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Another look at the Dicey-Marshall publications: 1736-1806¹

Abstract: *The two London presses in Bow Churchyard and Aldermary Churchyard, which were founded by William and Cluer Dicey, are well known to have published a wide range of popular publications during the middle years of the eighteenth century. The Bow Churchyard business was operated by the Dicey family between 1736 and 1763. The Aldermary business was established by them in 1754 but operated by their junior partner, Richard Marshall, who became an equal partner in 1764 and the proprietor in 1770. The Aldermary business was continued by Richard's son, John, after 1779 and survived until 1806, when it was moved to Fleet Street. Many details concerning the dates of operation of the presses and the business relationship between the two families are not well understood and a number of misconceptions have grown up over the years. The article therefore seeks to collate recently discovered evidence and survey the output of the presses, explaining how the Aldermary business came to be restructured at the turn of the nineteenth century.*

Introduction

In a paper read before the Bibliographical Society 21 January 1969, entitled 'The Diceys and the Chapbook Trade,' Victor Neuburg apologized for the 'fragmentary and incomplete nature' of his account.

Subsequent research may reveal details about their activities in Leicestershire, or even William Dicey's origins; but it is unlikely that the picture I have drawn, with all its imperfections, can be substantially augmented.²

Neuburg did not know the dates of operation of the Dicey's press in Bow Churchyard, London, during the middle years of the eighteenth century or of the associated press in Aldermary Churchyard, nearby. He was also unsure about the business relationship between Cluer Dicey (William's eldest son) and Richard Marshall, with whom he jointly issued a catalogue from Aldermary Churchyard in 1764.

There were also other areas where Neuburg was uncertain of the details. In 1972, writing about the 'Dicey chapbooks' he was pessimistic about ever knowing the full extent of the activities of the business in this field of publishing.

The only fact beyond dispute is the sheer quantity of titles produced by this firm. Any conjecture beyond this is unlikely to be confirmed, and the cluster of problems surrounding them are, from this period of time, quite insoluble.³

This lack of concrete information was understandable as neither of the Diceys, nor Richard Marshall was a member of the Stationers Company and they operated on the fringes of the established book trade.⁴ The letterpress items published by their presses are hardly ever dated and most have unspecific imprints such as ‘Printed and sold in Bow [or Aldermay] Churchyard.’ Others have generic imprints such as ‘Printed and sold in London’ and large numbers of them have no imprint whatsoever.

In 1992 Gilles Duval added some biographical notes about William Dicey’s background, and a second article by him in 1994 was primarily concerned with describing some of the popular prints issued by the Diceys and pointed out that the company catered for the lower end of the print market.⁵ This was confirmed by Sheila O’Connell in her 1999 study of the popular print in England, who commented that ‘there is more to be discovered about other aspects of their business’.⁶

During the forty-five years since Neuburg’s paper, several legal documents have come to light which provide clues to the dates of operation and ownership of the Dicey (later Marshall) presses. Scholars now have new bibliographical tools and techniques to provide a better understanding of the range of activities and publications of the firm. Most notably, a transcript of the unique Dicey-Marshall Catalogue of 1764 is available online.⁷ This demonstrates that the business was primarily a wholesale supplier of popular literature and images to retail bookshops, country chapmen and those exporting such materials to the colonies. Neuburg knew of the existence of this catalogue but had never seen a copy.

Likewise, bibliographical sources such as the *English Short-Title Catalogue*, (ESTC), *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online*, (ECCO) or the *Bodleian Library Ballads Database* now record and illustrate many of their letterpress publications. Several institutions, including the British Museum and the Museum of London have made available online images and searchable descriptions of their print collections and the *Burney Newspapers* online provides useful background and dating information about the business both from the classified advertisements and, occasionally, the news items. This may therefore be an appropriate time to survey the output of these two related presses, as a whole, for no group of British publications from the eighteenth century has been more subject to wrongful-attribution, misdating and incorrect description. However, before doing so, it is first necessary to identify several important misunderstandings that have grown up with respect to the businesses.

Misconceptions about the Dickey-Marshall presses

The two most significant fallacies to have grown up with respect to these presses relate to the dates of their operation and their order of precedence. For example, William St Clair stated that ‘during most of the eighteenth century the centre for manufacturing [popular literature] was Aldermary Churchyard in London.’⁸ This statement would have been supported by ESTC which included many ‘Aldermary’ publications with assigned dates from the late seventeenth-century to 1800. Neuburg believed that William Dickey’s first London address was at 4 Aldermary Churchyard, and that he later moved to Bow Churchyard, which subsequently became ‘the centre of the [chapbook] trade’ in London. Duval, on the other hand, believed that the ‘Bow Church-Yard address is the earlier one,’ although ‘the two addresses seem to have co-existed for a number of years.’⁹

The dates of operation of the two presses are now easier to establish than they were in Neuburg’s day. The press ‘at the sign of the Maidenhead, opposite the east door of St Mary-le-Bow in Bow Lane’(later No.10 Bow Churchyard) was founded by John Cluer during the first decade of the eighteenth century, and taken over by his brother in law William Dickey, as a going concern in November 1736.¹⁰ William was one of that enterprising group of London printers who set up in the provinces in the quarter century after the lapse of the ‘Printing Act’ in 1695. After an abortive start to his career in St Ives in 1719, he had established himself in Northampton by 1720, where he founded the *Northampton Mercury*. The business in Bow Churchyard initially operated in close association with the existing press in Northampton, but in 1740 William made his eldest son, Cluer (b.1715) a partner with responsibility for the London business.¹¹

The Bow Churchyard business prospered, publishing a range of popular single-sheet publications as is indicated by the large published catalogue published by W. & C. Dickey in 1754.¹² William Dickey died in November 1756 and his Northampton printing business and newspaper passed to Cluer, who seems to have returned to live in the town soon afterwards,¹³ leaving the London business in the hands of others.

As indicated by Duval, the Bow Churchyard press operated in parallel with a second Dickey press in Aldermary Churchyard for nine or ten years. It was certainly still operating late in 1762 when it printed a collection of songs from Isaac Bickerstaff ‘s play ‘Love in a village’, first performed in the December of that year. The last known reference to it as a printing business is in James Boswell’s *London Journal* for 10 June 1763, which records his visit to

‘the old printing-office in Bow Church-yard kept by Dicey, whose family have kept it fourscore years’. Thereafter the Dicey family retained these premises for many decades but used them for the sale and distribution of their patent medicines.¹⁴

The printing press that would later become No. 4 Aldermay Churchyard was situated in an alley (now blocked) leading from Watling Street, past the east end of the church of St Mary Aldermay. It was established by William Dicey and Co. late in 1754.¹⁵ It produced similar materials to the press in Bow Churchyard, frequently new editions of the same titles, often using the same wood blocks. The decision to open a second London press appears to have been related to the purchase of a quarter share in the Dicey printing business by Richard Marshall in November 1753.¹⁶

Richard Marshall’s origins are obscure but his family seems to have been associated with the London book trade. He was listed as a customer of the Diceys living in St Martin’s Lane in 1753, and later took up residence in Aldermay Churchyard, where he christened a son, John, in November 1756.¹⁷

Cluer Dicey and Richard Marshall seem to have become equal partners in the Aldermay Press by 1764 when they jointly issued the Dicey-Marshall catalogue, but their partnership did not survive for long. They are last recorded together 27 March 1770, and Richard’s name, alone, is found on the imprint of prints dated 20 August 1770.¹⁸ Richard remained the sole proprietor of the press until his death in August 1779, when shares in the business were divided between his son, John, (50%), his nephew, James, (25%) and his widow, Eleanor (25%). The partnership of John Marshall & Co. operated for a decade but was dissolved 14 November 1789, and John Marshall continued in business alone. He remained working at the same address until November 1806, when he transferred to 140 Fleet Street.¹⁹

A third misconception was that the Dicey family remained as printers and publishers in London throughout the existence of the Aldermay press and that ‘the foundations of their family prosperity [laid] upon the production of chapbooks and other ephemeral popular literature.’ Again, this appears not to be the case. The first bequest in William Dicey’s will relates to ‘my third part and share of in and unto Doctor Bateman’s Pectoral Drops and all other medicines and shares in medicines drops waters and other preparations made or vended ... at my wholesale warehouse in Bow Church Yard London,’ which were all left to Cluer.²⁰ The proceedings of the subsequent Chancery suit of Hill v. Dicey of 1764 in which two of his sisters sued him over their bequests, make it abundantly clear that Cluer Dicey

maintained a huge distribution network for patent medicines throughout the provinces and that publishing was no longer his principal source of his income. He claimed that he had asked his father to ‘ease him from the burden of managing the printing business’ in London, because he had ‘the whole Management of the Medicinal Business on his hands’ but William rather offered him a partnership in the printing business. He also claimed that he would ‘gladly have been excused that partnership... the profits arising from that trade being very small and inconsiderable’. The surviving records of this case, take up two large parchment rolls and include a transcript of Dicey’s business ledgers for the years 1756 to 1764 together with a statement from Richard Marshall. They confirm that the patent medicines were run as a separate enterprise from the printing and publishing.²¹ Likewise, virtually all the newspaper advertisements and notices issued by the firm relate to the sale of their patent medicines.

There is no evidence that Cluer Dicey, his son Thomas, or any other members of their family were involved in any form of publishing from Bow Churchyard after 1763, or from Aldermay Churchyard after 1770. Cluer’s name is to be found on a few Northampton imprints between 1771 and his death on 3 October 1775, but he appears to have largely retired to his estate at Little Claybrook in Leicestershire, leaving his profitable patent medicine business under the control of Thomas. His will, drawn up 17 September 1772, confirms that he was still on friendly terms with Richard Marshall, but no longer had any business interest in the Aldermay Press. The Dicey family did, of course, remain printers and newspaper proprietors in Northampton throughout the nineteenth century.²²

A fourth misconception is that the Diceys and their successors were primarily publishers of chapbooks, and indeed it is misleading to think of the ‘chapbook trade,’ as such. Of the more than 6,000 discrete items listed or mentioned in the Dicey-Marshall catalogue (the vast majority of which were single sheet or smaller publications) only 325 could be described as chapbooks. The largest single category was the 3,000 slip-songs but the most valuable stock was undoubtedly the 2334 maps and popular prints of different sizes (2000 of which were copper engravings). In addition to the prints published by the business, the W. & C. Dicey catalogue of 1754 refers to ‘many other Things in every Branch of the Trade, lately purchased, the Stock of several Printsellers deceased,’ It is noteworthy that both *Lowndes's London directory*, (1786), and *Wakefield's merchant and tradesman's general directory* c. 1789, refer to the Aldermay business as ‘printsellers’.²³

A fifth misconception is that the partnership of John Marshall & Co. gave up printing broadside ballads and chapbooks, following the death of Richard in 1779, in order to

concentrate on the production of children's books. The Aldermary Churchyard press is described as 'active 1762-1775' in a recent bibliography, and John Marshall is not even mentioned in the list of 'Leading Booksellers, Printers and Publishers engaged in the Chapbook Trade in London' given by Neuburg.²⁴ However, although John Marshall is now remembered as a publisher of children's books, the records of the Chancery suits of Marshall v. Evans 1793 and Marshall v. Evans 1794 show that throughout the 1780s and early 1790s, the printing presses in Aldermary Churchyard continued with the trade of letterpress ballads, songs, and chapbooks. Publication of these appears only to have been abandoned in February 1796 after John Marshall was appointed the sole printer of the Cheap Repository Tracts which were a new form of popular literature. One reason for this misconception was that many items printed by the press between 1783 and early 1796 appeared under a new imprint: 'Sold at 42 Long Lane, West Smithfield.'²⁵

Dacey-Marshall Publications

The misconceptions about the dates and nature of the Dacey-Marshall business, coupled with the unspecific or missing imprints has created many difficulties for those seeking to record and study their publications. This is most apparent in the bibliographical record. At the time of writing, ESTC contained 158 entries with imprints from Aldermary Churchyard with assigned dates between 1685 and 1750 (before the press was established), and 159 entries from Bow Churchyard with assigned dates after 1764. There are also nearly fifty editions (printed in Aldermary Churchyard) with '42 Long Lane' imprints, dating from before 1795 which have been wrongly attributed to a (then non-existent) press operated by John Evans.²⁶ Furthermore, there are many 'Aldermary' editions attributed to the Daceys, which are more likely to have been printed by Richard or John Marshall, and several hundreds of items with no imprints or 'Printed and sold in London' imprints which may, with confidence, be attributed to one or other of the presses on the basis of the woodcuts used and the appearance of the title in the Dacey-Marshall *Catalogue*.

There has been a tendency to treat the 'Bow' and 'Aldermary' presses as independent businesses, whereas they were situated approximately one hundred meters away from one another, shared the same proprietors, workmen, printing materials and produced many of the same titles. In fact, many of the titles listed in the Dacey-Marshall *Catalogue* issued from Aldermary Churchyard are now known only from Bow Churchyard editions and it seems likely that the equipment and stock from the earlier address had been transferred to the

Aldermary premises by 1764. Another problem lies in the scale and diverse nature of the business. Giving evidence in a suit in the court of Chancery in 1793, John Marshall stated that he had 'to pay the wages of a great number of servants (forty at least) who were continually employed in his printing business at Aldermary Churchyard.' Of course these were not all printers, and by this date he was also operating two bookshops, but there is no doubt that his printing and publishing business was substantial for its time and that it published materials in a number of different fields.²⁷

Many of the different formats published (such as the broadside ballads, chapbooks, children's books, maps and plans etc.) have been studied by specialist scholars in these fields working in isolation from one another. This approach is useful to understand the origins of some of their publishing which was rarely original, but has also tended to obscure the picture of the business as a whole. The following account therefore seeks to survey and describe the main types of publications produced by the firm and provide notes about the difficulties in identifying and dating them.

The range of publications produced during the mid-1760s is well illustrated by Dicey-Marshall catalogue which has been described by R. C. Simmons, in the essay accompanying his transcription. Its contents may usefully be compared with the incomplete (and possibly conflated) catalogue in the Bodleian Library issued by William and Cluer Dicey from Bow churchyard (c.1754-60) and which was once owned and annotated by Bishop Thomas Percy.²⁸ There are also several brief catalogues of titles printed on spare pages the publications, which together give a good picture of the business during the 1750s and 1760s. Both Richard and John Marshall included catalogues of their children's book titles in their publications during the 1770s and 1780s and John Marshall & Co. began to list recently published items in newspaper advertisements after 1780. In May 1793, John Marshall, now working alone, issued a broadside Catalogue, which listed more than a hundred of his children's publications.²⁹ Likewise various catalogues and lists survive of the Cheap Repository Tracts published by Marshall between 1795 and 1799. All of these sources will be drawn upon in the following account.

Both the W. & C. Dicey and the Dicey-Marshall catalogues were organised according to the printing process used and then the format of the publications, beginning with intaglio processes for maps and engraved prints, followed by relief printing such as woodcut prints and the various formats of letterpress publication. This order has been used in the following account, although it has been necessary to insert later categories of publication not found in

these catalogues (such as engraved song sheets, mezzotint prints and Cheap Repository Tracts) into the sequence.

Intaglio printing

Intaglio printing processes such as line engraving and etching (where the ink lay below the printing surface) required the use of a rolling press, rather than the common letter press used for relief printing. Both types of press are depicted with equal prominence on the engraved trade card of William and Cluer Dicey, or the engraved border used for various letterpress keepsakes.³⁰ Likewise, John Pendred's 'Directory,' from circa 1784–5 lists Marshall & Co. at the Aldermary Churchyard press both among the letterpress printers but also as 'wholesale vender of prints and small books.³⁰' Two-thirds of the Dicey-Marshall *Catalogue* is taken up listing almost two thousand maps, popular prints, engraved copy books, drawing books and writing sheets etc. and in later years there was also a substantial trade in engraved and etched song sheets and small engraved books as well. If nothing else, the value of the copper plates involved must have represented a considerable capital investment, as is clear from a newspaper advertisement announcing the theft of five engraved plates from Dicey's printing office in Aldermary Churchyard and offering a reward of two guineas for their return.³¹

One of the perennial problems in dealing with Dicey-Marshall letterpress publications is the absence of dates and unspecific nature of their imprints. In theory, this should not be the case with intaglio publications. Under the terms of the Engraving Copyright Acts of 1734 and 1767, print publishers were required to identify and date their work, although the dating usually referred to the first publication of the image rather than the date of the impression in question. However, as Duval noted, 'the Diceys were mainly concerned with the middle and lower (an understatement for lowest of the low) sections of the market,'³² and were unlikely to need the protection afforded by the Act. Dates were not always given in Dicey-Marshall maps and prints as many of them were printed from second hand plates, originating from before the Act, or else were of such poor quality that they were unlikely ever to be pirated. From the 1770s onwards, Richard and later John Marshall began to produce more original prints and these do tend to be dated more specifically.

