her hand,
Who when Cinderilla christen'd was,
Her god-mother did stand;
And now she comes to lend her aid,
And her power is not small,
To help her god-daughter to go
To this fine Prince's ball.
This Coach was once a pompion,
By the fairy changed from that,
The footmen once were lizards green,
The coachman once a rat,
The horses too, were six small mice,
Chang'd by the fairy's wand,
Her rags were turn'd to costly robes,
The richest in the land.
The fairy slippers made of glass,
To make her look the finer,
Then bade her go unto the ball,
But first this caution gave her;
That if she stayed past twelve o'clock,
Tho' but one minute more,
Her dress and equipage would change

56. To what they were before.
57. See Cinderilla with the Prince,
58. Dancing at the ball,
59. Tho' all were dressed gay and grand,
60. She did out-shine them all;
61. Her beauty likewise did excel
62. Them to a great degree,
63. Which made the Prince choose Cinderel
64. His partner for to be.
65. Now having danced with the prince
66. He led her to her place,
67. While all the ladies at the ball,
68. Envied her handsome face;
69. Her sisters too among the rest,
70. Civilities did show her,
71. Their kindness she return'd again,
72. But did not let them know her.
73. Dancing and chat the hours be-guile,
74. The time flew swift away,
75. So fine the place, so kind the prince,
76. She could not choose but stay;
77. Behold the clock now striking twelve,
78. Out Cinderilla run,
79. And happily got out of doors,
80. Just as the clock had done.
81. But in her haste to get away,
82. One of her slippers fell,
83. Which the young Prince pick'd up,
84. And it pleas'd him so well,

That strait he offer'd a reward,
It was ten thousand pound,
To any person that could tell
Where the owner could be found.
Now see her cloaths all chang'd to rags,
That lately were so nice,
Her coach is now a pompion,
Her horses turn'd to mice;
Her coachman chang'd into a rat,
Her footmen lizards are,
She cannot ride, so home she runs,
Being almost in despair.
The sisters came soon after her,
All dressed in their glory,
And unto Cinderilla told
All they knew of the story;
Next morning too a herald came,
And thus aloud he cried,
That she who could the slipper wear,
Should be the prince's bride.
And now the sisters tried in vain
The slipper to get on;
Said Cinderilla, let me try,
Dear sisters, when you've done;
She tried, and on it went with ease
To the foot of Cinderilla,
Said she, I think the slipper's mine,
See here, I've got the fellow.
And now her god-mother came in,

114. And touched her with her wand,
115. When, lo ! her rags were turn'd to robes,
116. The richest in the land;
117. And then the prince and she were wed,
118. And it is understood,
119. As she was fairest in the land,
120. So there was none so good.

THE END.

Illustrations

[p. 1] the slipper

p. 2 Cinderilla kneeling before an altar and looking (right) at a book

p. 3 the mother-in-law (*left*) leaves a chair and approaches Cinderilla with a stick in her right hand

p. 4 the two sisters prepare for the Ball, one on the left sat before a mirror applying powder, the other simpering and holding a fan

p. 5 the prince between drawn curtains a hat in his right hand

p. 6 the fairy (*left*) flying in a chariot drawn by dragons, a wand in her right hand

p. 7 the coach being drawn right to left by horses

p. 8 two slippers (*toes facing right*)

p. 9 the prince (*left*) dances with Cinderilla

p. 10 Cinderilla sits between her sisters

p. 11 the clock striking twelve

p. 12 Cinderilla exits (*right*) whilst the prince stoops to pick up her slipper in his left hand

p. 13 Cinderilla flees (*left to right*) with rats scattering

p. 14 the sisters (*left*) tell Cinderilla the story

p. 15 Cinderilla (*left*) with a herald behind her holds the slipper whilst her sisters look on

p. 16 Cinderilla (*left*) and the prince are married by a bewigged priest (centre)

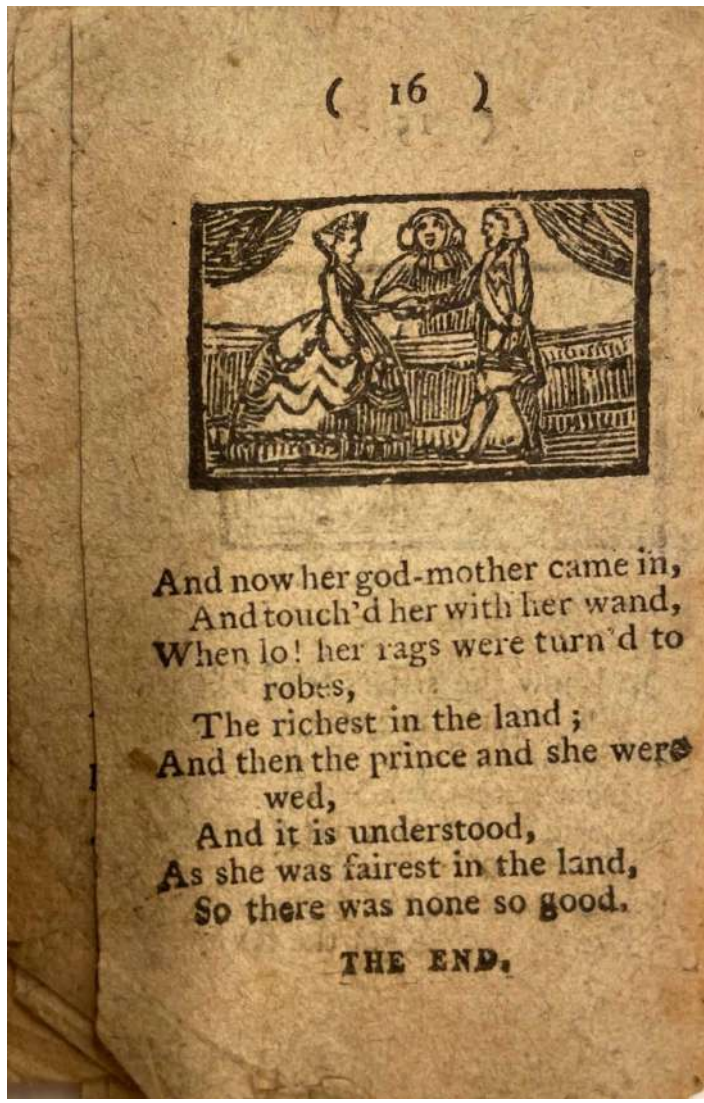

Fig. 10.10. *Cinderilla*, **34**.(1.) (lower cover). Private collection.

Notes on the text

The story is written in 'common verse' with an 86868686 line syllable count and an *abcbdefe* rhyming scheme.

Title and nomenclature: J. Evans's *Cinderilla* (the standard English seventeenth-century spelling of the name) was respelled as the more familiar to modern eyes Cinderella by the time the John Evans edition was printed around 1811 and retained in the 1830s J. E. Evans edition.

Textual variants

Line 63: The J. Evans edition shortens 'Cinderilla' to 'Cinderel' to rhyme with 'excel'. This decision evidently confused the typesetter of brother Thomas's edition, who in the same place adds an 'a' after the final 'l' (thus removing the rhyme) but retains the spelling 'Cinderel' rather than 'Cinderill' before it.[54] This error in itself was eventually 'corrected', so the later Keys edition has 'Cinderella', not rhyming with 'excel'.

The J. E. Evans edition of the 1830s followed the 'series pattern' of having no text on the final page but instead an unrelated image or two (here a watchman and a milkmaid). Rather vexingly for the reader, this editorial decision (if one can give it so grand a name) results in both the cutting of the final eight lines of text and the marriage illustration, so the story ends with Cinderella claiming the slipper as her own.

54 This typesetter was evidently easily confused. On p. 2 line 1 we read 'Cinderalla'; on p. 6 line 3 'Cinderela'; on p. 11 line 6, p. 14 line 3, and p. 15 lines 3 and 6 'Cinderila'.

11. Street Literature and Cheap Fiction

David Atkinson

Booksellers specializing in street literature had been publishing prose fiction in the form of legendary, historical, and comic tales — tales like *Jane Shore*, *Fair Rosamond*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Robin Hood*, *Valentine and Orson*, *Doctor Faustus* — since the sixteenth century and they continued to do so into the early nineteenth century. Sometimes called 'chapbook histories', they could be bought and sold directly from the printers, from modest retail premises, or from itinerant pedlars and hawkers. These were the same booksellers who published narrative ballads, lyric songs, and song collections, and things like jest books, riddles, prophecies, and prognostications, the lives of criminals and other notable characters, accounts of natural disasters and other topical occurrences, playbooks, and some religious tracts and sermons.

Most importantly, these were printed works that were cheaply printed and sold. Of course, it is difficult to know what actually counted as cheap for the potential purchaser in the street. Although it is frequently impossible to know the exact retail price of any particular item, which in any case might have varied, it is widely understood that things like ballads and small chapbooks were usually priced at around ½*d*. or 1*d*. Topical pamphlets, playbooks, and instructional titles might sell for 3*d*., 4*d*., or 6*d*. Works of greater extent (say, more than a hundred pages, octavo or duodecimo) cost as much as 1*s*., placing them beyond what would intuitively count as cheap. These sorts of sums seem to have remained fairly stable from the late seventeenth century to the end of the

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eighteenth, even while the prices of new books at the more fashionable end of the market were rising steadily from the mid-century.[1]

The later eighteenth century was also a period of general price inflation, with considerable fluctuations during the Napoleonic period, so a degree of price stability should mean that cheap literature became relatively more affordable as the century wore on. The cost of living debate remains contentious even among economic historians, however, and with so many potential variables — location, occupation, age, gender, family size, to name but a few — it will never be possible to settle on anything more than a rule of thumb to determine what qualified as cheap.[2] One estimate is that cheap meant 6*d*. or less when a labourer earned around 10*s*. per week at the end of the eighteenth century.[3] There is considerable evidence for modest publications priced at up to 6*d*. over a long period of time, and certain longer works (domestic and instructional titles, for example) priced at 1*s*. might also have been within the reach of some households, especially later in the century.[4]

Some book historians have depicted a decline in the old chapbook tales as a rather sudden event that occurred towards the end of the eighteenth century, which can be connected with industrialization and urbanization, the commercialization of culture, and, in William St Clair's view, with the post-1774 change in the copyright regime which

1 For rising prices, Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800–1900*, 2nd edn (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998 [1957]), pp. 51–52; John Feather, 'The British Book Market, 1600–1800', in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Malden, MA, and Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), pp. 232–46 (pp. 244–45); James Raven, 'The Book as a Commodity', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 5, *1695–1830*, ed. Michael F. Suarez, SJ, and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 85–117 (pp. 96–98); William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 193–96.

