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Published in:

Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

Publication date:

2013

Citation for published version (APA):

Stoker, D. (2013). John Marshall, John Evans and the Cheap Repository Tracts. *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 107(1), 81-115.

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John Marshall, John Evans and the *Cheap Repository Tracts* 1793-1800¹

David Stoker

The proceedings of two related equity suits in the court of Chancery, brought by the printer John Marshall against John Evans, the former manager of one of his bookshops, tell an interesting story of a dispute which began in March 1793, was not resolved until December 1795, and which would have ramifications for both men's businesses as printers of ballads, slip songs and chapbooks. The court records also provide additional information about Marshall's printing business in Aldermay Churchyard which was one of the largest and most prolific London printing shops of the second half of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, the dispute forms a prelude to the involvement of both men in the publication of Hannah More's "Cheap Repository Tracts," which were the publishing sensation of the last five years of the eighteenth century.

Background

Although the press at No. 4 Aldermay Churchyard was not established until the mid-1750s, its origins can be traced back thirty years to the beginnings of the "Ballad Revival," following the successful publication of *A collection of old ballads*, by James Roberts between 1723 and 1725. William Dicey, a provincial printer and publisher of the *Northampton Mercury* was a key figure in this revival and his presses in the town published many broadside ballads taken from this collection.² Dicey also had links with the London book trade, especially through his brother-in-law John Cluer, who had a printing shop in Bow Churchyard in the City of London. These two men collaborated in several publishing ventures and also most notably in a partnership with Benjamin Okell the inventor of "Dr Bateman's Pectoral Drops" and

1 I should like to thank the following organisations and institutions which have provided me with fellowships in order to pursue my researches into John Marshall and the Aldermay press: the Bibliographical Society (Antiquarian Booksellers award); Princeton University (Cotsen Fellowship); and Indiana University (Everett Helm Visiting Fellowship); I should like to acknowledge the use of notes and photocopies of John Marshall's publications compiled by the late John Kelly of the University of Southern Mississippi, made available to me by Brian Alderson, and to thank Mrs Sue Dipple for sharing her researches into John Evans' background with me.

2 See Dianne Dugaw, "The popular marketing of "Old Ballads": the Ballad Revival and eighteenth-century antiquarianism reconsidered," *Eighteenth century studies* 21 (1987), 71-90.

vendor of other patent medicines, such as “Daffy’s Elixir.”³ In 1736, William Dicey acquired the business formerly operated by his brother-in-law, and installed his elder son Cluer Dicey in charge.⁴ Together they began to develop a profitable trade in London specialising in single sheet publications of all kinds, and the sale of medicines.⁵

The Diceys’ business interests in Bow Churchyard prospered during the 1740s and 1750s, particularly, the patent medicines. Thus the father and son took on a junior partner to look after their printing business. This was Richard Marshall, who had previously been one of their customers in St Martin’s Lane London.⁶ He purchased a quarter share in the Diceys’ London printing business for £355 on November 12, 1753.⁷ The following year the new partnership of Dicey & Co. leased additional premises a few streets away in Aldermary Churchyard, where Richard Marshall was installed as their printer.⁸

³ *London Journal*, April, 23 1726. This partnership also included Robert Raikes who was then proprietor of the *Gloucester Journal*.

⁴ *Daily Journal*, November, 15 1736. The business produced popular prints (both relief and intaglio); broadside ballads; chapbook histories, song books, joke books; garlands; patters; and slip songs). The range of their publications is apparent from Dicey, William and Cluer. *A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Copy-books, Drawing-books, &c.* . London: W. & C. Dicey, c.1754.

⁵ See Victor Neuburg, “The Diceys and the Chapbook Trade.” *The Library*. xxiv (1969), 219-231.

⁶ The National Archives (NA), Chancery Proceedings, Pleadings, *Hill v. Dicey* 1764, C12/28/25. Richard Marshall is first known on 10 May 1752 when he married Ellenor Cullenworth in the church of Saint Martin in the Fields, in Westminster (FamilySearch, Last modified 2012. Accessed December 8, 2012. <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/NJYF-142>.) His will would later include an annuity to a Mrs Anne Cullenworth who was perhaps his sister-in-law. See also Simmons, R. C. “The Diceys: Cheap Print in the Era of the Eighteenth-Century Consumer Revolution.” *The Dicey-Marshall Catalogue*. . The Dicey-Marshall Catalogue (accessed December 8, 2012).

⁷ ‘The several answers of Richard Marshall one of the defendants to the Bill of Complaint of Benjamin Hill the younger and Ann his Wife and Charlotte Yeates, Widow,’ were given on the final membrane of Pleadings for *Hill v. Dicey* 1764. (NA C12/28/25 pt. ii).

⁸ The start date of late 1754 is inferred as the premises in question were offered to let on twenty-one year leases from both Michaelmas 1775 and 1796 (see note 18 below). The earliest specific date found for the press in operation is in an advertisement in the *London Evening Post* October 4, 1755; advertising *A new and correct map of North America*. Richard Marshall was certainly living at the premises before November 28, 1756 when his son John was christened at the local church (FamilySearch, Last modified 2012. Accessed December 8, 2012. <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/JMQG-ZD6>.)

