

# Cheap Print and Street Literature of the Long Eighteenth Century

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

*David Atkinson*

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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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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

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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.

self-characterization as a trickster, not to say thief, and of his stock-in-trade as mere 'trumpery' and 'trinkets'.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup> 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.*<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> The Woodgate and Brooks catalogues,

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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.<sup>8</sup> Henry Woodgate was apprenticed to James Hodges in 1744 and freed in 1754.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> Between 1762 and 1766 Woodgate was subject to bankruptcy proceedings.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, his name continued to appear in imprints

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*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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> Of his partner, Samuel Brooks, there are fewer traces. He was apprenticed to James Hodges in 1750 and freed in 1759.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup>

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.<sup>16</sup>

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 2s. 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.<sup>17</sup>

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 Aldermay Churchyard around the mid-century, or for books priced at 6*d.* to 1*s.* published by

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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.<sup>18</sup> As a rule of thumb, one would expect books priced around 1s. to have lasted better than those priced around 1d.<sup>19</sup> Some other estimates are lower, and for Sabine's 1d. 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.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> 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.

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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].



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*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 Paternoster 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].
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Table 6.1. Successive editions of the *Seven Champions of Christendom*.<sup>22</sup>

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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*

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*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 1s. [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].
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Table 6.2. Some editions of *The Garden of Love, Reynard the Fox, Argalus and Parthenia*.

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*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).<sup>23</sup>

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.<sup>24</sup> Thomas Norris's daughter (or daughter-in-law) married Edward Midwinter, and Arthur Bettesworth's daughter married Charles Hitch.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup>

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.<sup>30</sup> 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.

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*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 Lion, in Paternoster Row, 1736) [ESTC N5503].
- 9th edn (London: printed for C. Hitch and L. Hawes, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster Row, 1756) [ESTC 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 1s. [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 1s. [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 1s. [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 1s. [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 1s. [ESTC N62830].

*The Whole Art of Legerdemain; or, Hocus Pocus in Perfection*

- (London: printed and sold by A. Bettesworth, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster Row, 1722) [ESTC T135164].
- 2nd edn (London: printed for A. Bettesworth, at the Red Lion, 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 Lion, 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 Lion, 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].

## 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'.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> 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 1s. (*The Monarchs of England*, which ran to ten sheets, cost 1s. 6d.). 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).<sup>33</sup> 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

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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].

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*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 1s. [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 1s. [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 1s. [ESTC T224840].
  - 13th edn (London: printed for C. Hitch & L. Hawes; and S. Crowder, in Paternoster Row; and J. King, in Moorfields), price bound 1s. [ESTC N12950].
  - 14th edn (London: printed for S. Crowder, in Paternoster Row, 1779), price bound 1s. [ESTC T128706].
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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.<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup> 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 Aldermay 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.<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup>

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.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup>

### 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 1d. and books that cost 1s., 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.<sup>40</sup> Titles such as *Argalus and Parthenia*, *Dorastus and Fawnia*, and *Parismus* — all extant in Woodgate

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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 Reclathing*, 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.<sup>41</sup> There were also some longer adaptations of *Robinson Crusoe*, published by some of the booksellers referenced here.<sup>42</sup> The Woodgate and Brooks adaptation of *Moll Flanders*, titled *Fortune's Fickle Distribution* and priced at 1s., 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'.<sup>43</sup>

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,

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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.<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> At the same time, population

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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.<sup>47</sup> 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.

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<sup>47</sup> 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 I. 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 1s. [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 3s. [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 1s. [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 Brooks [sic], at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1759), price 1s. [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 1s. [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 1s. [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 1s. [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 1s. [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 1s. [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 Jest*s (London: printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row), price 9d. [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 Brooks, 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 1s. [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 1s. [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 1s. [ESTC N509092]. 118+ pp. (imperfect). 12°.

*The Whole Duty of a Woman* (London: printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, in Paternoster Row), price 1s. [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*

<i>History of the Seven Wise Mistresses</i>	<i>Reynard the Fox</i>
<i>Hocus Pocus; or, the Art of Legerdemain</i>	<i>Robin Hood</i>
<i>Horneck on Prayer</i>	<i>Robinson Crusoe</i>
<i>Injured Innocence, a True History</i>	<i>Rochester's Poems</i>
<i>Lucky Ideot; or, Foolls Have Fortu[n]e</i>	<i>Russel's Seven Sermons</i>
<i>Ladies Delight</i>	<i>Russel's Prayer</i>
<i>Lambert on Cattle</i>	<i>Russel on the Sacrament</i>
<i>Laugh and Be Fat</i>	<i>Saint Indeed</i>
<i>Life of Christ</i>	<i>Sally Salisbury</i>
<i>Life of the King of Prussia</i>	<i>School of Recreation</i>
<i>Life of Jonathan Wylde</i>	<i>Scotch Rogue</i>
<i>Lives of the Apostles</i>	<i>Secretary's Guide</i>
<i>Lives of the Highwaymen</i>	<i>Seven Champions</i>
<i>London Bawd</i>	<i>Shepherd's Calendar</i>
<i>London Jests</i>	<i>Sinner's Tears</i>
<i>London Spy</i>	<i>Spanish Rogue</i>
<i>Mariner's Jewel</i>	<i>Tales of the Fairies</i>
<i>Memorable Accidents</i>	<i>Token for Mariners</i>
<i>Mock Royalty, a Novel</i>	<i>Token for Mourners</i>
<i>Moll Flanders</i>	<i>Travels of Christ</i>
<i>Montelion</i>	<i>Travels of True Godliness</i>
<i>New Book of Songs</i>	<i>Travels of True Ungodliness</i>
<i>New Year's Gift</i>	<i>Triumph of Wit</i>
<i>Nine Novels</i>	<i>Twelve Cæsars</i>
<i>Nine Worthies</i>	<i>Twelve Novels</i>
<i>Oxford Jests</i>	<i>Two Concubines</i>
<i>Parismus</i>	<i>Visions of Hell</i>
<i>Pilgrim's Progress, in three parts</i>	<i>Universal Letter-Writer</i>
<i>Pindar of Wakefield</i>	<i>Vocal Companion; or, Songster's Delight</i>
<i>Pleasures of Matrimony</i>	<i>Wars of England</i>
<i>Polidore and Julia</i>	<i>Wars of the Jews</i>
<i>Prodigal Son</i>	<i>Week's Preparation, two parts</i>
<i>Profitable Recreation</i>	<i>Wit's Cabinet</i>
<i>Quakers Academy</i>	<i>Wonderful Prodigies</i>
<i>Queen's Cookery</i>	<i>Young Man's Guide</i>
<i>Quevedo's Visions</i>	<i>Youth's Divine Pastime, 1st Part</i>
<i>Religious Courtship</i>	<i>Youth's Divine Pastime, 2nd Part</i>

