

Quaker Printers, 1750-1850

Presidential Address to the Friends' Historical Society, 1963

SOME fifteen years ago an article appeared in this *Journal*, entitled: "The first century of Quaker printers."¹ In it, I dealt with the printers and booksellers who published books and pamphlets for Friends during the period up to 1750. That article looked back to some portions of Anna Littleboy's Presidential address to this Society in 1920 in which she dealt with the history of Friends' Reference Library and early printers and printing in the Society of Friends.² It looked back further as well, back as far as the work of Nathan Kite of Philadelphia in the middle of last century. Nathan Kite's work marks the beginning of detailed study of the history of Quaker printers. It appeared originally in the columns of the *American Friend*, and was later published anonymously in England by J. Harrison at Manchester in 1844, under the title—*Antiquarian researches among the early printers and publishers of Friends' books*.

One other study should be mentioned: in 1933 the members of the Bibliographical Society listened to a paper by Percy H. Muir, a director of Elkin Mathews the booksellers, in which he recounted the history of the Sowle firm, the printing house which, with its successors, the Hindes, and the Phillips family, printed and handled the great majority of Friends' books at least from the 1680s until the beginning of last century.³ In this paper, the author spent some time detailing the weaknesses and inconsistencies in the present

¹ *Journal F.H.S.*, xl (1948), 37-49; xli (1949), 74-84. See also "Biographical notices of printers and publishers of Friends' books up to 1750" (*Journal of documentation*, iii (1947), 107-125).

² Printed in *Journal F.H.S.*, xviii (1921), 1-16, 66-80; also issued separately.

³ "English imprints after 1640," by Percy H. Muir, 1934 (*Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 2nd ser., xiv; *The Library*, 4th ser., xiv, 157-177).

Covering somewhat the same ground is Charles M. Andrews: "The Quakers in London and their printers there" (Essay no. 11, in *Byways in Quaker history: a collection of historical essays by colleagues and friends of William I. Hull*. Edited by Howard H. Brinton, 1944, 191-208).

historical dictionaries of printers and booksellers in Britain,¹ but these need not detain us here, except to note that the field has by no means been thoroughly explored.

The story of Quaker printers after the seventeenth century is at once less heroic and more complex than that which the Stuart period affords. With the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695,² printers, hitherto almost wholly confined to the capital and the two universities, spread rapidly into the provinces. Printers first migrated to larger centres like Bristol and Norwich, but soon afterwards to places of lesser importance. By 1750 Friends had had books printed and sold in nearly a score of places outside London; in the succeeding century, up to 1850, the number of places in England alone reached 150, and scarcely a county is unrecorded.³ Therefore, although there is no story of prosecution and imprisonment for printing unlicensed works or seditious pamphlets, no raids on the presses, and no occasion for fictitious imprints, the spread of printing and the proliferation of publishing houses brings its own problem of organizing material so as to present a coherent and yet comprehensive story.

SOURCES

Anyone who works at some distance from the Library at Friends House, or the other large collections of Quaker works, must depend on Joseph Smith. Without his *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books* published in two volumes in 1867,⁴ serious work would be very difficult indeed. Joseph Smith (1819-1896) did not spring from the ground with his catalogue in his hand, and it is fitting that, in our appreciation of his work, we as an historical society should salute at least his two most distinguished predecessors. First, Morris Birkbeck (1734-1816), collector and bibliographer, some of whose books are at Friends House to help complete the

¹ Particularly concerning the period here dealt with is H. R. Plomer, *A dictionary of the printers and booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775: those in England by H. R. Plomer—Scotland by G. H. Bushnell—Ireland by E. R. McC. Dix* (London, Bibliographical Society, 1932).

² The Licensing Act had been renewed in 1685 for 7 years (1 Jac. II, c.8, §15). The Act was continued to the end of the Parliament then sitting (4 & 5 Will. III, c.24, §14), but was not re-enacted afterwards.

³ According to present evidence, Monmouthshire, Rutland and the East Riding of Yorkshire produced nothing.

⁴ Together with a *Supplement* (London, E. Hicks), 1893.

collection here, but the bulk of whose library has now been in the care of Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting for a century and a half.¹ And second, but in time, the first, John Whiting (1656-1722),² the Somerset man turned Londoner, whose *Catalogue of Friends books* of 1708 prefigures much of Joseph Smith's arrangement, and is a signal in the bibliographical field of the early establishment in the Society of Friends of a systematic tradition which has long proved its value.

Three papers in our *Journal*³ by Isaac Sharp dealt with these three men, John Whiting, Morris Birkbeck and Joseph Smith. In a humane and intimate study of Joseph Smith, Isaac Sharp explained that although the value of the *Descriptive catalogue* was fully appreciated, Friends in London did not appoint its compiler to take charge of their library, among other reasons because

Engrossed as he could be when the fit was on him, he could not always be prevailed upon to work, and there was less dependence to be placed upon his regularity as years advanced.⁴

However that may be, the *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books*, though now almost one hundred years' old, is still the basis for historical work.

The origin of the article on the first century of Friends' printers⁵ was an index of some three hundred different firms and persons working between the 1650s and 1750, as they are recorded in Joseph Smith's catalogue, and after reference in cases of doubt to copies of the works recorded there. The submerged portion of the iceberg of which this present paper is the visible token consists of a similar index of some sixteen hundred entries for firms and printers for the following period to 1850. With such an amount of material on hand, enumeration here is impossible, but a brief survey of the main stream of London printing, and a scrutiny of some other representative fields may be useful.

¹ The Birkbeck Library, Friends' Meeting House, Clifford Street, York.

² See *Dictionary of National Biography*. John Whiting is noted for his *Catalogue of Friends Books: written by many of the People called Quakers, from the beginning or first appearance of the said People. Collected for a general service, 1708*; and his *Persecution expos'd, in some memoirs, 1715* (both issued by the Sowle press).

³ *Journal F.H.S.*, iv (1907), 7-16; viii (1911), 9-15; xi (1914), 1-10.

⁴ *Journal F.H.S.*, xi (1914), 5.

⁵ *Journal F.H.S.*, xl (1948), 37-49; xli (1949), 74-84.

LONDON PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS

In the earlier paper it was pointed out how useful it had been to Friends as a religious society to have their own press. The printers were interested in forwarding the cause of the Society. They were in general agreement with the leaders of the movement represented in the Second Day's Morning Meeting, and were therefore willing to accept their advice and decisions about printing. For the printers themselves, it was useful to have a meeting or committee to pronounce on proposals for printing, whether these originated from the printer looking for a useful and profitable job, or from an author wishing to see his manuscript in print. The Morning Meeting could read a manuscript and when it was authorized, then the printer could be assured of a certain minimum market to cover his costs; a certain circulation to the meetings in the provinces was secure, and casual sales at the bookshop could confidently be expected. Under this system the printers undertook the clerical work of distribution, they warehoused the stocks of books, and collected the money for books sent down to the counties; and they could call upon London Friends to try and help them if payment for books sent down was not forthcoming in due season.

In large measure, the story now to be told is that of the slackening of that tie. Looking back from a point two hundred years on we can see that the bond which continued to attach the Society to the firm in George Yard, Lombard Street, might well have been loosed in the middle of the eighteenth century. Toleration had come to stay and Friends were in no difficulty about getting their works published and distributed. Eighteenth century Friends had as much difficulty as we have in forecasting the future course of events, and it is not to be wondered at that only slowly did they move in the direction of adopting a more flexible policy.

Our period begins just after the death of Tacy Sowle Raylton in Eleventh Month, 1749.¹ Her long tenure at the printing office gives the whole of the first half of the eighteenth century a unity in this field which is unsurpassed. Luke Hinde was printing for Friends at the sign of the Bible, in George Yard, Lombard Street, and he carried the business on alone until his death in 1766. Output at this time had fallen

¹ d. 1.xi.1749.

to a level of about five printed works a year.¹ It was perhaps the period when activity in the Society was at the lowest ebb, but 1750 is the date of the appearance of the first edition of *A description of the qualifications necessary to a Gospel Minister, containing advice to Ministers and Elders, how to conduct themselves in their conversations*, by the sage veteran Samuel Bownas (1676-1753). In 1756 Luke Hinde also published that classic *Account of the life . . . of Samuel Bownas*, edited by Joseph Besse; this is one of the greatest of the eighteenth century Journals, and was often reprinted.

The first years of the decade must have been largely devoted to printing the two folio volumes of Besse's "Sufferings," which appeared in 1753. There is an account of this venture in our own *Journal* for 1926, with a record of the disposal of the thousand copies printed.² One steady seller was the periodical *Piety promoted, in a collection of dying sayings of many of the people called Quakers. With a brief account of some of their labours in the Gospel, and sufferings for the same*, and, although no new part appeared between 1740 and 1774, earlier volumes had to be reprinted.³ Lives of early Friends and reprints of their works, together with an occasional defence of some Quaker custom, are the main types of work published during these years. This gives the impression that Friends were more backward- and inward-looking than was healthy, although in this connection the publication in 1758 of *A serious and affectionate address to the People called Quakers . . . with exhortations to the gay and unstable amongst them*, by John Fry of Sutton Benger, brings to mind the timely enforcement of Quaker discipline in the 1760s with which his name is associated.

Luke Hinde died in 1766, and five works (including an edition of Thomas Lurting's *Fighting sailor turned peaceable Christian*) issued this year from "The Bible," have no printers' name. Three more in the following year had no printer's name attached, but before the end of 1767 Luke Hinde's widow, Mary Hinde, "at No. 2, in George Yard, Lombard

¹ During the period 1750 to 1766 just over 80 items are recorded.

² *A collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers, for the testimony of a good conscience, from . . . 1650, to . . . the Act of Toleration . . . 1689*, 2 vols., 1753. See *Journal F.H.S.*, xxiii (1926), 1-11, especially page 8.

³ The first part of *Piety promoted*, by John Tomkins, appeared in 1701. Of the seven parts published before 1750, Luke Hinde published new editions of the first six between 1754 and 1766.