Following the death of his father in November 1756, Cluer Dicey appears to have taken progressively less interest in the family printing businesses, and concentrated on the more profitable sale and distribution of patent medicines.⁹ The original print shop at the “sign of the Maiden-head” continued to operate until the early 1760s, but newspaper advertisements for the business from the late 1750s refer to the premises as the ‘Dr Bateman’s warehouse,’ and additional premises for the sale and distribution of medicines were also acquired at the “King’s Arms” and the “Boar’s Head,” both in Bow Churchyard¹⁰ Meanwhile the new Aldermary press under Richard Marshall’s management continued to thrive and soon became the “principal factory” for the production of street literature in Britain.¹¹ By 1764 Richard had increased his share in this side of the business to become an equal partner with Cluer,¹² and the original Bow Churchyard printing shop, had ceased to have any connection with the book trade.

The Dicey-Marshall partnership did not survive for long. Around 1770, Richard Marshall took over the ownership of the Aldermary press, and his former partner retired from business,

9 The sudden death of William Dicey was noted in *Read's Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer* November 13, 1756; The proceedings of *Hill v. Dicey, 1764* (see note 6 above) include records of business transactions which indicate that Cluer Dicey maintained a huge distribution network for Patent Medicines throughout the English provinces. They also indicate that this business was operated separately from his printing business, of which Marshall was a partner.

10 For example the *Public Advertiser* April 29, 1756, or the *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser* March 19, 1759.

11 John Ashton, *Chapbooks of the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1882), ix. Publications by ‘Cluer Dicey and Co. also begin to be advertised from Aldermary Churchyard (*Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, January 31, 1759.)

12 The variety of their output of the press at this time is shown by the publication of a 104 page catalogue by the two partners listing several thousands of their publications (Cluer Dicey, and Richard Marshall, *A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Copy-books, Drawing-books, Histories, ... Printed and Sold by Cluer Dicey, and Richard Marshall, at the Printing-Office, in Aldermary Church-Yard, London*, (London: Dicey & Marshall, 1764). This has been transcribed by R.C. Simmons as, *The Dicey-Marshall Catalogue*, <http://www.diceyandmarshall.bham.ac.uk/> Their output included geographical and astronomical maps of all sizes; popular, religious and satirical prints (including woodcuts, engravings, etchings and mezzotints); copy and drawing books; hundreds of broadside ballads, tracts and chapbooks of all kinds (including small books for children), Christmas carols, patters, and ‘near three thousand different Sorts of slips [slip songs] of which the new Sorts coming out almost daily render it impossible to make a complete catalogue’.

in London leaving his sons in charge of the patent medicines.¹³ Among the workmen employed by Richard Marshall was John Evans, who would become a trusted employee and would later be a witness to his will.¹⁴ Richard also took his orphaned nephew, James Marshall, to work in his print shop from 1772, and, a year later, his own sixteen year old son, John.¹⁵ Together they operated the printing and publishing business throughout the 1770s, which continued to do well, although the numbers of new ballad and traditional chapbook titles produced gradually began to reduce in favour of other small books including those for children, and also the poplar prints.¹⁶ Richard Marshall died at his home in Hackney August 24, 1779, leaving a half share of his business to his son John and quarter shares to his nephew James and his widow Eleanor.¹⁷

13 The last reference to them as partners was on March 27, 1770 when a warrant was issued in a suit complaining of infringement of copyright brought by Robert Sayer in the Court of Common Pleas (NA SP44/379) for 'Engraving &c. A certain print taken from a modern picture of Christian VII, King of Denmark', see *Calendar of Home Office Papers of the Reign of George III. 1770-1772, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, (London: Longman & Co. and Trubner & Co., 1881), 164. Cluer and his brother Thomas Dicey jointly printed a number of items at Northampton between 1771 and 1775 (e.g. William Ward, *A new grammar of the English language*, 3rd edition (Northampton: Dicey, 1771 ESTC T195144) and Francis Okely, *Dawnings of the everlasting gospel-light*, (Northampton: Dicey, 1775, ESTC T116851). Cluer Dicey's will, drawn up in 1775, indicates that he and Marshall remained close friends, but that he no longer had any financial interest in the Aldermary printing business (NA PROB 11/1012). Richard Marshall also became a freeman of the Wheelwrights' Company of London at this time, for reasons that are not apparent (Ian Maxted, *The London book trades 1775-1800: a preliminary checklist of members*, (London: Dawson Publishing, 1976), 149).

14 The will of Richard Marshall, NA PROB 11/1057. John Evans, the younger son of Thomas Evans, silversmith, was baptised 18 November 1753 at St Giles Cripplegate (FamilySearch, Last modified 2012. Accessed December 8, 2012. <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/J3MT-ZL6>).

15 Both of these young men had previously served only one year out of a seven-year apprenticeship with nearby members of the Stationers' Company, before being transferred to work in Richard Marshall's printing business, D. F. McKenzie, ed., *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1701-1800*, (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1978), 115, 140 and 226.

16 For example, compare the twenty titles listed in "Books, for the instruction and amusement of children," at the end of his *The History of the Good Lady Kindheart, of Hospitable-Hall near the village of Allgood and the wicked tinker*. (London: Richard Marshall, c. 1775), (not in ESTC), with the six "Small Books for Children," listed in the *Dicey-Marshall Catalogue* of 1764 (see note 12 above). For the Aldermary press and the trade in popular prints see Sheila O'Connell, *The popular print in England*, (London: British Museum, 2006).

17 Richard Marshall's death was announced in the *General Evening Post* August 26, 1779. His will (NA PROB 11/1057), was made July 1779.