Maps and plans

In both the W & C Dicey, and the Dicey-Marshall catalogues the geographical and astronomical maps and plans ranged in size from those on 'Two Sheets of Elephant Paper' [each 584mm × 711mm.] to 'Six curious small maps in quarto,' [229mm x 279mm]. There

was one three sheet map of the Holy Land and the Nile Delta, lavishly decorated with vignettes of scenes from the Bible, but this was listed among the three sheet engravings, under the title *The Land of Promise*. In later years both Richard and John Marshall published maps on three sheets from the Aldermary press, for example, *A New and Correct Map of South Britain*.³³

The price list attached to the Dickey-Marshall catalogue indicated that two-sheet maps were sold wholesale at six shillings a dozen (with thirteen sheets to a dozen). They included ‘A Curious Map of the World,’ described as ‘the best and neatest ever finished in Europe’; maps of the known continents; several different maps of England and Wales, or England and a plan of London, Southwark and Westminster.³⁴ These were not original surveys but rather re-workings of earlier plates. Thus the British Library catalogue describes the Cluer Dickey & Co. edition of *Africa Corrected from Observations of Mess. of ye Royal Societies* as a ‘late state of Charles Price's map of Africa [published 1711] with Dickey's imprint added’.³⁵ Other maps of continents were new impressions of those first published by Richard Seale during the 1740s and 1750s. Other two sheet maps listed in the catalogue were of England and Wales and a plan showing ‘Ogilby’s roads: or, A Set of Tables, of all the principal direct and cross road of England and Wales, with their Distances in measured and computed Miles.’ were also available on a single sheet of elephant paper, for four shillings a dozen.

Richard Marshall later reprinted several of the Dickey large scale maps during the 1770s, as the impressions were sold off, such as *A New and Correct Map of South Britain*, c.1776.³⁶ In 1782 and 1789 John Marshall & Co. published new editions of the 1765 *A New and Accurate Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster and Borough of Southwark*.³⁷ Likewise in 1794, John Marshall (alone) published a new edition of *The World, Laid Down from the Newest Observations and Discoveries in Several Different Projections*, first published by George Willdey, ca. 1715.³⁸

The ‘six quarto maps’ on sale were not specified in the Dickey-Marshall catalogue, but their titles were listed in the earlier W. & C. Dickey version. They included of a ‘Map of England and Wales,’ various road maps, ‘A Chart Shewing Sea Coasts of England and Wales’, and ‘An Hemisphere: or Map of the World.’ The earlier catalogue also included a category entitled ‘Maps Done up in a Manner Suitable for the Pocket’ and consisted of folded maps of England with information for travellers, but these do not appear to have survived.

During the early 1750s the company acquired the secondhand plates of a number of English county maps including John Speed's, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, first published in 1610-12, together with other county maps as re-issued by Bassett and Chiswell early in the 1700s and Henry Overton in the 1740s.³⁹ Sixty county maps and their prices appear, out of place, in the Dickey-Marshall catalogue and seem to have been added as an afterthought. They were then being offered at two shillings a quire or divided, at 3s. 6d.-They may also have been published in the form of *The English Atlas, or a Complete Set of Maps of all the Counties in England and Wales*, which survives in a few cases with manuscript title pages. The copy in Cambridge University Library (Atlas 4.77.2) primarily contains 'C. Dickey & Co., in Aldermary Churchyard,' editions although there are also several Bassett and Overton editions to fill in gaps, and one road map with the imprint of W. Dickey in Bow Churchyard. Donald Hodson has expressed his doubts whether the atlas was published, as such, suggesting that the surviving examples may be samples of the maps put together by the Diceys, or their agents, as a convenient way to display their stock to trade customers.⁴⁰ In any event, by the 1760s the plates were clearly worn and the original surveys extremely dated.⁴¹ Thomson also refers to an 'issue of Speed's Atlas of Great Britain by Cluer Dickey and Richard Marshall 1764 ... the plates worn so thin that to obtain an impression they had to be retouched.' Nevertheless, they remained on sale until at least 1770.⁴²

Other maps are known to have existed but apparently have failed to survive, such as the *A New and Correct Map of North America* advertised by the Aldermary press in October 1755, and 'two pocket globes, celestial and terrestrial maps', listed in the Dickey-Marshall catalogue.⁴³

Prints

According to Duval, the Diceys as print publishers 'have been less studied if only because very few items have survived.'⁴⁴ Although the great majority of the broadside ballads and chapbook titles listed in the Dickey-Marshall *Catalogue* can be identified, this is the case for less than 10% of the print titles. This may be partly because the bibliographical control of print publications is less well developed than for letterpress items. The Diceys were undoubtedly selling poorer quality products in great numbers with low survival rates but scholars do now have the benefit of the two detailed catalogues which at least list their titles. Also more catalogue descriptions and reproductions of Dickey and Marshall prints have recently been made available online by museums and salerooms. It is therefore possible to draw some general conclusions.

The print trade in London was flourishing during the middle years of the eighteenth century, especially during the 1760s.⁴⁵ Approximately half of the Dickey-Marshall catalogue is devoted to listing nearly nine hundred copperplate sheets in different sizes, without including a further 'Four Hundred different Kinds of Prints, Each on a Quarter of a Sheet of Royal Paper; as Scripture Pieces, Views, Horses, Heads, and other merry Designs,' which were listed as a group but not individually identified. Likewise there were 'Three Hundred different Sorts of Lotteries, Pictures for Children, as Men, Women, Kings, Queens, Birds, Beasts, Horses, Flowers, Butterflies, &c. each on Half a Sheet of good Paper.

The two Dickey catalogues usually refer to their prints as 'Copper Royals' etc. but sometimes also speak of them as engravings. Whereas maps were usually produced by line engraving, the artisan copying a pictorial image might also use other techniques which enabled a less constrained representation - such as etching. Thus many of the prints were etchings, or else were created using of a combination of engraving and etching.⁴⁶ Many of the survivors carry numbers which often correspond to the numbers in the W. & C. Dickey or the Dickey-Marshall catalogues, but also sometimes do not, indicating that there were perhaps other catalogues which have not survived.

The prints listed in the 1764 catalogue ranged in size from the huge 'North-West Prospect of the Cities of London and Westminster,' or 'Alexander's Battles on the Granicus,' on three sheets of elephant paper (each one 584 × 711mm) down to the lotteries which were tiny printed images on sheets to be cut out and coloured by children. There were thirty-six 'Large prints, each on two sheets of elephant paper,' which sold for four shillings per dozen (of thirteen). The most popular format was the 406 'copper royals' which sold for two shillings per quire of twenty-six, plain, or they 'may be had very neat colour'd in Water Colours' at four shillings per quire, or else varnished for the same or spangled, at 6s. They were subdivided into 'Scripture and other godly stories' (Bible scenes, portraits of saints etc.) and 'Mixed fancies,' (historical portraits, satires, famous buildings, rural scenes, scenes from classical literature and mythology,). Some were available as sets (such the four Apostles, the five senses, the four parts of the day etc.)

Smaller sized prints included seventy-one items on foolscap (210 × 330mm) which sold for one shilling and five pence per quire (three shillings coloured) and 145 pott (318 × 381mm.) for one shilling plain and two shillings coloured. There were also about twenty sets of 'Perspective Views, &c.' described as printed on 'half a Sheet of Demoy Paper, each Print about Ten Inches and a half wide, and Seven Inches deep, which sold for two shillings for 104

prints, which was the same price for the quarter sheets. The children's lottery pictures cost one shilling and eight pence per 104 sheets plain of three shillings and four pence coloured. As with their maps, the Diceys must have bought up engraved plates from other publishers. O'Connell points out that *Lucifer's new row-barge*, a satire on the 'South Sea Bubble' of 1721 was still being offered for sale among the 'Mixed Fancies' in the Dicey-Marshall *Catalogue*, forty three years later.⁴⁷ In fact few of the titles would have been original designs. The catalogue contained a set of Hogarth's 'Harlot's progress', first published in 1732 and which had been widely pirated by print sellers and so lent weight to the campaign to introduce copyright protection for prints.⁴⁸ The new act applied only to those designers who were also engravers – such as Hogarth, and would have had a limited impact on the Dicey business. Many of the survivors show that they have been copied from larger or better quality images first published elsewhere in the British Isles, such as the etching and engraving entitled *A view of Highgate from upper Holloway*, which was copied from an earlier engraving by W. H. Toms.⁴⁹ The Diceys had no qualms about copying prints published on the Continent, admitting in their catalogue that they were 'copying new sorts, from the various inventions of the best French, Dutch and Italian prints.' This is apparent from their series entitled *Seven Wonders of the World* which were copies (in reverse) of a similar series of prints published by Crispijn de Passe I after Maarten de Vos.⁵⁰

Both the W. & C. Dicey and Dicey-Marshall catalogues list many engraved portraits of notable people from classical, historical and contemporary times. These were mainly listed among the 'foolscap' or 'pott' sized prints and included roman emperors and their wives, saints, members of the British and overseas royal families, aristocrats, bishops, admirals, generals, judges, or writers. Many were printed from old plates or copied from earlier engravings, thereby creating confusion over their dates. Thus a portrait of Archbishop John Sharp (1645-1714), by the engraver Robert White (1645-1703) but published by C. Dicey & Co. in Aldermary Churchyard, has been attributed to 1691 by the National Portrait Gallery, as this was the date of the first publication of the image.⁵¹

The Engraving Copyright Act of 1767, extended protection to any engraver or etcher and 'every other person who engraves or causes to be engraved any print taken from any picture,' The terms of this act would undoubtedly have curtailed the activities of Cluer Dicey and Richard Marshall, and was the reason why a warrant was issued in the Court of Common Pleas on 27 March 1770 for a suit brought by Robert Sayer, a contemporary print publisher,

complaining of the infringement of his copyright for ‘Engraving &c. a certain print taken from a modern picture of Christian VII, King of Denmark’.⁵²)

Neither of the Dicey catalogues makes reference to mezzotints, a graphic representation technique that was available but had tended to be used on better quality prints. However during the 1770s cheap and sometimes humorous mezzotints grew in popularity. Thus the names of both Richard Marshall and his son, John are to be found on a number of mezzotints or composite prints (using mezzotints together with areas of etching). The earliest of these were portraits of Prince William Henry and Princess Augusta Sophia, both dated 20 August 1770. Another (undated) early example printed for Richard Marshall was a mezzotint of Anne Wentworth (Countess of Strafford) engraved by Richard Brookshaw, after the portrait of her by Sir Joshua Reynolds.⁵³

The speed at which a crude popular prints could be commissioned, executed and published by John Marshall during the 1790s is demonstrated by *A view of the extraordinary appearance of the moon between 8 and 9 o'clock on Monday night February 3rd 1794 ...*, which was published on 7 March 1794, or else his two sheet panorama of the battle of Vinegar Hill, (which took place at Wexford on 5 June 1798), published on 12th July.

Engraved copy books, drawing books and writing sheets

The Dicey-Marshall catalogue lists a number of small engraved books for the purpose of teaching handwriting and drawing which sold for one shilling wholesale and one shilling and six pence retail. Two specific examples given were ‘The Penman’s Instructor and The Youth’s Instructor in the Art of Numbers’, by George Bickham, neither of which is known to have survived. Presumably they consisted of two or three engraved plates of sample handwriting folded into octavo pages, as was the case with the other title listed by Bickham, *Fables, in verse, and other short poems... for the practice and amusement of young gentlemen and ladies in the art of writing*.⁵⁴ In addition a range of similar engraved instructions books for teaching the drawing of horses, landscapes, heads, hands, and feet, the four seasons, and battle pieces etc. were offered, copies of which do not appear to have survived.⁵⁵ The 1764 catalogue listed three hundred engraved ‘different kinds of copy-book covers’. These may have been similar to the writing blanks with engraved headpiece and vignettes produced by Dicey and Marshall. One of these entitled *Elements and Seasons Emblematically Described*, is preserved in the Cotsen Children’s Collection at Princeton. It is the only item known to have both Cluer Dicey and Richard Marshall’s name on the same imprint.⁵⁶

Engraved song sheets

Both the Diceys and the Marshalls did a great trade in popular songs, both as letterpress slips and chapbook 'Collections'. However, from the 1770s a new format of song sheet engraved on copper or some other soft metal. The text of the song would be engraved, surmounted by an illustration which would be either engraved or etched. The earliest known example from the Aldermary press was the undated *Gisbal Triumphant*.⁵⁷ It is a satirical song relating to the Earl of Bute and the Treaty of Paris, and has survived in two versions. The Morgan Library copy has no imprint or date, but the British Museum copy has the date of March 1763 below the illustration. However, since this copy also has the imprint of Richard Marshall it must rather date from the 1770s.

John Marshall printed large numbers of these engraved song sheets during the mid-1790s all of which are dated (many examples are preserved in the Museum of London and the Bodleian Library). They were an upmarket version of the letterpress slip songs he sold from 42 Long Lane, and were, perhaps, sold to the theatre-goers in London's West End to enable them to sing along with the actors. Sometimes the same song was produced in different formats for the different markets. Thus, *The Jolly Ringers*, a song by Charles Dibdin from his opera *Castles in the Air*, was produced by Marshall as a slip song in April and May 1794, and also as an engraved song sheet on 9th July.⁵⁸

Engraved children's books

During the 1770s Richard Marshall advertised one children's title, *Tommy Thumb's song book*, described as having been 'printed from copper plates',⁵⁹ and during the 1780s and 1790s his son John Marshall would publish various 'Series of prints' by Sarah Trimmer on Biblical and historical subjects for children published as 16^o books printed on one side of the page only, or else 'pasted on boards, for hanging up in nurseries'.⁶⁰

Relief printing

Relief printing processes were those which could be printed using a common printing press and include both letterpress and woodcut images. For the first four decades of its existence the Dickey-Marshall businesses concentrated on the cheapest and most popular publications using these techniques, producing large numbers of broadside ballads, chapbooks of various kinds, popular songs and woodcut prints. These works were rarely dated and tended to have rather unspecific imprints. However, from the mid-1770s onwards, members of the Marshall family

began to seek a more middle-class market with some of their children's books whilst also maintaining their core business. In time, this led John Marshall to seek a degree of respectability with ventures such as *The Family Magazine* or the Cheap Repository Tracts.

Woodcut prints

The cheapest illustrative technique available to eighteenth century printers was the use of woodblocks which were used in the chapbooks, songs, broadside ballads and children's books. They were also used for woodcut prints, to adorn the walls of taverns or cottages, described in the Dicey-Marshall catalogue as: 'finely cut from the best French, Dutch, and English copies ... With verses applicable to each print. Since the image in woodcuts was in relief, they could be printed with letterpress type using a common press. Such prints sometimes incorporated substantial amounts of text. Thus thirty per cent of the area of *The Portraiture of King Charles the First on Horseback* was a letterpress commentary on the woodcut image. This begins to blur the distinction between a woodcut print with accompanying letterpress and a printed broadside with a woodcut illustration. In *An Authentick View of the City of Lisbon in Portugal, at the Time of the Dreadful Earthquake, of 1755*,⁶¹ the proportions have been reversed and only one third of the page is taken up by the woodcut, even though the imprint reads 'London: cut, printed, painted, and sold, by, W. & C. Dicey.'

Woodblocks were more durable than copper plates and could withstand constant re-use over many decades or even centuries, explaining the re-use of a sixteenth century woodcut of St George by the press. Old blocks might be cracked or badly worm eaten, as with the block depicting the adoration of the Magi in *The Glory of Man's Redemption*,⁶² but were still pressed into use. A coloured woodcut in the National Art Library entitled *The Happy Marriage*, shows a couple in seventeenth century costume, but has the imprint 'Printed and Sold at No. 4 Aldermary Church Yard, Bow Lane, London,' suggesting that this impression dates from the late 1770s or early 1780s.⁶³

Woodcuts were more crudely executed than the equivalent copper prints and aimed at the lower end of the print market, selling wholesale at one shilling and two pence a quire plain. They were also available crudely coloured (costing an additional two pence per quire). Two hundred and seventy eight 'wood royals' (approximately 508 × 635mm) were listed in the first Dicey catalogue, and this number had risen to about three hundred and thirty three titles by the 1764 Dicey-Marshall catalogue, although new woodcut images seem to have become less prevalent by the 1780s, when other techniques began to be employed for cheap prints. John Marshall continued to use small woodcut images in his new children's books until the

1790s and on Cheap Repository Tracts until 1799, but no new woodcut prints are known to have been published by him.