2 In a significant article, Robert D. Hume, 'The Value of Money in Eighteenth-Century England: Incomes, Prices, Buying Power — and Some Problems in Cultural Economics', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77 (2015), 373–416, specifically addresses the economics of culture.

3 Gary Kelly, 'Sixpenny State? Cheap Print and Cultural-Political Citizenship in the Onset of Modernity', *Lumen: Selected Proceedings from the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies / Travaux choisis de la Société canadienne d'étude du dix-huitième siècle*, 36 (2017), 37–61 (esp. pp. 38–40) https://doi.org/10.7202/1037853ar. See also St Clair, *Reading Nation*, pp. 195–96.

4 Hume, 'Value of Money', concurs on the affordability of print up to 6*d*., even while emphasizing that for much of the population that was still a not inconsiderable sum.

brought in a flood of cheap reprints of canonical literature.[5] One reason for this perspective is the tendency to think of eighteenth-century fiction in terms of the major novelists, whose works were expensive and most readily accessed by readers of the middling sort through circulating libraries.[6] For much of the century, canonical fiction was available cheaply only in the form of a very restricted range of abridgements, of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Moll Flanders*, and to a lesser extent *Tom Jones* and *Gulliver's Travels*.[7]

After the end of the century, or perhaps during the 1790s, according to the standard accounts, a new kind of cheap fiction emerged, aimed at working-class readers and priced at 6*d*. to 1*s*.[8] These were short novels (novellas or novelettes) in a format similar to the old chapbook histories, typically octavos or duodecimos in the region of thirty-six to sixty-four pages (but sometimes any one volume might contain more than one story). The stories they told were related to, and sometimes adapted from, contemporary book-length gothic, sentimental, and historical fiction. The printed books themselves would sometimes come with an engraved and possibly hand-coloured frontispiece and coloured paper wrappers (possibly more frequently than is immediately apparent from copies that have survived).

There is little doubt that the market for cheap fiction was indeed expanding at the end of the century. However, the appearance of modernity is, in certain respects, superficial. Material improvements

5 Victor E. Neuburg, *Popular Literature: A History and Guide, from the Beginning of Printing to the Year 1897* (London: Woburn Press, 1977), pp. 121–22; St Clair, *Reading Nation*, pp. 348–50.

6 Altick, *English Common Reader*, p. 50; Feather, 'British Book Market', p. 245; Michael F. Suarez, SJ, 'Business of Fiction: Novel Publishing, 1695–1774', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, ed. J. A. Downie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 22–38 (pp. 35–36).

7 Pat Rogers, *Literature and Popular Culture in Eighteenth Century England* (Brighton: Harvester Press; Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble, 1985), pp. 162–67. For *Robinson Crusoe* (probably the most popular of all these titles), see Andrew O'Malley, 'Poaching on Crusoe's Island: Popular Reading and Chapbook Editions of Robinson Crusoe', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 35.2 (2011), 18–38; Jordan Howell, 'Eighteenth-Century Abridgements of Robinson Crusoe', *The Library*, 7th ser., 15 (2014), 292–343.

8 Gary Kelly, 'Fiction and the Working Classes', in *The Cambridge Companion to Fiction in the Romantic Period*, ed. Richard Maxwell and Katie Trumpener (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 207–33 (p. 218); Gary Kelly, 'The Popular Novel, 1790–1820', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, ed. J. A. Downie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 505–20 (esp. pp. 513–14).

in the production of small books reflected wider technological and trade developments, including the coming of the iron hand-press, the growth of a distinct market for children's literature, and the adoption of stereotyping. Nevertheless, as Gary Kelly has argued, the new short novels demonstrate marked continuities with the old chapbook tales — fast-paced and incident-packed narrative, generalized settings, stylized language, passages of hyperbole and moralizing, anonymity of authorship, and uniformity of physical appearance.[9] Some of the same booksellers who published short fiction also continued to publish the old chapbook tales into the early decades of the nineteenth century.[10] Conversely, as early as the mid-century, a small number of cheap fiction titles more typical of the century's end had started to appear from booksellers who otherwise specialized in street literature: the likes of Thomas and Elizabeth Bailey, Charles Sympson and J. Miller, and Thomas Sabine and Son. The role in the growing market for cheap fiction of booksellers who also specialized in street literature provides the core of this chapter.

Early amatory fiction

A starting point for the cheap fiction of the mid-century can be identified in the amatory fiction of Aphra Behn (1640?–89), Delarivier Manley (*c*.1670–1724), and Eliza Haywood (1693?–1756). Without trying to define a genre (and this chapter certainly does not purport to be a history of the novel), amatory fiction can be described as a kind of erotic fiction, written by professional or semi-professional women authors, from a specifically female perspective, which pays voyeuristic attention to the combined pleasures and ravages of seduction.[11] To these characteristics should be added the idea — in principle, if not necessarily in practice — of a predominantly female readership, and the precedents to be found in French amatory fiction, which was the source of some of the stories that found their way into the cheap English novels.[12]

9 Kelly, 'Fiction and the Working Classes', pp. 218–20.
10 Kelly, 'Fiction and the Working Classes', pp. 220–21.
11 Ros Ballaster, *Seductive Forms: Women's Amatory Fiction from 1684 to 1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), esp. pp. 32–35.
12 Ballaster, *Seductive Forms*, pp. 35–66.

Lennard Davis draws an important connection between this early amatory fiction and forms of street literature, arguing that writers of ballads and printed news habitually presented fiction as moral truth, and that by the same token novelists like Behn, Manley, and Haywood could relieve themselves of the restriction of depicting only events that were probable by asserting that their narratives were 'true'.[13] Behn, for example, writes in her short novel *The Fair Jilt*: 'I do not pretend here to entertain you with a feign'd Story, or any thing piec'd together with *Romantick Accidents*; but every Circumstance, to a Tittle, is Truth.'[14] The novelist's claim not to be writing fiction is precisely an example of what Davis calls the 'news/novels discourse', which characteristically blurs the boundaries between truth and fiction in news ballads and topical chapbooks.[15]

In a further extension of the 'news/novels discourse', some of these early novels employ the techniques of the 'secret history', a genre of oppositional propaganda intended to expose matters of public and political scandal under the guise of fiction (a kind of *roman à clef*).[16] Haywood's *The City Jilt*, for example, is perhaps a veiled account of the Tory printer and alderman John Barber, who printed most of Manley's works.[17] At the same time, 'secret history' became a familiar convention for the blurring of the distinction between fact and fiction — the term appears repeatedly in the titles of cheap novels, regardless of whether they were supposed to carry any disguised reference to current affairs. Similarly, it is not always easy for the modern researcher to distinguish between fictional and non-fictional lives. At least the many chapbook lives of criminals from the period purport to relate to real people.[18] Some

13 Lennard Davis, *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), pp. 102–22 (esp. pp. 112–13); cf. Ballaster, *Seductive Forms*, p. 53.

14 A[phra] Behn, *The Fair Jilt; or, The History of Prince Tarquin and Miranda* (London: printed by R. Holt; for Will. Canning, at his shop in the Temple Cloysters, 1688), p. 7 [ESTC R3666].

15 Davis, *Factual Fictions*, pp. 51–56, 108.

16 Eve Tavor Bannet, '"Secret History"; or, Talebearing Inside and Outside the Secretorie', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68 (2005), 375–96; Rachel Carnell, 'Eliza Haywood and the Narratological Tropes of Secret History', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 14.4 (2014), 101–21.

17 Carnell, 'Eliza Haywood', pp. 112–13.

18 Philip Rawlings, *Drunks, Whores and Idle Apprentices: Criminal Biographies of the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), esp. pp. 4–9.

of the other stories that involve criminality, aristocratic elopements, and the like (but with little in the way of verifiable circumstantial detail) may or may not concern actual historical personages. So it is already difficult to know whether we are dealing with fiction or with non-fiction that adheres to the conventions of fiction.

The Fair Jilt was first published in 1688, and then more than once as part of Aphra Behn's collected works, before it was reprinted, with some abridgement, by Sympson and Miller, priced at 3*d*.[19] Haywood's short novels *The City Jilt* and *The Distress'd Orphan* cost 1*s*. when they were first published by James Roberts in 1726,[20] but were later reprinted by the Bailey and Sabine firms, priced around 6*d*. (perhaps less in the case of Bailey). Another of her short novels, *The City Widow*, cost only 6*d*. when James Roberts published it in 1729, but it is not known to have been reprinted later in the century.[21]

There were a number of booksellers at the cheaper end of the trade around the mid-century who mostly published other kinds of works, but would just occasionally (although it is not inconceivable that more titles have not survived) issue cheap fiction of various kinds. *The Secret History of Betty Ireland*, for example — a racy affair of forty-eight pages octavo encompassing marriage, prostitution, incest, and shoplifting — was published by James Read, and then by his widow Mary Read, in Whitefriars, Fleet Street, probably in the 1740s.[22] The Read firm's other publications included topical pamphlets and criminals' lives.

Later editions of *Betty Ireland* were published by John Lever at an address in Little Moorgate, next to London Wall.[23] Plomer describes Lever as a 'publisher of some curious literature', which included topical

19 Mary Ann O'Donnell, *Aphra Behn: An Annotated Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Sources*, 2nd edn (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 116–19, 146–65.

20 *Daily Journal*, 24 June 1726, p. 2; *Daily Post*, 24 June 1726, p. 2.

21 *The City Widow; or, Love in a Butt, a Novel* (London: printed for J. Roberts, in Warwick Lane; and sold by the booksellers and pamphlet shops of London and Westminster, 1729), price 6*d*. [ESTC N4973].