For the next decade (1779-1789) the partnership of John Marshall and Co. operated from No. 4 Aldermary Churchyard, printing and selling prints, ballads and chapbooks.¹⁸ At the same time they began to build up a reputation for themselves as “the children’s printer,”¹⁹ producing many new titles in this field. In particular, the partners recruited a number of prolific and highly successful female authors such as Dorothy and Mary Ann Kilner, Ellenor Fenn, Sarah Trimmer and Lucy Peacock whose publications would provide them with the mainstay of their output in this field and would have an enormous impact on both the teaching and reading habits of children over the next few decades.²⁰ As a result of their expansion into children’s literature, the partnership acquired a second wholesale shop, at 42 Long Lane in 1783, which seems to have been used for the sale of their songs and ballads to the trade, and would be the subject of the Chancery suits, of 1793 and 1794. It was placed under the charge of their trusted employee John Evans.²¹

During the course of 1789 John and James Marshalls quarrelled about the future direction of their company, following the opening of a retail bookshop specialising in children’s

18 This business has two entries John Pendred’s ‘Directory’, compiled during 1784-5: both “printer” and “wholesale vender of prints and small books,” (John Pendred, *The Earliest Directory of the Book Trade by John Pendred* (1785), ed. Graham Pollard, (London: Bibliographical Society, 1955), 16. The premises, on the corner of Watling Street and an alley (now blocked) leading to the east side of Aldermary Churchyard, were let on 21 year leases in both 1775 and 1796 (see the classified advertisement to let the ‘former Dicey’s printing office,’ in the *Public Advertiser*, December 13, 1775, and also the deed at London Metropolitan Archives Ms. COL/CCS/RM16/132-026).

19 Marshall uses this designation in the imprints of several of his children’s books, e.g. *Tales and fables selected by T. Ticklepitcher*, (London: Marshall & Co., c.1784), ESTC N49107, which has the imprint “Printed by John Marshall, and Co. No.4, Aldermary Church yard, Bow Lane; printers and booksellers to the good children of Great Britain, and Ireland,” or *The Friends; or, the History of Billy Freeman and Tommy Truelove*, (London: Marshall & Co, (c.1785) ESTC N28581, which describes them as “Printers to the Society of Lilliputians, and booksellers in ordinary to the good children of Great Britain and Ireland.”

20 Relatively little has been written about John Marshall as a children’s printer, but see 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, The Bibliographical Society of America and The British Library, 2006), chapter VI.

21 The years 1782 and 1783 were when the Marshall partnership began to expand their range of children’s publications with many new and successful titles by the Kilners and Ellenor Fenn (see David Stoker, “Ellenor Fenn as ‘Mrs Teachwell’ and ‘Mrs Lovechild’: a Pioneer Late Eighteenth Century Children’s Writer, Educator and Philanthropist,” *Princeton Library Chronicle* lxxviii, (2007), 816-848.)

publications at 17 Queen Street in March of that year. John seems to have wished to develop the children's book market at the expense of the popular prints and street literature previously published by the partnership.²² James even threatened to break away and set up a rival business in partnership with John Evans.²³ However John Marshall was able to borrow money to buy out his cousin in November 1789.²⁴ Thereafter James continued in business as an engraver, and John retained the publishing business in his own right, continuing with his plan to develop a wide range of children's publications.²⁵ At the height of his prosperity, in the spring of 1793, John Marshall was advertising 113 children's titles, two children's magazines, and various teaching aids.²⁶ This was in addition to his established trade in popular prints, ballads, songs and chapbooks which he had inherited from his father, and there is also evidence that his presses were regularly undertaking printing work "for" other London publishers.²⁷

22 Reference to this dispute is made in the records of the Chancery cases (see note 28 below). Advertisements appearing in several of the Marshalls' children's books at this time claiming that they were '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,' appear to repudiate the content of many of the chapbooks previously produced by the Aldermary press.

23 Statement made by John Evans in proceedings of *Marshall v. Evans* 1793 and 1794 (Decrees and Orders C33/491/596). See below note 28 for further details.

24 *London Gazette* March 30, 1790, 201, announces the winding up of the company. Presumably Eleanor Marshall retired from business at this time. The will of the two partners' unmarried aunt, Elizabeth Marshall of St Alban's, (NA PROB 11/1324) was proved May 1, 1799 in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury) indicates that John had borrowed £200 from her on which he paid 5% interest.

25 James Marshall was described as living at 'the Hope Brewhouse Fountain Stairs Rotherhithe in the County of Surry,' in Elizabeth Marshall's will (see note 24 above). James Marshall later brought a suit in Chancery against the publisher Benjamin Tabart (NA Chancery Proceedings, Pleadings, C 12/694/9 *Marshall v Tabart* , 1800.)

26 See the *Catalogue of John Marshall's Publications for the Instruction and Amusement of Young Minds*, (London: Marshall, 1793). ESTC T30138.

27 Marshall appears to have printed eight editions of Hannah More, *Thoughts on the Importance of the Manners of the Great to General Society*, (London: printed for T. Cadell, 1788-91) – see note 57 below. The same layout, typography and other conventions regularly used by Marshall's press appear on a large number of works printed 'for' other publishers between 1785 and 1800.