Woodcut prints covered a range of subjects likely to appeal to a popular audience, such as portraits of royalty or famous people, scenes from history or the Bible etc. About a quarter of the woodcut images in the Dicey-Marshall catalogue sought to teach religion and morality to the poor, and might contain a simplified commentary in letterpress. One such, *Saint Bernard's Vision*, was originally based on a seventeenth-century German woodcut.⁶⁴ It too was still being produced in the late 1770s or early 1780s. There were fewer depictions of artistic works, great buildings or scenery compared to the more expensive engravings. More popular subjects were chosen such as the portrait of Edward Bright, 'supposed to be the biggest and weightiest man in the world'. Sometimes they could be risqué such as *The Danger of Yielding to Temptations: or, the Power of Beauty*, (with no imprint but the title was listed as No. 274 in the Dicey-Marshall catalogue showing the courtesan Fanny Murray undressing, together with an explicit commentary.⁶⁵ Woodcuts could be used for illustrating current events such as the battle fought near Culloden, April 16, 1746, although, inevitably publication would be some time after the events in question.⁶⁶

Letterpress publications

Prior to 1799, there was no legal requirement on printers to identify themselves on their letterpress publications although publishers often chose to do so in their imprints as a means of indicating to retailers where to obtain copies. Neuburg (among others) has noted the bewildering variety in the form and wording of the imprint on publications from Bow and Aldermay Churchyard and he had seen more than thirty examples on the chapbooks alone. Duval added a further six examples in 1992, and indicated that from his studies of internal evidence (particularly woodcuts) that that 'most, if not all of the chapbooks bearing the imprint 'Printed and sold in London' were issued by the Diceys.'⁶⁷ The company also produced large numbers of songs, ballads and chapbooks with no imprint at all. If one added the various forms of imprint which included the names of one of the Marshalls and those from 42 Long Lane, then the overall numbers of imprints regularly used would be more than fifty.⁶⁸

Many of the earliest Dicey products printed at Northampton, such as *The Pope's Pedigree*, have highly explicit imprints that make clear the market he was seeking to satisfy.

Printed by William Dicey; by whom all chapmen, travellers, &c. may be supply'd with the best sorts of old and new ballads, broadsheets, histories, &c. with finer cuts, much better printed, and cheaper than in any other place in England.

After the acquisition of the Bow Churchyard press in 1736 imprints sometimes identify William Dicey as the printer in London, but give no address.⁶⁹ From around 1740 they begin to refer 'William Dicey and Company in Bow church-yard and at their warehouse in Northampton,' to emphasize the continuing close relationship between the two businesses.⁷⁰ A few examples from Bow Churchyard list 'C. Dicey' as the printer, which presumably date from after William's death when the two London presses were operating in parallel.⁷¹ However, the great majority of publications contain no printer's name, only variations on the formula 'Printed and/or sold at the printing-office in Bow Churchyard,' or similar.

The first publications from the Aldermary press, such as *The Rakish Husband's Garland*, also contained fairly detailed imprints to inform retailers and distributors of the new arrangements:

London: printed and sold by W. and C. Dicey, in St. Mary Aldermary Church-yard, in Bow-Lane, Cheapside. Sold also at their warehouse in Northampton.'

Shortly afterwards the imprints had become shortened to 'Printed by Dicey and Co. in Aldermary Church-Yard,' as on *The Drunkard's Legacy*.⁷² However, as with Bow Churchyard, the great majority of letterpress publications from the press have no name of any proprietor. Most state that the item was printed (and/or sold) 'at the printing office in Aldermary Churchyard,' or merely 'Printed (and/or sold) in Aldermary Churchyard,' which was variously described as being in 'Bow Lane,' 'Cheapside,' or merely, 'London.'⁷³ Exactly why there should have been so many variations in the form and wording of the imprints is not clear unless it was a means by which the publishers differentiated between reprints of the same title. Furthermore, on around eighty surviving editions from the middle years of the two presses, a cryptic 'st' ligature has been printed just below or to the bottom right of the imprint. Occasionally the presence of this symbol is noted in the ESTC records, but mostly not so. Its meaning is not known.⁷⁴

After Richard Marshall took over the press in the summer of 1770 there begin to appear a number of imprints identifying him,⁷⁵ perhaps as a means of notifying distributors of the change of ownership? Later the press reverted to its former practice of merely providing the address. However, house numbers to identify properties in Aldermary Churchyard begin to appear in newspaper advertisements during 1775, and were first used by Richard Marshall in

a newspaper advertisement in 1778.⁷⁶ Thus imprints identifying ‘No. 4, Aldermary Churchyard probably appeared after 1775, although it cannot be said that those without a house number in the imprint necessarily date from before.

The practice of producing imprints without giving the name of the printer/publisher seems to have remained the same with respect to the ballads and chapbooks produced during the early years of John Marshall & Co. between 1779 and 1783. In the latter year the company acquired a shop in West Smithfield, which was used as the distribution centre for these publications. Thereafter many ‘Aldermary’ productions have the imprint ‘Sold at 42 Long Lane’.⁷⁷ It is noticeable, however, that once Richard Marshall, and later John, began to produce more substantial children’s books aimed at a different audience, from the mid-1770s onwards, they began to identify themselves on the imprint. This was also the case with other more substantial publications such as *Robin Hood's Garland*, and later the majority of Cheap Repository Tracts (both discussed below).

For reasons that are not apparent, a few (perhaps two percent?) of the Aldermary ballads and chapbooks have dates, whilst the overwhelming majority do not. For example, *An Easter Offering*; a chapbook for children, was ‘Printed and sold in Aldermary Church Yard, 1769’,⁷⁸ whilst one edition of *Wanton Tom; or, The Merry History of Tom Stitch, the Taylor. Part the Second*, had the imprint ‘Printed in the Year 1786’.⁷⁹ One edition of *Youth's Looking-Glass* was also ‘Printed in the year 1786’,⁸⁰ whereas the previous edition had the imprint ‘Printed and sold in Aldermary Church-Yard, Bow Lane, London.’⁸¹ From the late 1780s, John Marshall began to date some of his children’s books, particularly those published at the author’s expense, although the majority remained undated. (He also dated large numbers of his slip songs which have the imprint ‘Sold at 42 Long Lane,’ between 1793 and 1795, but this seems to relate to his dispute with John Evans, then operating at 41 Long Lane.⁸²)

With respect to the large numbers of Dicey-Marshall broadside ballads and chapbooks which have no imprint, their appearance in collections formed at different periods between the 1750s and 1790s indicates that the practice was followed by both presses. Thomson suggested that they ‘were much used by other printers and dealers around the country who merely overprinted their addresses’.⁸³ He cited the case of John Cheney of Banbury who either later owned Aldermary woodblocks or else printed his name on those without imprints.⁸⁴

Old Ballads and Garlands

Broadside ballads, usually contained traditional songs and stories, such as Robin Hood or Fair Rosamond: they were printed and marketed quite differently from the contemporary popular

melodies (which would be issued as slip songs). In both the W. & C. Dicey and the Dicey-Marshall catalogues they are described as ‘Old Ballads: printed in a neater manner, and with cuts more truly adapted to each story, than elsewhere.’ They were usually printed on one side of a single sheet, or a half sheet, of paper in landscape orientation, with one or more woodcut illustrations of varying sizes. No music was given, but they might contain a direction in the subtitle as to which traditional tune they might be sung. They sold wholesale for eight shillings per ream of twenty quires (each 48 sheets) which equated to 10 per penny.

Ballads were among the earliest items to be printed at William Dicey’s press in Northampton in the 1720s, his having discovered a ready supply of suitable texts in *A Collection of Old Ballads* published by James Roberts between 1723 and 1725.⁸⁵ As Dianne Dugaw points out, ‘he liberally filched [the contents of these volumes] - texts, headnotes, illustrations and all.’⁸⁶ In later years, Cluer Dicey began to reprint other similar texts taken from seventeenth century black letter ballads from his press in Bow Churchyard. In fact the Diceys became important figures in the mid eighteenth century ‘ballad revival’, initiated by Roberts’ collection, by re-introducing the texts to a popular audience. The other key document in the ballad revival, Bishop Thomas Percy’s *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), also owed a considerable, although unacknowledged, debt to the more than three hundred ballads supplied to him by Cluer Dicey from his warehouse in 1761.⁸⁷ Percy did refer to Cluer Dicey in his correspondence as ‘the greatest printer of ballads in the kingdom’, but also as ‘an acquaintance of a much lower stamp.’⁸⁸ There were 341 ‘Old Ballads’ titles listed in the W. & C. Dicey catalogue, which had grown to 361 by the 1764 Dicey-Marshall catalogue, and it seems likely that there were well over four hundred broadside ballad titles published by the Dicey and Marshall businesses. The number of issues and editions represented by these figures is impossible to say, although must be in the thousands.

To give two out of dozens of possible examples, *The Unfortunate Concubine*, (to the tune of, The Court Lady) was first printed by William Dicey in Northampton in the late 1720s.⁸⁹ It then included the detailed headnotes taken from the *Collection of Old Ballads*, and was usually printed on a full sheet of foolscap paper. It subsequently went through editions (without the notes) with imprints from Bow-Churchyard, Aldermary Churchyard, 42, Long Lane and at least two editions with no imprint. By this time it was printed on a half sheet of paper but all of these editions used the same woodcut illustration.⁹⁰

Similarly, *The Wanton Wife of Bath*, (sung to the tune of Flying fame) first appeared in the early seventeenth century and had been through at least ten editions by the time Dicey & Co,

printed an edition in Bow Churchyard, with a large woodcut showing Christ allowing the wife into heaven's gate, despite her having previously been denied entry by various Biblical figures. There are a further eight editions which have the same woodcut. Two of the nine have Bow Churchyard imprints, three with Aldermay Churchyard, four editions without any imprint (one of which has been incorrectly attributed to John Evans) and one with 'Sold at no. 42, Long-Lane'.⁹¹ The latter was printed at the time that John Marshall was in dispute with John Evans, the former manager of 42 Long Lane, who had set up in opposition to him in the shop next door. Thus there is also an edition with a different woodcut and the imprint 'Printed by J. Evans, No. 41, Long-lane, West-Smithfield.'⁹²

There are a significant number of conflated entries within the existing bibliographical record for these broadside ballads. For example, the two copies of ESTC T50429, *The Unhappy Lovers Garland*, in the British Library and the Houghton Library have the same typography but one of the two woodcuts is different. Likewise the British Library copy of *Bite upon the Miser* has different woodcuts from the Cambridge (Madden Garlands) or Chethams Library copies.⁹³ At least ten further examples of such conflation could be cited among the ballads, but the true extent of the problem will only become apparent once all libraries allow their clients to use digital cameras for such comparisons.

The decision by John Marshall to cease the production of traditional broadside ballads in the mid-1790s, and how they came to be acquired by John Pitts (his former apprentice) is related by Thomson.

When the involvement with the Cheap Repository occurred, there is some evidence that Marshall disposed of a goodly portion of his stock to Thomas Wise of Rosemary-Lane, London. When Pitts set up in business on his own account in 1797 ... he decided to continue with the old style ballad-house that he had originally been apprenticed to. He therefore purchased all the Dicey stock he could.⁹⁴

The title page of the W. & C. Dicey catalogue implies that there was originally another category of publication entitled 'Garlands' but the relevant pages are missing and this term was dropped from the title page of the Dicey-Marshall *Catalogue*. Forty of the ballad titles listed in the Dicey-Marshall catalogue have the term 'Garland' as part of their titles, often in conjunction with a place name or an occupation – such as *The Cambridgeshire Garland* or *The Fisherman's Daughter's Garland*. (It also occurred in the titles of three of the chapbooks

discussed below.) Thus the term seems to have lost its original meaning of an anthology of poems by this time and was used as a descriptor to refer to narrative poems or songs, in much the same way that the term ‘tragedy’ frequently occurs in the titles of ballads and chapbooks. There was only one true garland listed in the catalogue: *Robin Hood’s Garland*, which does not fit within any of the categories. This was printed as an octavo book on six sheets and sold for sixteen shillings per hundred. It was one title to which they usually added the name of the publisher (presumably to differentiate it from the large number of other editions then available. It was one of the first titles printed by William Dicey in Northampton and was so perennially popular that there are surviving editions with the imprints of W. and C. Dicey, Cluer Dicey, Cluer Dicey & Co. R. Marshall and John Marshall & Co. as well as one edition ‘Printed and sold in London.’⁹⁵

Slip Songs and Christmas Carols

The contemporary popular songs from the London theatres or the pleasure gardens, such as Vauxhall or Ranelagh, were printed on slips of paper in formats of 1/4⁰, 1/8⁰, or occasionally even smaller sizes. They would usually have a small woodcut below the title, and sold for four shillings per ream of 960, or twenty songs for a penny, (or half the price of the broadside ballads). They were not listed individually in the catalogues, just a note given of their existence.

There are near two thousand different sorts of slips; of which the new Sorts coming out almost daily render it impossible to make a Complete Catalogue.⁹⁶

This number had risen to ‘near three thousand’ by the Date of the Dicey-Marshall *Catalogue* of 1764 and they were the most numerous category of publication.

Many thousands of eighteenth-century slip songs survive among the Madden Songs at Cambridge University, the Harding Collection in the Bodleian, in the Houghton Library and in the collections of the British Library. The early examples do not have imprints and none are known with a publisher’s name and/or a Bow Churchyard imprint. However, for reasons already referred to, many produced between mid-1793 and early 1796 have dates and the imprint ‘Sold at 42 Long Lane’. Four slip songs also survive with John Marshall’s name together with an Aldermary Churchyard imprint, which appear to date from the very end of the eighteenth century after it became a legal requirement for printers to identify their work, such as the edition of *The Blue Bell of Scotland* where the words of the song have been altered to refer to the Napoleonic Wars.⁹⁷

A sizeable proportion of the surviving songs ‘appear’ to come from the Dicey-Marshall presses and individual items can sometimes be identified from the woodcuts used. For example, *Ground Ivy*, uses the same woodcut of a woman carrying a staff as *The Whole Life and Death of Long Meg of Westminster*, which has an Aldermay imprint.⁹⁸ Likewise, *Country Toby* uses the woodcut of an old man with a rake that is used in Thomas Robins, *The Arraigning and Indicting of Sir John Barleycorn*, which survives in editions with Bow Churchyard, Aldermay Churchyard, and ‘Printed and sold in London’ imprints.⁹⁹ The crude woodcut of a woman sitting in front of curtains which appears on *The Blue Bell of Scotland*, (referred to above) appears on several other contemporary slip songs including *The Bonny Lass of Aberdeen*.¹⁰⁰

Presumably new editions of Christmas carols were issued each year. They were treated slightly differently from other songs as they were printed in groups of three or four on broadsheets (although with portrait rather than landscape orientation) as well as individually as slip carols. Six examples were listed in a separate part of the Dicey-Marshall *Catalogue*, but no prices were given. These broadsheet collections would be decorated with ornate wooden borders and woodcut illustrations. Thus the *Three New Christmas Carols*, printed in Bow Churchyard had woodcuts depicting the four Evangelists, St Peter and St Paul. A later version of the same title (with different carols), this time printed in Aldermay Churchyard, contained woodcuts which, to the modern eye, do not readily equate with Christmas, including images of a skeleton and the ‘Grim Reaper.’¹⁰¹

Out of the ‘ten different Sorts of Slip Carols’ listed in the catalogue and no doubt may others issued in later years, only six examples are known to survive. These are only unidentifiable from ordinary slip songs, by their titles or subtitles. As with other slip songs they were printed without imprints, but illustrated with woodcuts which appear in other Dicey-Marshall publications.¹⁰²

Chapbooks

The term ‘chapbook’ was not in common use until the mid-nineteenth century and the firm rather referred to the small books that they sold to a wide ranging and unsophisticated readership as ‘Histories’, ‘Patters’, ‘or ‘Collections’, in their various catalogues and advertisements. A modern definition of a chapbook would focus on the size and format: and would refer to an unbound pamphlet consisting of a single folio sheet of paper in one of three formats: octavo (8°) with sixteen pages, duodecimo (12°) with twenty-four pages and sextodecimo (16°) with thirty-two pages.¹⁰³ This definition would apply to the Dicey-