Street," appears as the publisher of a controversial work by Joseph Phipps (1708-87) vindicating Quaker principles.¹

Until her death in 1775, Mary Hinde continued to publish a good many of the authors dealt with by her late husband. In 1772 she issued a sixth edition of *Fruits of retirement*, by Mary Mollineux.² In 1769 and 1771 came consecutive editions of Hugh Turford's classic of quietism *The grounds of a holy life*.³ There was also an undated fifth edition of Jonathan Dickenson's *God's protecting providence*, the Quaker thriller of shipwreck and "Inhuman cannibals of Florida," of which the fourth edition had appeared in 1759.⁴ Friends may remember that it was this book which gave the late Charles M. Andrews a peg on which to hang his article "The Quakers in London and their printers there" which appeared in the William I. Hull Festschrift, *Byways in Quaker history*, edited by Howard Brinton in 1944.⁵

Three editions of Mary Brook's *Reasons for the necessity of silent waiting, in order to the solemn worship of God* appeared in 1774 and 1775, and another interesting production is the 1773 reprint of Gershon Boate's verse broadside entitled *A father's advice to his child; or, the maiden's best adorning*.⁶

THE PHILLIPS FAMILY

In 1775 James Phillips succeeded Mary Hinde, and from that time up to 1796 an average of just short of ten items a year bear his imprint. The imprint of volume three of Thomas Letchworth's *Monthly Ledger*, 1775, expressly describes James Phillips as "Bookseller, successor to Mary Hinde, at Number 2, in George Yard, Lombard Street." He published a good number of educational works. James Phillips printed the Ackworth School reports and rules, and produced French

¹ Joseph Phipps, *Observations on a late anonymous publication, intituled, A letter to the author of a Letter to Dr. Formey, &c., in vindication of Robert Barclay*, 1767.

² Mary (Southworth) Mollineux, *Fruits of retirement: or, Miscellaneous poems, moral and divine* (1702, etc.), 6th ed., 1772.

³ Hugh Turford, *The grounds of a holy life: or, the way by which many who were Heathens, came to be renowned Christians; and such as are now Sinners, may come to be numbred with Saints* (1702, etc.).

⁴ Printed in Philadelphia, 1699, and then in London, 1700, by T. Sowle.

⁵ See p. 100, note 3, above.

⁶ The full title reads, *A father's advice to his child; or, the maiden's best adorning; being a directory for youth, setting forth the greatest beauty by a holy conversation* (1698, etc.).

translations of Quaker books, as well as the usual standard Quaker authors. An advertisement issued in 1792 offers "Bibles, Testaments, Dictionaries, School Books, Books in various languages, account books, and Stationary in general. Printing neatly and expeditiously executed."

In 1797 James Phillips took his son William into partnership, and for the next three years they issued a dozen books a year for Friends. The 1797 crop included the life of his mother Catherine Payton Phillips of Redruth, a famous minister who travelled extensively on both sides of the Atlantic.¹

William Phillips² succeeded his father in 1799, and continued the business until his own death in 1828.

William Phillips devoted his leisure to scientific pursuits, in particular geology and mineralogy. He wrote books on these subjects and published them himself. He became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1827, and can well stand as a representative example of Quaker interest in the sciences, which has characterized many Friends of all periods.

For thirty years, from 1799 to 1828, about a dozen items a year bear the Phillips imprint, including official papers like the printed minute of Meeting for Sufferings in 1810, concerning "Books recommended to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings for purchase, 6th mo. 8";³ and the London Yearly Meeting minute cautioning Friends against keeping guns or arms in their houses, &c., in 1812; and the annual *Almanack for the use of Friends*,⁴ the forerunner of the annual Book of Meetings.

William Phillips had a considerable scientific acquaintance which is revealed in his printing. Among these publications we may mention the following for those who were or had been Friends. In 1809 he published *British Confervae* for the naturalist Lewis Weston Dillwyn.⁵ In 1811 and 1816 he published for his brother Richard Phillips⁶ the chemist, editions of his *Experimental examination of the last edition of the Pharmacopoeia Londinensis*. William Phillips also acted

¹ *Memoirs of the life of Catherine Phillips: to which are added some of her epistles*, 1797. She died 16.viii.1794, aged 67; *D.N.B.*

² William Phillips, 1775-1828; *D.N.B.*

³ This minute is distinct from subscription publishing and the promotion of particular books; it is one in a long line of general recommendations on the subject, other recent ones having been issued in 1759, 1770, and 1780.

⁴ First so entitled in 1795.

⁵ 1778-1855; *D.N.B.*

⁶ Richard Phillips, 1778-1851; *D.N.B.*

as London agent for James Cooper's *Vaccination vindicated*,¹ published in Norwich in 1811. Luke Howard's classic *The climate of London* in two volumes, 1818 to 1820, bore his imprint,² as did likewise Thomas Hancock's *Researches into the laws and phenomena of pestilence; including a medical sketch and review of the Plague of London, in 1665* (1821), and the same author's *Essay on instinct, and its physical and moral relations* (1824). William Phillips also published Hancock's *Principles of peace exemplified in the conduct of the Society of Friends in Ireland, during the Rebellion of the year 1798* (1825). Thomas Hancock was born and died at Lisburn, but he practised medicine in London and in Liverpool.³ Other works to bear the Phillips imprint include Joseph Pease: *A travelling map of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1824; a map which gave the mail coach routes and stages, and included the places where Friends had meetings; and Thomas Hodgkin's *Essay on medical education*, a paper read before Guy's Hospital Physical Society, and published in 1828.⁴

In the years 1805 and 1806 the style of the firm was Phillips and Fardon, but the partnership disappears after those two years.⁵

¹ *Vaccination vindicated, or an address to the people of England, upon the important subject of vaccine inoculation, with remarks on the necessity, in its behalf, of legislative and clerical interference, written with a view to remove some prejudices inimical to its progress, and to guide the public to a right consideration of its great and real merits*, 1811.

² Luke Howard (1772-1864), *The climate of London, deduced from meteorological observations, made at different places in the neighbourhood of the metropolis*, 1818-20. Darton and Harvey issued the 2nd edition in 1833, in one volume. *D.N.B.*

³ Thomas Hancock, 1783-1849; *D.N.B.*

⁴ Thomas Hodgkin, 1798-1866; *D.N.B.*

⁵ This enables us to date approximately to 1805 or 1806 the version of the Errata leaf which is found in some copies of the Baskerville edition of Robert Barclay's *Apology*, 1765. Philip Gaskell, *John Baskerville, a bibliography* (1959), enumerates the *Apology* as item number 30, and notes (p. 48) that there are two versions of the Errata leaf: "One was probably printed by Baskerville, being in his type, although on a wove paper that he did not commonly use around 1765. The other, set partly in Caslon, has the imprint: 'Phillips & Fardon, Printers|George Yard, Lombard Street, London.,' which suggests that it may have been printed much later; this imprint is set very low on the page and would normally be trimmed away in a bound copy. In one copy (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) both versions of the Errata leaf are present together." The suggestion now is that about 1805 there was a stock of Baskerville copies of the *Apology* at George Yard which required additional copies of the Errata leaf to be printed off and inserted before the volumes were sold.

In 1811 William Phillips married Christiana Walduck at Devonshire House,¹ and it was Christiana who, after William's death,² issued *The Book of Meetings*, the full title of which is: *An account of the times and places of holding the meetings for worship, and the quarterly and monthly meetings, of the Society of Friends, in Great Britain, for the year 1829*. The imprint reads: "Printed and sold by C. Phillips, George-yard, Lombard-street." A book printed by Alexanders of York³ gives the name C. Phillips as that of one of the London agents, but there is no more from the old address after that.

BOOK AND TRACT DISTRIBUTION

As well as relying on the assistance of their printers for distributing Quaker literature, London Friends (as Anna Littleboy pointed out in her Presidential address in 1920) frequently took action to spread Friends' books outside the normal line of trade, and were generally useful to the printers in that way. They made constant grants of books to the various circular yearly meetings, and on occasion to persons in authority, to foreign ambassadors, to French prisoners and to foreign libraries. In 1760 a committee suggested that Barclay's *Apology* (in English and in Latin), Sewel's *History*, Wight and Ruddy on the *Rise and progress of Friends in Ireland*, George Fox's *Journal*, and William Penn's *Works*, were suitable volumes for presentation to the newly-opened library at the British Museum.⁴

In the early nineteenth century, with the gradual spread of literacy, a method of spreading Friends' views in which the printers were largely involved was the formation and maintenance of tract associations. The Religious Tract Society had been founded in 1799, and these Friends' tract associations were a parallel manifestation of one branch of the Evangelical movement. The London Friends' Tract Association, which continued in existence until 1935, was

¹ William Phillips, of George Yard, Lombard Street, London, printer (son of James and Mary Phillips), married Christiana Walduck (born 16.viii.1784, daughter of William Walduck, skinner, Bush Lane, Cannon Street, Thames Street, parish of All Hallows, and his wife Christiana) at Devonshire House, 19.iii.1811.

² William Phillips, of Tottenham, died 2.iv.1828, aged 55, buried at Whitechapel, 9.iv.1828. Christiana Phillips, widow of William, of Tottenham Green, died 21.i.1834, aged 48, buried at Whitechapel, 28.i.1834.

³ *A biographical memoir of Richard Jordan*, 1828.

⁴ *Journal F.H.S.*, xviii (1921), 13.

the most active and prolific, but there were more than a score of others in various towns in the British Isles and in the United States.¹ The London association was set on foot at a meeting of Friends, "several of whom were from different parts of the country," at the time of London Yearly Meeting in 1813. The full title of the body expresses its aims as an "Association for printing and distributing tracts on moral and religious subjects, chiefly such as have a tendency to elucidate and support the principles of Christianity as held by the Society of Friends." The rules, printed by William Phillips, contained a direction: "That although a preference shall be given to the writings of Friends, this preference shall not be exercised to the exclusion of such works of other authors, as may be thought well adapted to the purpose." Although William Phillips was in at the start, the Association soon found that to cope with the demand it had to call in other printers, like William and Samuel Graves of Cheapside, and Lomax of Stockport.