Marshall v. Evans 1793

The Chancery proceedings for Marshall's first suit begin by stating that he had for some years previous to 1783, "carried on a very large and extensive business as printers in Aldermay Church Yard," in a partnership with Eleanor Marshall and James Marshall, in an "old established house there under the firm of John Marshall & Co."²⁸ They record the opening of the shop at No.42 Long Lane West Smithfield and the agreement with John Evans, that he would sell articles of their trade, described as "consisting chiefly of children's books common songs and other publications of that nature," for a salary of 1 ½ guineas [£1.575] per week plus his accommodation, and all the running costs of the shop. Under this agreement the partnership supplied him a variety of goods from their warehouse in Aldermay Churchyard together with notes listing their prices. Evans accounted for the monies received at the end of each week, was paid his salary and reimbursed for any payments he had made, and received fresh supplies. It would later be stated that the new shop had "given an average return of £50 a week or thereabouts which Marshall relied upon to pay the wages of a great number of servants (forty at least) who were continually employed in his printing business."²⁹

In 1787 the partners made some changes to their arrangement with Evans "to avoid being liable to serve parish & other offices." He was asked to have his own name inserted in the rate book as the occupier of the premises and for him to pay the rents and taxes, for which he was reimbursed. Evans' name was also painted on the shop front and the business was ostensibly carried on in his own name, although the partners continued to pay the operating costs of the shop, his salary, and to provide all the stock.³⁰ Evans claimed that there was also an informal agreement that he could benefit from any retail sales that he conducted at the

28 In common with other Chancery suits, the proceedings of *Marshall v. Evans 1793* and *Marshall v. Evans 1794* are to be found in a number of different records in the National Archives as the cases passed through the various stages of the court. The original bills of complaint by John Marshall and the answers by John Evans are to be found among the pleadings: C12/647/21 (1793) and C12/952/35 (1794), and the final outcome of both cases amongst the decrees and orders C33/494/69. Other references to the case are at C33/486/186 and C33/491/596. The latter entry provides a detailed summary of the proceedings of both cases and this has been used as the source for the information and quotations in this article unless otherwise stated.

29 John Marshall's bill (*Marshall v Evans 1794*) 25 June 1794 NA C12/952/35.

30 John Marshall and Co. is recorded as paying rent and land tax on the 42 Long Lane shop until 1786/7. John Evans paid from 1787/8 until 1793/4. He also began to attend the annual vestry meeting at this time (information from Sue Dipple).

shop, and only account to the partners for the wholesale prices and that he had therefore “paid the Shop Tax with his own Money.”³¹

Following the winding up of the Marshall partnership in November 1789 John drew up a new 10-year agreement with Evans to operate the shop at 42 Long Lane, or “any other house” on his behalf from 1 January 1790 for an increased weekly wage of 4 guineas (£4.20).

According to Evans, he was also “to receive the like advantages arising from the retail branch of the trade as he had done under the partnership tho’ the same were not inserted therein.” By this time the shop at 42 Long Lane appears to have been primarily concerned with the sale of popular songs, ballads and chapbooks, whereas the bulk of the children’s books were sold at 17 Queen Street.³²

Evans had long held ambitions to set up in business on his own account, as is shown by his having entered a list of twelve small children’s titles in the Stationers Register in his own name in November 1785.³³ Since the entry process involved handing over nine copies to the clerk, these works were presumably published in his name but do not appear to have survived. However, Evans later claimed in court that he had never neglected Marshall’s business interests, having increased the return on 42 Long Lane “from £200 to £2500 per annum or thereabouts.” During the mid-1780s Marshall had been more concerned with developing his own children’s publishing business and therefore granted a great deal of freedom to his employee to act on his own account at 42 Long Lane. Thus when, in March 1791, Evans received a proposal to become the London agent for a Dr Waite in the sale of his “Worm Medicine,” Marshall raised no objection.

Following the death of Dr Waite, a year afterwards, Evans and another agent, William Howard of Reading, purchased the rights to manufacture and sell the medicine. This was

31 The Shop Tax on retail premises with an annual rental value of more than £5.00 was introduced July 1785 but was extremely unpopular and was repealed in April 1789. As a wholesale business, 42 Long Lane would not otherwise have been liable. See P. Horn, “An Eighteenth Century Battleground: The Shop Tax of 1785-1789,” *Genealogists Magazine* 28; 11, (2006), 479-486.

32 Large numbers of these songs survive among the Madden Songs at Cambridge University, the Harding collection at the Bodleian and the ‘Uncatalogued English Broad-sides’ at the Houghton Library. They rarely have any date or printer’s name but often share the same woodcuts with other Aldermary publications.

33 Stationer’s Hall, ‘Entries of copies’ 1774-1786, 19 November 1785, (Chadwyck-Healey Microfilm). Subsequent references to the Stationers Registers are also taken from this and subsequent volumes, quoting the date of entry.

done quite openly at a public auction on March 15, 1792³⁴ and Evans even asked his employer to print the Bills and Letters which the new partners circulated and had paid him £89 for doing so up to Christmas 1792. Evans also claimed to have paid “all additional persons who were employed in the increased business carried on,” out of his own pocket.

Early in 1793 Marshall appears to have become concerned by Evans’ growing business side-lines, and suspected that he soon intended to set up in business on his own account. The lease on 42 Long Lane was due to finish in March 1793 and so he began to look for new smaller premises of a sufficient size to accommodate his wholesale publishing business. He took a new shop in Golden Lane early in June and instructed Evans to move there, as he was entitled to do under their agreement of January 1790. However, unbeknown to Marshall, Evans, who was now making a good profit from the sale of his medicines, had been negotiating with the owner of 42 Long Lane and secured a new three-year lease on the shop in his own name. Evans therefore refused to move and Marshall discovered that his former employee was now the leaseholder of his shop. Marshall therefore changed his mind about giving up the lease and demanded that Evans should assign the new lease to him. At the same time he sent a painter to the house to alter the name over the door from Evans to Marshall. According to Marshall, Evans forcibly prevented the painter from doing his work and insisted that he was “entitled to the benefit in his own right and meant to circumvent the Plaintiff in his business and to secure to himself not only the possession of the said house but the goodwill and trade of the shop and to the customers resorting thereto.”