Marshall editions except that many were printed in half sheets giving half this number of pages.¹⁰⁴

Histories

These were the largest group, described as ‘printed in a neater manner, and with better cuts, more truly adapted to each story, than elsewhere’.¹⁰⁵ They were in 12^o format (usually with twenty-four pages, but occasionally with twelve). The Dicey-Marshall examples provided the majority of texts that were reprinted a century later in John Ashton’s *Chapbooks of the Eighteenth Century*. Ashton had also noted that the Aldermary Press was ‘the principal factory’ for the production of such chapbooks in eighteenth century Britain.¹⁰⁶ The ‘history’ descriptor was used in the context of ‘a series of events’ or, ‘an event or story represented pictorially’, rather than to describe the subject of the volumes concerned. They contained a wide range of popular treatments of both fictional and non-fictional subjects and were by no means limited to historical topics. Biographies of kings and other historical figures, classical tales, legends, fairy tales, tales of the supernatural, condensed versions of contemporary literature such as *Grace abounding*, *Gulliver’s travels* or *Moll Flanders*, books of jokes, of fortune telling, the interpretation of dreams, simple religious titles and geographical descriptions were also included. In fact, twenty out of the twenty-three subject categories in the ‘Harvard College Catalogue,’ are represented.¹⁰⁷

The texts of the histories were mostly in prose, but might occasionally be in verse, as in the case of *The Gloucestershire Tragedy*.¹⁰⁸ Sometimes the same story might be published in different treatments as both a broadside ballad and a history, such as ‘The Valiant London Apprentice,’ ‘Fair Rosamond,’ or ‘Chevy Chace.’ Most of the titles were not original to the Diceys and had appeared in chapbook format some years before they were printed in Bow or Aldermary Churchyard. Thus ‘Long Meg of Westminster’ can be traced back to early chapbook titles of the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁹

The histories were usually well illustrated with small woodcuts; both on the title page and within the text and this may explain why they seem to have been widely collected. The illustrations in some cases appear to have been cut specifically to illustrate the text in question (as for example those illustrating *Tom Thumb*, or *Puss in Boots*). Others would be of a more generic type (such as a man on horseback, a beautiful woman, two men duelling, etc.) and would re-occur at intervals in different stories, and also on the broadside ballads produced by the company. Sometimes cuts which were clearly designed for one story were nevertheless

used in another – for example, the cut from Tom Thumb which appears on the title page of *Fairy Stories*.¹¹⁰

More than any other category of Dicey-Marshall publication, the histories appear to have been collected and now survive in multiple editions with a bewildering variety of imprints. For example, *The Famous History of the Valiant London 'Prentice*, survives in at least ten editions with two different forms of imprint from Bow Church-Yard, three from Aldermary Church-Yard; three editions were 'Printed and sold in London' and one with no imprint.¹¹¹ For some reason, no editions among the histories are known with the imprint 'Sold at 42 Long Lane,' but there are large numbers with the imprint 'Printed and sold in London.'

In the price list at the end of the Dicey-Marshall *Catalogue* these are described as 'Penny History Books' which no doubt represented their retail price. Their wholesale price was two shillings and six pence (thirty pence) for 104 copies, giving the sellers nearly a 250% mark-up. One hundred and sixty four 'Histories' are listed in the W. & C. Dicey catalogue, but a number of them were issued in more than one part, and so 186 volumes are represented. There was also a note that, 'besides the above, there are many other histories printing'.¹¹² Over the next four years or so some titles were withdrawn and new ones issued so that the figures given in the Dicey-Marshall catalogue are broadly similar (165 titles in 185 volumes). Overall there appear to have been in the region of 220 titles or part titles) issued between 1736 and 1796, represented by about 750 surviving editions, but these figures can only be rough estimates. As with the broadside ballads there are a number of conflations and a few ghost editions within the existing bibliographical record, and doubtless further new titles and editions will come to light in due course.¹¹³

Patters

These were the cheapest chapbooks usually printed from half sheets, in a small 8⁰ format giving eight pages (although there are a few examples in 12⁰ with twelve pages, and 8⁰ printed from full sheets with sixteen pages). They had far fewer illustrations than the histories, often restricted to a single woodcut on the title page, and many had no illustration whatsoever. They were printed on the poorest quality of paper and the eight page examples sold wholesale for eight shillings (96 old pence) per ream of 960 copies. Most of them contained exhortations to a good life or sensational descriptions and dire warning of the consequences, of a bad one. A minority were aimed at providing innocent amusement to the poorly educated. The relevant pages from the only surviving copy of the W. & C. Dicey *Catalogue* are missing, but the

Dicey-Marshall *Catalogue* lists one hundred and five titles in three main subject groups: 'godly', 'tragical' and 'merry'.

The 'godly patters' were the largest group with forty-two titles including well-known popular religious titles such as *The Sufferings of the Blessed Jesus*, *The Good Man's Comfortable Companion* or an *Abstract of the Holy Bible*.¹¹⁴ The group included a number of titles which do not seem to have survived, such as the *Call from Heaven to the Unconverted*, *Doctor Whitefield's Pious Instructions* and 'A Letter to Little Children.' There were also various sermons, catechisms and other religious books intended for children in this category.

Whilst the majority of Godly patters were not original publications, several of the twenty-nine 'tragical patters' in the Dicey-Marshall catalogue were. These included lurid accounts of contemporary murders and public executions, often with highly descriptive titles to make up for the lack of suitable woodcut illustrations, such as:

*The Bloody Tragedy; or, a Dreadful Warning to Disobedient Children. Giving a Sad and Dreadful Account of One John Gill, in the Town of Oborn, in Bedfordshire, who Lived a Wicked Life. How, Coming Home Drunk One Night, he Asked his Father for Money to Carry on his Debaucheries, who Putting him Off till Next Morning, he Grew so Impatient and Desparately Wicked, that he Arose in the Dead of the Night, and Cut his Father and Mother's Throats in their Beds. How the Ghosts of the Dead Bodies Appeared to him in jail. Together with his Dying Speech at the Place of Execution. With Several Other Things Worthy of Observation by Young People.*¹¹⁵

The category included texts giving salutary lessons to the literate poor such as *The Poor Unhappy Transported Felon's Sorrowful Account of his Fourteen Years Transportation at Virginia, in America*, or accounts of disasters, both natural such as the 'Late Dreadful Earthquake at Lisbon' and man-made such as the 'Massacre of the Protestants, in North America.'¹¹⁶ Most of the thirty-four 'Merry patters' offered unsophisticated humour, with titles such as *Hocus Pocus: or, Legerdemain, A Dialogue between Hughson and Margery*, or *Nimble and Quick*. A few were mildly salacious such as *An Explanation of the Vices of the Age*, or *A Description of a Bawdy-house*.¹¹⁷

The Patters are the most problematic among the Dicey-Marshall chapbooks. They do not appear to have been collected contemporaneously to any great extent and now survive in far smaller numbers than the histories; undoubtedly large numbers of titles and editions have been lost altogether. This was partly due to the lowly audience at which they were aimed and

the poor production standards employed, but also the nature of their subject matter. Examples survive with the full range of Bow Churchyard, Aldermay Churchyard, 42 Long Lane, and 'Printed and sold in London,' imprints, and also those with no imprint, but the many titles in the last two groups are particularly difficult to identify and other examples may lie unrecognized. Occasionally the presence of a single woodcut will give away their origins, as the with *The Last Dying Speech, of Miss Mary Laws, near Dereham in Norfolk* (with no imprint), or *The Whole Life and Adventures of Miss Davis, Commonly Called the Beauty in Disguise* ('Printed in the year 1785').¹¹⁸ In other instances, the inclusion of a title in the Dicey-Marshall *Catalogue* can be an indication of the origins of an otherwise unidentifiable copy, as with *Great and Wonderful News to all Christendom* (relating the appearance of an angel to a minister). Likewise, the presence of a surviving copy in a contemporaneously bound volume containing only Dicey-Marshall publications can at least raise suspicions, as with the account of yet another 'Bloody Tragedy' (and yet another gruesome murder in Dereham, Norfolk), in Cambridge University Library.¹¹⁹

Collections

The middle years of the eighteenth century saw the rise of theatre going and attendance at public pleasure gardens, which were often equipped with concert halls, or provided promenade concerts, and there was a constant demand for copies of the latest songs, as is shown by the numbers of slip-songs produced. The company also catered for this market with compilations of these songs issued as octavo chapbooks, which are described as 'Collections: containing eight pages each,' in the Dicey-Marshall catalogue. Up to twenty-four popular songs would be re-issued in this way and the collection given a new title. In many respects they resembled the patters in terms of their format, production standards, wholesale price and lack of woodcut illustration. Many were named after birds such as 'The Jenny Wren' (issued in four parts), 'The Tom Tit' and 'The Nightingale' (both in two parts), 'The Linnet', 'The Black Bird', 'The Goldfinch' etc.; others were named after prominent courtesans such as 'Kitty Fisher' or 'Fanny Murray', or else from specific musical entertainments such as 'All the Songs in Love in a Village.' Later editions were often associated with a specific theatre such as 'The Covent Garden Concert,' or the Drury Lane Concert,' or else one of the London pleasure gardens at Vauxhall, Ranelagh, or Marybone.¹²⁰

Thirty-five collections were listed in 1764, but there has been a relatively high attrition rate and only sixteen of those titles appear to have survived, usually with only a single copy. It is clear from a note in the catalogue that there was a continuing demand for new editions: 'Each

time of re-printing the above song-books, the songs therein are always changed for new.’ Many further titles in this category were added during the Marshalls’ period of ownership of the press, (some of which have survived) and so a total of 66 titles of collections are currently known to the author, surviving in 97 editions. Examples survive with the full range of Bow Churchyard, Aldermary Churchyard and 42 Long Lane imprints and with no imprint. There are doubtless further examples lying unrecognised in the bibliographical record.

The production of the three main categories of chapbook appears to have been phased out early in 1796 to make way for the large numbers of Cheap Repository Tracts, which series incorporated narrative histories, accounts of tragedies, simple religious works and even collections of ballads.

Other categories of chapbook

In March 1738 William and Cluer Dicey were sued by the Stationers’ Company for breaching their monopoly on ‘Psalms, Primers, Almanacs, Prognostications [and] Predictions’ and were accused of having made ‘great sums of money’ thereby.¹²¹ This may be a reference to the ‘Prognostications of Erra Pater,’ or perhaps ‘The A, B C, with the Shorter Catechism,’ but if so the action did not succeed in frightening them off, as both of these titles continued to be printed and advertised among the ‘histories’. Equally, as Jackson suggests, the offending publications ‘may have been printed pseudonymously or anonymously’.¹²²

The Dicey-Marshall *Catalogue* has two further sections described as ‘Small Histories’ and ‘Small Books for Children,’ which together list nineteen titles. However, as mentioned above, some of the godly patters were also intended for children, and there is no doubt that many of the histories were also enjoyed by young readers.¹²³

The ‘small histories, or books of amusement for children, on various subjects, adorned with variety of cuts,’ listed in the 1764 catalogue sold for six shillings per 100 in sheets or nine pence for 13 ‘stich’d in embossed Paper.’ They were in 16^o or even smaller formats, tended to be rather dull and were largely derivative from the works of other publishers, such as *Tom Thumb’s Play-Book*.¹²⁴ The survival rate for early children’s books is exceptionally poor and only one Bow Churchyard title specifically intended for children is known to have survived from the 1760s: *The house that Jack built*. Likewise there is only one surviving title from Aldermary Churchyard in the 1760s: *An Easter offering*, which provided ‘a choice collection of God’s judgments and mercies.’¹²⁵ Many more examples have survived from Richard

Marshall's period of ownership during the 1770s: notably four sixteen page 32⁰ titles in the British Library printed from a single sheet of paper.¹²⁶

Children's books

Although the overall range of children's publications continued largely unchanged under Richard Marshall's proprietorship, there are the first indications of a greater interest in the emerging children's market from the mid-1770s onwards, no doubt influenced by the success of John Newbery and his successors in this field.¹²⁷ New and somewhat more substantial children's story books, begin to be published, attributed to authors with humorous names. These were still in diminutive 16⁰ or 24⁰ formats but now consisted of three or four printed sheets giving one hundred or more pages. As mentioned, Richard Marshall began to identify himself in the imprints and to associate his press with this growing market. Thus he describes himself as 'printer and bookseller to the good children of Great Britain, Ireland, and the plantations' in the imprint of *Tales and Fables Selected by T. Ticklepitcher*,¹²⁸ and *Christmas Tales*, 'by Solomon Sobersides', was printed by 'R. Marshall, [...] who has ordered all the booksellers, both in town and country, to make a present of it to good girls and boys, they paying six-pence only to defray the expences of binding.'¹²⁹

One of these titles from the mid-1770s, *The History of the Good Lady Kindheart*, contains a list of twenty 'Books, for the instruction and amusement of children ... neatly bound, gilt, and adorned with cuts,' and offered 'with good allowance to those who buy a quantity to sell again'. The bulk of this list were chapbooks for children costing one penny, retail, such as *Tom Thumb's Play Thing*, *Jackey Dandy's Delight*, or *The House that Jack built*. A few larger titles sold for two pence, such as 'Lady Kindheart' itself, or *A Compleat Abstract of the Holy Bible*.¹³⁰ This gradual move towards the emerging field of publishing for children may have been a natural development for Richard Marshall who began to witness more competition in the markets for ballads and chapbooks during the last few years of his career.

After the death of Richard Marshall, in 1779, there was a rapid development in the children's publishing activities over the next decade in which the firm operated as John Marshall and Co. For example, an edition of *The House that Jack Built*, dating from around 1780, contained an advertisement listing twenty-one children's books. Thirteen of these had previously appeared in Richard Marshall's catalogues during the 1770s, and one other (*Christmas Tales by Solomon Sobersides*), had also previously been printed by him.¹³¹ The remaining seven seem to be new titles recently added to the Marshall catalogue. Three years later, the 1784 edition of *Christmas Tales*, included five pages of advertisements, listing sixty-six children's titles.¹³²

Only a quarter of these were the one or two penny chapbook titles previously associated with the press; now there was a new generation of more substantial and better produced story books selling at prices between three and six pence retail. A typical example of the new titles from this period might be *Mrs. Norton's Story Book* of 1786, a duodecimo with 108 pages, a full-page woodcut frontispiece and smaller woodcuts in the text. The retail price was six pence 'in gilt paper' or else nine pence 'neatly bound in red leather.'¹³³ Overall, the productions of the 1780s represented a considerable improvement on those of Richard Marshall, and it is clear that by this date the business had established its own bindery.

Unlike his father, who was a member of the London Wheelwrights Company, John Marshall became a freeman of the Stationers' Company in 1778 (despite having served only one year of his apprenticeship before being 'turned over' to his father's business in July 1772.)¹³⁴ He was therefore entitled to register new titles to afford a level of copyright protection. Most of the early Dicey-Marshall children's titles had been traditional or else were so slight that they were probably not worth the trouble and expense of registering. However, from January 1782, John began to register new titles in his own name as they were published.¹³⁵ Over the next seven years he added 54, several of which would be reprinted in a number of editions by the end of the century.

Many of the early children's titles from Marshall & Co., if not outright piracies, were nevertheless highly derivative. For example, *The Orphan; or the Entertaining History of Little Goody Goosecap*, by 'Toby Teachem' has many similarities to *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes*, published by John Newbery in the 1760s. Likewise, *The Careful Parent's Gift*, was essentially a copy of the text and illustrations of *A Christmass-Box for Masters and Misses*, published by Mary Cooper in 1746, and *The History of Good Lady Kindheart* borrows extensively from Sarah Fielding's *The Governess*, published by Andrew Millar circa 1749.¹³⁶ One 1784 title, *The Masquerade*, has been described as 'so steeped in Newberyisms that one wonders if it is not a direct copy of a (lost?) Newbery title.'¹³⁷ There was no Newbery edition in this instance, since the title was entered by Marshall in the Stationers Register 18 August 1784.