22 *The Secret History of Betty Ireland* (London: printed for, and sold by J. Read, in Whitefryars, Fleet Street) [ESTC N22255]; *The Secret History of Betty Ireland*, 2nd edn (London: printed for, and sold by M. Read, in Whitefryars, Fleet Street) [ESTC N22256].

23 *The Secret History of Betty Ireland*, 6th edn (London: printed for John Lever, at Little Moorgate, next London Wall, near Moorfields), price 6*d*. [ESTC T109761]. Lever also issued a seventh edition [ESTC N36600] and a ninth edition [ESTC T179873], but there is no record of an eighth.

pamphlets, criminals' lives, jest books, and instructional works, at prices ranging from 6*d*. upwards.[24] Printed lists of books sold by John Lever include the sixth and seventh editions in 1764, and the ninth in 1789, the price remaining fixed at 6*d*.[25] On the title page are verses that invite comparison between Betty Ireland and Moll Flanders, and the story certainly fits into that mould of picaresque adventure.

In 1765, Lever also published *The Husband Forced to Be Jealous* — 'The Secret History of Several Noble Persons; a Very Entertaining History, and Founded on Real Facts, and Not the Result of an Inventive Fancy, as Many Books Are', as the sub-title has it — which was a slightly longer work, at sixty-two pages octavo, priced at 1*s*.[26] This was an English version of a French novel attributed to either Madame de Villedieu (1640–83) or Jean Donneau de Visé (1638–1710), which had previously been published in translation in 1668. According to a list of books printed for John Lever, *The Husband Forced to Be Jealous* was still in print in 1789, and the price was still 1*s*.[27]

Thomas and Elizabeth Bailey (1740s–1776)

Much more central to the mid-century market in cheap fiction, though, was the firm founded in Leadenhall Street by Thomas Bailey, which has been studied in detail by Nathan Garvey.[28] Bailey became free of the Stationers' Company in 1741. Different imprints identify the firm's premises in Leadenhall Street as the Ship and Crown, Bailey's Printing Office, and No. 110, Leadenhall Street. After Thomas Bailey's death in 1764, he was succeeded by his widow Elizabeth, and then by his son, also Thomas, who became free of the Stationers' Company in 1767.[29] By late 1776, the firm had moved from Leadenhall Street to Star Alley, and

24 Plomer, *Dictionary, 1726 to 1775*, pp. 154–55 (ESTC extends Plomer's dates for Lever).

25 Bookseller's lists in ESTC T114106, T152266, T139835.

26 *The Husband Forced to Be Jealous; or, The Good Fortune of those Women that Have Jealous Husbands*, 2nd edn (London: printed for John Lever, bookseller, stationer, and print-seller, at Little Moorgate, next to London Wall, near Moorfields, 1765), price 1*s*. [ESTC T99448].

27 Bookseller's list in ESTC T147667.

28 Nathan Garvey, 'A Dynasty on the Margins of the Trade: The Bailey Family of Printers, ca. 1740–1840, Part 1', *Script & Print*, 32.3 (2008), 144–62.

29 Garvey, 'Dynasty on the Margins of the Trade', pp. 156–58.

Garvey believes that at this period Thomas Bailey (the younger) may have been less involved in publishing and more in printing for others, including his brother William.[30] The firm's output from Leadenhall Street comprises almost exclusively lives of criminals, jest books, religious and instructional titles, and what Garvey describes as 'mildly salacious, chapbook-length amatory narratives'.[31] In line with others at this end of the trade, the firm's imprints also advertised patent medicines and jobbing printing for things like tradesmen's bills.[32]

Garvey characterizes the majority of Bailey's publications as reprints and/or abridgements of popular or topical works.[33] In some cases this is evidently true. Examples include the captivity narrative of George (*recte* Adam) Elliot from 1682; the account of Captain John Lancey, executed in 1754, derived from the Ordinary of Newgate's account published in that year; the history of the pirate Tulagee Angria, an abridgement of an account published in 1756; the story of the putative kidnapping of Elizabeth Canning, advertised by another bookseller in 1754; the abridged 'memoirs' of the courtesan Kitty Fisher, which were published in two volumes in 1759; and the life of William Andrew Horne, executed in Nottingham in December 1759, which was published by Samuel Cresswell in Nottingham in the same year. In other instances, such as the lives of Thomas Mitchell (the 'deaf and dumb' impostor), Mary Mussen (executed 1757), and Mary Edmon(d)son (executed 1759), or the loss of the East Indiaman the *Doddington* in 1755, it is less certain whether Bailey was dependent on earlier editions from other booksellers.

When it comes to Bailey's amatory narratives, it is frequently difficult (*pace* Garvey) to pin down exactly what was an original title and what was a reprint, altered or otherwise — or, again, what was fiction and what was not. Few of the firm's imprints include a date, and they made considerable use of generic imprints, so it is difficult to be confident to which period they belong. The Leadenhall Street address does, however, allow some three dozen cheap fiction titles to be ascribed to the period between the 1740s and 1776. A few of the titles have a Mrs Bailey imprint

30 Garvey, 'Dynasty on the Margins of the Trade', p. 160.
31 Garvey, 'Dynasty on the Margins of the Trade', p. 148.
32 Garvey, 'Dynasty on the Margins of the Trade', pp. 153–56.
33 Garvey, 'Dynasty on the Margins of the Trade', pp. 149–51.

which can be narrowed down further to the period *c*.1764–67, and all of the extant Mrs Bailey titles belong to the genre of short fiction.

Most of the short fiction was published anonymously, the exception to prove the rule being three short novels by Charlotte Charke (1713–60), *The History of Charley and Patty*, *The Lover's Treat*, and *The Mercer*. Charke's biographer believes that she probably had her short fiction titles cheaply printed by Bailey and then peddled them to retail booksellers herself, although there does not seem to be any hard evidence to that effect.[34] Some further attributions can be made, which shed some light on the practice of reprinting earlier titles. Eliza Haywood's *The City Jilt* and *The Distress'd Orphan* were published by James Roberts in 1726; *The Batchelor Keeper* by Francis Atterbury (1663–1732) was included in a collection of *Atterburyana* from 1727 and subsequently published by Bailey; *The Lucky Misfortune* (which was printed with *The Female Porter of Shoreditch* but no longer extant because the surviving copy is imperfect) was probably a version of the story of the same title in *Twelve Delightful Novels* printed by Thomas Norris in 1719. One of the few longer works issued by the Bailey firm, *Belinda; or, Happiness the Reward of Constancy* was an altered reprint of Penelope Aubin's novel *The Life of Madam de Beaumount*, first published in 1721. *The True History of Henrietta de Bellgrave* was printed in *The Lady's Drawing Room* in 1744 (second edition, 1748).[35] This was a collection comprising several tales ostensibly recounted by a group of friends over a period of six days and strung together within a loose narrative framework.[36] Another of the *Lady's Drawing Room* stories is that of Rodomond and Zoa, the beautiful daughter of Henrietta de Bellgrave.[37] Bailey's is the earliest surviving cheap edition of *Henrietta de*

34 Kathryn Shevelow, *Charlotte* (London: Bloomsbury, 2005), pp. 366–67.

35 'The True History of Henrietta de Bellgrave', in *The Lady's Drawing Room, being a Faithfull Picture of the Great World, in which the Various Humours of Both Sexes Are Display'd, Drawn from the Life, and Interspers'd with Entertaining and Affecting Novels* (London: printed and sold by M. Cooper, in Paternoster Row; and A. Dodd, near Essex Street, in the Strand, 1744), pp. 101–74 [ESTC T80582]. *The Lady's Drawing Room* sold for 3*s*. (*Daily Post*, 9 February 1745, p. 3).

36 The framework trope is found in Mary Hearne's *The Lover's Week* (1718) and Eliza Haywood's translation *La Belle Assemblée* (1724–34), either of which could have been a precedent for *The Lady's Drawing Room*.

37 'The History of Rodomond and the Beautiful Indian', in *The Lady's Drawing Room*, pp. 13–36.

Bellgrave, but *Zoa and Rodomond* is not known to have been printed on its own before the 1790s.[38]

There are also some titles derived from French novels. Both *The Invisible Mistress* and *The Judge in his Own Cause* were translations of short novels by Paul Scarron (1610–60), published in English from 1665 onwards. *The Love, Joy, and Distress of the Beautiful and Virtuous Miss Fanny Adams* was an abridged version of the English translation of *Fanni; ou, L'heureux repentir* by François-Thomas-Marie de Baculard d'Arnaud (1718–1805), published by T. Becket and P. A. de Hondt as *Fanny; or, The Happy Repentance* in 1766. Other cheap editions were published by William Nevett (Liverpool, 1767), T. Holliwell and J. Berry (Birmingham, 1769), and R. Sarjeant (Wolverhampton, 1769), under the title *Injured Innocence; or, Virtue in Distress* — 'Injured Innocence' being a phrase found in the title of more than one different story and apparently specifically intended to appeal to the sentimental taste of the 1760s.[39] These were booksellers who are not otherwise known to have been particularly associated with the cheap fiction trade.[40] The title was later issued by (among others) Robert Turner in 1777, a London bookseller who made something of a speciality of criminal lives, Bart. Corcoran in Dublin in 1780, and Clements, Sadler, and Eves in London in the 1790s (see below). These were all cheap, chapbook-like editions priced at 4*d*. or 6*d*.

For the remainder of the Bailey short fiction, ESTC records no ready parallels; they might have been original narratives printed for and sold by the Bailey firm, although one must be cautious because titles could change and stories first published in magazines or in other French

38 The ascription of *Henrietta de Bellgrave* to the period before 1776 is based on the Bailey's Printing Office, Leadenhall Street address (Garvey, 'Dynasty on the Margins of the Trade', p. 157). See also Madeleine Blondel, 'Eighteenth-Century Novels Transformed: Pirates and Publishers', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 72 (1978), 527–41 (p. 532). Less convincingly, E. W. Pitcher, 'Pirates and Publishers Reconsidered: A Response to Madel[e]ine Blondel', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 75 (1981), 75–81 (p. 78), favours a date around the beginning of the nineteenth century and either S. Bailey or J. Bailey (neither of whom is known to have been in Leadenhall Street, although there was a W. Bailey there in the 1780s).