On the July 2, 1793 Marshall dismissed Evans from his service and, together with two servants, attempted to obtain possession of the house in order to take account of his own stock there, since this had not been done since before the beginning of their dispute in March. Evans refused to give up possession and “turned the servants forcibly out,” insisting that he would carry on the wholesale business and that he had “obtained lease for himself only and was entitled to all benefit and that the plaintiff hath not any interest therein.” Marshall therefore brought an action in Chancery against his former employee.

Marshall’s complaint outlined the above circumstances, noting that under their agreement of January 1790 he was entitled to employ Evans wherever he wished. He also claimed that Evans had failed to account for the stock in his custody and had sold items retail at above the

³⁴ *The Times* March 27, 1792; the new partners begin advertising in the *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* October 16, 1792.

agreed price and pocketed the difference. Evans in turn claimed that under the circumstances Marshall could not deprive him of the advantages which he had previously granted, that he was ready and willing to return all the unsold stock effects belonging to Marshall in his possession, or else to pay him for them, and that he hoped that he should be retained in carrying on his own and his partner's business at 42 Long Lane.

The judgement, made July 31, 1793, came down on the side of Marshall, requiring Evans to assign the lease to his former master and vacate the premises. However, the court also recognised that he had developed a business of his own at the shop and so he was given until Michaelmas (September 29, 1793) to move out. At first Evans refused to give up any possession, but Marshall obtained a Writ of Execution, whereupon Evans "delivered up to the Plaintiff one half of the shop ... and such stock as then remained unsold, at the same time declaring that he could retain possession of the other half ... until Michaelmas." Thus during August and September 1793 the warring parties were forced to share 42 Long Lane, and Marshall partitioned off one half of the shop.

Marshall v. Evans 1794

Evans was far from being defeated by the judgement, as is shown by the second Chancery suit brought by Marshall the following year.³⁵ In this, Marshall claimed that during the two months that they shared the premises Evans installed his own press and took copies of all his publications, insisting that he was entitled to carry on the business on his own account. He also took orders from customers which had been directed to Marshall and had retained possession of all the accounts relative to Marshall's business. When he did eventually leave, he moved to a shop next door at 41 Long Lane, taking with him Marshall's business records. He wrote over his door "Evans from No.42," deceived Marshall's customers and had supplied a great number of orders which he knew were intended for Marshall.

Evans admitted to the court that he had carried on the business of a printer and print-seller in that part of the shop partitioned off by Marshall since 1st July 1793 and had taken copies of "some few slips and publications," but denied that any of them "were the original designs or inventions of the Plaintiff." Evans' copies were sold in that part of the shop allotted to him "together with divers other songs and publications of his own." Evans also stated that he believed that Marshall had copied publications made by himself. He admitted that he sold

³⁵ NA Chancery Proceedings: equity suits from 1558, Decrees and Orders Trinity Term, *Marshall v. Evans*. 1794, C33/491.

songs and other publications to many persons who had formerly been Marshall's customers but claimed that they knew that he sold the same on his own account and came voluntarily without being solicited to do so. Furthermore, he admitted that he had received orders of the customers who used to deal with Marshall, but had kept no records of these transactions:

it being customary in the trade that whenever letters or orders from customers in the country who deal in ready money & (which is usually paid by the coachman or waggoner by whom the same is directed to be sent), as soon as the same are paid to burn or destroy them.

He denied that he had retained possession of Marshall's books and accounts "except the necessary Memorandums and notes of the goods sent by the Plaintiff to the Defendant and such the Defendant was advised were necessary Vouchers for him to make out his Account with the Plaintiff." He therefore submitted that he had a right to retain these until after the passing the Accounts between them.

Evans admitted that on the day before Michaelmas 1793 he had opened a shop next door to Marshall's "for the purpose of carrying on the trade of a printer and printseller and for the sale of Dr Waite's celebrated Worm medicine," with William Howard. He admitted that he had written over his door "Evans from No. 42" but claimed he did so only to apprise his customers that he was the same person who had formerly resided at No.42 and not with any design or intention to deceive any of Marshall's customers, and had not, to his knowledge, supplied any orders which were intended for the Plaintiff .

In this instance the wheels of justice turned slowly and it was a full year before all of the statements were collected and a decision was received. Furthermore, after hearing the submissions of both parties the judge referred the matter to an arbitrator, stipulating that the final award and determination should be given in writing on or before the last day of the Michaelmas Term 1795. Thus for more than two years John Marshall and John Evans operated competing businesses next to one another at 41 and 42 Long Lane, each selling ballads, slip songs and chapbooks.

Marshall was not content to wait months to obtain justice and determined to seek revenge on Evans and his new partner, William Howard. In October 1793 he began to advertise "an improved preparation of Dr. Waite's Worm Medicine, which is rendered so extremely pleasing in appearance, and so deliciously palatable, that it is impossible to distinguish it from the most agreeable Gingerbread nut."³⁶ The new medicine was sold by him at 42, Long-

³⁶ *The World* , November 11, 1793 and other contemporary London newspapers.

lane, West Smithfield, at No. 4 Aldermary Churchyard, and also by several of his trade contacts in London.