The death of William Phillips in 1828 indeed marks the close of an epoch. Meeting for Sufferings appointed a committee to consider the best means of oversight of the printing of papers for the Society, and to obtain proposals for the printing of new works when required. After due consideration, in 1830 the Printing Committee was established as a standing committee to take care of these affairs, and in 1847 it was merged with the Library Committee which (since 1799) had had charge of the distribution of Friends' books.²

With tract associations springing up in many places and making their own arrangements for printing, the central meetings in London could less and less expect to keep a printing house even moderately occupied. Furthermore, in the nineteenth century there was no likelihood that freedom of expression would be curtailed if Friends lacked a printing press over which they had direct control. Therefore, in the new situation Friends ceased to have a single official printer. There were firms conveniently placed and willing to take on any work which Friends might have to give them.

In so far as any one firm could be said to have inherited the mantle from George Yard it was the Harvey and Darton

¹ Joseph Smith has more than fifty pages of entries under the heading *TRACT ASSOCIATIONS*.

² *Journal F.H.S.*, xviii (1921), 14-15.

firm in Gracechurch Street.¹ From 1830 they printed the *Book of Meetings* and the minutes and reports from the Meeting for Sufferings and other London bodies. As years went by nothing seems to have made Friends change their minds about having an official printer, but they did quite soon begin to feel the need for a bookshop of their own and a centre for distributing the printed papers which committees tend to produce. Thus, in 1841, under the care of the Printing Committee of Meeting for Sufferings, the Depository was set up at 84, Houndsditch, with Edward Marsh as superintendent, to provide a "public depôt for the sale of Friends' books."²

The number of publications which bear the name of Edward Marsh as publisher, or simply that of the Friends' Book and Tract Depository, was never more than half a dozen in any one year before the end of our period, and without the London agency for provincial productions (and notably those published by John L. Linney at York)³ it would have been very small. The *Annual monitor* regularly bore the Houndsditch imprint, and Edward Marsh also dealt with the publications of the Friends' Educational Society, the Yearly Meeting reports, and reprints of the classical Quaker Journals. He also handled the papers and publications issued for Friends' committees in London, and sold them at the Depository. As an example may be cited the circulars from the London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting committee superintending the registering of the names of Friends wanting apprentices or assistants, and of young men wanting situations or apprenticeships. Yearly Meeting in 1843 recommended that this committee and registry extend its activity to include boys at all the "schools connected with Friends and under the cognizance of the Society." For instance, in 1845, I. F. Cotterell, 46 Broadmead, Bristol, advertises for a young man to assist in his paperhanging and

¹ Meeting for Sufferings minute of 6.ii.1829 recorded that: "The Yearly Meetings Epistle and other Papers to be circulated among Friends, be printed by Harvey and Darton, Gracechurch Street; but that when the Meeting is about to print a book, it shall exercise its own discretion at the time with regard to the Printer to be employed and the purchase of the Paper." Information through Edward H. Milligan.

² Predecessor of the Friends' Book Centre; see *Journal F.H.S.*, xviii (1921), 15-16.

³ John Lewis Linney, printer and bookseller, 15 Low Ousegate, York, at work between 1840 and 1849.

dealing business; and Edward, son of the late E. Alexander, at the age of 15, wants some active employment (write to Samuel Alexander, Limerick). In 1848, Ulster Provincial School appears among the names of Friends wanting assistants, "Write to Richard Allen, Newtown, Waterford." Chas. R. Fry (at Ayton School), aged 14½, is "Not particular, but being ready at accounts, would prefer to be thus employed," "Write to G. Dixon, Ayton, or Samuel Sturge, New Kent Road."

DARTON AND HARVEY

As an example of the activity of a London publisher closely allied to Friends, that of the Darton and Harvey, Gracechurch Street, firm may be taken, and it also illustrates the difficulties and pitfalls attendant on the study of printing history.¹

The firm first appears in Quaker bibliography in 1789 as W. Darton and Co., publishers of a small edition of the *Economy of Human Life*, with an Advertisement prefixed, and a *Pocket calendar . . . for . . . 1790*. In 1790 appeared anonymously a little duodecimo entitled *An Account of a Young Prince, shewing his setting out to return to his Father's Kingdom, and of the mischiefs which befel him in the way; being a caution and warning to all young people*, and the firm is seen immediately to be engaged in the field of educational and moral children's books to which it contributed much during the next half century.

The Quaker content of the firm's publication work is also soon in evidence; witness the collection of *Discourses delivered at several Meeting Houses of the People called Quakers. By the late Samuel Fothergill*, issued in 1790. Later editions of this book were issued by Darton and Harvey, by John Gough in Dublin, as well as in the United States. No doubt the proximity of the author at No. 11, Talbot Court, Gracechurch Street, to the Darton establishment accounts for the fact that Dr. Thomas Pole's *Anatomical Instructor* was sold by the firm in 1790, and the connection seems to have been kept up, for Darton and Harvey handled the 1814 edition

¹ A good deal of information is available in F. J. Harvey Darton, *Children's books in England* (2nd ed., 1958), particularly pp. 208-9. I am grateful, too, for the elucidation of various points by Lawrence Darton.

of Pole's *History . . . of Adult Schools* published after the author had removed to Bristol.¹

In 1792 the firm appears as Darton and Harvey, and in that year it published a verse *Epistle to Will. Wilberforce, Esquire, written during the disturbances in the West-Indies*, as well as an edition of the frequently-reprinted *Letter from William Penn to his wife and children, written a little before his first voyage to America*. From this time forward, and up to about 1845, the firm was issuing annually up to a dozen (and sometimes more than a score) of works for Friends.² From time to time these included meeting documents such as the 1793 reprint of the Irish National Half-Year's Meeting "Epistle" of 5th month, 1776, and the *Rules of Discipline of London Yearly Meeting* in 1834.

One item which calls for mention is William Darton's own broadside address *TO THE PUBLIC. The People called Quakers have not been in the practice of illuminating their houses on any account—therefore not to rejoice at victories purchased with the loss of the lives of their fellow creatures*. This is dated about 1794, and perhaps it was after Howe's victory on the "Glorious First of June" that this paper was posted up in the streets to try to explain Friends' stand against all war, and to prevent the mob from breaking Friends' windows.

The firm's list included grammar books, poetry, children's books, works by Priscilla Wakefield, Lindley Murray, Joseph Lancaster and other educationists, all the works of Thomas Shillitoe published in London during his lifetime, as well as a scattering of reprints of the works of early Friends like Isaac Penington, and Christopher Taylor. All these, and the fact that the firm was agent for a good many books published by Friends in the provinces, made for a varied and full list of publications.

Between 1811 and 1821, forty-three books have the imprint of "Darton, Harvey and Company," Gracechurch Street.³ The series begins with Luke Howard's printed card against profane swearing. In the same decade forty-seven items have the imprint of "Darton, Harvey & Darton,"

¹ Dr. Thomas Pole removed to Bristol in 1802. See E. T. Wedmore, *Thomas Pole, M.D.* (Supplement 7 to *Journal F.H.S.*, 1908); *D.N.B.*

² There are less than a handful of recorded items after that.

³ George Stacey, *Brief remarks on the state of man*, 1812, gives the street number as 53.

at no. 55, Gracechurch Street. In 1820 the first Darton disappears, because William Darton died 13.viii.1819. The firm goes forward as Harvey and Darton, or as the printers Harvey, Darton and Company. The house was active in the anti-slavery sphere. In the year 1829 thirty items were published, and this was a high-water mark. A good proportion of these, however, were joint publications, in which the firm handled the production of provincial printers and book-sellers.

Exploration of the ramifications of this firm is made no easier by the fact that on Holborn Hill from 1804 there was William Darton Junior in a business which successively became W. & T. Darton, then William Darton and Son, and Darton and Clarke. The Holborn Hill Darton firm, however, did not publish more than about three books a year for Friends. The fact that it published Isaac Crewdson's *Defence of the Beacon* in 1836 may indicate the side which it took in the Beaconite controversy,¹ and account to some extent for the small amount of its work for Friends as a whole.

JOHN AND ARTHUR ARCH

Another firm which did some considerable work for Friends between 1792 and 1838 was that of John and Arthur Arch,² whose address appears from 1805 onwards as 61 Cornhill. The Arches were Friends, and in the course of forty years the firm published about eighty books, including some for Joseph John Gurney and other prominent Quakers of the period. A rather larger number bore the firm's name as junior publisher, often in conjunction with William Phillips and Darton and Harvey. The greatest publishing activity came after 1818, and during the next twenty years the output for Friends averaged six books a year.

William Pickering the publisher³ was apprenticed here, and Thomas Sotheran, founder of the firm of Henry Sotheran and Company, served with the firm, gaining his introduction to the London book trade on coming up to the capital from

¹ It is interesting to note that Darton and Harvey, Gracechurch Street, were themselves among the publishers of the first edition of the *Beacon* itself (1835), but had withdrawn their sponsorship by the time the second edition appeared later in the same year.

² Arthur Portsmouth Arch, Winterslow Place, Vassals Road, formerly bookseller, Cornhill, died 5.iv.1839, aged 70.

³ William Pickering, 1796-1854; *D.N.B.*

York. Another figure connected with the firm for a time was Thomas Tegg, who later made his name as publisher of many cheap reprints and popular handbooks.¹ Curwen's *History of booksellers* tells the story how Tegg (in about 1798) was sacked from his previous employment at a bookshop in Leadenhall Street, and found himself out on the street, jobless but not downhearted²

entering the shop of John and Arthur Arch, at the corner of Gracechurch Street, the kindly Quakers took him at once into their employ, and here he stayed until entering into business on his own account. His new masters were strict but affectionate. He soon asks for a holiday,

"We have no objection, but where art thou going, Thomas?" "To Greenwich fair, sir."

"Then we think thou hadst better not go. Thou wilt lose half a day's wages. Thou wilt spend at least the amount of two days' wages more, and thou wilt get into bad company."

At two, however, he was told he might go; but as soon as he reached London Bridge his heart smote him, and he returned.

"Why, Thomas, is this thee? Thou art a prudent lad."

And when Saturday came, his masters added a guinea to his weekly wages as a present.