39 Blondel, 'Eighteenth-Century Novels Transformed', p. 539.

40 Nevett was quite a prolific general printer; Holliwell and Berry are known only from this title, although Holliwell alone is associated with a few religious titles; Serjeant is otherwise unknown. (The *Virtue in Distress* published by Mrs Bailey is a different story altogether.)

sources may not have been identified. If the claim about Charlotte Charke employing Bailey as a printer for works that she herself then distributed is correct, then the same model could have worked for other authors. While the firm's corpus of short fiction does include several reprints, in the present state of knowledge it cannot safely be characterized as made up mostly of reprints.

The Bailey cheap fiction titles are typically octavos or duodecimos of around thirty-two pages, occasionally more. *Henrietta de Bellgrave* runs to eighty-two pages duodecimo, and the largest volume (aside from the Penelope Aubin novel) is one called *The Variety*, which brings together ten short novels in a duodecimo of eighty-six pages. There are no prices printed on the title pages, but a few of the firm's other publications offer points of comparison. An account of the execution of Captain John Lancey (twenty-four pages duodecimo) and the story of Elizabeth Canning (thirty-six pages octavo) were both priced at 3*d*.[41] A tract called *The Plain Path-way to Heaven* (eighteen pages quarto, printed for the author) was available at £1 per hundred, making one copy just under 2½*d*. wholesale (perhaps sold at 3*d*. or 4*d*. retail).[42] The Penelope Aubin novel (154 pages duodecimo) cost 1*s*. The cost of paper would have meant that length was a major determinant of price, so it is a reasonable inference that the short fiction would have been priced in the 3*d*. to 6*d*. range.

Charles Sympson and J. Miller (1750s–1780s)

The Bailey firm did not publish ballads or very much in the way of the typical chapbook stories, apart from a couple of jest books, but the criminals' lives and other topical titles were typical of the street literature trade. Charles Sympson, on the other hand, specialized in ballads and chapbooks and was second only in importance in the capital to the

41 *The Cruel Relation; or, Decoy'd Captain* (London: printed by T. Bailey, in Leadenhall Street, where tradesmen's bills are printed neat and reasonable), price 3*d*. [ESTC T192252]; *The Chronicle of the Canningites and Gipseyites* (London: sold by T. Bailey, in Leadenhall Street; where bills are neatly printed off copper-plates and at the letter-press with expedition and at the most reasonable rates), price 3*d*. [ESTC N15018].

42 *The Plain Path-way to Heaven; or, A Sure Guide to Eternity, in Fifteen Excellent Rules* (London: printed for the author; and sold by T. Bailey, printer, in Leadenhall Street) [ESTC T62487] ('Those Charitable Persons who buys [*sic*] a quantity to give away to their poor Neighbours, shall have them after the Rate of 20*s*. one Hundred').

Dicey/Marshall firm in Bow Churchyard and Aldermary Churchyard.[43] In the early 1750s, Sympson was located at an address in Chancery Lane, from where he issued works of history and theology as well as topical pamphlets, frequently in collaboration with other booksellers, but from the late 1750s until his death in 1784 he was located in Stonecutter Street, near the Fleet Market. Here, besides the ballads and chapbooks, he printed criminals' lives, a few more substantial works — including unabridged editions of *Moll Flanders* and *Roxana* — and some short fiction. Imprints indicate that he, too, undertook jobbing printing for things such as shopkeepers' bills, and there are also some surviving trade cards printed by Sympson.

There are fewer surviving cheap fiction titles than there are for the Bailey firm, which was in business at much the same time. Like the Baileys' titles, Sympson's included reprints. In 1757, for example, an advertisement in the *Public Advertiser* announced the publication of *The Amorous Dutchess; or, The Lucky Gamester* (price 1*s*.), *The Fortunate Beauty* (price 1*s*.), *The Beautiful Adulteress* (price 6*d*.), and *The Trial of R— L—, for Criminal Conversation with the Late Lady A—* (price 6*d*.).[44] *The Amorous Dutchess* and *The Beautiful Adulteress* were probably new editions or abridgements of *The Unfortunate Dutchess; or, The Lucky Gamester* by David Craufurd/Crawfurd (1700, 1739, 1744) and *The Fair Adulteress* (1744), respectively. The account of Richard Lyddel's trial for adultery with Lady Abergavenny, which survives as a 24-page pamphlet, reprised material from 1730. On the other hand, *The Fortunate Beauty* has no currently identified precedent. The three novels *The Cruel Father*, *The History of Clerimont*, and *The History of Cordelia* (which were issued together in a 32-page chapbook) had been included in an anthology of thirteen novels, 'none of which were ever printed before', published under the title of *The Theatre of Love* by William Reeve in 1759, and priced at 3*s*. bound.[45] Aphra Behn's *The Fair Jilt*, published

43 David Atkinson, 'Street Literature Printing in Stonecutter Street (1740s–1780s)', *Publishing History*, 78 (2018), 9–53.

44 *Public Advertiser*, 15 July 1757, p. 4.

45 *The Theatre of Love: A Collection of Novels* (*None of Which Were Ever Printed Before*) (London: printed and sold by W. Reeve, at Shakespear's Head, opposite Crane Court, Fleet Street, 1759) [ESTC T66917]. The names of W. Reeve, C. Sympson, and M. Cooper appear together in a number of imprints from the time when Sympson was located in Chancery Lane in the 1750s.

as a 36-page quarto, was probably the first free-standing edition since 1688. Some other titles may have been newly written, although it is still very difficult to be confident in this regard. *The Fair Jilt* and *The History of the Unfortunate Isabella* cost only 3*d*., so perhaps the titles priced at 1*s*. and advertised in the newspaper were pitched at a more fashionable readership (the 1739 and 1744 editions of Crawfurd's *Unfortunate Dutchess* were also priced at 1*s*.).

Some of the titles were published jointly by C. Sympson and J. Miller. Not much is known about Miller, but he was in Southwark from the mid-1750s and during the 1760s, then in Goodman's Fields in the 1770s, and in Rosemary Lane *c*.1779–85.[46] He is not known to have printed ballads or chapbook histories, but surviving publications include song chapbooks, criminal lives, religious, domestic, and instructional works, and some short fiction. Once again, there are imprints for Miller advertising jobbing printing, and also a surviving trade card printed by Miller. Sympson and Miller collaborated on the unabridged edition of *Moll Flanders*, but this looks to have been an unusual venture, for Miller in particular. Another edition of one of Miller's titles, *The History of the Unfortunate Sisters*, was published by J. How in Long Acre in 1756.[47] While it is impossible to determine precedence, the opening sentence does make more immediate sense in Miller than in How because it follows on from the summary on the title page, which is not there in How's edition. *The Shepherdess of the Alps* was one of Jean-François Marmontel's *Contes moraux*, which appeared in English translation in 1764–66 and was published in magazines and by various booksellers after that date. *The History of the Beautiful Miss Fermia* was also published by Thomas Sabine, perhaps around the same time as Miller. On the other hand, Miller's is the only recorded edition of *The Village Beauty*, and the one further recorded edition of *Abdallah and Zoraide* (from an

46 Miller issued editions of *The British Jewel; or, Complete Housewife's Best Companion* from all three addresses, making it fairly certain that this was the same person. Imprints invariably have the name as J. Miller, but an insurance policy for John Miller in Rosemary Lane in 1778 is recorded in Exeter Working Papers in British Book Trade History, 8: *The British Book Trades, 1775–1787 — An Index to Insurance Policies* https://bookhistory.blogspot.com/2007/01/insurance-names-m-q.html.

47 *The Unfortunate Sisters; or, The Distress'd Ladies* (London: printed and sold by J. How, in Long Acre, 1756) [ESTC T67649]. (ESTC T165618, currently listed as a 1701 edition, is an error for 1781.)

elusive bookseller called John Smith) is watermarked 1794, and most probably later than Miller's edition.

Appended to *Abdallah and Zoraide* is a list of books printed and sold by J. Miller in Rosemary Lane, which includes something called *The Entertaining Medley* which offered the reader five books that would have cost 3*d*. each if bought separately for just 1*s*., making an overall saving of 3*d*.[48] The titles are *Fun for the Kitchen* (a jest-book), *The Complete Valentine Writer*, and *The History of the Unfortunate Sisters*, *The Shepherd and Shepherdess of the Alps*, and *The Village Beauty; or, Injured Innocence*. This means that *The History of the Unfortunate Sisters* — printed in Southwark in the 1750s/60s — was still available during the Rosemary Lane years, in the 1780s. It also largely confirms that Miller's short fiction titles sold at a standard price of 3*d*.

Thomas Sabine and Son (*c*.1775–1820s)

By the last couple of decades of the century the number of booksellers issuing cheap fiction of the kind under discussion so far was expanding considerably, so it will be possible only to consider some representative examples from this period. One important one is the bookselling and printing firm begun by Thomas Sabine in Shoe Lane, Fleet Street.[49] Sabine had been an apprentice of Thomas Bailey in Leadenhall Street and became free of the Stationers' Company in 1765.[50] Although he is not known to have started in business in Shoe Lane before *c*.1775, he became a liveryman of the Stationers' Company in 1780.[51] Around the end of the century, Thomas Sabine was in partnership with his son, and after his death in 1810, Thomas (the younger) continued the business into the 1820s.

The firm mainly published old chapbook histories, instructional works, topical pamphlets, playbooks, a few theological works, and

48 A half-title page that reads 'The Entertaining Medley, Which is Serious, Diverting and Merry. Price One Shilling' may have belonged to this selection but is now bound into a volume containing a mixture of Bailey and Sympson short fiction, with the spine labelled *The Entertaining Medley* (London, British Library, Cup.407.n.16.).

49 David Atkinson, 'Thomas Sabine and Son: Street Literature and Cheap Print at the End of the Eighteenth Century', in *A Notorious Chaunter in B Flat and Other Characters in Street Literature*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud (London: Ballad Partners, 2022), pp. 161–85.

50 *Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1701–1800*, pp. 13 (no. 280).