Evans and Howard were quick to respond.

AN Advertisement of Dr. WAITE's WORM MEDICINE, appearing in this Paper, stating it to be prepared by J. MARSHALL, No. 42, Long-lane, it is necessary to caution the Public against this imposition, as Mr. Marshall has neither right, property, nor any pretension whatever in or to the said Medicine, nor does his Composition bear the least analogy to the properties of the Genuine. The following fact fully explains Mr. Marshall's conduct in this business: - He being in possession of the house in which Mr. Evans lately lived, takes the unjustifiable advantage arising from the situation, to impose on the Public, and to invade the private property of individuals; Messrs. Howard and Evans, having given a valuable consideration for Dr. Waite's Original Recipe, are the only Proprietors. Mr. Marshall is hereby called upon to deny, if he can, the truth of the above relation. - If he can, it is a duty he owes to his own character to justify his conduct in the eyes of the Public, on whose credulity he has presumed to impose.³⁷

For the first time it therefore became necessary to identify the publications of each business, and it is noticeable that many items that would not previously have had an imprint begin to carry imprint from one or other of the shops in Long Lane. Relatively few of John Marshall's slip songs have survived from before 1793, but there are 146 items recorded on ESTC with the imprint "Sold at 42 Long Lane," between 1793 and 1795. Likewise there are 183 items with the imprint of "Sold by J. Evans, 41 Long Lane," an address which was only used by him from mid-1793 until March 1796. This was the height of the naval wars against the French and for every action or victory there was one or more new songs published. John Marshall also had the advantage of having access to engravers and a rolling press and so there are also large number of surviving engraved song sheets dating from 1794 and 1795, which emanated from 4 Aldermary Churchyard.³⁸

There is also evidence that Marshall was trying to revive his business of printing and distributing cheap literature at this time, having previously tended to neglect it. New editions of several old broadside ballads such as *The Amorous lady's garland*, or *Fair Rosamond* were produced, this time with the 42 Long Lane imprint, but incorporating the woodcuts previously used in Aldermary editions. Also new contemporary chapbook titles such as those

³⁷ *The World*, November 11, 1793.

³⁸ The majority of these are not recorded on ESTC as they fall outside its scope, but many examples from these years are preserved in the Harding collection at the Bodleian Library.

giving an account of the trial and execution of King Louis of France and his wife Queen Marie Antoinette.³⁹

In the Morgan Library there is an apparently unique copy of a three-penny children's book, *Pretty Pastime for Little Folks*, with the imprint "Sold No. 42, Long-Lane."⁴⁰ This is undoubtedly a production from Aldermay Churchyard press dating from about 1795 and the title is advertised elsewhere among John Marshall's publications. It contains an advertisement specifically aimed at chapmen and pedlars offering "New books for children, sold wholesale at No. 42, Long-Lane" and listing twenty-seven titles all bar one of which are priced between one and three pence. This is an indication that Marshall was then trying to revive his trade in cheaper materials at Long Lane, whilst at the same time as producing his more expensive and "respectable" children's titles by Mrs Trimmer or Lady Fenn, for sale at 17 Queen Street.

The final judgement in the second Chancery suit brought by John Marshall was issued December 18, 1795, and was entirely in his favour.⁴¹ Evans had already handed over to the arbitrator £469. 5. 4½ (£469.27) which was presumably the value of Marshall's stock unaccounted for, and which was now paid over to Marshall. In addition, Evans was required to pay a further £150 in damages, and the costs of both actions. Yet, in spite of his resounding victory in the courts, Marshall allowed his lease on 42 Long Lane to lapse at Easter 1796. As soon as he had vacated the shop, John Evans and William Howard moved back in and for several years occupied both shops, before eventually settling back at number 42.

So why did John Marshall walk away from this part of his business in 1796 after he had successfully fought for so long against his former employee? The answer perhaps lies in events taking place elsewhere in the country, especially the popular unrest that had been a

³⁹ Thomas Deloney, *The Life and Death of Fair Rosamond. King Henry the Second's Concubine*, (London: Sold at no. 42, Long Lane, ESTC T192585), *The History of the Trial and Execution of Marie Antoinette, Late Queen of France*, (London: Sold at no. 42, Long Lane, ESTC N66726), *The History of the Trial and execution of Louis the XVIth, Late King of France*, with no imprint, but which is identical in presentation and layout to the above. (ESTC N66725.)

⁴⁰ *Pretty Pastime for Little Folks. Containing Many Diverting Stories, and Variety of Entertainment*. (London: Sold at No. 42, Long-Lane, West-Smithfield, ESTC N38948). This has been attributed to Evans and dated circa 1800 by the library, but contains no colophon.

⁴¹ NA Chancery proceedings, decrees and orders (C33/494/69).

feature of the years 1794 and 1795, and the widespread fear that Britain might soon succumb to a popular revolution, just as France had done five years before. The decision seems to have derived from Marshall's involvement in a scheme, initiated by Hannah More, to publish popular ballads and chapbooks on moral and religious themes for sale or distribution to the literate poor, to counteract radical political ideas then circulating.