In general, the booksellers for Friends were not the big fish. One does not find that Friends numbered among their publishers the names of Bell, or Cooke, or Harrison, or Donaldson³—the men who, at the very end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, were attempting to reach the developing literate public and to exploit a mass market for cheap pocket classics. Friends do not seem to have ventured into the number trade, by which even quite expensive works were sold in small weekly parts to suit a modest pocket. In this way Family Bibles, lives of Christ, histories of England, and Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* made an unexpected appearance in quite humble homes. Perhaps the failure of Purver's Bible,⁴ which began publication in 1742 or thereabouts by Felix Farley in Bristol, but did not then get beyond two or three numbers, may have had an inhibiting effect.

¹ Thomas Tegg, 1776-1845; *D.N.B.*

² Henry Curwen, *A history of booksellers, the old and the new*, 1873, 384.

³ John Bell, 1745-1831; John Cooke, 1731-1810; James Donaldson, 1751-1830; *D.N.B.* James Harrison.

⁴ Anthony Purver, 1702-1777; *D.N.B.* The Bible translation was published in 1764, in London.

LONGMANS

One firm which is still a powerful publisher does call for mention.¹ In the first half of the nineteenth century Longmans printed about one hundred and seventy works for Friends. They were strong in educational work, and thrived on Lindley Murray,² but also published for authors like Amelia Opie³ and the Howitts.⁴ In 1799 Longmans had purchased the copyright of Murray's *English Grammar*, which turned out to be one of the most profitable school books of the century. The number of entries for Lindley Murray's work in Smith's *Catalogue* bears witness to his great readership. For years the annual sale of the *Abridgment* to the English grammar was from forty-eight to fifty thousand copies in England alone.⁵ It is interesting to note that the *Portraiture of Quakerism* by Thomas Clarkson had a Longman's imprint, 1806. One source of strength to Longmans was the extensive provincial connection which they had, and they published in London many works which were issued locally for authors resident in the provinces.

EDWARD NEWMAN

Before we leave London, we may perhaps mention just one example of one who did some printing for Friends, but whose work as a printer is overshadowed by his eminence as a naturalist. Edward Newman⁶ lived from 1801 to 1876, and in the course of an active life was the author of standard works on British ferns, moths, and butterflies. As a printer he just falls within our period, when he printed the reports and papers of the committee set up in London to try and mitigate the distress in Ireland in the years of famine, 1846-1848.⁷ In later years he printed the minutes of Meeting for

¹ See H. Curwen, *op. cit.*, 79-109; F. A. Mumby, *Publishing and book-selling*, 1934, 241, 283-5; H. Cox & J. E. Chandler, *The House of Longman*, 1925.

² Lindley Murray, 1745-1826; *D.N.B.*

³ Amelia Opie, 1769-1853; *D.N.B.*

⁴ William (1792-1879) and Mary (1799-1888, *née* Botham) Howitt; *D.N.B.*

⁵ H. Curwen, *op. cit.*, 92.

⁶ Edward Newman, 1801-1876; *D.N.B.*

⁷ Beginning with the *Address from the Committee of the Society of Friends in London, on the subject of the distress in Ireland*, London, 2.xii.1846; and continuing to 1848.

Sufferings, the Rules for Croydon school, catalogues of London meeting libraries, and the like occasional work.

OUTSIDE LONDON

In turning to the provincial field, one is reminded of the words of James Lackington, whose name appears in the index of booksellers. Towards the end of his life he made tours of the country, and was dismayed by what he discovered:

At York and Leeds there were a few (and but very few) good books; but in all the other towns between London and Edinburgh nothing but trash was to be found¹

However, we must consider this "trash," to complete the picture.

Any attempt to calculate the strength of Quakerism or the activity of the literary members of the Society in different areas, from a study of the printers and places of publication of Friends' books would be difficult, if not impossible. The unknown factors involved are numerous. Printers congregated in local centres where there was jobbing and newspaper work for them, and pamphlet or book work might be quite a small proportion of their activity. Friends wishing to have something printed would be limited in choice. Where a choice did exist, the selection of printer for a certain piece of work by a Friend or meeting who did not consult London Friends might be made on many different grounds. The printer might even be a member of the Society, or one who had taken a Friend as an apprentice, or one who was known to be sympathetic, or one who had had satisfactory business dealings with Friends, or just one who was willing to do a good job of work, or the only one in the place.

SCOTLAND

To take Scotland as an example, for the sake of clarity. It would be gross over-simplification to say that because 38 Edinburgh imprints appear, and 14 only from Glasgow, the strength of Quakerism in the Edinburgh area outweighed that in the south-west of Scotland by three to one. Aberdeen imprints number five. There is one, Daniel Reid,

¹ Quoted in H. Curwen, *op. cit.*, 74. For James Lackington, 1746-1815, see *D.N.B.*

in Falkirk, who printed and sold the oft-reprinted sermons of William Dyer, called *Christ's Famous Titles* and *Christ's Voice to London*, in 1777. In point of fact, these sermons can barely claim to be a Quaker item, for they were delivered when Dyer was minister in Buckinghamshire, and were first printed in the 1660s, long before Dyer became a Friend. William Dyer's style has been compared with that of John Bunyan, and in the course of their long publishing history, the sermons were translated into Welsh and Gaelic. He was buried among Friends in Southwark in 1696.¹

From such crude evidence it would obviously be too great a simplification to say that the strength of Friends in Scotland was as 38:14:5, as between Edinburgh and Glasgow and Aberdeen; but it is probably true that the lack of Quaker imprints in country towns where a printer had established himself before the middle of the nineteenth century will tend to show that Friends in the district were either closely knit to one of the three larger centres of Quaker activity, or were weak in numbers.

IRELAND

A similar survey of the evidence available from Ireland shows an even greater dependence on the capital city. This is no doubt due to the concentration of Friends in and around Dublin, and the fact that the national meetings were held in the city. Seventy-three different imprints have been noted for Dublin publications, more than eight times the number noted for Belfast, which heads the Irish provincial centres. In Ulster also there was a single imprint for N. Greason, a bookseller at Monaghan,² whose name appears at the end of a long imprint on Henry Freeman's Author's edition of the *Memoir of the life and ministry of Ann Freeman* in 1826. James Martin, printer and stationer at Athlone, who published John G. Sargent's *Epistle of love and caution* in 1853, falls outside our period. There is no record of any publication in the province of Connacht.

In Munster, printers and booksellers noted as having

¹ Buried at The Park, Southwark, 9.ii.1696, aged 63. See *D.N.B.*; and G. Lipscomb, *History of the county of Buckingham*, iii (1847), 322.

² C. Ramsden, *Bookbinders of the United Kingdom (outside London), 1780-1840*, 1954, notes one Nathaniel Greacen, Diamond, Monaghan, recorded in Pigot's Dublin directory, 1824.

produced work for Friends number six at Cork, five at Waterford, and two at Limerick, and there is the lone production by J. Stacy of Carrick, who printed a *Serious address to people of all denominations, professing Christianity, whose dependence is upon the arm of flesh* (1800), for Thomas Leary, of Waterford.

ENGLISH PROVINCES

Scotland and Ireland provide comparatively simple illustrations, and have been chosen as examples. Local knowledge of the various English regions would, no doubt, enable Friends looking into the question to draw some useful conclusions for the districts in which they were interested. But there are some general features which stand out.

As might be expected, the power of the London press meant that the Home Counties had relatively few imprints. All the work went to London. There is only one imprint in Bedfordshire, at Luton; four in Hertfordshire; three in Bucks; six each in Surrey and Kent (none at this period at Ashford in Kent); eight in Middlesex; and eight in Hampshire. There is a single imprint in the Isle of Wight just after our period, in 1862; the anonymous pamphlet written by Rebecca Peirson entitled *Kindness to animals answers better than cruelty*, was published in London by Marlborough and Company, and at 7 Cross Street, Ryde, by J. Briddon.

The outer fringe of counties in this area makes rather a larger showing: Berkshire has ten imprints; Oxfordshire 13; Sussex (cut off somewhat from metropolitan influences by the lines of the Downs and the heavy clays of the Weald) 15; and Essex 24, nearly all provided by the strong Quaker group centred round the Two Weeks' Meeting in Colchester and in Chelmsford. The East Anglian counties are strong, matching in the number of imprints the output of Friends found in the West Country. Norfolk with 27 imprints leans heavily on Norwich, where there was a good deal of Gurney work; about half of the 23 in Suffolk are Ipswich imprints. Cambridge has seven; Huntingdon two; and Northampton and Leicester four each. The sole imprint noted from Lincolnshire is that of Simon Maw Bowen's¹ *Statement of the expenditure of the parish of Gainsboro', and such other payments as are*

¹ Simon Maw Bowen, of Gainsborough, d. 1852.

usually made out of the Poor's Rate, printed in 1816 by A. Stark, Market Place, Gainsborough. Rutland produces nothing; Derbyshire six different imprints; Nottinghamshire 13. The counties on the Welsh Marches are also rather thinly represented—Staffordshire one imprint; Worcestershire 11; Herefordshire two; Shropshire four (including one from Ironbridge); and Cheshire 13. Warwickshire with 23 different imprints provides much the most prolific figure for the Midlands, and 19 of these come from Birmingham.

Towards the South-West, Wiltshire and Dorset are sparse, with seven and nine respectively, but Gloucestershire (with 13, excluding Bristol), and Somerset and Devon with 27 each, reveal some considerably spread activity; Cornwall has eight imprints, and Bristol 65.

The figures for northern England show much greater activity. The comparative strength of Quakerism north of Trent, the distance from London, and the developing centres of population like Liverpool, Manchester, Bradford, Leeds and Sheffield, can account for this. Lancashire imprints number 107, to which total Manchester contributed 43 and Liverpool 33. Yorkshire's 131 comes almost entirely from the West Riding and from York (with 43). There are no imprints from the East Riding. The York figure, greater than one would expect from its size at this period, can be attributed to the strength of the printing trade in the city. This is in itself evidence of the continuing importance of the city, handed down intact from the Tudor and Stuart period when York was the capital of the North and provided many services for the whole of the province.

Westmorland with seven imprints; Cumberland 11; Durham 22 (almost entirely Darlington and Sunderland printers); and Northumberland with 27 (of which 24 in Newcastle upon Tyne), complete the picture up to the Scottish border. These figures show much greater activity than would be expected on grounds of population alone as compared with places farther south.