Soon after the Marshall & Co. partnership was established, the business began to copy the Newbery practice of advertising new children's book titles in the London press, something which the Diceys and Richard Marshall had rarely done with their publications. The earliest such newspaper advertisement in January 1781 stressed the idea of combining both instruction and entertainment for children, which is also to be found in many of the prefaces

to these works.¹³⁸ Marshall & Co. also continued to use the marketing techniques previously adopted by Richard. Thus the imprint of *The Friends* described the company as ‘Printers to the society of Lilliputians, and Booksellers in ordinary to the good children of Great Britain and Ireland,’¹³⁹ and one of the characters is given one of ‘Marshall’s Universal Battledores’ to read. The imprint of the 1784 edition of *Christmas tales*, mentioned above, also claimed to be ‘a present [...] to good girls and boys, they paying six-pence only to defray the expences of binding,’ even though later editions, without this claim sold for the same price.

Several of the early Marshall & Co. titles have been described, as being ‘transitional’ or ‘hybrid’ books, acknowledging a modern trend towards inculcating middle-class values involving the instruction of children, whilst simultaneously ‘clinging on to earlier chapbook forms and themes,’ which might amuse them.’¹⁴⁰ This transition gathered pace with the emergence of a new generation of middle-class children’s books published by the company during the 1780s. They recruited a stable of, didactic, female authors who would provide them with the bulk of their output for children for the remainder of the century. Writers such as Dorothy and Mary Anne Kilner, Ellenor Fenn, Sarah Trimmer and Lucy Peacock provided dozens of original titles published in 12^o and smaller formats. These included reading primers such as Mrs Fenn’s *Cobwebs to Catch Flies*, moral storybooks, such as Dorothy Kilner’s *Life and Perambulations of a Mouse*, or Mary Anne Kilner’s *The Adventures of a Pincushion*; or else materials for teaching in Sunday schools such as Sarah Trimmer’s commentaries to her various series of prints.

The trend towards middle-class respectability is apparent in the wording of a declaration that begins to appear in the various newspaper advertisements and booklists from about 1784.

Ladies, Gentlemen, and Heads of Schools are requested to observe, that the before-mentioned Publications are original, and not compiled: as also, that they were written to suit the various Ages for which they are offered ; but on a more liberal Plan, and in a different Style from the Generality of Works designed for young People: being entirely divested of that prejudicial Nonsense (to young Minds) the Tales of Hobgoblins, Witches, Fairies, Love, Gallantry, &c, with which such little Performances heretofore abounded.¹⁴¹

This statement has all the more significance because it was being made by the principal publisher of ‘tales of hobgoblins, witches, fairies, love, gallantry, &c.’ and appears to repudiate much of the company’s previous work.

Marshall & Co. also ventured into producing teaching schemes such as Mrs Fenn's *A set of toys*, c.1785,¹⁴² 'Marshall's alphabetical cards for enticing children to acquire an early knowledge of their letters,' or *Miss Cowley's New Invented Pocket Sphere or the Globe Dissected: for Explaining the Rudiments of Geography; &c.* for six shillings.¹⁴³ The culmination of their move towards middle-class respectability came in January 1788 with the announcement of two new monthly periodicals, the first examples to be published by the business. *The Family Magazine; or a Repository of Religious Instruction and Rational Amusement* was a monthly periodical, edited by Mrs Trimmer and 'designed to counteract the pernicious tendency of immoral books &c. which have circulated of late years among the inferior classes of people.' It contained 'religious tales for Sunday evenings' and 'moral tales for weekdays', advice on the management of infants and on childrearing and a comparative view of other nations to demonstrate that 'the poor in England possess privileges, and enjoy many comforts, which persons of their rank ... in other countries cannot enjoy.' *The Juvenile Magazine; or, an Instructive and Entertaining Miscellany for Youth*, edited by Lucy Peacock, was advertised simultaneously with *The Family Magazine*, but did not have the same high moral purpose. It was to be a junior *Reader's Digest* of its time, designed 'to obviate the inconvenience arising from an indiscriminate perusal of publications.'¹⁴⁴ *The Family magazine* survived for eighteen months before the editor (who was also the principal author) had to give it up seemingly through exhaustion. *The Juvenile Magazine* survived only for twelve monthly issues, the publishers finding 'the returns not sufficient to compensate for the trouble attending a *Monthly* publication.'¹⁴⁵

It was during this period of rapid expansion into new markets that the partners acquired their new premises at 42 Long Lane in 1783 to handle the sale of their traditional publications and began to separate the two sides of the business. Further expansion came in April 1789 with the opening of a 'more commodious' retail bookshop for their children's publications, at 17 Queen Street with newspaper advertisements now aimed at 'the Nobility, Gentry, and Heads of Schools',¹⁴⁶ This appears to have created differences between John Marshall and his cousin leading to the dissolution of their partnership eight months later.¹⁴⁷ John, who was clearly the driving force behind the change in strategy, bought out his partner and carried on alone. The high point of his career came in May 1793 with the publication of a broadside catalogue setting the full range of his children's publications.¹⁴⁸ One hundred and thirteen book titles (nearly all in formats of 12^o or smaller), two magazines (which by then had ceased publication) and various teaching aids were listed for sale both wholesale and retail (although only retail

prices were given). These ranged from three shillings and sixpence for each volume of *The Conversations of Emily, or The Juvenile Magazine*, to one penny for *The New Entertaining History of Miss Polly Cherry and her Golden Apple* or *The New Instructive History of Miss Patty Proud*.¹⁴⁹

Cheap Repository Tracts

The Cheap Repository tracts were a new and 'respectable' genre of street literature in the form of broadside ballads and chapbooks on moral and religious subjects, published at the instigation of the religious writer and philanthropist Hannah More. Around one hundred and fifteen ballads and chapbook titles were issued in the original series, between March 1795 and December 1797 printed by Samuel Hazard of Bath (between March 1795 and January 1796) and John Marshall in London (between May 1795 and December 1797).¹⁵⁰ A few further titles were issued during the course of 1798 printed by John Evans, and Marshall later issued his own independent series of seventy-three titles during 1798 and 1799. The story of John Marshall's involvement with the Cheap Repository Tracts has been discussed in detail elsewhere, but may be summarised as follows.

In July 1793 John Marshall became involved in a prolonged legal dispute with John Evans, the manager of his shop at 42 Long Lane, which was not resolved in his favour until December 1795. In March 1795 he became one of two London distributors for the newly established Cheap Repository for Moral and Religious Tracts, but within two months had been recruited as a joint printer when Samuel Hazard of Bath became overwhelmed by the success of the scheme. The project continued to be an enormous success but by the end of the year the lack of publishing expertise of those directing the scheme began to be apparent. In February 1796 Marshall took over as sole Printer to the Cheap Repository and thereafter appears to have devoted much of his business to their production and distribution. He gave up the lease on 42 Long Lane and withdrew from his existing business of printing broadside ballads, songs and chapbooks at this time. He also began to neglect his children's book publishing, adding no new titles to the Stationers Register between March 1795 and May 1799 (other than Cheap Repository Tracts). He also turned his retail bookshop at 17 Queen Street into the London distribution centre for the Cheap Repository. These decisions proved to be disastrous for him in November 1797, when, following a dispute with Hannah More and her committee, he was dismissed from his post of printer and principal distributor and his rival John Evans was appointed in his place. In retaliation, Marshall published his own series of seventy-three of his own Cheap Repository Tracts during 1798 and 1799, which at least

enabled him to keep his business afloat whilst he undertook its restructuring. By 1800, however, he had withdrawn from the trade in moral and religious tracts.¹⁵¹

The physical format of the Cheap Repository Tracts had been determined by Hannah More and her first printer, but deliberately sought to copy existing forms. Three titles were scheduled to be issued each month, one as a broadside ballad (albeit in portrait rather than landscape orientation) one giving a short moral story, and one religious tract (both as octavo chapbooks usually with eight or sixteen pages). In most cases they were illustrated by a single woodcut. The ballads and half sheet chapbooks were priced at a Half-Penny, or 2s. 3d. Per 100. (1s. 3d. For 50. - 9d. For 25.) and the full-sheet chapbooks were double. The wholesale prices quoted were considerably higher and the discounts offered for bulk purchase were less generous than those quoted in the Dicey-Marshall catalogue but production standards were higher and the quality of the paper used was better.

When Marshall took over as the sole printer in February 1796 some changes were made to the price, format and distribution methods. The chapbooks were in future issued in two formats. Firstly: an octavo edition with cheap paper for sale by the hawkers and pedlars, now giving them a bulk discount of 2s 3d for 120 copies. Secondly, a duodecimo edition was produced on better paper suitable for sale to the gentry. These were also collected together and sold as annual bound volumes with a new title page. Marshall also phased out the broadside editions of the ballads after July 1796 (apart from a single broadside edition of *A new Christmas carol* in the December). Instead he preferred to distribute new ballad titles in the form of chapbooks and reprint the existing ones as duodecimo collections containing three or four titles, for inclusion in the collected volumes.¹⁵² Finally, a new distributor, John Elder, of Edinburgh was appointed to deal with Scotland and the northern counties.

The original Hazard Marshall series of Cheap Repository Tracts sold in huge numbers and were frequently reprinted. G.H. Spinney spoke of ‘the innumerable issues and editions they went through,’¹⁵³ (by no means all of which have been identified and recorded in ESTC). They were also widely collected and survive in large numbers. Unlike other ‘Aldermay’ ballads and chapbooks, the Tracts usually have fairly full and explicit imprints naming the printers and distributors, but nevertheless present many bibliographical challenges.¹⁵⁴ They do not usually have dates on the title page but can usually be dated fairly accurately by reference to Spinney’s article, the names of the distributors listed on the imprint or else from the announcements of the forthcoming tracts they contain. Those printed by John Marshall are readily identifiable because his name appears first on the imprint.

Marshall's own series of tracts, issued during 1798 and 1799 look very similar to the original series and sometimes contain the same woodcuts. They are, however, readily identifiable because only Marshall's name appears on the imprint. They sold in smaller numbers than the original series and so there are rarely more than two identifiable editions of each title. The dates of first publication can be obtained by reference to the entries in the Stationers Register. Those editions which appeared after July 1799 will also be identifiable by the presence of a colophon.

Other types of letterpress printing

In common with all other printers, the Dicey-Marshall presses undertook a variety of jobbing work, such as advertisements for Jacob Ephraim 'shewing such wonderful and surprizing fancies by the art of dexterity hand,' c.1755, or the reference to John Marshall having printed 'handbills and letters' relating to a new patent medicine, costing £89 for John Evans during 1792.¹⁵⁵ The price list in the Dicey-Marshall catalogue of 1764 has a reference to 'Florist tickets; very neatly engraved, and admirably well calculated for the subject,' at six shillings per hundred and the same 'filled up at letter-press', for ten shillings and six pence. The elaborate engraved border, used for the William and Cluer Dicey trade card was also used for printing birth announcements and other keepsakes. In fact it was used when the Diceys erected a printing press on the frozen river Thames during the Frost Fair at Queenhithe in 1740.¹⁵⁶

In addition to their publishing activities the Dicey-Marshall presses undertook book printing 'for' other London publishers, although the extent of this is impossible to ascertain. For example, in a newspaper advertisement John Marshall described his publication *A Letter from a Lady to her Daughter*, as being 'the size of the page and type, the same as 'Thoughts on the importance of the manners of the great to general society''.¹⁵⁷ The reference was to a very popular work by Hannah More and which went through many editions with the imprint 'London: printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand.' A comparison of the types and typographical conventions used shows that both titles were probably printed by the same press.

Typographical conventions and the layout of the title page of a number of other titles printed during the 1780s and 1790s indicate that they may have been printed at the Aldermay Churchyard press, although it is not possible to be certain on this matter.¹⁵⁸ After July 1799 it became a legal requirement for printers to identify themselves, thus we know that the second volume of *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, Established Among the Heathen* of 1800 was printed in Aldermay Churchyard.¹⁵⁹ With more

than five hundred octavo pages this appears to have been the largest work printed by the company.

The last days at Aldermary Churchyard

John Marshall appears to have restructured the Aldermary business following the financial disaster associated with the publication of the Cheap Repository Tracts. The formation of the Religious Tract Society in May 1799 may have convinced him that it was no longer worth his while publishing moral and religious tracts and he closed the 17 Queen Street shop at the end of the year. By this time he had already given up his lease on 42 Long Lane and abandoned the publication of chapbooks, broadside ballads and popular songs to a new generation of printers including John Evans and John Pitts, although there are four surviving slip-songs with Aldermary Churchyard colophons apparently dating from 1799 or 1800.

He also ceased to publish maps and prints; the last known map with his imprint was *A New and Correct Map of England & Wales*, published in three sheets in 1799,¹⁶⁰ and the last known prints by him was a royal sized portrait of Lord Nelson, at the battle of the Nile, dated 31 October 1798. The last known engraved song sheet was *The Duke of York Triumphant*, published 17 August 1796.¹⁶¹

During the course of 1799 John Marshall returned to children's book publishing, firstly by introducing two new periodical titles: *The Children's Magazine* (May 1799) and *The Picture Magazine*, (September 1799), the latter of which consisted entirely of hand coloured engravings for children. Both of these titles survived for only about a year. He also began to publish a number of hybrid children's book titles where one side of the sheet was engraved and the other side printed with letterpress. These were imposed as a single gathering with an engraved title page and colophons, in such a way that the letterpress and illustration were on opposite sides of each opening. The earliest known of these was *Marshall's Abridgment of English History*, 'embellished with a variety of historical engravings' (all of which were dated December 1801 or January 1802).¹⁶² Other similar titles, such as *Marshall's History of Birds*, (1803) were published with hand coloured illustrations.

Perhaps his greatest innovation at this time was his introduction of a series of attractive miniature libraries for children, in wooden cases, in 1800, such as *The Bookcase of Instruction and Delight, The Child's Library*. They were followed by cabinets of cards and other teaching devices, such as the *Infant's letter box*. These have all been described by Brian Alderson, and their success quickly gave rise to copies by other publishers.¹⁶³

Thus John Marshall was able to rebuild his business and repair his reputation as ‘the children’s printer’ during the early 1800s and a new phase in his career as a publisher of story books, miniature libraries and other teaching schemes began. During the winter of 1805/6 he acquired a ‘modern’ type face and finally abandoned the use of the antiquated long ‘s’¹⁶⁴ (although the form continued to appear on editions which used existing engraved plates until the 1820s). Having closed his Queen Street premises in 1799, he once again began to feel the need for a retail shop on one of the main London thoroughfares. In November 1806 he moved one mile westwards to No. 140 Fleet Street with an adjoining print shop at No. 15 Wine Office Court, and after more than fifty years Aldermary Churchyard ceased to be the centre of production for his small books. John Marshall operated his children’s publishing business until his death in 1824, and it was continued for several years by an E. Marshall (probably his daughter Eleanor Elizabeth). It is last known as Marshall & Co. of ‘15 Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, from Aldermary Church Yard’ during the early 1830s.¹⁶⁵

The Dicey-Marshall business

The wide-ranging success and the relative longevity of the Dicey-Marshall publishing enterprises in London were due to two remarkable father/son combinations. Firstly it was William Dicey who established a printing business in Northampton and then installed his son Cluer to take over an established, but otherwise relatively insignificant business in London. Cluer Dicey expanded it so that he had become the ‘greatest printer of ballads in the kingdom’ by 1761.¹⁶⁶ As William St Clair notes:

The popular print sector [i.e. ballads, songs and chapbooks] had become almost completely monopolised in the hands of a single London firm of Dicey, which held the intellectual properties, the unsold stocks and manufacturing plant in all the favourite titles.¹⁶⁷

This was at the same time that the Diceys were the most active publishers at the cheap end [of the market for woodcut and engraved images]’ as described by Sheila O’Connell.¹⁶⁸

There remains much research to do relating to the early years of the Dicey business: for example were they the true successor to the seventeenth-century ‘ballad partners’, receiving their common-law intellectual property by way of the *Collection of Old Ballads*? How did they establish and maintained their virtual monopoly in ballad, song and chapbook publishing during the 1750s and 1760s? Was this a formal monopoly or did they simply occupy a strong market position?¹⁶⁹ In the opinion of Victor Neuburg, the Diceys:

were the first to cater for the mass market in a systematic way – pioneers in cheap publishing on a large scale. Their achievement has never been fully recognized;¹⁷⁰

However, the dominant position began to be eroded during the 1770s as other publishers entered this market, after the Diceys had withdrawn from popular printing in order to concentrate on distributing patent medicines.

Nevertheless, Richard Marshall and later his enterprising son, John, were able to remain as one of the principal publishers of street literature and popular prints for a further three decades until the end of the century. The importance of the Marshall family in these markets (other than as printers of Cheap Repository Tracts) has often been unrecognised. John Marshall seems to have had several difficult years at the end of the eighteenth century, but was able to move the Aldermary press into new fields of publishing and adapt it to be able to continue well into the nineteenth century.