Cheap Repository Tracts 1795-1799

The story of Hannah More and the Cheap Repository for Moral and Religious Literature has been told many times, and continues to be a popular subject of academic study among literary and social historians.⁴² Around one hundred and fifteen ballads and chapbook titles were originally issued in the main series printed by Samuel Hazard between March 1795 and January 1796, and by John Marshall between May 1795 and December 1797, although there is still some contention over the exact number published.⁴³ In addition to these, Hannah More would issue a further dozen or more titles (printed by John Evans during 1798) and John Marshall published his own series of seventy-three titles during 1798 and 1799 (both of which are discussed below).

42 One of the best modern accounts of the tracts as a whole and their social and political background is Susan Pedersen, "Hannah More Meets Simple Simon: Tracts, Chapbooks, and Popular Culture in Late Eighteenth-Century England," *The Journal of British Studies* 25, 1 (1986), 84-113. In addition to the sources cited below, recent published studies include Jane Nardin, "Avoiding the Perils of the Muse: Hannah More, Didactic Literature, and Eighteenth Century Criticism," *Papers on Language and Literature: A Journal for Scholars and Critics of Language and Literature* 36, 4 (2000), 277-91; Mona Scheuermann, "Hannah More and the English Poor," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 25, 2 (2001), 237-251; Mona Scheuermann, *In Praise of Poverty: Hannah More Counters Thomas Paine and the Radical Threat*, (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2002), chapters 6 & 7, 135-206; Samantha Webb, "One Man's Trash Is Another Man's Dinner: Food and the Poetics of Scarcity in the Cheap Repository Tracts," *European Romantic Review* 2006; Kevin Gilmartin, "Hannah More and the Invention of Conservative Culture in Britain," *English Literary History*, 70.2 (2003), 493-540.

43 Gordon Harold Spinney, "Cheap Repository Tracts; Hazard and Marshall edition," *The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 20 (1939/40), 295-340, lists 114 titles but also mentions one further title, *The Middle Way's the Best* which was apparently suppressed soon after publication. Another title, *The Fall of Adam*, not mentioned in Spinney, may have been issued in 1796 although only later reprints now survive. In addition, *An Alarm to Christians; or, the Best Way to Defend the Bible*, (London: John Marshall, ESTC T59019) was entered in the Stationers Register by Hannah More on 26 September 1796, is in a similar in format to the other tracts and includes the same tailpiece ornament found in Marshall's editions, but does not specifically identify itself as a "Cheap Repository Tract," nor was it included in the various collected editions.

More envisaged a new publishing institution with the object of:

the circulation of religious and useful knowledge, as an antidote to the poison continually flowing thro' the channel of vulgar and licentious publications. These, by their cheapness, as well as by their being, unhappily, congenial to a depraved taste, obtain a mischievous popularity among the lower ranks.⁴⁴

Her tracts were intended as an alternative to the “corrupt and vicious little books and ballads which have been hung out of windows in the most alluring forms or hawked through town and country.”⁴⁵ They pointed out the pitfalls of drunkenness, debauchery, idleness, gambling riotous assembly, and seeking to rise above one's station, whilst simultaneously praising the virtues of religion, honesty, industry, thrift, patience and an acceptance of one's pre-ordained place in society. They did so by means of simple ballads and short stories, with one third of them designated as “Sunday Reading” and containing simplified Bible stories or else a more specifically religious message. As she explained in a letter to her friend Mrs Bouverie:

These verses are made to attack immorality or dishonest practice and by trying to make them a little amusing in the manner as well as ornamental in appearance we may in time bring them to still higher things.⁴⁶

The works were to be well printed, often incorporating a suitable woodcut illustration to make them more attractive, and sold through the usual distribution channels for such works.

Brevity, cheapness, and a neat agreeable appearance, are the harmless allurements we shall employ. By supplying Religious and Moral Tracts uniting all these advantages, we hope to draw off, in some measure, the venders of corrupt ballads from their pernicious traffic. For the same persons who have hitherto hawked vice and folly thro' the country, will, no doubt, with equal readiness, circulate what is pure and virtuous, should they find it no less gainful.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ *A Plan for Establishing a Repository of Cheap Publications, on Religious and Moral Subjects*, (London: John Marshall? c.1794/5), ESTC T155148),

⁴⁵ *Cheap Repository for Moral and Religious Publications*, (London: J. Marshall, 1795?). ESTC T030543.

⁴⁶ Mary G. Jones, *Hannah More*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), 139.

⁴⁷ *A Plan for Establishing a Repository of Cheap Publications*, 2.

More's plan was circulated among her friends in the West Country during 1794, several of whom encouraged her to extend the scheme to cover the whole country. An informal committee was formed with Henry Thornton, M.P. as the Treasurer, and a printed prospectus was issued in late 1794 or early 1795 in both London and Manchester, listing eighteen titles.⁴⁸ The Committee began to secure subscriptions from supporters to underwrite the costs involved in her project, collected by major booksellers and clergy in London, Bristol, Bath, Gloucester and Plymouth. The titles were to be sold through a combination of the "booksellers in town and country" who were given discounts for bulk purchases but more particularly by means of the hawkers and pedlars who took them to local fairs, markets and to individual villages.⁴⁹ Thus the scheme was deliberately copying the traditional forms of popular literature in terms of literary form, physical format and distribution methods. It was only in their moral and religious message that they differed from their predecessors.⁵⁰

Under More's original plan, the tracts were to be produced and distributed by Samuel Hazard, an established provincial printer in Cheap Street, Bath, fairly close to her home at Wrington in Somerset. He was a Moravian by faith, and known to have evangelical sympathies.⁵¹ The