51 *Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1701–1800*, pp. 304, 429 (3 October 1780).

a substantial volume of cheap fiction. Their publications were mostly priced around 6*d*. and occasionally up to 1*s*., but rarely more. Their printed booksellers' lists tend not to give a price for the long-standing chapbook titles, but at one time they advertised a large assortment of 'penny histories' at 3*s*. per hundred wholesale, suggesting they might have been sold for 1*d*. retail.[52] It is reasonable to assume that these were 24-page chapbooks, of which only a few survive with a Sabine imprint. Older titles in this format include *Dreams and Moles*, *Sleeping Beauty*, *Cinderella*, *Tom Long*, *Mother Bunch of the West*, *The King and the Cobler*, and *Jane Shore*. Some of the firm's imprints also advertised jobbing printing (they printed annual sheets for distribution by parish lamplighters), and newspaper advertisements show they dealt in patent medicines.

It was evidently a successful business and a large number of their publications survive, including versions of *Moll Flanders* and *Robinson Crusoe*.[53] There was also a short adaptation from Goethe called *Werter and Charlotte*.[54] Around fifty cheap fiction titles can be identified, including a few different editions of the same works, mostly in the region of thirty-two to sixty-four pages, priced at 6*d*. As with the earlier booksellers, there are even more individual stories because some books contain more than one story. Dating is difficult, but the output may have extended over as much as four decades.

Besides venerable titles like Aphra Behn's *The Fair Jilt* and Eliza Haywood's *The Distress'd Orphan*,[55] the firm reprinted the histories of *Betty Ireland*, *Henrietta de Bellgrave*, and *Zoa and Rodomond*. This was (so far as is known) the first cheap fiction edition of *Zoa and Rodomond* and it ends with the voice of the bookseller:

52 Bookseller's list in *Robin Hood's Garland* (London: printed and sold by T. Sabine, No. 81, Shoe Lane, Fleet Street; where printing is expeditiously performed in all its various branches of letter-press and copper-plate on the most reasonable terms) [ESTC T60859].

53 *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders* (London: printed by T. Sabine, No. 81, Shoe Lane, Fleet Street), price 6*d*. [ESTC N31964]; *The Wonderful Life and Most Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner* (London: printed by T. Sabine, No. 81, Shoe Lane, near Fleet Street) [ESTC N507430].

54 *Werter and Charlotte, a German Story* [+ *Virtue Rewarded, a Russian Tale* + *The Advantages of a Single Life*] (London: printed and sold by T. Sabine, No. 81, Shoe Lane) [ESTC T57373] (London, British Library, 12611.ee.32.(4.) with a manuscript date of 30 May 1789).

55 For Sabine's versions of *The Distress'd Orphan*, see further Patrick Spedding, *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016 [2004]).

> In the history of that lady who brought Zoa into the world, there are circumstances no less interesting than in the life of Zoa herself. The various accidents, and at last the severe necessity which compelled her to become the wife of a man, of a complexion, religion, and manners so different from those of her own country, will, I doubt not, excite the compassion of all who read it; and in that confidence I shall here end the story of Zoa; as more particulars are related concerning her in the life of her mother, Henrietta de Bellgrave, which is just published, price only Sixpence. (p. 29)

Sabine also published an edition of the anthology comprising *The Cruel Father*, *The History of Clerimont*, and *The History of Cordelia*, which had previously been published by Sympson and Miller. Sabine's *The Forc'd Marriage of Miss Betsey Ward* is a variant text of Bailey's *The Forc'd Marriage of Miss Betsey Mason*, which has different names for the characters but otherwise follows the text closely until some additional pages at the end elaborate on the downfall of the heroine's treacherous cousin. *The History and Adventures of Julia, the Curate's Daughter of Elmwood*, published by Sabine and Son, had already appeared in several magazines.[56]

On the other hand, several titles do not have obvious precedents and may well have been newly written in the decades around the end of the century to supply a growing market for cheap fiction. Some of them may even have been written specifically for the Sabine firm, but some were issued by other booksellers as well, around the same time, and it is more or less impossible to determine precedence. Nonetheless, it will be profitable briefly to consider a few of the putative connections within the cheap fiction trade.

Andrew Hambleton, James Sadler, Alice Swindells, Susannah Martin (1780s–1790s)

One bookseller whose surviving output overlaps significantly with that of the Sabine firm was Andrew Hambleton, of whom little is known except that, from imprint evidence, he was in business in London during the 1780s/90s. A majority of his surviving publications are short

56 Robert D. Mayo, *The English Novel in the Magazines, 1740–1815, with a Catalogue of 1375 Magazine Novels and Novelettes* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 537.

fiction, with prices given as 4*d*. or 6*d*. Out of ten titles, seven — *Betsey Warwick*, *Maria Farrell*, *Mary Ann Edwards*, *Arabella Euston and Francis Philemon*, *Thomas Beaumont and Lucia Bannister*, *Lucy Banks*, *The Stolen Marriages* — were also published by Sabine.

Betsey Warwick, the Female Rambler was, apparently, adapted from an earlier novel called *The Female Rambler*, published by William Reeve, which was itself ostensibly founded on a French model.[57] Besides three editions from Sabine and one from Hambleton, there were another three associated with the name of James Sadler, who appears in some imprints in collaboration with W. or M. (Mary) Clements and J. (John) Eves, mostly in the 1790s. This was a group of booksellers about whom little is known, but their publications are comparable with Sabine's: old chapbook titles, songbooks, domestic and instructional works, travels, cheap fiction. Among their other titles were *Henrietta de Bellgrave*, *Zoa and Rodomond*, *Fanny Adams and Lord Whatley* (previously published by Bailey), priced at 6*d*., and *The Shepherdess of the Alps*, priced at 3*d*.

There is a further complication here in that Sadler, Clements, and Eves were London booksellers, but some of their titles were printed not in London but either by Alice Swindells in Manchester or by Susannah Martin in Birmingham. In Manchester the Swindells firm, where Alice succeeded her husband George on his death in 1796, specialized in street literature, printing ballads and chapbooks, and Alice printed titles that were sold by Sadler, Clements, and Eves, and also by J. Sadler, and an unidentified T. Thomas. The layout of some of the Swindells/Sadler imprints gives the appearance of privileging Manchester as the place of publication. Similarly, Susannah Martin in Birmingham succeeded her husband Robert, who also died in 1796, and printed *Henrietta de Bellgrave* and *Zoa and Rodomond* for James Sadler. During Robert Martin's lifetime the firm was associated with religious and other non-fiction titles, but in the first decade of the new century Susannah and their son Thomas also published street literature titles under the imprint of S. & T. Martin. Again, the Martin/Sadler imprints give prominence to Birmingham as the place of publication.

57 *The Female Rambler, being the Adventures of Madem. Janeton De* *****, taken from the French (London: printed for W. Reeve, at Shakespear's Head, Fleet Street, 1754), price 2*s*. bound [ESTC N8772].

These connections suggest some joining up of the cheap print trade across different urban centres, with London booksellers apparently having their printing done in Manchester or Birmingham, and it would be surprising if the titles in question were not also sold there. When the partnership of Martin & Hunter issued an edition of *Betsey Warwick*, probably *c*.1810, it was unequivocally a Birmingham publication.[58]

After the turn of the century

Several of the cheap fiction titles of the eighteenth century continued to be published in the nineteenth. Library catalogues show, for example, editions of *Henrietta de Bellgrave* and/or *Zoa and Rodomond* published by J. Bailey, S. Fisher, T. Hughes, Dean and Munday, Hodgson and Co. (all London), J. Sadler (London, but printed in Birmingham), T. Brandard (Birmingham), Thomas Richardson (Derby), George Walker (Durham), G. Wilson (Leeds), Heming and Tallis (Stourbridge), J. Kendrew (York). These were booksellers who published a range of material, some of which would readily fall under the heading of chapbook gothic.[59] Simon Fisher, for example, published novels with titles like *The True and Affecting History of the Duchess of C****, Who Was Confined by her Husband in a Dismal Dungeon* (1799), *The History of Emma; or, The Victim of Depravity* (1800), *The Gothic Story of Courville Castle; or, The Illegitimate Son* (1801), all priced at 6*d*. Equally, though, some of the same booksellers continued to issue venerable street literature titles, although in some instances the stories had been rewritten since they first appeared. Dean and Munday published many titles (including books for children) during the period *c*.1814–42, among which were versions of *Jane Shore*, *Fair Rosamond*, *George Barnwell*, *Doctor Faustus*, *Robin Hood*, *Mother Shipton*, *Nixon's Prophecies*, the *Norwood Gypsy*, and so on, priced at 6*d*. each and advertised on the coloured paper wrappers of the firm's editions of *Henrietta de Bellgrave* and *Zoa and Rodomond* (also priced

58 *The Astonishing History and Adventures of Betsey Warwick, the Female Rambler* (Birmingham: printed by Martin & Hunter, Haymarket), price 9*d*. [London, British Library, 1570/3973].

59 Kelly, 'Fiction and the Working Classes', pp. 222–24, for example, details the range of J. Bailey's output under three broad headings: entertaining chapbooks, instructional chapbooks, and reform-oriented chapbooks. The term 'chapbook gothic' is used by St Clair, *Reading Nation*, p. 349.

at 6*d*.).[60] J. Bailey published *Fair Rosamond* and *Jane Shore* together in 1809. Hodgson and Co., Thomas Richardson, and Heming and Tallis all published editions of *Fair Rosamond*. The Kendrew firm in York, which was in business *c*.1803–48 and printed a multitude of slip songs and chapbooks, published both *Jane Shore* and *The Shepherdess of the Alps* in 24-page chapbooks of similar physical appearance, both dated *c*.1810 in the British Library catalogue.[61] Later, a Kendrew catalogue from *c*.1820 listed *The History of Henrietta of Belgrave* [*sic*], *The History of Zoa, the Beautiful Indian*, and other cheap fiction titles alongside *The Affecting History of Fair Rosamond*, *The Affecting History of Jane Shore*, and other familiar chapbook titles, all priced at 6*d*.[62]

The durability of the 6*d*. pricing over such a long period, into the new century, is remarkable. There are only slight signs of inflation, such as the Martin/Sadler copy of *Zoa and Rodomond* where the printed price of 6*d*. has been scratched out and 9*d*. written in. Later, the Martin & Hunter edition of *Betsey Warwick* has a printed price of 9*d*. on the title page. A further curiosity is that the price has been quite neatly cut out of the title page of the British Library copy of Sabine's *The Forc'd Marriage of Miss Betsey Ward*, while the Bodleian Library copy still has the 6*d*. price.[63] The Kendrew catalogue does have other books priced at 1*s*. or 1*s*. 6*d*. (*The Merry History of Robin Hood*, with twenty-eight engravings, costing 1*s*., is one example), but within a context of general inflation the price of cheap fiction was, on the face of it, quite stable and steadily reducing in real terms, although affordability no doubt remained a highly subjective measure.