NOTTINGHAM

The study of a local craft can be enlightened by a study of the craft in a wider context, and it happens sometimes that in investigating the history of Quaker printers one may come across information unrecorded locally. Histories of printing

are often confessedly incomplete, for the products of early presses were often small in bulk and so few in number of copies that their virtual disappearance is not to be wondered at. As an example of what may be found, let us take Nottingham¹—a town more famous for lace and chemicals than for the printed word.

The county of Nottingham provided thirteen imprints; two in Mansfield,² one in Newark³ and the rest in the county town. The ten printers and booksellers concerned are as follows:

First, in 1755, Samuel Creswell,⁴ "under the New Change" in Nottingham, printed Richard Finch's *Second thoughts concerning war*, to be sold by M. Cooper, at the Globe in Paternoster Row, London. Richard Finch, a clock maker of White Hart Court, Lombard Street, had written a handful of tracts, including one entitled *The nature and duty of self-defence* (1746). This had been duly answered by Friends,⁵ and Finch's 1755 book retracts his earlier statements. The reason for having the work printed in Nottingham does not appear but Cooper in London had handled most of Finch's other work.

Our second printer, George Burbage⁶ of the *Nottingham Journal*, is said to have killed twice as many "rascally Frenchmen" in the Napoleonic War, as there were inhabitants of France, by the simple device of adding a nought to each number of enemy casualties which his paper reprinted from the London newspaper. His patriotism was never in doubt, but he was quite prepared to print Samuel Hall's *Few remarks* addressed to his neighbours in the district of Mansfield and Sutton in Ashfield, explaining why Friends would suffer rather than serve or hire others to serve for them in the militia or the army (1797).

¹ See W. J. Clarke, *Early Nottingham printers and printing*, 1942.

² 1818, R. Collinson, Market Place, printed William Howitt, *Commemorative verses, addressed to the friends of Richard Leaver*; 1820? Collinson and Langley, booksellers, sold Emanuel Howitt *Selections from letters written during a tour through the United States . . . 1819*, which was printed in Nottingham and is noted below (p. 121).

³ Tomlinson, printer, Stodman Street (about 1850) printed *Extracts from the Memoranda of the late William Fountain Simmonds, of Spalding*, who died in 1849.

⁴ H. R. Plomer, *Dictionary, 1726-1775*, 66; Clarke, *op. cit.*, 23.

⁵ *An enquiry into the validity of a late discourse, intituled, "The nature and duty of self-defence"* (by Joseph Besse), 1747; and *A modest plea in behalf of the People called Quakers, in answer to . . . "The nature and duty of self-defence . . ."* (anonymous, undated).

⁶ Plomer, *op. cit.*, 39.

The third to be noticed is Charles Sutton,¹ the founder of the *Nottingham Review*. He started in the printing business in 1792, and died in 1829 at the age of 64. It is most likely that his is the name of the bookseller noted at the end of Thomas Scantlebury's *Rights of Protestants*, written in 1798 against the exclusive priesthood, tithe and so forth. Richard Sutton, son of Charles, printed William Howitt's *Three death cries of a perishing church* (1835), from articles first appearing in the *Nottingham Review*.

Fourth is Edward Hodson,² printer in St. Peter's Gate since 1811, who printed in 1814, William Singleton's delightful "Mentor and Amander: or, a visit to Ackworth School. With descriptive notes. By a late teacher." It is well worth looking at, even after one hundred and fifty years, although one may detect in it perhaps the cause of some of the anxiety which Sheffield Friends felt about this Friend.³

The next imprint to be noted is that of Jonathan Dunn, printer, South Parade, Nottingham. He had been entered on the burgess roll in 1793, and in 1825 he founded the *Nottingham and Newark Mercury*, a paper which lasted until 1852. About 1820 he printed *Selections from letters written during a tour through the United States in . . . 1819*, by Emanuel Howitt of Mansfield, brother of William Howitt. Collinson and Langley, booksellers in Mansfield, sold the book in that town. The volume deals at length with the American Indians and their descent from the lost ten tribes of Israel, but also touches on "the present situation and sufferings of emigrants."

Samuel Bennett, printer, of Hounds-gate appears to have started in business about 1818. In 1824 an edition of Joseph John Gurney's *Letter to a Friend on the Authority . . . of Christianity, and especially on the Doctrine of Redemption*, has the imprint: "Nottingham: Printed by Samuel Bennett, Market Place. Sold by him and all Booksellers." This little tract ran into a score of editions within three years, and was reprinted in places as far apart as Bradford, Yorks. and Philadelphia. The Nottingham imprint is a good example of the local press being called in to satisfy a demand which the London printers could not keep up with.

¹ Sutton & Son published editions of *The Nottingham directory* in 1815 and 1818.

² In 1814 E. Hodson published *The Nottingham directory*.

³ *Journal F.H.S.*, xlvi (1958), 280-282.

Two other little works by William Singleton had Nottingham imprints. The first: "To the Yearly Meeting of Friends, to be held in London, 1824," was printed by H. Wild, Houndsgate. And in that year the same printer printed and sold *A Letter addressed to Joseph John Gurney, on the subject of his Publication, entitled, "Observations on the Peculiarities of the Society of Friends, &c., &c., By a True Quaker."*¹

The eighth imprint to be noticed is that of William Dearden, who sold Richard Howitt's *The Gypsy King, and other poems* (1840).²

John Howitt,³ printer and bookseller in Clumber Street, Nottingham, printed editions of the Abridgment of Lindley Murray's *English Grammar* in 1840 and 1844. In 1857 he printed extracts from the works of Jacob Boehme for John Green Hine, of Nottingham, under the title *A glimpse of light for some who think they walk in darkness*.

Finally, George Batters, the founder of the *Nottingham Advertiser* is known to Friends for the little tract printed from the works of Isaac Penington under the title, *On the pure . . . nature of God's Truth*. The imprint reads—"G. Batters, Steam Machine Printer, Nottingham, 1854."

The illustrations provided by the Nottingham examples cover most of the cases and circumstances which caused Friends to have printing done locally. These may be summarized as follows: the occasional works of local Friends for which a London imprint is not desired; one or two works by Friends, who, for one reason or another, do not wish to have their work printed in their home town; work which is farmed out by the London publisher, perhaps to ensure that the author has close contact with the printer to see it through the press, or because it is such a (rare) best seller that other printers must be pressed into service to satisfy the demand; the tract printers who did work for the societies for distributing literature which sprang up with the evangelical revival; the booksellers who sold some portion of an edition for the main publisher, located elsewhere.

¹ In 1844 H. Wild printed another short anonymous paper entitled *Remarks on Adam Clarke's Introduction to the Prophecy of Ezekiel*.

² W. Dearden, Carlton Street, published a *Directory of Nottingham* in 1834; he is located by W. J. Clarke, *op. cit.*, as a bookseller in Stoney-street, 1841.

³ Published *The Nottingham annual register, 1840*, and (in 1844) Stephen Glover's *History and directory of . . . Nottingham*.

The only item which appears to be lacking is the one which is printed as an official statement from the local Friends' meeting. It may be that Nottingham Friends were not numerous enough for such work to be required. It is quite clear how fragmentary some of the evidence is, and how hazardous it would be to draw conclusions from such information as we have been able to collect.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER (1768-1841)

A Yorkshire Friend would find it difficult to close without having mentioned the career of William Alexander, the York bookseller and printer, whose shop is now an exhibit in the Castle Museum, York.

William Alexander was born in Suffolk in 1768,¹ and in his early life he was engaged in the corn and flour trade. Sometime after his marriage to Ann Tuke² he removed to York. His obituary in the *Annual monitor* for 1842³ states that he "commenced the business of a bookseller" in 1812, "and afterward that of printing." In point of fact he seems to have begun in 1811, for that is the date of Robert Sutcliff's *Travels in some parts of North America, in the years 1804, 1805, & 1806*, with its illustrations of Niagara Falls, the frontispiece of a "Farm House in the Genesee Country," and the delightful plate of "American Friends going to Meeting in a Settled Frost." The Castlegate address appears in 1813. Up to 1821 the majority of works are stated to have been printed for him, but from 1822 William Alexander seems to have done a good deal of his own printing. From 1821 to 1830 the style of the firm is sometimes "W. Alexander and Son"; but from 1822 until the death of the founder in 1841, the style is more usually "W. Alexander and Company". In the early years of the business over a dozen books, including Robert Sutcliff's *Travels*, were printed by Caesar Peacock at the Courant Office in York,⁴ but in 1813 Thomas Wilson

¹ William Alexander, b. 3.i.1768, son of Dykes and Martha Alexander, of Needham Market. I am grateful to E. Margaret Sessions of York for help in this section.

² *York Herald*, 24.ix.1796.

³ Number 30 in the annual series.

⁴ Caesar Peacock printed for William Alexander between 1811 and 1818, and produced the York M.M. Catalogue of books (1813), and the Retreat Annual reports, 1815-18. His death (aged 40) is recorded in the *York Gazette*, 25.xii.1819.

and Sons, printers in High Ousegate, make their appearance as printers of the *Annual monitor*, and it seems likely that they did much of the work for William Alexander up to 1820 at least.¹

In the thirty years from 1811 to 1841 William Alexander published over two hundred works for Friends, and was a subsidiary publisher of nearly fifty more. His period of greatest activity came between 1822 and 1830, when a dozen works a year bore his imprint. The most lasting venture which he set on foot was the *Annual monitor*, an annual calendar, and obituary of Friends recently deceased. It was first issued for the year 1813, presumably seeing the light of day at the end of 1812. William Alexander edited this work, and it continued to be published by his executors after his death, and the series continued until 1920.

William Alexander's career illustrates how, in a small society, a man of resource and energy can take the initiative even when local conditions may seem unfavourable, and can do more than established firms with greater position and advantages can seem to achieve. The obituary in the *Annual Monitor* sets his printing for Friends in its place in the larger canvas of his life:

Desirous of recommending the writings of Friends, and of promoting a more general circulation of them in the northern counties, he re-printed and published various editions of valuable works; and was often engaged in instructive compilations of his own. Devoting much of his time also in a cheerful endeavour to serve the interests of our religious Society, rejoicing in its prosperity, and sympathizing deeply in its trials.