Appendix 1. Dicey-Marshall Premises in London 1736-1806

The sign of ‘the Maidenhead,’ Bow Churchyard, (later No.10 Bow Churchyard), London	
Pre-1736	John Cluer, freeman of Stationers’ Company 4 May 1702 (D.F McKenzie, <i>Stationers’ company apprentices 1641-1700</i> , (Oxford, 1974), p. 156. The earliest surviving item from the Bow Churchyard press is dated 1710 (ESTC T50093). William Dicey (the son of a Basingstoke tailor) was apprenticed to John Sewers, of the Leather sellers Company, April 1711, but ‘turned over’ to John Cluer. John married Elizabeth Dicey (William’s sister) in 1713 and William may have married John Cluer’s sister, Mary. Cluer Dicey born 1715, John Cluer died in 1728. In 1731 Elizabeth Cluer married her husband’s foreman, Thomas Cobb, who continued to operate the business until 1736.
1736-1756	Business taken over by William Dicey of Northampton in November 1736. It is described initially as William Dicey, but after 1740 as William Dicey & Co., W. & C. Dicey, or Dicey & Co. Richard Marshall became a junior partner with 25% stake in the printing business, November 1753. W. & C. Dicey <i>Catalogue</i> , issued 1754. William Dicey died November 1756.
1756-1763	Described as Cluer Dicey & Co., or Dicey & Co. The last reference to Bow Churchyard as a printing business appears in Boswell’s <i>London Journal</i> 10 June 1763 recording a visit to ‘the old printing-office in Bow Church-yard’.
1764-	Premises described as Cluer Dicey & Co. at ‘Dr Bateman’s warehouse,’ Bow Church-yard, (<i>St. James’s Chronicle or the British Evening Post</i> 27-29 March, 1764). Cluer Dicey died 3 October 1775. His medicinal business was continued from the same premises by Thomas Dicey
No. 4 Aldermay Churchyard, Bow Lane (also described as Cheapside, or Watling Street), London	
1754-1764	Established by William Dicey & Co., (advertised as ‘to be let’ on 21 year leases from Michaelmas 1775 and Michaelmas 1796 so a start date late in 1754 is likely (<i>Public Advertiser</i> , 13 December 1775, p. 3, and London Metropolitan Archives, deed Ms. COL/CCS/RM16/132-026, 1796). Richard Marshall was living at premises 28 November 1756 when son John was baptized at the local church.
1764-1770	Cluer Dicey and Richard Marshall appear to be equal partners (Dicey-Marshall <i>Catalogue</i> , 1764). Warrant for Dicey and Marshall issued in Court of Common Pleas 27 March 1770.
1770-1779	Richard Marshall sole proprietor (his name on portraits of Prince William Henry and Princess Augusta Sophia, dated 20 August 1770). His nephew, James Marshall ‘turned over’ to Richard 4 June 1771. His son, John Marshall, ‘turned over’ 7 July 1772. The ‘former Dicey’s printing office advertised with a 21 year lease (<i>Public Advertiser</i> , 13 December 1775) but Marshall remains in occupation. He died July 1779.
1779-1789	John Marshall & Co. (a partnership of John Marshall (50%), James Marshall (25%), Eleanor Marshall (25%). Partnership dissolved 14 November 1789.
1790-1806	John Marshall sole proprietor, employing ‘more than forty servants at Aldermay Churchyard’. He transferred business to premises at 140 Fleet Street and 15 Wine Office Court, November 1806.
No. 42 Long Lane, West Smithfield	
Pre 1783	Premises occupied by Robert Coster
1783-1796	Taken over by John Marshall & Co. (John Marshall alone from December 1789), managed by John Evans from 1783. Evans dismissed July 1793, he moved to 41 Long Lane 24 th September 1793 and set up his own press. Marshall continued at 42 but did not renew the lease at Easter 1796.
1796-	42 Long Lane taken over by John Evans & Co. operated until 1830s
No. 17 Queen Street, Cheapside, London	

1789	Retail bookshop opened for the sale of Children's Books by John Marshall & Co., April 1789.
1790-6	John Marshall sole proprietor.
1796-1800	Apparently used as the London 'Cheap Repository.' Closed late 1799 or early 1800.

Appendix 2. Dating Dicey-Marshall Publications

Imprints incorporating proprietor's names	Years of operation	
London : William Dicey	1736	1740
London :William Dicey and Co.	1740	1756
William and Cluer Dicey, Bow Church Yard	1740	1756
Cluer Dicey Bow Church Yard	1756	1763
Cluer Dicey and Co., Aldermay Church Yard	1754	1764
Dicey and Co., Aldermay Church Yard	1754	1764
Cluer Dicey and Richard Marshall, Aldermay Church Yard	1764	1770
R. Marshall, Aldermay Churchyard	1770	1779
John Marshall and Co, Aldermay Churchyard	1779	1789
John Marshall and Co., 4 Aldermay Church-Yard, and 17, Queen-Street, Cheapside,	1789	1789
John Marshall, 4 Aldermay Church-Yard, Bow Lane. and 17, Queen-Street, Cheapside,	1790	1799
John Marshall, 4 Aldermay Church Yard	1790	1806
John Marshall, Aldermay Church Yard, Watling Street	1802	1806
John Marshall, 140 Fleet Street	1806	1824
Imprints not incorporating names		
Printed and or sold Bow Church-yard	1736	1763
Printed and or sold Aldermay Church-Yard	1754	1783
Printed and or sold 4 Aldermay Church-Yard.	1775	1783
Printed and sold in London	1736	1796
Sold at 42 Long Lane	1783	1796
Sold at 17 Queen Street	1789	1799

Notes

- ¹ I should like to thank the following organisations and institutions which have provided me with fellowships in order to pursue my researches on the Dicey - Marshall businesses: the Bibliographical Society (Antiquarian Booksellers award), Princeton University (Cotsen Fellowship), Indiana University (Everett Helm Visiting Fellowship), Harvard University (Houghton Library Fellowship). I should also like to thank Ian Jackson for supplying me with an electronic copy of his PhD thesis.
- ² Victor Neuburg, 'The Diceys and the Chapbook Trade', *The Library*, xxiv, (1969), 219-231.
- ³ Victor Neuburg, *Chapbooks*, 2nd edn (London: Woburn Press, 1972), p.49.
- ⁴ Both men became freemen of the Leatherseller's Company: William in August 1721 (although he had been working as a provincial printer since 1719) and Cluer in July 1732 (Ian Jackson, 'Print in Provincial England: Reading and Northampton, 1720-1800' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford (2002), pp. 36 & 61.
- ⁵ Gilles Duval, 'The Diceys Revisited', *Factotum*, 35, (August 1992), pp. 9-11, and 'More Facts, Afterthoughts and Conjectures about the Diceys', *Factotum*, 40, (December 1995), pp. 13-17, 16. These were based on material from his doctoral thesis, *Literature de colportage et imaginaire collectif en Angleterre à l'époque des Dicey*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universitaires de Bordeaux, 1991).
- ⁶ Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England*, (London: British Museum, 1999), p. 55.
- ⁷ *A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Copy-books, Drawing-books, Histories,...Printed and Sold by Cluer Dicey, and Richard Marshall, at the Printing-Office, in Aldermarj Church-Yard, London.* (London, 1764), transcribed by R. C. Simmons, as *The Dicey-Marshall Catalogue*, (<http://www.diceyandmarshall.bham.ac.uk/>).
- ⁸ William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.340.
- ⁹ Neuburg, *Chapbooks*, p.49; Neuburg, *The Penny Histories: a Study of Chapbooks for Young Readers over Two Centuries*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), p.27; and Duval, 'The Diceys Revisited', p.9.
- ¹⁰ *Daily Journal*, Monday, 22 November 1736, p.1. For details of Dicey's background and career in Northampton see Jackson, 'Print in Provincial England: Reading and Northampton, 1720-1800', Chapter 1. See Appendix 1 (below) for more details of the proprietorship of the Bow Churchyard press.
- ¹¹ Dicey family (*per. c.* 1710–*c.* 1800)', Timothy Clayton in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, September 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/65524> (accessed July 4, 2013), and Jackson, p. 64.

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- ¹² *A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Copy-books, Drawing-books, &c. Histories, Old Ballads, Broad-Sheet and other Patterns, Garlands, &c. Printed and Sold by William and Cluer Dicey, At Their Warehouse, Opposite the South Door of Bow-Church in Bow-Church-Yard, London*, [1754], ESTC T188172. The only surviving copy is incomplete and there are discrepancies in the numbering of the contents between pages 30 and 31 indicating that some sheets from a later catalogue (dating from c. 1761) may have been inserted. See R. C. Simmons, 'The Diceys: Cheap Print in the Era of the Eighteenth-Century Consumer Revolution', *The Dicey-Marshall Catalogue*, <http://www.diceyandmarshall.bham.ac.uk/> accessed 11 December 2009.
- ¹³ *Read's Weekly Journal*, 13 November 1756, p.4. and Jackson, p. 80.
- ¹⁴ *A Collection of All the Songs in the Play of Love in a Village*, ([1763?]), ESTC T300354; James Boswell, *London Journal 1762-1763*, (London: Reprint Society, 1952, p. 289. Peter Isaac noted, that 'Daffy's elixir' was 'one of the Diceys' most important products from their warehouse in Bow Churchyard, and continued on sale until at least the middle of the nineteenth century' ('Pills and Print' in *Medicine, Mortality and the Book Trade*, ed. M. Harris and R. Myers, (Folkestone: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1998), 25-47, p. 40.)
- ¹⁵ The earliest specific date found for the press in operation is an advertisement in the *London Evening Post*, 4 October 1755, p. 2, but see Appendix 1 for more details. James Raven refers to the location as one of the 'older sites' for the sale of cheap literature (*The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 84), but apart from one surviving title printed by Edward Whitchurch in 1544, there seems to be no evidence that the address was used by members of the book trades prior to 1754.
- ¹⁶ See Alexandra Franklin, 'The Art of Illustration in Bodleian Ballads before 1820', *Bodleian Library Record*, 17: 5, (2002), pp. 327-362, note 30, and NA, Chancery Proceedings: C12/28/25, Hill v. Dicey, 1764. The final membrane of pt. ii of this records is entitled 'The Several Answers of Richard Marshall One of the Defendants to the Bill of Complaint'.
- ¹⁷ Richard Marshall's nephew, James, was the son of James Marshall, deceased, printer (D.F McKenzie, *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1701-1800*, (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1978), entry 2660). The elder James (and presumably Richard) was the son of a John Marshall of the parish of St Luke in Middlesex (now in Islington, (McKenzie, entry 8773). This John Marshall has not been positively identified, but may have been the bookseller of Gracechurch Street, London who advertised 'Chapman's Books, Broad-sides etc.', c.1708 (Neuburg, *Chapbooks*, p.54.); 'The several answers of Richard Marshall', Hill v. Dicey, 1764, NA, Chancery Proceedings: C12/28/25, (ii). 'England Births and Christenings, 1538-1975', index, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/JMQG-ZD6> : accessed 02 Jul 2013). Richard married Eleanor Cullenworth, at Saint Martin in the Fields, Westminster, 10 May 1752

(‘England Marriages, 1538–1973’, index, FamilySearch
(<https://familysearch.org/pal:MM9.1.1/NJYF-142>: accessed 02 Jul 2013).

- ¹⁸ *Calendar of Home Office Papers of the Reign of George III. 1770–1772, Preserved in Her Majesty’s Public Record Office* (London, 1881), p. 164; and British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings (BM) 2010,7081.1011, and National Portrait Gallery (NPG) D8019. Although from 1764 until mid-1770 seems the most likely date for the operation of the partnership, some caution is needed as the dates on prints may refer to an earlier publication of the image. Similarly, Dicey and Marshall’s printing office is listed in Richard Baldwin’s *New Complete Guide ... to London*, from the eleventh to the thirteenth editions, (i.e. between 1768 and 1772), but as Ian Maxted points out, this work often contained outdated information (‘The London book trades, 1735-1775’, Exeter Working Papers in British Book Trade History; 3 <http://bookhistory.blogspot.com/2007/01/london-1735-1775.html#D>: accessed 02 Jul 2013).
- ¹⁹ *General Evening Post*, 26 August 1779, p.1; Richard Marshall’s will (NA PROB 11/1057); *London Gazette* of 30 March 1790, p.201; and *The Times* 16 October 1806, p.1.
- ²⁰ Neuburg, ‘The Diceys and the Chapbook Trade’, p. 227; NA Prob 11/829. Benjamin Okell, John Cluer, Robert Raikes and William Dicey had jointly been granted a Patent for this medicine 31 March 1726 (see *An Abstract of the Patent Granted by His Majesty King George, to Benj. Okell, the Inventor of a Medicine...*, (London: J. Cluer, 1726), but by 1756 William Dicey’s share had risen to one third, presumably because he had inherited part of John Cluer’s share.
- ²¹ NA, Chancery Proceedings: C12/28/25, Hill v. Dicey, 1764 and. Jackson, p.64. The case was brought by Dicey’s brother-in-law Benjamin Hill and Ann his Wife and Charlotte Yeates, Widow, (both sisters of Cluer Dicey). It relates to deferred legacies due to Ann and Charlotte under William Dicey’s will. It appears to have been settled out of court after the initial pleadings. The acquisition of Richard Marshall of an equal partnership in the Aldermary press in 1764 may have been the means by which Cluer paid off the claims of his sisters. See also Juanita Burnby, ‘Printer’s Ink and Patent Medicines: the Story of the Diceys’, *The Pharmaceutical Journal*, (August 1982), 162-169.
- ²² NA PROB 11/1012. For a summary of the later career of the Diceys see Diana Dixon, ‘Northamptonshire Newspapers 1720-1900’ in *Images and Texts: Their Production and Distribution in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, ed. Peter Isaac and Barry McKay, (Winchester: St. Paul’s Bibliographies, 1997), 1-10.
- ²³ *Lowndes’s London Directory, for the Year 1786*: ([London: Lowndes, 1786]), ESTC N33871, and Roger Wakefield, *Wakefield’s Merchant and Tradesman’s General Directory for London...*, (London, [1789?]), ESTC T132145.
- ²⁴ *Small books for the common man*, ed. John Meriton, (London: The British Library, 2010), p.980 and Neuburg, *Chapbooks*, pp. 47-54. He is briefly noted by Neuburg as issuing chapbooks from Aldermary Churchyard in 1793 (p.54). John Marshall’s (apparently

unrelated) namesake in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who copied many of the Dicey-Marshall chapbook and broadside ballad titles, is mentioned in the list of those from 'Provincial Towns' (p.60).

- ²⁵ David Stoker, 'John Marshall, John Evans, and the Cheap Repository Tracts', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, (2013), pp.90-102, (page 94). This was a shop managed by John Evans on behalf of Marshall. Evans was dismissed from his post in 1793, but moved back in to the same premises in the Spring of 1796 where he established his own publishing business.
- ²⁶ As Stephen Tabor notes: ESTC is 'now the chief single source of information on English printing before 1801', and its free availability has been an enormous benefit to bibliographical scholarship ('ESTC and the Bibliographical Community', *The Library*, 7th series, 8 (2007), 367-386, p.385). However its rapid growth to include nearly half a million records has inevitably given rise to inaccuracies and there remain many omissions. Some of these issues are being addressed under the ESTC 21 program, see 'The ESTC as a 21st Century Research Tool', <http://http://estc21.wordpress.com> (accessed 20 December 2013).
- ²⁷ From a statement by Marshall 25 July 1793, N.A. C12/647/21 (Chancery Proceedings Marshall v. Evans). See Stoker, 'John Marshall,' p.82. The use of press figures between 1 and 6 in children's books printed by John Marshall & Co. from the 1780 may be an indication of the scale of the operation although the highest number in a series does not necessarily indicate the number of presses actually in use, (see Philip Gaskell, *New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 133-4.
- ²⁸ Simmons, 'The Diceys', <http://www.diceyandmarshall.bham.ac.uk/>; *A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Copy-books, Drawing-books, &c.[...] William and Cluer Dicey*. See also Nick Groom, *The Making of Percy's Reliques*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), pp.169-172.
- ²⁹ *Catalogue of John Marshall's Publications for the Instruction and Amusement of Young Minds*, ([London: Marshall], 1793), ESTC T30138.
- ³⁰ 'Trade Card of William & Cluer Dicey, printer,' (BM, Department of Prints and Drawings Banks, 99.12.*, AN705591). A similar engraved border was used as a surround for various printers' keepsakes (for example ESTC N69294, or N478444); John Pendred, *The Earliest Directory of the Book Trade by John Pendred, (1785)*, ed. Graham Pollard (London: Bibliographical Society, 1955), pp. 3 and 16.
- ³¹ *Public Advertiser*, 15 May 1761, p.4.
- ³² See David Hunter, 'Copyright Protection for Engravings and Maps in Eighteenth-Century Britain'. *The Library*, 6, (1987): pp. 128-147, and Duval, 'More Facts, Afterthoughts and Conjectures about the Diceys', p. 16.
- ³³ *A New Map of the Land of Promise And the Holy City of Jerusalem with the Principal Scripture Histories of the Old & New Testament*, (London, c.1763). (A copy was sold by Barry Lawrence Ruderman, <http://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/31088?view=print.>)

The map originated in Holland but English versions were issued by Henry Overton (c. 1717) and Robert Sayer (c. 1752), and *A New and Correct Map of South Britain ...*, (London:, 1776), British Library (BL) Maps * 1190.(58.)