60 *The True and Affecting History of Henrietta of Bellgrave* (London: printed and sold by Dean and Munday, Threadneedle Street), price 6*d*. [London, British Library, 12612.b.3.]; *The True History of Zoa, the Beautiful Indian* (*Daughter of Henrietta de Bellgrave*) *and of Rodomond* [...] *to which is added, The Affecting History of Lisette and Login, a Russian Tale* (London: printed and sold by Dean & Munday, Threadneedle Street), price 6*d*. [London, British Library, 12612.b.1.].

61 *The Life and Death of Mrs. Jane Shore, Concubine to Edward IVth.* (York: printed and sold by J. Kendrew, Colliergate) [London, British Library, 74/1870.c.2.(577.)]; *The Shepherdess of the Alps, a Very Interesting, Pathetic, and Moral Tale*, published by request (J. Kendrew, printer, Colliergate, York) [London, British Library, 74/1870.c.2.(578.)].

62 *A Catalogue of Books, Moral, Useful, and Entertaining, with Engravings, Printed and Sold by J. Kendrew, Colliergate, York* [London, British Library, 74/1870.c.2.(1.)].

63 London, British Library, 1508/1519; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Harding A 204 (1).

Continuity and ownership

The difficulty of dating individual volumes is a persistent problem in charting the succession of booksellers publishing the same works, although some are clearly earlier or later than others. Madeleine Blondel, addressing eighteenth-century fiction at large, maintained that booksellers 'did not scruple to reprint a book and give it a different title, or simply to change the cover and the title page to give it a new name, so that people might imagine they were reading something new'.[64] As an illustration, she traced successive editions of *Henrietta de Bellgrave* and *Zoa and Rodomond* after *The Lady's Drawing Room*.[65] These include a publication titled *Memoirs of Lydia Tongue-Pad and Juliana Clack-It*, issued under two separate (fictitious?) imprints and undated but reviewed in periodicals of 1768, which is substantially a copy of parts of *The Lady's Drawing Room* with the characters' names changed (Henrietta to Mariamne, Zoa to Amelia).[66] However, all the free-standing cheap editions of *Henrietta de Bellgrave* retain the names as in *The Lady's Drawing Room*, which must mean that they descend from that publication. Instances of changes to titles and names, such as Bailey's *Forc'd Marriage of Miss Betsey Mason* published again by Sabine as the *Forc'd Marriage of Miss Betsey Ward*, might actually be the exception to prove the rule. While Blondel may be correct in some instances, titles like *Henrietta de Bellgrave* and *Zoa and Rodomond* hardly support her observation that 'there exist different degrees of villainy in these deceptions, and ingenious methods are found to conceal them'.[67]

Shortly after Blondel's article appeared, E. W. Pitcher took issue with what he read as her implication that 'virtually every reprinting of an old work was a conscious pirating or evidence of a deliberate attempt

64 Blondel, 'Eighteenth-Century Novels Transformed', p. 529.
65 Blondel, 'Eighteenth-Century Novels Transformed', pp. 529–34.
66 'The Distress'd Virgin, Unhappy Wife, and Most Afflicted Mother, Addressed to her Daughter', in *Memoirs of Lydia Tongue-Pad and Juliana Clack-It* (London: printed for M. Thrush, in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street) [ESTC T70097] (London: printed for J. Coote, at No. 16, in Paternoster Row) [ESTC N21981], pp. 109–264.
67 Blondel, 'Eighteenth-Century Novels Transformed', p. 529; also, 'we can draw attention to the marked commercial sense of printers and booksellers who neglect no opportunity and refuse no expedient which will enable them to attract customers by the lure of novelty' (p. 540).

to disguise something old as something new'.[68] Even so, Pitcher's own interpretation of the possible relationships among booksellers ranged widely, from accusations of theft and piracy, to 'open collaboration', 'complete ignorance of the source of a story', '*laissez-faire* marketing', 'contractual relationships', 'a common storehouse of material', and 'firms such as that of Dean and Munday were not so much "pirates" as beachcombers who reprinted whatever flotsam came to hand without much consideration of by what obscure currents the material had come their way'.[69] The dispute demonstrates, if nothing else, the difficulty of applying conventional notions of ownership to the cheap end of the eighteenth-century book trade.

In principle, under the terms of the copyright act of 1710, property rights in a new title were protected for fourteen years, renewable for another fourteen if the author were still living, so long as the title in question had been entered in the Stationers' Register (8 Anne c. 19). In 1814, this was extended to twenty-eight years, and for the remainder of the author's life if still living (54 George III c. 156). Some of the cheap fiction titles fall within what St Clair calls the 'high monopoly period', during which the major London booksellers maintained a *de facto* claim to perpetual copyright in works they published, from 1710 up until the ruling in the *Donaldson v. Becket* case in 1774.[70] Even so, the significance of that ruling is not entirely straightforward. James Raven, for example, sees it less as a watershed than as a point in a much longer course of development, with on the one hand cheap reprinting flourishing over several decades prior to 1774, and on the other leading booksellers' *de facto* copyright extending well beyond that date.[71] Much of the evidence around perpetual copyright concerns valuable literary works, such as Gay's *Polly* and Thomson's *The Seasons*, and the competition to the London trade from Scottish and Irish booksellers. Those are things

68 Pitcher, 'Pirates and Publishers Reconsidered', p. 76.
69 Pitcher, 'Pirates and Publishers Reconsidered', p. 77, 79–80.
70 St Clair, *Reading Nation*, chapter 5.
71 James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450–1850* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 128, 230–38 (esp. p. 232).

that have little immediate relevance to either street literature or cheap fiction.[72]

The authority of the Stationers' Company itself was waning during the eighteenth century.[73] After 1712, street literature titles in the form of ballads and chapbooks were no longer being entered in the Stationers' Register (the exceptions being some topical pamphlets and Cheap Repository publications), and different booksellers began publishing the same titles in different parts of the country. Neither, to date, have I found any traces in the Stationers' Register of the cheap fiction titles discussed here (albeit there is no systematic way of checking). The exception to prove the rule comes in the form of the more valuable title, *The Lady's Drawing Room*, printed and sold by M. Cooper and A. Dodd, which was priced at 3*s*. and was entered in the Register to Mary Cooper on 31 October 1743. If anyone was paying attention, that would have provided copyright protection until 1757, so it is conceivable that Bailey's edition of *Henrietta de Bellgrave* did not actually constitute an infringement.[74]

Instead of a legalistic understanding of copyright law, John Feather argues that just as important were 'customs of the trade', sometimes called 'honorary copyright', whereby there was an unwritten agreement not to reprint works already published by others.[75] Certainly, one can imagine that the profit margins on cheap fiction retailing at 6*d*. were sufficiently tight to discourage unfettered competition. Any effective restrictions, however, would depend on the size of the potential market at any particular time, and the sheer volume of titles recorded

72 Cf. Michael Harris, 'Paper Pirates: The Alternative Book Trade in Mid-18th Century London', in *Fakes and Frauds: Varieties of Deception in Print and Manuscript*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1989), pp. 47–69.

73 Michael Treadwell, 'The Stationers and the Printing Acts at the End of the Seventeenth Century', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 4, *1557–1695*, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie, with Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 755–76 (esp. pp. 770–76).

74 I have not found any additional entry for the second edition of 1748 (printed for A. Millar and sold by M. Cooper). Since *The Lady's Drawing Room* was not attributed to a named author it is impossible to know what, if anything, happened after fourteen years had passed. Mary Cooper died in 1761.

75 John Feather, 'The Significance of Copyright History for Publishing History and Historians', in *Privilege and Property: Essays on the History of Copyright*, ed. Ronan Deazley, Martin Kretschmer, and Lionel Bently (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2010), pp. 359–67 (p. 365).

from the turn of the century onwards certainly indicates that it was growing. The appearance of the same titles from different booksellers suggests direct competition, while the evidence of London, Manchester, and Birmingham bookseller/printers working together points to an alternative model of cooperation or co-publishing. In addition, the multiple booksellers named in some imprints implies contractual relationships for distribution.[76]

Changing reading habits

Cheap amatory fiction had coexisted with traditional street literature at least since the short novels of Aphra Behn and Eliza Haywood first appeared. What this account has endeavoured to show is that by the mid-century there were certain booksellers who were publishing cheap fiction alongside chapbook histories, criminals' lives, and the like. The pattern, moreover, continued into the early decades of the next century, although by that time there were more booksellers who were associated specifically with the market for cheap fiction. The standard accounts rightly record the increase in cheap fiction titles and the decline in the legendary and historical tales of the older chapbooks, at least in proportion to the newer titles, but St Clair's interpretation of a 'sudden mass extinction' is certainly an exaggeration.[77]

Instead, the coexistence of what are, on the face of it, rather different literary genres does raise the question whether the price differential between 24-page chapbooks priced at 1*d*. or so and cheap fiction priced at 6*d*. — that is, six times the price — points to different target markets. Sabine's *Robin Hood's Garland*, which includes the advertisement for

76 Pitcher, 'Pirates and Publishers Reconsidered', p. 80, citing as an example: *The Nun; or, Memoirs of Angelique, an Interesting Tale; also The Adventures of Henry de Montmorency, a Tale; to which is added, The Surprising Life of Mrs. Dholson* (London: printed for Tegg and Castelman, Eccentric Book Warehouse, No. 122, St John's Street, West Smithfield; Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate; T. Hughes, Paternoster Row; Willmot and Hill, Borough; N. Rollason, Coventry; J. Belcher, Birmingham; B. Sellick, Bristol; T. Troughton, Liverpool; J. Mitchell, Newcastle; T. Brown, North Street, Edinburgh; E. Peck, Lower Ousegate, York; T. Binns, Leeds; J. Dingle, Bury St Edmunds; T. Brown, Bath; B. Dugdale, Dublin; M. Swindels [*sic*], Manchester; J. Raw and J. Bush, Ipswich; J. Booth, Norwich; Collins and Fellows, Salisbury; and G. Wilkins, Derby; T. Plummer, printer, Seething Lane) [London, British Library, 012611.e.6.(5.)].