This is all of a piece with the man. He presented his own publications to the Birkbeck Library at York, and worked on the catalogue of that collection. There is a note in an interleaved and annotated copy of John Whiting's *Catalogue* (1708) in that Library,² that he had had the book "taken in pieces & bound up again *interleaved*; with a new back & the

¹ Thomas Wilson and Sons, between 1813 and 1842 printed many editions of Lindley Murray for Longmans, continuing a connection which began with the firm of Wilson, Spence and Mawman. See Plomer, *op. cit.*, 267.

² The copy concerned had been given by Sarah (Hurd) Whiting (John Whiting's widow) to Ma: Clutton (aunt of Morris Birkbeck, and by marriage a maternal relation of William Alexander) in 1735, and had come to York with Morris Birkbeck's books.

old sides, for York Quarterly Meeting, Eleventh Month, 1820."

William Alexander's practical bent is in evidence in his *Remarks on temporary accommodations for holding meetings for worship; principally extracted from Observations on the construction and fitting up of Meeting Houses, &c.* On obtaining a room, he says:¹

In country towns, or in villages barns are, in general, easily procured, and furnish decidedly the most desirable accommodations, being lofty, and not so liable to the excessive heat which is a frequent attendant on other crowded rooms. Granaries, warehouses, school-rooms, large coach-houses, and other offices or outbuildings, may also be sometimes found that are very eligible; and in general they will be preferred to a room in an Inn.

He gives instructions for a Stand or Ministers' Gallery, which should be provided with a hassock, but if there is no hassock available, then one may be provided by stuffing a sack "*pretty firmly* with hay, straw, or saw-dust; or by folding, or rolling up the cushion of a chaise."

The lighting too was considered, and he gives instructions for making a chandelier:

Care should be taken to hang them in such places, that a current of air may not occasion the tallow to drop on any person under them.

William Alexander's observations in this pamphlet show that for him book publishing was but one aspect of his interest in publishing Truth.

It has been calculated that there were more than 7,500 works published for Friends in the century from 1750 to 1850,² and we have now only begun to scratch the surface to find out what sort of books they were and about the craftsmen who helped these publications to see the light of day.

At the beginning it was noted that the field had not been explored, and that is still true now; but this address will have achieved its object if it has opened the gate for local Friends to see what might reward them if they entered this field of research.

RUSSELL S. MORTIMER

¹ Page 4.

² *Journal F.H.S.*, xi (1914), 9.

Provisional Index of Printers and Publishers of Friends' Books in the British Isles, excluding London, 1750-1850

The names of English printers are arranged under the places where they worked, those of each county being kept together. Irish, Scottish and Welsh printers appear at the end. The dates are those of works issued for Friends. *c.* (for *circa.*) indicates an approximate date. Corrections and further information welcome.

ENGLAND

Bedfordshire. LUTON—Hill 1834.

Berkshire. FARINGDON—R. Knapp 1844.

MAIDENHEAD—G. W. Wetton 1814-25.

NEWBURY—S. Maunder; Seymer Metford 1842; W. Pinnock; M. W. Vardy 1840.

READING—T. Barcham 1847; Lovejoy 1845; Ruser 1801; J. Ruser 1825; John Snare *c.* 1850.

Bucks. HIGH WYCOMBE—Ebenezer King 1836; T. Orger 1802-3.

NEWPORT PAGNELL—S. Manning 1821.

Cambs. Cambridge—Barrett 1813; Deightons 1813; James Hodson 1813; Merrill 1781; Nicholsons 1813; T. Stevenson 1830.

Cheshire. CHESTER—Broster & son 1800; T. Griffith 1823; J. Hemingway 1807; W. Leicester; W. Minshull 1796.

MACCLESFIELD—Bayley 1806-8; J. Wilson 1807.

NANTWICH—J. Bromley 1774.

STOCKPORT—S. Bradburn *c.* 1840; Thomas Claye 1821-*c.* 1825; J. Dawson *c.* 1824; George Jones 1825-42; J. Lomax 1812-19; Stockport Tracts *c.* 1821-22.

Cornwall. CAMBORNE—L. Newton 1838-46.

FALMOUTH—J. Lake *not before* 1812; J. Trathan 1840.

LISKEARD—T. Williams 1822.

REDRUTH—Bennett.

ST. IVES—Gardner *c.* 1833-45.

Cumberland. CARLISLE—B. Scott 1817; Hudson Scott 1836- ; Scott & Benson 1842-45.

COCKERMOUTH—Thomas Bailey 1821.

MARYPORT—Joseph Ostle 1845.

PENRITH—J. Brown 1811-12; Francis Jollie jun. 1813.

Derbyshire. CHESTERFIELD—C. Gallimore *c.* 1845-50.

DERBY—Henry Mozley & sons 1836-39; H. Mozley *c.* 1820-23; Richardson & Handford 1820?

Devonshire. BARNSTAPLE—W. Avery 1849.

BIDEFORD—Wilson 1849.

EXETER—T. Balle 1823-36; T. Brice *c.* 1771; Eveleigh 1807; W. C. Pollard 1832; William Roberts 1848-55; E. Score 1778; W. Symonds 1807; Thorn 1781.

KITCOTT—Richard Adams 1797.

PLYMOUTH—William Cookworthy *c.* 1770; Edmund Fry jun. 1835-38; Haydon 1793; Mrs. Maurice *c.* 1770; D. May & son 1845; Nettleton & son 1812; P. Nicholson 1834; Rowe *c.* 1837; Jenkin Thomas 1848; Robert Weatherley *c.* 1770; J. Whitfield *c.* 1770; J. H. Williams 1833-34.

STOKE-DAMAREL—Samuel Thorne, 1823.

Dorset. BLANDFORD—J. Shipp 1816.

GILLINGHAM—Edward Neave 1756-*c.*1845; John Thompson 1818?

SHAFTESBURY—George Adams 1830; T. Adams 1816; John Rutter 1821-29.

SHERBORNE—Cruttwell *c.* 1808; E. Penny 1811.

Durham. DARLINGTON—James Backhouse 1773; Isaac Coates 1831; Coates & Farmer 1836-*c.*1850; W. Oliver 1842; Harrison Penney 1849-60; J. Readman *not after* 1849; Joseph Sams 1822-1856?; Times Office 1848-55; John Wilson 1840.

DURHAM—Walker 1822.

STOCKTON—Christopher & Jennett 1809-13; R. Swales 1838.

SUNDERLAND—Thomas James Backhouse 1842; Hewitt Burnett 1842; H. J. Dixon 1843; James Graham 1784; Reed & son *c.*1815; Jona. Richardson 1821; G. Summers *c.*1816-19.

Essex. BRAINTREE—J. Joscelyne 1829-31.

CHELMSFORD—Clachar 1795; A. Copland; Frost 1781; Henry Guy 1830-32; Marsden 1820; Meggy & co. 1812; Meggy & Chalk 1830-32.

COGGESHALL—H. Doubleday *c.*1850; J. Joscelyne 1829.

COLCHESTER—James Barker 1806; Chaplin 1820; Enfield 1833; J. Fenno *c.* 1830; Filer & Totham? 1833; John and Thomas Kendall 1761; John Kendall 1773; W. Keymer 1772-95, jun. *c.* 1810; Marsden 1806.

DUNMOW—Carter *c.* 1830.

MALDON—P. Youngman 1825.

SAFFRON WALDEN—G. Youngman *c.* 1830?

STANSTEAD MOUNTFICHET—Samuel Day 1796.

Glos. BRISTOL—James Ackland 1848-60; John Ashton 1835-45; Barry & son 1818; N. Biggs 1796; J. Binns; S. Bonner 1769-90; Bonner & Middleton 1781; Bonners & co. 1803; A. Browne 1786; W. Browne 1814; Browne & Manchee 1819; Mary Bryan 1810-16; Bulgin & Rosser *c.*1778-92; Thomas Cadell 1765; J. Chilcott 1829-46; F. C. Cookworthy 1818; C. Davey 1841; George Davey 1832-46; Davey & Muskett 1828-32; Barton Dell 1834; Bristol Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge *c.* 1823; Bristol Society for Teaching the Adult Poor 1813; S. Dennis 1808; J. Desmond 1806; R. Edwards 1797; John Evans & co. 1816; Elizabeth Farley 1765; Samuel Farley 1750-51, 1766-73; J. Faulder 1850; Arnee Frank 1820; Joseph Fry 1762; D. G. Goyder 1823; J. M. Gutch *not before* 1825; H. & A. Hill 1849; C. A. Holl 1808; Martha Knight 1833-34; T. Lane 1811; Lavars & Ackland 1840-44; Charles M'Dowall 1813-*c.*1823; T. J. Manchee 1820; M. Mathews *c.* 1840; John Mills 1799-1805, & co. 1808; Thomas Mills 1775-*c.* 1792; Stephen Penny 1765-69; William Pine 1771-76; W. Pine & son 1796; John Player 1799; Thomas Pole 1823; Ann Polglase 1822; J. Richardson *not before* 1814; W. Richardson 1825; Rose *c.* 1820-30; John Rose 1799; Philip Rose 1810-64, jun. 1840;

Rouths & Nelson 1775; E. Sibly 1786; J. Southcott 1807; Tanner Bros. 1841; Daniel Vickery 1848; John Wansbrough 1826; Wansbrough & Saunders 1819-22; M. M. & E. Webb 1812-33; Whereat *c.* 1839- ; R. Winpenny *not before* 1744; John Wright 1827-*c.*1840; Wright & Bagnall 1829-33; Wright & Albright 1839-41.

CHELTENHAM—Rowe & Norman 1844.

CIRENCESTER—S. Rudder 1793-97; C. H. Savory.

DIDMARTON—Richard Watts 1754-74.

GLOUCESTER—W. L. Bellows 1838; Hough & son 1807; J. E. Lea 1837; Edward Power *c.* 1836; D. Walker 1804-13; J. Washbourn 1807.

PAINSWICK—Daniel Roberts 1801.

TEWKESBURY—James Bennett 1823; Dyde & son *c.* 1792.

Hants. ALTON—W. Pinnock 1810-11; Jeremiah Waring 1808.

SOUTHAMPTON—James J. Bennett; Fletcher & sons 1833; Fletcher, Forbes & Fletcher 1840; T. King 1831; William Skelton *not before* 1825.