- ³⁴ W. & C Dicey *Catalogue*, pp. 3-8. The only two-sheet world map known to the author was published by R. Marshall (*A New and Correct Map of the World*. (London: c.1775), BL Maps M.T.11.g.1.(9.). The only two sheet edition of the London plan known, has a date of 1765 and the anomalous imprint of 'C. Dicey and Co. in Aldermay Church Yard', which post-dates both of the catalogues (*A New and Accurate Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster and Borough of Southwark*, ([London, 1765]) - copy advertised at <http://www.crouchrarebooks.com>.
- ³⁵ BL Maps CC.5.a.246.
- ³⁶ BL Maps * 1190.(58.)
- ³⁷ BL Maps K.Top.20.43, also a copy in the National Library of Australia.
- ³⁸ BL. Maps CC.2.a.17.
- ³⁹ Only a brief reference to 'Maps of all the Counties in England, with the islands' appeared in the W. & C. Dicey *Catalogue*, 1754 (p.30). They were on Royal paper available either 'plain, at the common price, divided at 4s per quire the price of other coloured Royals,'
- ⁴⁰ Donald Hodson, *County Atlases of the British Isles Published after 1703*, (Hatfield, 1984), I. p.68.
- ⁴¹ For example, the National Library Wales describes their copy of the map of Monmouth as: 'The plate shows several signs of being altered. ... the imprint after sold by has been altered to add Dicey's name'. (NLW Map 3204 133/3/11).
- ⁴² Robert S. Thomson, (The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade and its Influence upon the Transmission of English folksongs. PhD. Dissertation, Cambridge, 1974, p.83 note 8 and Hodson, *County Atlases*, p.68. It is also possible that the Diceys may have acquired the plates for the other set of county maps (those first compiled by the Elizabethan mapmaker Christopher Saxton), as there is one surviving collection of these maps which also includes a Dicey impression of the map of Yorkshire, but 'nothing has been discovered about the publication history of the maps whilst in the hands of the Diceys or about the ultimate fate of the plates and no further identifiable edition of the Saxton atlas is known'.(Hodson, *County Atlases*, p.150.) If the firm did acquire these plates it was most likely following the bankruptcy of Thomas Jefferys, their former publisher, in 1766.
- ⁴³ *London Evening Post*, 4 October 1755, p. 2. For more details about pocket globes, see Katie Taylor, 'Pocket-sized Globes', Explore Whipple Collections, Whipple Museum of the History of Science, University of Cambridge, 2009 [<http://www.hps.cam.ac.uk/whipple/explore/globes/pocketsizedglobes/>, accessed 31 July 2013].
- ⁴⁴ Gilles, Duval, 'More Facts, Afterthoughts and Conjectures about the Diceys', pp. 13-17.

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- ⁴⁵ Hunter, 'Copyright Protection for Engravings and Maps in Eighteenth-Century Britain', 144. See also Sheila O'Connell, 'The Print Trade in Hogarth's London', *The London Book Trade: Topographies of Print in the Metropolis from the Sixteenth Century*, edited by Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote, (London, 2003), pp. 71-88.
- ⁴⁶ For example the painting (after Nicolaes Berchem) *Peters Mule*, (Dicey & Co., 1760) BM 1877,0210.405, or the portrait (after Joshua Reynolds) *Admiral Keppel*, (Sold in Aldermay Church Yard, c.1760), BM J,4.265 are examples of etchings whereas the series entitled *The Seven Wonders of the World*, (London: Dicey & Co. c.1760) (BM 2010,7014.3-8.) were both engravings and etchings.
- ⁴⁷ O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England*, p. 52.
- ⁴⁸ Hunter, 'Copyright Protection for Engravings and Maps in Eighteenth-Century Britain', p. 131.
- ⁴⁹ *A View of Highgate from Upper Holloway*, (London, 1752). (BM 1927,1126.1.9.7).
- ⁵⁰ W. & C. Dicey *Catalogue*, p.2, *The Seven Wonders of the World*, (London. c.1760) (BM 2010,7014.3-8.).
- ⁵¹ National Portrait Gallery D20988.
- ⁵² National Archives SP44/379 and *Calendar of Home Office Papers ... 1770–1772*, p. 164. See Hunter, 'Copyright Protection for Engravings and Maps in Eighteenth-Century Britain', 141 for details of the Engraving Copyright Act.
- ⁵³ BM 2010,7081.1011, and NPG D8019, and NPG D4289.
- ⁵⁴ George Bickham, *Fables, and Other Short Poems*; [London: Dicey, 1737], ESTC T127780. The imprint reads 'Printed and sold by William and Cluer Dicey. at the printing office in Bow-Church-Yard London. Where may be also had curiously engrav'd by the same hand, the second and third vols'.
- ⁵⁵ Copies of George Bickham, *A New Introduction to the Art of Drawing*, printed by Thomas Cobb (Dicey's immediate predecessor in Bow Churchyard) were appended to the second volume of Bickham's *Fables*,
- ⁵⁶ *Elements and Seasons Embleatically Described*, ([London: Dicey and Marshall, c.1764]. Cotsen Library Box 1 73575.
- ⁵⁷ *Gisbal Triumphant, a New Song to the Tune of Chevy Chase*, ([London, c.1763]) (Morgan Library Peel Vol. 04, no. 029 and also (London, c1770?), BM 1868,0808.4290.
- ⁵⁸ Charles Dibdin, *The Jolly Ringers*, ([London] : April, 1794) ESTC T200909 (also May 1794 ESTC T29172), and *The Jolly Ringers*, 'Published July 9 1794 by I. Marshall, No.4. Aldermay Church Yard' (copy in the Museum of London).
- ⁵⁹ Advertised in *Tales and Fables Selected by T. Ticklepitcher*, (London: Marshall, [1777?]), ESTC N63820.

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- ⁶⁰ There are several of these advertised in *A catalogue of John Marshall's books, May 1793*, 'Price 3s pasted on Boards, for hanging up in Nurseries. – 1s 6d in Sheets. – 1s 8d sewed in Marble Paper for the Pocket, - 2s 4d neatly bound in Red Leather.'
- ⁶¹ *The Portraiture of King Charles the First on Horseback*, (London, [c.1745]), and *An Authentick View of the City of Lisbon in Portugal, at the Time of the Dreadful Earthquake, which Entirely Destroyed that City, on the 1st of November, 1755*, (London: Dicey, [1755?]), ESTC T225481. Illustrated by O'Connell, p.139.
- ⁶² *Saint George, the Chief Champion of England*, (London: Dicey, [c1755]), BM 1858,1209.3, and William Dawes, *The Glory of Man's Redemption: Being a New and Lively Emblem of the Birth, Life, Sufferings, Resurrection, and Glorious Ascension of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, [London,c.1760?], ESTC T205844. Reproduced by O'Connell, p.58.
- ⁶³ *The Happy Marriage*, (London, [c. 1776]) and National Art Library E.300-1986. See also O'Connell, p. 53.
- ⁶⁴ See Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.163-5. *Saint Bernard's Vision: or the Narrow and Broad Way to Heaven and Hell*, was illustrated by O'Connell (1999), fig 4.4 p.70.
- ⁶⁵ *The True Portraiture of Mr. Edward Bright, of Malden in Essex*, (London: Dicey, [1760?]), ESTC T22809:, with the imprint, 'Cut, printed, painted, and sold by Cluer Dicey.' *The Danger of Yielding to Temptations* is illustrated by O'Connell, (p. 59) and consists of two half sheet broadsides printed on the same sheet: *Miss Fanny Murray, the Fair and Reigning Toast, in her Primitive Innocence*, and *The Careless maid: or, the Charms of the Garter. With Some Reflections on the Folly of the Modern Dresses of the Ladies*, with no imprint (ESTC T231116.) It was described as 'Fanny Murray, &c'. in the Dicey-Marshall catalogue.
- ⁶⁶ *The Plan, Order and Particular Description of the Battle Fought on Straghallen-Moor, near Culloden-House, in Scotland, April 16, 1746*, (London: Dicey, [1746?]) ESTC T173855.
- ⁶⁷ Neuburg, 'The Diceys and the Chapbook Trade', 220 and Duval, 'The Diceys Revisited', p.9.
- ⁶⁸ This is without taking account of variant forms of 'Churchyard' as one word (with and without a hyphen) or two, variations in punctuation, the presence or absence of prepositions such as 'in' or 'at', imprints in either roman or italic type, and periodic misspellings which together create many hundreds of variations.
- ⁶⁹ M. P. (Martin Parker), *The Pope's Pedigree: or, the Twining of the Wheelband*, (Northampton: Dicey c. 1720), ESTC N70856, and (for example), John Hart, *Christ's Last Sermon*, 23rd ed. (London: Dicey, c.1736), (T103751) or *The Best and Compleatest Academy of Compliments*, (London: Dicey, c.1736) (T86880).

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- ⁷⁰ *The Bishop of Hereford's Entertainment by Robin Hood*, (London: William Dickey and Company in Bow church-yard, c.1740), ESTC N15497, or *Canterbury Tales ... by Chaucer Jnr.* (London: William Dickey and Company in Bow Church-Yard, c. 1740), ESTC T300653) both of which were 'Sold also at their Warehouse in Northampton.' Jackson (p.67) suggests that 'many Dickey ballads from this era were advertised as being sold in Northampton, and could in fact have been printed there'.
- ⁷¹ For example *The Conquest of France; with the Life, and Glorious Actions of Edward the Black Prince.* (London: C. Dickey, [1760?]), ESTC T31213.
- ⁷² *The Rakish Husband's Garland*, (London: Aldermay Churchyard, c. 1755), ESTC N12725, and *The Drunkard's Legacy*, (London: Aldermay Churchyard, c.1760), ESTC T100738.
- ⁷³ Thomson, ('The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade', 104-5) attempted to analyse the imprints found on Dickey Marshall broadside ballads and assign approximate date ranges to some of the more informative ones, but had to admit that the imprints occurring most frequently on the ballads were the 'problematical ones' which were impossible to date.
- ⁷⁴ For example, *The Friar and Boy*; (London: Dickey or Marshall, [c.1770]), ESTC T300660, or *A Whetstone for Dull Wits*, (London: Marshall, [c.1775]), ESTC T200373). John Taylor queried the meaning in *Notes and Queries*, 6th series, V. 13 May 1882 but apparently received no response.
- ⁷⁵ *The unhappy lovers garland*, Printed and sold by R. Marshall, in Aldermay Church Yard, Bow Lane. [c. 1770?], ESTC T206956.
- ⁷⁶ *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* 22 September 1778 Issue 2735
- ⁷⁷ Stoker, 'John Marshall,' pp.86-94. See also *The cruel cooper of Ratcliff*, (Sold at no. 42, Long-Lane, [c. 1785]), ESTC T34446, and which contains the same woodcuts as Bow Churchyard editions (N70797 and N1941), the Aldermay Church Yard edition (T206106) and others with no imprint (N52477 and N68226).
- ⁷⁸ J. M., *An Easter Offering; Being a Present for Children that Delight in Learning their Books*, (London: Dickey, [1769]), ESTC T224725.
- ⁷⁹ Not in ESTC . (Bodleian Harding A159 (10). The corresponding edition of 'Part the first' (Bodleian Harding A159 (9) has the imprint 'Printed and sold in Aldermay Church Yard, London,' but no date.
- ⁸⁰ *Youth's Looking-Glass. Being a divine dialogue between a young man, Satan, and our Saviour Jesus Christ*, not in ESTC (Lilly Library PR 974.A1)
- ⁸¹ ESTC T212338
- ⁸² See Stoker, 'John Marshall,' p.88.
- ⁸³ Thomson, *The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade*, p. 106.

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- ⁸⁴ Thomson, p. 121. The ESTC entry for an edition of *The Friar and Boy; or, The Young Piper's Pleasant Pastime*, with the imprint: Doncaster : Printed by T. Lesson: (N18720) has the note 'Possibly printed and sold by Dicey at Aldermar Church Yard'. However, this attribution seems to have been based on the fact that it was a Dicey title rather than any correspondence in the use of woodcuts and I am not convinced it is so.
- ⁸⁵ *A Collection of Old Ballads. Corrected from the Best and Most Ancient Copies Extant*, 3 vols. (London, 1723-25).
- ⁸⁶ Dianne Dugaw, 'The Popular Marketing of 'Old Ballads': the Ballad Revival and Eighteenth-Century Antiquarianism Reconsidered', *Eighteenth Century Studies* 21, (1987): pp. 71–90, 75. Dugaw gives an excellent account of the role of William and Cluer Dicey and the Bow Churchyard press in the ballad revival, and briefly mentions the London ballad printers Evans, How, and Pitts at the end of the eighteenth century, but makes no reference to the Marshalls or Aldermar Churchyard in the context of ballad printing.
- ⁸⁷ Albert B. Friedman, *The Ballad Revival: Studies in the Influence of Popular on Sophisticated Poetry*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 146, and Nick Groom, *The Making of Percy's Reliques*, p. 169.
- ⁸⁸ *The Percy Letters: The Correspondence of Thomas Percy and William Shenstone*, edited by C. Brooks, (Newhaven: Yale University Press), 108-9. See also Steve Newman, 'The Maiden's Bloody Garland: Thomas Warton and the Elite Appropriation of Popular Song' in *Ballads and Broadides in Britain: 1500 – 1800*, edited by Patricia Fumerton, Anita Guerrini, Kris McAbee, (Farnham, 2010), p. 201.
- ⁸⁹ *The Unfortunate Concubine: or, Rosamond's Overthrow*, (Northampton, [1730?]), ESTC N14495.
- ⁹⁰ Other editions of *The Unfortunate Concubine* are ESTC N482984, T50403, T50404 (2 variants) and T192420.
- ⁹¹ *The Wanton Wife of Bath*, (London: Dicey and Marshall, c.1740-1796) ESTC N25110, N482987, T191747, T52220, T52221, T207012(2 variants), one edition not in ESTC (copies in the Houghton Library and Lewis Walpole Library), T52223, N71512 and N71511
- ⁹² See Stoker, 'John Marshall,' pp. 86-9, and ESTC T175940.
- ⁹³ *The Unhappy Lovers Garland*, ([London: Dicey, 1750?]) and *Bite upon the Miser, or, Trick upon the Parson by the Sailor*, ([London: Dicey, 1750?]), ESTC T22863.
- ⁹⁴ Thomson, 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade', pp. 128-9.
- ⁹⁵ *Robin Hood's Garland*, (Northampton: Dicey, [1719 or 1720?]), and later London editions ESTC N493115, T178443, T13332, T60854.
- ⁹⁶ W. & C Dicey *Catalogue*, p. 56.
- ⁹⁷ *The Blue Bell of Scotland*, (London: J. Marshall, [1799?]), ESTC T22922.