77 St Clair, *Reading Nation*, p. 350.

'penny histories' as 3*s*. per hundred, is itself listed at 6*d*., alongside titles such as *The Perjured Lover*, *The Unfortunate Happy Lady*, *The Distress'd Orphan*, *Betsey Warwick*, *The Fair Jilt*, *Betsey Ward*, *Charlotte Lorrain*, and *The History of the Unfortunate Lovers*, as well as (an abridged) *Robinson Crusoe*. Materially, there is not a great deal to distinguish the different literary genres. *Robin Hood's Garland* is a duodecimo of ninety-six pages, the cheap fiction titles mostly octavos of around sixty-four pages. The older titles do, however, tend to be more extensively illustrated with woodcuts, whereas the cheap fiction titles have to make do with an engraved frontispiece.

It is also the case that during the eighteenth century the old legendary histories were being published not only in 24-page chapbook format (most notably from Bow Churchyard and Aldermary Churchyard), but also in longer, textually distinct and more demanding versions. Sabine, for example, published two different duodecimo editions of *Guy of Warwick* (confusingly with the same edition statement, even though they are clearly different settings of type), of 144 and 108 pages.[78] The title is listed at 6*d*. in more than one of the firm's printed lists; unfortunately, it is unknown whether it was ever also issued as one of the 'penny histories' in 24-page format. The appearance of cheap chapbook editions of romances like *Guy of Warwick* is thought to represent an extension and diversification of readership during the second half of the century — including among children — equated with different economic resources, social horizons, and reading abilities and expectations.[79]

The Children in the Wood, on the other hand, appears in the Sabine firm's printed lists both as a title priced at 6*d*. and as one among several 'histories' (for which no price is indicated but which, surviving copies seem to indicate, were 24-page chapbooks or 'penny histories').[80] *The Children in the Wood* does not survive in that format, but it is extant as

78 *The Noble and Renowned History of Guy, Earl of Warwick*, 12th edn (London: printed by T. Sabine, No. 81, Shoe Lane) [ESTC T135121] (144 pp.); *The History of Guy, Earl of Warwick* [+ *The Tragical Story of Polidor and Livia*], 12th edn (London: printed by T. Sabine and Son, 81, Shoe Lane, Fleet Street) [ESTC T135122] (108 pp.).

79 For example: Lori Humphrey Newcomb, *Reading Popular Romance in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

80 For example, 'catalogue of histories' in *The History of Mother Bunch of the West* [...] *Part the Second* (printed and sold at the London and Middlesex Printing Office, No. 81, Shoe Lane, Holborn) [ESTC T36430], itself a 24-page chapbook.

a long duodecimo of 108 pages, which includes two other stories, and which is presumably the publication listed at 6*d*.[81] The prose story and ballad version of *The Children in the Wood* occupy the first half of the book, followed by twenty-four pages of Sir Richard Whittington and his Cat, and twenty-six pages of the story of Amurath. This last is an exotic and somewhat fantastical tale of an Eastern monarch, not without its moral, but at quite a remove from the familiarity of *The Children in the Wood* and Dick Whittington, and in consequence seemingly rather more demanding of the reader. The copy of the Sabine volume in the British Library retains its original blue wrappers, and on the recto of the frontispiece is written 'Wilmot Whatley & Jane', and on the verso of the title page 'Jane and Wilmot Whalley book' — one would dearly like to be able to identify these owners.[82]

Price and extent need not necessarily equate in an entirely straightforward way with literary sophistication. Several of the cheap fiction titles include more than one story, so each one is not necessarily very long or complicated. It may be that works priced at 6*d*. were becoming more affordable; that with gradually rising literacy, readers were wanting more for their money; and that their literary horizons were also expanding. These are likely factors encouraging booksellers to decide just where to position themselves in the market. Changing reading habits, which are in any case difficult to document at the cheap end of the trade, are beyond the scope of this chapter, but the evidence presented here does show that some of the booksellers specializing in street literature were apparently responding to such developments — evidence of a trade evolution to match the genre evolution that other scholars (Lennard Davis, Gary Kelly) have noted.

81 *The History of the Children in the Wood* [...] *to which is added, The History of Sir R. Whittington and his Cat* [+ *The Story of Amurath, an Eastern Monarch*] (London: printed by T. Sabine, 81, Shoe Lane, Fleet Street) [ESTC T506192]. 108 pp.

82 London, British Library, RB.23.a.38187 (the discrepancy with regard to the surname is apparent, but presumably accidental).

12. Afterword

After the lapse of the Printing Act in 1695, in the early years of the new century, printing — especially cheap printing — began to spread outside of London and become established in the regions. In the second half of the century, there were major booksellers issuing street literature titles in almost every area of the country. The Newcastle trade, in particular, connected Scotland more closely to the north of England. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, the introduction of the iron hand-press, improvements in paper production, and the development of commercial stereotyping all meant that items of cheap print began to look and feel different. Black-letter typography had been left behind in the early decades of the century. Pictorial prints of improved quality depicting up-to-date subjects were seen in the streets and displayed in stationers' shops. Songs from the theatres and pleasure gardens were appearing on slips in increasing numbers, arguably contributing to the emergence of a bourgeois 'mainstream' canon of songs. Prose fiction had become less firmly rooted in old legends and folklore, which were being superseded by the equally fanciful conventions of the gothic. The long continuity since the seventeenth century, or even earlier, was no longer so apparent.

Nevertheless, theatre and pleasure garden songs, the growth of a market for chapbooks for children, and the rise of amatory and gothic prose fiction all came directly out of the commercial businesses and the print formats of the eighteenth-century street literature trade. The cheap fiction published by Thomas Sabine seems a world away from the typical Scottish chapbooks in terms of content and moral outlook, and yet it was a product of essentially the same trade practices, confirmed by Sabine's own activities in the chapbook market. Pictorial prints and ballads, even some of the same titles, continued to be sold in the streets. Stories like those of Jane Shore and Fair Rosamond remained current

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right through from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries in ballad and chapbook form. Accounts of criminals and other adventurers, whether in verse or prose, circulated in cheap printed formats. Tastes in literature were expanding, but not altogether beyond recognition. This mix of continuity and development is at the heart of the eighteenth century, and could usefully remain at the heart of future research into the cheap print trade.

That future research could fruitfully pursue a number of directions. For instance, some of the preceding chapters have complicated certain easy assumptions about what actually counted as cheap print, for both producers and consumers, what is a 'chapbook' (strictly a single-sheet pamphlet, or anything that might have been a carried by a chapman), what sorts of titles best characterized the itinerant trade, and what they might say about their purchasers and readers, both economically and culturally. The price stability of the printed items under consideration presumably meant that the dearer publications became more accessible, at least to parts of the population, as inflation eroded the cost in real terms.

It is something of a cliché in ballad scholarship that ballads were sold and circulated among the poorest members of society. Some of the newspaper reports from the eighteenth century about indigent ballad singers (often women associated with pickpockets and prostitution) would tend to support that impression. It is certainly the case that by the nineteenth century, when there were more competing layers of print at different — but still relatively low — prices, ballads became associated with the working classes — an impression exemplified by Henry Mayhew's informants in *London Labour and the London Poor* (and plenty of other sources), and fostered by some of the shoddy workmanship evident on nineteenth-century broadsides. Yet a century or more beforehand, when perhaps 1*d*. was worth more, such literature may have been less affordable at the lower strata of society, and ballads, chapbooks, and pictorial prints may well have enjoyed greater cultural status.

The satirist and editor William Gifford, born into straitened circumstances in rural Devon in the 1750s, learned to read and became acquainted (via his mother) with 'the literature of a country town, which, about half a century ago, amounted to little more than what

was disseminated by itinerant ballad-singers, or rather, readers' and 'acquired much curious knowledge of Catskin, and the Golden Bull, and the Bloody Gardener, and many other histories equally instructive and amusing'.[1] The burgeoning market for children's literature towards the end of the century likewise testifies to parents spending their money in order to encourage literacy — as well, apparently, as a particular moral outlook — in their children.

Uncertainty about print runs and low survival rates make it difficult to estimate the popularity of cheap print — 'popularity', that is, simply in terms of how many copies were produced. Nonetheless, ESTC lists very many titles, editions, and issues that can be classified as street literature by one criterion or another — extent measured in sheets or pages, booksellers and printers concerned, price (where it can be ascertained), characteristic subject matter, etc. So far as it goes, the evidence is that this sort of literature was printed in great quantities in the eighteenth century, and the assumption is that booksellers in general had a pretty good eye as to what their customers would buy. Many early cheap printed publications are nowadays considered desirable objects in their own right, infelicities of typography notwithstanding, and it might well be thought patronizing to think that was not the case at the time they were in circulation. Scholars today owe a debt of gratitude to bibliophiles like the antiquary Joseph Haslewood who made a collection of Samuel Harward's Tewkesbury chapbooks. Conversely, the label of 'ephemera' has done street literature no favours.

Regional centres like Norwich and Penrith, and booksellers like Harward in Tewkesbury, were important drivers of the spread of print of all kinds throughout the century. John Feather's early work on the book trade outside of London is invaluable, but largely focuses on the trade in books rather than cheaper forms of print.[2] There are many more booksellers and aspects of the regional trade that merit attention. Ian Maxted's comprehensive survey of the book trade in Exeter and

1 William Gifford, *The Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis, Translated into English Verse* (London: G. and W. Nicol, and R. Evans, 1802), p. iii.