WINCHESTER—Hugh Barclay.

Herefs. HEREFORD—Joseph Jones *c.* 1840-1854.

LEOMINSTER—Leominster Friends' Tract Association.

Herts. HERTFORD—Stephen Austin.

HITCHIN—B. Abbott 1845-46; Paternoster 1830-*c.*1855; C. & T. L. Paternoster 1849; S. G. Shaw 1817.

Hunts. HUNTINGDON—Robert Edis 1815; T. Lovell 1814; A. P. Wood 1825.

Kent. BLACKHEATH—R. R. 1834.

DOVER—J. May 1829-34.

MAIDSTONE—Joseph Brown 1845; Nicholson *c.* 1850.

STROOD—G. J. Ford 1849; S. Wheeler & son 1845-49.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS—Jasper Sprange *c.* 1784-1816.

Lancs. BLACKBURN—Wilcockson *not before* 1816.

BOLTON (BOLTON-LE-MOORS)—John Forster 1820; Gardner *not before* 1816; James Hudsmith 1850.

LANCASTER—Batty *c.* 1817; A. Busher 1785; Holme & Jackson 1831-40; Robert Hudson 1835.

LIVERPOOL—Benson & Mallett; C. Bentham & co. 1829-30; Eleanor Dickenson 1824; Egerton Smith & co. 1794; Evans, Chegwin & Hall 1816; W. Fearnall 1861; H. Forshaw 1815; W. Grapel 1823-27; H. Greenough *not before* 1759; G. F. Harris 1809; John Hodgson 1836; Thomas Hodgson 1832-40; Johnson 1820; W. Jones 1809; T. Kaye *c.* 1820; J. Lang 1822; Liverpool Auxiliary (Tract) Association 1822; J. M'Creery 1805; David Marples 1827-32, & co. 1835-48; J. Nevett & co. 1823; J. Nuttall 1801; Reston & Taylor 1815; G. & J. Robinson 1823-24; William Robinson 1801-6; Rockliff & Ellis 1843; Rushton & Melling 1824; Smith & Galway 1816; George Smith 1824-*c.*1830; James Smith 1806-*c.*1824; James & Jonathan Smith 1820; Walmsley 1839; J. R. Williams *c.* 1840; Willmer & Smith 1836; Ephraim Wood.

MANCHESTER—William Alcock; I. Aston *c.* 1821; Bancks & co. 1835-36; Bancks & Southern; John Bradshaw 1820-32; Bradshaw & Blacklock 1848-49; I. Clarke 1822; C. H. Cowdroy & co. 1817; Isaac Crewdson 1829; R. & W. Dean & co. 1801-2; W. P. Ellerby 1836-38; J. Gadsby 1843; Joseph Gillett 1843-46; John Harland 1835;

- Harrison & Crosfield 1832-35; John Harrison 1829-48; William Irwin 1846- ; Lewis, Ainsworth & Whitmore 1846; Manchester Auxiliary (Tract) Association 1816-26; Manchester & Stockport Tract Association 1834- ; Mrs. Richardson *not before* 1816; T. Rogerson *not before* 1816; S. Russell 1808-27; Russell & Allen 1810; William Simpson 1837; H. Smith & Bros., Iris Office 1822; Henry Smith 1828-36; Wardle & Bentham 1813-14; M. Wardle 1817; C. Wheeler & son 1800; Godfrey Woodhead 1838-*c.*1845.
- MOSSLEY—W. B. Micklethwaite *c.* 1840?
- PRESTON—Livesey *c.* 1836-40; H. Oakey 1842; Isaac Wilcockson 1814-19.
- ROCHDALE—M. Lancashire 1824.
- WARRINGTON—J. Harrison 1818; Thomas Hurst 1840; William Leicester 1796-1803.
- WIGAN—Brown *not before* 1816.
- YEALAND—J. & J. Jenkinson 1762; James Jenkinson 1762.
- Leics.* LEICESTER—J. Combe *c.* 1806; T. Combe 1811, & I. Cockshaw *c.* 1816; Leicester Friends' Tract Association.
- Lincs.* GAINSBOROUGH—A. Stark 1816.
- Middlesex.* CHISWICK—C. & C. Whittingham.
- STOKE NEWINGTON—Llewellyn 1819.
- TOTTENHAM—George Stockwell Coventry 1814-20; George Coventry 1832- ; Eliza. Day; A. & E. Taylor.
- UXBRIDGE—H. G. Cosier 1835; William Lake 1830; T. M. Lake 1844?
- Norfolk.* LYNN (KING'S LYNN)—Marshall & Sudbury *c.* 1787; Thew & son 1845-58.
- NORWICH—R. M. Bacon 1811; Bacon & Kinnebrook 1829; Christopher Berry 1767-73; John Bousell 1786-1800; Burks & Kinnebrook 1824; Chase & co. 1786-87; Crouse 1781, & Stevenson 1793; J. Fletcher *c.* 1832-41; Jarrold 1829- ; Kitton 1829; Matchett, Stevenson & Matchett 1829; Parsons 1829; Stacy 1829; W. Stevenson 1793; Stevenson & Matchett 1817-29; T. Webster 1842; Stephen White 1769; Simon Wilkin 1821-29; Wilkin & Fletcher 1832-34; Wilkin & Youngman 1818-20; Yarrington & Bacon 1789-90.
- YARMOUTH—W. Alexander 1820; D. Boulter *c.* 1787-93; Sloman 1820.
- Northants.* NORTHAMPTON—T. Burnham 1772; F. Cordeux 1824; J. Lacy 1772; R. Smith 1772.
- Northumbs.* NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE—J. Barker 1844; J. Blackwell & co.; Emerson Charnley 1817; J. Clark 1817; Charles Henry Cook 1831; Charles Empson 1833; Fordyce *c.* 1840; John Hernaman 1837; S. Hodgson 1809-17; T. & J. Hodgson 1823-39; Mackenzie & Dent 1815; P. S. Macliver 1846; J. Mitchell 1817; Newcastle upon Tyne Bible and Religious Tract Association *c.* 1813- ; M. Ross *c.* 1845; T. Saint 1766-79; Isaac Thompson & co. 1754-59; M. Turnbull 1779; Edward Walker 1818-21; John White 1766.
- NORTH SHIELDS—T. Appleby 1811; W. Barnes? 1819; Port of Tyne Pilot Office 1840; Henry Taylor 1811.
- Notts.* MANSFIELD—R. Collinson 1818; Collinson & Langley 1820?
- NEWARK—Tomlinson *c.* 1850.

NOTTINGHAM—Samuel Bennett 1824; George Burbage 1797; Samuel Creswell 1755; Dearden 1840; J. Dunn 1809-*c.*1820; Hodson 1814; J. Howitt 1840-57; Sutton 1798; Richard Sutton 1835; H. Wild 1824-44.

Oxon. BANBURY—T. Cheney 1813; W. Gauthern; William Potts 1834-40.

HENLEY—Hickman & Stapledon 1825; Thomas May 1772; Norton 1801; G. Norton *c.* 1780-90.

NORTH NEWTON (NEWINGTON)—William Gauthern 1813-26.

NORTH WESTON, THAME—H. Wigley 1832.

OXFORD—T. Bell 1821-23; J. & J. Fletcher 1781-*c.*1792; J. Ham 1832; Joseph Jewell.

Salop. IRONBRIDGE—William Smith 1809-17.

SHREWSBURY—J. Cotton & J. Eddowes 1755-56; J. Eddowes 1756-69, & W. Eddowes 1785-1810.

Somerset. BATH—Bath Friends' Tract Association; John Binns 1816; Binns & Robinson 1825; Mrs. Binns 1825; Binns & Goodwin 1840- ; Charles Clark 1850-52; R. Cruttwell 1777-1810; W. Frederick 1752; S. Hazard 1775-1801; Hazard & Binns 1807; Keenes 1803; William Matthews 1786-1802; W. Meyler 1786; Noyes & son 1859-60; Edmund Rack 1774-85; Wood, Cunningham & Smith 1824.

BRIDGWATER—Aubrey 1835; William Cass 1827; J. Clark 1823-48; J. Poole 1813?; Frederic Wood 1848.

FROME—W. P. Penny *not after* 1849.

GLASTONBURY—J. Wakefield 1810.

HUSH EPISCOPI—John Coates 1827.

MILBORNE PORT—J. Denham 1777.

Staffs. HANLEY—Albert 1824.

Suffolk. BURY ST. EDMUNDS—Gedge & Barker 1811; Rackham *c.* 1787-1820.

IPSWICH—Burton 1846; J. Bush 1812; Cowell 1820; S. H. Cowell 1836-38; King & Garrod *c.* 1833; King & Savage 1812; Piper *c.* 1839; J. Raw 1808; J. Read *c.* 1830-38; Thomas Shave 1767-73; Shave & Jackson 1787.

SUDBURY—J. Wright 1846-*c.*1858.

WOODBIDGE—Columbian Press 1823; John Loder 1820-41; S. Loder 1812; Edward Pite 1848; B. Smith 1819-24; Smith & Jarrold 1817-*c.*1821; Philip Thompson 1820-23.

Surrey. CROYDON—William Annan 1828; T. Harding 1806; Harding, jun. *c.* 1810; Robert Page 1847; C. Shuter 1841.

GUILDFORD—S. Russell & co. 1824.

Sussex. BRIGHTON—H. R. Attree; William Brunton 1829-31; T. Choat; Ruddock 1810; Arthur Wallis 1842-52.

CHICHESTER—W. Mason 1809-17.

HORSHAM—J. Phillips *c.* 1802.

LEWES—Geo. P. Bacon; Baxter & son 1841; Thomas Davey *c.* 1850.

LINDFIELD—W. Eade 1834-51; Charles Green (Greene) 1827-32; Schools of Industry 1832-40.

Warwicks. BIRMINGHAM—John Baskerville 1765; Beilby & Knotts 1817-18; Birmingham Friends' Tract Association; J. Butterworth 1830; T. Chapman 1809, Richard Davies 1838-*c.*1841; Christopher

Farl 1766; T. Groom *c.* 1841; B. Hudson 1837-47; Knott & Lloyd 1810; Luckman & Lesson 1771; H. Newman 1845; Pearson & Rollason 1788; Richard Peart *c.* 1822-1835; John W. Showell 1841; M. Swinney 1803; T. Warren jun. *c.* 1751; White & Pike 1848- .