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- ⁹⁸ *Ground ivy. A New song*, ([London, 1795?]), ESTC T199996, and *The Whole Life and Death of Long Meg, of Westminster*, ([London, 1750?]), ESTC T52454.
- ⁹⁹ *Country Toby. A New Song*, ([London?, 1790?]), ESTC T199154, and *The Arraigning and Indicting of Sir John Barleycorn, Knt.* (London: 1775), ESTC T22429.
- ¹⁰⁰ *The Bonny Lass of Aberdeen to a New Scots Tune*, ([London, 1790?]), ESTC T198305.
- ¹⁰¹ *Three new Christmas carols*, (London, [c.1740]), ESTC N14297 and *Three new Christmas carols*, (London, [c.1770]), ESTC T196309.
- ¹⁰² Examples would be *A New Christmas Carol, on the Birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, ([London: c. 1754-95?]), ESTC T195135
- ¹⁰³ See Adam Fox, ‘Little Story Books’ and ‘Small Pamphlets’ in Edinburgh, 1680-1760: the Making of the Scottish Chapbook’, *The Scottish Historical Review*, XCII, 2. (2013), 207-30, p.209.
- ¹⁰⁴ It is not usually possible to ascertain whether chapbooks consisting of only half a sheet were printed using ‘work and turn’, (i.e. yielding two copies of each publication for each sheet printed) or whether two half sheet publications were printed simultaneously (see Gaskell, p.83). I suspect that two (or sometimes more) titles were printed simultaneously. This was certainly the case with the four quarter sheet children’s chapbooks printed by Richard Marshall, which are in the British Library. (BL 11621.e.4.). See also *Small books for the common man*, pp. 898-905 for further discussion on the imposition schemes used on chapbooks and the comparatively high numbers of examples with turned chain-lines.
- ¹⁰⁵ W. & C Dacey *Catalogue*, p. 41.
- ¹⁰⁶ John Ashton, *Chapbooks of the Eighteenth Century*, (London, 1882), p. ix.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Catalogue of English and American Chapbooks and Broadside Ballads in Harvard College Library*, compiled by Charles Welsh and William H. Tillinghast. (Cambridge (Mass.): Library of Harvard University, 1905).
- ¹⁰⁸ *The Gloucestershire Tragedy. Being an account of Miss Mary Smith in Thornbury who poisoned her father, Sir John Smith for love of a young man.* ([London] : Bow Church-Yard, [c.1750?]) ESTC T232163.
- ¹⁰⁹ For an account of the origins of ‘Long Meg’ see Dianne Dugaw, *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry 1650-1850*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 182-3.
- ¹¹⁰ *The Famous History of Tom Thumb*, 3 parts, various eds ([London: Bow Churchyard and Aldermay Churchyard, c.1736-1795]), *The Master Cat; or, Puss in Boots*, various eds ([London: Bow Churchyard and Aldermay Churchyard, c.1736-1795]), *Fairy stories*, various eds, ([London: Bow Churchyard and Aldermay Churchyard, c.1736-1795]).
- ¹¹¹ *The Famous History of the Valiant London 'Prentice*, ([London]: various eds. c.1740-1795), ESTC T35340, T35341, T190602, T227817, T300650 (which conflates two separate editions with minor typographical differences), further unlisted editions are at the

National Art Library (Ren MB.LonP), The Houghton Library (2 editions 25276 2*, 25276.6.5*) and the British Library (12315.aaa.6).

¹¹² W. & C Dacey *Catalogue*, 44.

¹¹³ An example of such a conflation would be *The Academy of Compliments*, ([London:] Aldermary Church Yard, [1750?]) ESTC T18960, where the British Library and Chetham's Library copies have different woodcuts on the title page. An example of a ghost entry would be *The Present State of England*. (London : Bow-Church-Yard, [between ca. 1752 and 1760?]), ESTC T300425 which appears to be identical with the existing entry T44218 except that it has been wrongly identified as an octavo.

¹¹⁴ *The Sufferings of the Blessed Jesus; and the Sacrament in Remembrance of Him*, (London, [c.1760]); ESTC T83433; William Laud, *The Good Man's Comfortable Companion! Or, a Daily Preparation for Heaven*, ((London, [c.1760]); ESTC T164699; William Hanover, *An Abstract of the Holy Bible*, (London, [c.1750]); ESTC T18984.

¹¹⁵ *The bloody tragedy*, (London, [1770?]), ESTC T100718.

¹¹⁶ James Revel, *The poor unhappy transported felon's sorrowful account of his fourteen years transportation at Virginia, in America*. ([London, [1780?]), (Not in ESTC, Houghton Library 25274 2* 20.), *A True and Particular Account of the Late Dreadful Earthquake at Lisbon*, ([London, [1756?]), ESTC T231689, and *The cruel massacre of the protestants, in North America; shewing how the French and Indians join together to scalp the English, and the manner of their scalping*, (London: Aldermary Church-yard, [1765?]) ESTC T100729

¹¹⁷ *Hocus Pocus: or, Legerdemain*, ([London, 1765?]), ESTC T100732. *A Choice and Diverting Dialogue between Hughson the Cobler and Margery his Wife*, ([London, 1770?]), ESTC 100722, or *Nimble and Quick; Pick and Chuse Where You Will*, ([London, 1775?]), ESTC T100767. Both of these titles are listed in the Dacey-Marshall Catalogue, but the editions concerned have not survived. Late eighteenth century editions by other publishers are however listed in ESTC.

¹¹⁸ *The Last Dying Speech, of Miss Mary Laws, near Dereham in Norfolk*, ([London: c.1790]), ESTC T155012 (which suggests the work may have been printed in Norwich?), and *The Whole Life and Adventures of Miss Davis, Commonly Called the Beauty in Disguise*, ([London], 1785), ESTC T60335.

¹¹⁹ *The Bloody Tragedy. Giving a Full and True account of one John Day, in the Town of Dereham, in Norfolk, who Most Barbarously Murdered his Father and Mother*, ([London: c. 1770]), ESTC T190126 which has a suggested imprint [Norwich?, 1770?]. There is also an 'Aldermary Churchyard' edition of the same work from c. 1780 with the title *The Unnatural Son* (ESTC T232162).

¹²⁰ *Jenny wren Part I. Being a Choice Collection of Favourite Songs*, ([London, c.1775?]), ESTC T29068; *The Tom Tit*, ([London, c. 1775?]), two parts ESTC T51457 and T143694; *The Nightingale. A Choice Collection of New and Polite Songs*, ([London, c.1760?]),

ESTC T43092, and *The Nightingale Part 1*, ([London, c.1775?]), ESTC T43094. *The Covent Garden Concert: Being a Choice Collection [sic] of the Newest Songs and Airs, Sung This and the Last Season at Covent Garden and Drury Lane Theatres, Vauxhall, and Other Places of Public Entertainment*, ([London? 1780-1790?] ESTC T300845; *The Drury-Lane Concert: Being a Collection of the Newest Songs Now in Vogue*, ([London? 1760-1780?] ESTC T300846; *The Vaux-Hall Concert. Being a Choice Collection of Songs, Sung This and the Last Season, at Vaux-Hall, Ranelagh, Marybone, and other Places of Public Entertainment*, ([London, [1775?]), ESTC T12261.

¹²¹ N.A. C/11/1550/50, Stationers' Co. v. Dicey.

¹²² *The Memorable and Everlasting Prognostications of Erra Pater*, (London: William Dicey, in Bow Church-Yard), ESTC T203418, *The A B C, with the Shorter Catechism*, (Sold in Bow-Church-Yard, London), ESTC T62850, and Jackson, 'Print in provincial England: Reading and Northampton, 1720-1800', p.65.

¹²³ *Dicey-Marshall Catalogue*, pp. 99-100. See M. O. Grenby, 'Chapbooks, Children, and Children's Literature', *The Library*, 8, (2007), 277-303.

¹²⁴ *Dicey-Marshall Catalogue*, p.101, and *Tom Thumb's Play-Book, to Teach Children Their Letters as Soon as They Can Speak*, is known in a number of editions dating from the mid eighteenth century but no Dicey or Marshall appears to have survived.

¹²⁵ *The House that Jack Built. A Diverting Story for Children of All Ages*, ([London, c.1760?]), ESTC T190834, J.M. *An Easter Offering; Being a Present for Children that Delight in Learning their Books*, (London, 1769), ESTC T224725.

¹²⁶ *Cock Robin. A Pretty Gilded Toy for Either Girl or Boy Suited to Children of All Ages*, ([London, c. 1775?]), ESTC T100724, *The Tragical Death of A, Apple Pye, etc.* ([London, c.1775?]), T100725, *The Child's New Year's Gift. A Collection of Riddles*. ([London, c. 1770?]), ESTC T100711 and *The House that Jack Built*, [London, c. 1775], ESTC T100712.

¹²⁷ For the growth of the children's book market between 1740 and 1775 and the impact of Newbery see Andrea Immel. 'Children's Books and School Books', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, V.(ed. M. Suarez and M. Turner, (Cambridge, 2009), 736-749, pp.740-3.

¹²⁸ John Gay, *Tales and Fables Selected by T. Ticklepitcher*, (London, c. 1775?).

¹²⁹ Solomon Sobersides, *Christmas Tales, for the Amusement and Instruction of Young Ladies and Gentlemen in Winter Evenings*, (London: R. Marshall, [1775?])

¹³⁰ *The History of the Good Lady Kindheart, of Hospitable-Hall Near the Village of Allgood and the Wicked Tinker*. (London. R. Marshall. ca. 1775). *Universal Battledore: or, the First Introduction to Literature*, (London: printed and sold at No. 4, Aldermary Church Yard, [1770?]), ESTC T195839, *A Compleat Abstract of the Holy Bible, in Easy Verse. Containing the Old and New Testaments*. (London : John Marshall and Co., [1785?]).

ESTC T124737,), and David Henry, *An Historical Description of the Tower of London and its Curiosities*, (London : J. Newbery, [1754])

- ¹³¹ *The house that Jack built*. (London : Marshall and Co., [1780?]) ESTC N7745, and Solomon Sobersides, *Christmas Tales ...* (London : Marshall and Co., [1780?]) T165936.
- ¹³² Sobersides, Solomon, *Christmas Tales ...* (London: J. Marshall and Co. [1784?], ESTC T165936.
- ¹³³ *World and Fashionable Advertiser* 3 Jan 1787.
- ¹³⁴ McKenzie, (1974), entry 3230. John Marshall's arrival roughly in the business roughly coincided with the change in direction of the company and the increased interest in children's publishing.
- ¹³⁵ Stationers' Hall, 'Entries of copies' 1774–1786, January 1782, *Records of the Stationers' Company 1554-1920* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986). The first title to be registered in January 1782 was *The imperial spelling book* 'C. Bolton, schoolmaster'.
- ¹³⁶ Brian Alderson and Felix de Marez Oyens, *Be Merry and Wise: Origins of Children's Book Publishing in England 1650-1850*, (New York: The Pierpoint Morgan Library, 2006), p.62.
- ¹³⁷ Alderson and de Marez Oyens, *Be Merry and Wise*, p.63.
- ¹³⁸ . *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 5 January 1781, p.4.
- ¹³⁹ *The Friends; or, the History of Billy Freeman and Tommy Truelove*, (London: Marshall c. 1785), ESTC N28581.
- ¹⁴⁰ Andrew O'Malley, 'The Coach and Six: Chapbook Residue in Late Eighteenth-Century Children's Literature', *The Lion and the Unicorn*, 24, 1, (2000), 18-44, p.18.
- ¹⁴¹ *Juvenile correspondence, or, Letters suited to children*, 2nd ed., (London: John Marshall and Co., c.1785) ESTC T80859.
- ¹⁴² *A Set of Toys for Enabling Ladies to Instil the Rudiments of Spelling, Reading, Grammar, and Arithmetic, under the Idea of Amusement*, [London: Marshall & Co., c.1785]. For further details of *A Set of Toys* see Stoker, 'Ellenor Fenn as 'Mrs Teachwell'', Andrea Immel 'Mistress of Infantine Language': Lady Ellenor Fenn, Her Set of Toys, and the Education of Each Moment', *Children's Literature*, 25 (1997), 215-228, and Jill Shefrin, 'Make It a Pleasure Not a Task': Educational Games for Children in Georgian England', *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 60 (1999) 251-275, pp. 264-5.
- ¹⁴³ Entered Stationers' Registers 6 August 1785, and *Miss Cowley's New Invented Pocket Sphere*, (London: Marshall & Co. 1785) was, advertised in the *General Advertiser* 2 January 1786, p.4.
- ¹⁴⁴ Prospectus for both publications in the John Johnson Collection, Bodleian Library, Prospectuses of Journals 22 (16).

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- ¹⁴⁵ See P. M. Heath, *The works of Mrs Trimmer*, (Saarbrucken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2010), 136-140, and *Juvenile Magazine*, (December 1788), p.662
- ¹⁴⁶ *World* 13 June 1789, p.2.
- ¹⁴⁷ The *London Gazette* 30 March 1790, p.201 confirmed the winding up of the company on 14 November 1789.
- ¹⁴⁸ *Catalogue of John Marshall's Publications for the Instruction and Amusement of Young Minds*, ([London: Marshall], 1793), ESTC T30138.
- ¹⁴⁹ *The Conversations of Emily. Translated from the French of Madame la Comtesse d'Epigny*. (London: John Marshall and Co, 1787), *The Family Magazine*, *The Juvenile Magazine* (both (London: John Marshall and Co, 1788), *The new entertaining history of Polly Cherry, and her golden apple*, (London: Marshall and Co, c. 1790), *The New instructive Hstory of Miss Patty Proud*, (London: Marshall and Co, c. 1785).
- ¹⁵⁰ Gordon Harold Spinney, 'Cheap Repository Tracts; Hazard and Marshall Edition', *The Library* 20 (1939/40): 295–340,
- ¹⁵¹ Stoker, 'John Marshall,' pp. 96-108.
- ¹⁵² These collections do not have imprints and were presumably intended only for inclusion in the collected editions. See, for example, *The Carpenter; or, the Danger of Evil Company* [also containing *The Gin-shop, The Riot, Patient Joe, The Execution of Wild Robert, and A New Christmas Carol*, ([London John Marshall , 1796?)] ESTC T19972.
- ¹⁵³ Spinney, 'Cheap Repository Tracts; Hazard and Marshall Edition', 312.
- ¹⁵⁴ For details see Stoker, 'John Marshall,' pp.110-112.
- ¹⁵⁵ ESTC N14342, and Stoker, 'John Marshall'. 84.
- ¹⁵⁶ See *Upon the Frost in the Year 1739-40*, [London] : Printed on the ice upon the Thames at Queen-Hithe, January the 22d, 1739-40, ESTC T206426 (A keepsake for Mr. Daniel Hochecorne). Other examples of the use of the engraved border are at ESTC N69294 (Elizabeth Dicey) and N478444. (Mrs. Elizabeth Hurlock.)
- ¹⁵⁷ . *World* July 18, 1788, p.2.
- ¹⁵⁸ For example, the printing of the imprint and date using only roman capitals, the inclusion of commas in roman dates, the use of a swelled rule to separate the title from the imprint, and the inclusion of a very short rule over arabic dates all correspond with the Marshalls' typographical practice for similar books at this time.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Periodical accounts relating to the missions of the church of the United Brethren, established among the heathen. Vol. II*. London: for the Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, 1797 [1801]. ESTC T6011.
- ¹⁶⁰ *A New and Correct Map of England & Wales*, (London: Marshall, 1799). B.L. Maps CC.5.a.18.

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- ¹⁶¹ B M 2010,7081.795, and Museum of London A19351
- ¹⁶² *Marshall's abridgment of English history*, (London: John Marshall, No. 4 Aldermary Church Yard, Bow Lane, [1802]). The need to have relevant text opposite to the corresponding illustration in these hybrid titles meant that the centre page of text was also engraved.
- ¹⁶³ See Brian Alderson, 'Miniature Libraries for the Young', *The Private Library*, 3rd series, 6. (1983), pp.2-38.
- ¹⁶⁴ This change is apparent in two copies of the *The Wren*, belonging to Brian Alderson dated 1805 and 1806 respectively. They are both products of 'Aldermary Church-yard, Watling Street'. The 1805 edition contains the old face and a long 's' and the 1806 the new face and a short 's'.
- ¹⁶⁵ William Cowper, *Johnny Gilpin's Journey to Vauxhall*, (London: Marshall & Co. 1833), Morgan Library 85022.
- ¹⁶⁶ Letter from Thomas Percy to William Shenstone, 19 July 1761, *Percy Letters, 7: The Correspondence of Thomas Percy and William Shenstone*, pp.108-9.
- ¹⁶⁷ St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*. p.341.
- ¹⁶⁸ O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England*, p.55.
- ¹⁶⁹ See St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*, chapter 5, for a discussion of what he refers to as 'the high monopoly period' [1710-1774] in the book trade.
- ¹⁷⁰ Neuburg, *Chapbook Bibliography*, p.28.