2 John Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); John Feather, 'The Country Trade in Books', in *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print, 1550–1850*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1998 [1990]), pp. 165–83.

Devon, which ranges wider than the cheap end of the trade, sets a high standard.[3] Some other examples include shorter studies of the trade in Worcester,[4] Warrington,[5] Canterbury and East Kent,[6] and (to some extent) Newcastle.[7] Further research into John White's career in Newcastle is in progress at the time of writing.

Another front for investigation lies in the regulation of print in so far as it impinged on the cheap end of the trade and its extension outside of London. This expansion of printing also meant the decline of the strict oversight of the Stationers' Company and the ownership of titles exemplified by the seventeenth-century ballad partnership. After 1712, old ballad and chapbook titles were no longer entered in the Stationers' Register. That is not to say that booksellers never entered street literature titles, but for much of the century these tended to be topical pamphlets, where there was a market worth protecting.

By way of a few examples, *A Narrative of All the Robberies, Escapes, &c. of John Sheppard*, a 32-page octavo, priced at 6*d*., was entered on 23

3 Ian Maxted, *The Story of the Book in Exeter and Devon*, Exeter Working Papers in Book History, 12 ([Exeter]: Exeter Working Papers in Book History, 2021) https://bookhistory.blogspot.com/2007/01/devon-book-36.html.

4 Martin Holmes, 'Samuel Gamidge: Bookseller in Worcester (*c*.1755–1777)', in *Images & Texts: Their Production and Distribution in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, ed. Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1997), pp. 11–52; Margaret Cooper, *The Worcester Book Trade in the Eighteenth Century*, Worcestershire Historical Society Occasional Publications, no. 8 ([Worcester]: Worcestershire Historical Society, 1997).

5 Michael Perkin, 'William Eyres and the Warrington Press', in *Aspects of Printing from 1600*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic Press, 1987), pp. 69–89; P. O'Brien, *Eyres' Press, Warrington (1756–1803): An Embryo University Press* (Wigan: Owl Books, 1993).

6 Henry R. Plomer, 'James Abree, Printer and Bookseller of Canterbury', *The Library*, 3rd ser., 4 (1913), 46–56; David Shaw and Sarah Gray, 'James Abree (1691?–1768), Canterbury's First "Modern" Printer', in *The Reach of Print: Making, Selling and Using Books*, ed. Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1998), pp. 21–36; David Shaw, 'Retail Distribution in East Kent in the Eighteenth Century', in *Worlds of Print: Diversity in the Book Trade*, ed. John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; London: British Library, 2006), pp. 197–205.

7 Barbara Crosbie, 'Provincial Purveyors of Culture: The Print Trade in Eighteenth-Century Newcastle upon Tyne', in *Economy and Culture in North-East England, 1500–1800*, ed. Adrian Green and Barbara Crosbie (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018), 205–29; Peter Wood, 'The Newcastle Song Chapbooks', in *Street Ballads in Nineteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and North America: The Interface between Print and Oral Traditions*, ed. David Atkinson and Steve Roud (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 59–76.

November 1724, just a week after Jack Sheppard was executed at Tyburn, and went through eight editions all dated that same year.[8] *A True Copy of the Paper, Delivered the Night before her Execution, by Sarah Malcom* (*sic*) was issued as a sixteen-page quarto pamphlet, priced at 4*d*., and entered on 29 March 1733, in the wake of Sarah Malcolm's execution on 7 March.[9] In the wake of the defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden, *The Remarkable Affecting Case and Dying Words of Mr. Archibald Oswald, an Ensign in the Young Pretender's Service* was published as a 32-page octavo, priced at 6*d*., and entered on 23 October 1745.[10] The loss of the East Indiaman the *Halsewell* on 6 January 1786 gripped the nation and spawned numerous accounts, two of which were entered in the Stationers' Register. *A Circumstantial Narrative of the Loss of the Halsewell*, an 86-page octavo, which went through twenty-one editions in the same year, priced at 1*s*., was entered on 24 January 1786;[11] and *An Interesting and Authentic Account of the Loss of the Halsewell*, a 48-page octavo (no price given), was entered on 3 May 1786.[12]

The inference from examples such as these is that booksellers were most concerned to assert ownership in more valuable titles, which might also have been the (slightly) more expensive ones. On 19 November 1785, though, John Evans made several entries of children's chapbook titles, including *Puzzle Cap*, *Tommy Truelove's Present*, *The Pretty Alphabet*, *The Story of Princess Fair-Star*, *A New Riddle Book*, *A Trip to the Fair*, *The*

8 *A Narrative of All the Robberies, Escapes, &c. of John Sheppard* (London: printed and sold by John Applebee, a little below Bridewell Bridge, in Blackfryers, 1724), price 6*d*. [ESTC N51640], entered to William Mears and John Applebee, 23 November 1724.

9 *A True Copy of the Paper, Delivered the Night before her Execution, by Sarah Malcom* [*sic*] (London: printed for J. Wilford, behind the Chapter House, near St Paul's, 1732 [1733]), price 4*d*. [ESTC T100705], entered to Benjamin Mott, James(?) Brotherton, John Wilford, 29 March 1733.

10 *The Remarkable Affecting Case and Dying Words of Mr. Archibald Oswald, an Ensign in the Young Pretender's Service* (London: printed for J. Robinson, at the Golden Lyon, in Ludgate Street, 1745), price 6*d*. [ESTC T72875], entered to J. Robinson, 23 October 1745.

11 *A Circumstantial Narrative of the Loss of the Halsewell* (*East-Indiaman*), *Capt. Richard Pierce* (London: printed for William Lane, Leadenhall Street, 1786) (subsequent extant editions all price 1*s*.) [ESTC T61155], entered to William Lane, 24 January 1786.

12 *An Interesting and Authentic Account of the Loss of the Halsewell, East-India-Man, with All its Dreadful Circumstances* (London: printed by W. Bailey, No. 42, within Bishopsgate, 1786) [ESTC T113892], entered to W. Bailey, 3 May 1786.

History of Master Playfull and Master Serious, *The Pleasing History of Master Sammy Steady*, *Nurse Teachem's Golden Letter Book*, *A Concise History of All the Kings and Queens of England*, *The Good Boy and Girl's Lottery*, and *King Pippin's Delight*.[13] In the following decade, both Hannah More and John Marshall entered substantial numbers of Cheap Repository Tract titles. Even if the individual titles were cheap to produce and cheap to buy, these markets were evidently competitive. For some titles there was a concept of ownership within the trade, which might imply that for others — the old ballads and chapbook histories, for example — the stricter regulation of the seventeenth century had effectively been allowed to lapse. The copyright legislation of 1710 appears to have had only a slight impact on the cheap print trade. The role of the Stationers' Company as printing and bookselling began to spread well beyond London — as well as any other evidence for regulation and 'customs of the trade' that can be recovered or inferred, and evidence of collaborative or cooperative publishing — all require further investigation in order to test whether these inferences are correct.

The role of women in the street literature trade has attracted only a limited amount of attention to date. A majority of the booksellers named in the preceding chapters were male, and any connection of women with cheap print tends to bring to mind the grotesque ballad sellers of Hogarth's prints, the more or less criminal women of the newspaper reports mentioned above, or the 'mercury women' of the late seventeenth century who facilitated the distribution of news-sheets and pamphlets, often at the margins of legality.[14] Sarah Bates, who as a widow was able legitimately to head up the ballad and chapbook business, provides a marked contrast to such stereotypes, and there are other female booksellers to be glimpsed through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and into the nineteenth. They can stand for the many women who were engaged in the print trade, but who often remained (at least to modern eyes) invisible.

Nevertheless, widows, sisters, and daughters must have been fully engaged in the trade in order to acquire the necessary skills well before

13 Cf. Chapter 10 above.

14 Paula McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace, 1678–1730* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

they were in a position to take over a business.[15] Paula McDowell posits 'a vast network of women printers and publishers' across the eighteenth century, although of course not all of them will have been involved in the cheap print trade.[16] Then there are the bookshop owners like Agnes Thomson in Aberdeen and stationers named in Dicey imprints, as well as Miss Holt in Upton-upon-Severn, distributor for Samuel Harward, of whom we know virtually nothing. McDowell's network could well be expanded if research can uncover more details about the lives of women engaged in all facets of the trade.

Paul Langford wrote in his classic history of eighteenth-century England: 'The growth of a reading public, expecting and enjoying access to books, as a means both of instruction and recreation, has major implications for the cultural history of the period.'[17] Indeed it does, and the contribution not just of books but of cheap print in the streets and markets and fairs needs to be factored into the equation. It is hoped that the foundations laid by detailed studies like those in this volume will facilitate such an assessment. To reiterate, it is the intention here first and foremost to make current research available more widely and in a timely fashion, and secondly to pave the way for others to build upon it, perhaps pursuing some of the directions suggested.

15 McDowell, *Women of Grub Street*, pp. 38–41.

16 Paula McDowell, 'Women and the Business of Print', in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1700–1800*, ed. Vivien Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 135–54 (p. 135).

17 Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727–1783* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992 [1989]), pp. 90–91.

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About the Team

Alessandra Tosi was the managing editor for this book.

Rosalyn Sword performed the editing and proofreading.

Annie Hine styled the manuscript and checked the references.

Lucy Barnes indexed the volume.

Jeevanjot Kaur Nagpal designed the cover. The cover was produced in InDesign using the Fontin font.

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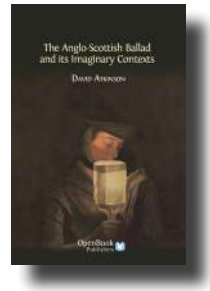

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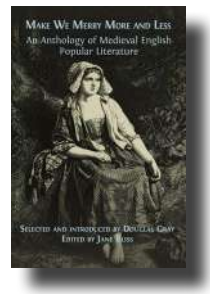

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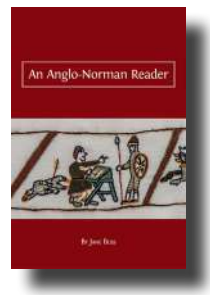

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