COLESHILL—Tite 1822.

COVENTRY—T. Luckman 1771.

LEAMINGTON SPA—John Hewett 1848.

WARWICK—E. Heathcote 1826.

Westmorland. KENDAL—Thomas Ashburner 1730-76; R. Hargreaves 1849; Hudson & Nicholson 1836-*c.*1840; Knight, Hudson & co. 1837; W. Pennington 1795-1801; T. Richardson 1826.

Wilts. CALNE—Edwin Bailey.

SALISBURY—Brodie & Dowding 1816; James Easton 1799; J. Hodson 1776; W. Jeffrey *c.* 1803.

SUTTON BENDER—John Fry 1762.

Worcs. DUDLEY—J. Payton 1794; J. Rann 1794.

EVESHAM—J. Agg *c.* 1812; George May 1835.

STOURBRIDGE—J. Light 1807; J. West 1792.

WORCESTER—H. Deighton 1828; Thomas Eaton 1811; R. Lewis 1771; J. Tymbs *c.* 1802; H. B. Tymbs & H. Deighton 1828.

Yorks. ACKWORTH—George F. Linney 1845-53.

BARNSLEY—Burton Infant School (Burton Grange); Thomas Lister 1834.

BRADFORD—John Atkinson 1831; W. H. Blackburn 1826-29; Bradford Friends' Female Tract Association 1833-34; Bradford Friends' Tract Association *c.* 1826-36; H. B. Byles *c.* 1843; John Dale 1836-45, & co. 1856- ; T. Inkersley 1824; T. Kinnersley & co. 1830; George Nicholson 1788; J. Nicholson *c.* 1820; Nicholsons 1787; Benjamin Seebohm; Henry Wardman 1833-55.

DONCASTER—D. Boys 1803.

HALIFAX—Nicholson & Wilson *c.* 1846.

HUDDERSFIELD—T. G. Lancashire 1845; Thomas Smart 1804.

LEEDS—J. Binns 1794; Edward Baines 1801-56; S. Birchall 1796; J. Bowling 1791; G. Copperthwaite 1771; H. Cullingworth & son 1838; Davies & co. 1811; B. Dewhirst 1816; Thomas Gill 1794-9; J. Heaton 1847; S. Hirst 1807; Intelligencer Office 1817; J. Y. Knight 1836; James Lister 1736-52; Jonathan Lupton 1817; Anthony Pickard 1829-62; Christopher Pickard 1824; M. Robinson *c.* 1836; H. W. Walker 1847- ; Webb, Millington & co. 1842; Thomas Wright 1785.

MARSDEN (near Colne)—Caleb Haworth 1838.

OTLEY—William Walker 1829.

PONTEFRACT—Charles Elcock 1831-36; J. Fox & son *c.* 1832; James Lucas 1836-42.

RIPON—John Lewis Linney *c.* 1836.

SCARBOROUGH—W. T. & J. Ainsworth *c.* 1830; J. Grice *c.* 1829-45; John Rowntree *not before* 1845; S. W. Theakston 1846; C. R. Todd, jun. 1848.

SHEFFIELD—Henry Andrew Bacon 1823-24; Christopher Bentham 1816-17; Bentham & Ray 1817-18; Bower, Bacon & Bower *c.* 1812; J. Gales 1789; John Hoyland 1814-16; Leader 1849; James

Montgomery, Iris Office 1800-5; J. Pearce jr. 1844; G. Ridge 1836; Slater, Bacon & co. 1801; John Smith 1798-*c.*1815; C. & W. Thompson 1813; William Todd 1813.

STOKESLEY—J. S. Pratt *c.* 1840?

WAKEFIELD—Illingworth & Hicks 1843.

WHITBY—G. Clark 1822; Dorothy Ripley 1817-22; Rodgers; Joseph Taylor 1787; C. Webster 1783-87; Thomas Webster 1794-1805.

YORK—William Alexander 1811-41; A. Barclay 1823-25; A. Bartholoman 1807; Nathaniel Bell 1782; William Blanchard 1777-1825; John Bleckly 1822-25; Henry Cobb 1821; John Coultas 1837-58; T. Deighton 1811; C. Etherington 1762; John Gilfillan *c.* 1750; W. Hargrove & co. *c.*1813, 1815, 1833; Hargrove, Gawthorp & Cobb *c.* 1819; Hargrove, Gawthorp & Hargrove 1820; Herald Office 1816; John Hill 1842; William Hipsley 1837; R. Hogarth 1836; George Hope 1849- ; James Hunton 1850-54; John Lewis Linney 1840-49; Lucas Lund 1787; J. Middleton 1807; C. Peacock 1811-18; R. & J. Richardson 1810; H. Sotheran 1835; John Spencer & co. 1812; John Todd 1781; Henry Tuke *c.* 1807-1810; John Tuke 1841; Walker & Pennington 1782; T. Weightman 1842-*c.*1843; Thomas Wilson & Robert Spence 1787, 1800-10; Wilson, Spence & Mawman *c.* 1789-1799; Thomas Wilson & son 1810-12, & sons 1813-42; York Friends' Tract Association 1842- ; York Tracts 1828- ; York Temperance Society 1836.

IRELAND

BALLITORE—Mary Leadbeater 1808; Abraham Shackleton 1818.

BELFAST—Archer & Ward 1804; Doherty & Simms 1801-2; T. Mairs & co. *c.* 1830?; News-Letter Office 1801; William Robinson 1835-7; Simms & McIntyre 1841-51; J. Smyth 1802; J. Smyth, D. & S. Lyons 1803; Wethereld & co. 1833; James Wilson 1832.

CARRICK—J. Stacy 1800.

CORK—John Bolster 1814; Ellis Chandlee 1776; Dennis Donnoghue 1776; George Ridings 1837; William West 1815, & co. 1814.

DUBLIN—T. M. Bates 1793; Christopher Bentham 1818-25; Bentham & Gardiner 1824-6; Bentham & Hardy 1825-9; Henry Bewley 1844; Thomas Burnside 1796; P. Byrne 1796; John Charrurier 1795; W. Corbet 1792; Thomas Courtney 1814; James Cumming & co. 1813-20; John Cumming 1813-20, 1841; Cumming & Ferguson 1847; J. Curry, jr. & co. 1847; W. Curry & co. *c.* 1827; William Curry, jr. & co. 1829-36; Dublin Liberty Infant School 1829; Dublin Tract Association 1814- ; James Duffy 1839; B. Dugdale 1796; Fannin & co. 1842-52; L. Flin 1780; David F. Gardiner *c.* 1820-36; W. Gilbert 1801; Gilbert & Hodges 1804-5; James B. Gilpin 1848-54; M. Goodwin 1818; James Gough 1767; John Gough 1767-70, 1794-1805; Graisbury & Campbell 1814-8; George Grierson 1806; Thomas Harding 1776; Philip Dixon Hardy 1832, & sons 1844; Hibernia Press Office 1813-20; Hodges and McArthur 1825; Hodges & Smith 1848-60; Isaac Jackson 1750-68, & son 1770-1; Robert Jackson 1772-92; Rachel Maria Jackson 1793-4; George Johnston 1796; J. Jones 1789-92; John Jones 1805, 1811-21; W. Jones 1793; W. Keegan 1826; Martin Keene

1808; P. Kennedy 1841; Mary Leadbeater 1808; R. M'Allister 1793; Alex. M'Culloh 1768; J. Milliken 1796; J. Moore 1793; P. Moore 1796; Robert Napper 1794-1807; William Pickering & son 1820; W. Porter *c.* 1800; J. Rice 1793-6; Henry Russell 1835; John Ruddy 1757-72; W. Sleater 1772; Richard Moore Tims 1822-39; Wakeman 1837; William Watson 1815; Richard Davis Webb 1829-37; Webb & Chapman 1838-53; Thomas I. White 1827-39; P. Wogan 1796.

LIMERICK—Canter *c.* 1833; George M'Kearn & sons 1849.

MONAGHAN—N. Greason 1826.

WATERFORD—John Bull 1817-22; Thomas Gooch 1817-22; Thomas Smith Harvey 1839-44; Matthew Power 1790; S. Smith & son 1830.

SCOTLAND

ABERDEEN—Alexander Brown 1813, & co. 1833-34; D. Chalmers & co. 1813-8; F. Frost 1813.

EDINBURGH—John Anderson, jun. 1836; Harry Armour 1848-55; E. Balfour 1801; Balfour & Smellie 1772-92; Ballantyne & co. 1814; Adam Black 1813; William Blackwood 1820- ; Campbell & Clarke 1826; A. Constable & co. 1805-25; J. Dickson 1798; J. Fairbairn 1798; Greig 1813; John Johnstone 1840; John Lindsay & co. 1832; J. Lindsey & co. 1842; Maclachlan & Stewart 1842-52; John Menzies 1850- ; Adam Neill & co. 1799; T. Nelson *c.* 1850?; William Oliphant junr. & co. 1837; W. Oliphant & son 1842; Oliver & Boyd 1842; J. Pillans & son 1823; James Robertson 1819-20; C. Stewart 1820; W. & C. Tait 1824-5; William Tait 1827; Thomas Turnbull 1811; Waugh & Innes 1819; William Whyte & co. 1823-34; C. Ziegler 1848.

FALKIRK—Daniel Reid 1777.

GLASGOW—Andrew & John M. Duncan 1819; R. & A. Foulis 1760; George Gallie 1829-53; Glasgow University Press 1819; R. Griffin & co. 1825-47; John M'Leod 1836; M. Ogle 1832; Robertson & Atkinson 1826; William & Robert Smeal 1843- ; R. Urie 1751; Young, Gallie & co. *c.* 1820.

WALES

CARMARTHEN (CAERFYRDDIN)—I. Daniel; Ioan Ross 1773.

RHUTHYN—R. Jones 1832.

SWANSEA (ABERTAWE)—F. Fagg *c.* 1835; H. Griffith *not before* 1821; E. Griffiths 1833; T. Jenkins 1809.

GUERNSEY

N. Mauger 1824.