48 ESTC T155148 and, *A Plan for Establishing a Repository of Cheap Publications*, (Manchester: c.1794/5), ESTC N61415.

49 Jones, *Hannah More*, 171.

50 The publication of the Cheap Repository Tracts has been represented by some political historians as a conservative reaction to the success enjoyed by Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man*, and *Age of Reason*, (see Henry Thompson, *Life of Hannah More* (London: T. Cadell, 1838), 158; or E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1966), 141-42). However, interpreting the tracts only in contemporary political terms is an oversimplification of her motives. As Susan Pedersen points out, only a small proportion of the tracts were political in content. They were rather an attempt to reform the morals of the working classes, "adopting the forms, writing styles, and even distribution channels of popular literature," ("Hannah More Meets Simple Simon," 88.) It has even been questioned as to the extent of the impact they may have had on the lives of the working classes, at whom they were aimed, or whether they were merely 'a huge hit among the middle classes, who ... had set up 'very respectable Societies' throughout the country, in order to distribute them," Anne Stott, *Hannah More the first Victorian*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 176.

51 Hazard's previous publications had included, *A Narrative of the Most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of an African Prince by Ukawsaw Gronniosaw*, a libretto of Handel's *Messiah*, hymn books for a local chapel, medical treatises, Samuel Anstey's satirical *New Bath guide* as well as a host of penny chapbooks, see Trevor Fawcett, *Georgian imprints: Printing and Publishing at Bath 1729-1815*, (Bath: Ruton, 2008), 34-7, and 62-3.

launch of the new scheme on March 3, 1795 at Hazard's printing office was described in the *Bath Journal* for the following day.

A number of hawkers attended, decently dressed, with characteristic ribbands in their hats, and an assortment of the instructive and entertaining works in poetry and prose were presented to each by a subscription of ladies and gentlemen there present.⁵²

According to her biographer, Mary Jones, "Hannah More's drive and organizing power were seldom more conspicuous than in the exigent work of writing editing, and vending for the Cheap Repository."⁵³ She wrote more than half of the titles herself and remained the main instigator and organiser of the scheme. She also arranged for the titles specifically written for the institution to be entered in the Stationers Register under her own name. In addition to those that she wrote, a further six were probably written by her sister Sarah, others by her evangelical friends such as the poet William Mason, the philanthropists and campaigners against slavery Zachary Macaulay, John Newton, and Henry Thornton, or William Gilpin, the artist and writer on the picturesque.⁵⁴ A few titles were condensed versions of existing well-known works, such as Isaac Watts', *Divine Songs* or Daniel Defoe's *The History of the Plague in London in 1665*, and others were retellings of *Bible* stories in simple language.

The tracts were deliberately sold "at a price much under the expense incurred in printing and vending, and the loss is defrayed out of a subscription."⁵⁵ Supporters of the scheme also assisted with their distribution and so the newcomers were able to undercut their established commercial rivals. According to the "Advertisement" prefacing one of the collected editions of the tracts:

Many persons exerted their influence, not only by circulating the tracts in their own families, in schools, and among their dependants, but also by encouraging booksellers to supply themselves with them; by inspecting retailers and hawkers, to whom they gave a few in the first instance, and afterwards directed them in the purchase; also by recommending the tracts to the occupiers of stalls at fairs, and by sending them to hospitals, workhouses, and prisons. They were

⁵² Spinney, 302.

⁵³ Jones, *Hannah More*, 138.

⁵⁴ See Anna Maree Blanch, *A Reassessment of the Authorship of the Cheap Repository Tracts*, (M.A. dissertation, Baylor University, 2009), <http://hdl.handle.net/2104/5365> for a detailed discussion of this topic.

⁵⁵ Advertisement in the *Bristol Journal*, April 18, 1795.

also liberally distributed among soldiers and sailors, through the influence of their commanders.⁵⁶

At one point Beilby Porteus, Bishop of London, turned his library into a warehouse for the tracts, and the Bishop of Durham “hoped to spread the plan much there.”⁵⁷

The scheme proved to be enormously successful: according to Richard Altick;

There had never been anything like it in the history of English books. In the first six weeks (March 3 – April 18, 1795) 300,000 copies were sold at wholesale; by July of the same year, the number had more than doubled; and by March 1796, the total number had reached the staggering figure of 2,000,000.⁵⁸

They were not just a publishing phenomenon in the British Isles. Individual tracts were soon taken to America and reprinted there, primarily by B. & J. Johnson of Philadelphia.⁵⁹ Also, in January 1797 Bishop Porteus wrote to Hannah More:

The sublime and immortal publication of the '*Cheap Repository*' I hear from every corner of the globe. To the West Indies I have sent ship-loads of them. They are read with avidity at *Sierra Leone*, and I hope our pious Scotch missionaries will introduce them into Asia.⁶⁰

56 *Cheap Repository Shorter Tracts*, (London: F. and C. Rivington, 1798), ESTC T030544. See also A. De Morgan, “Cheap Repository Tracts,” *Notes and Queries*, Series 3, vi, (1861), 241-5.

57 Jones, *Hannah More*, 171.

58 Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 75. See also Spinney.301-2 for the early reception of the tracts. The figure of ‘about two million having been printed within the year’ appears in Hannah More’s second prospectus, entitled *Cheap Repository for Moral and Religious Publications*, (London: Marshall, 1796) ESTC T152710. However it is questionable how many of these were actually sold rather than given away.

59 See, Harry B. Weiss, “Hannah More’s Cheap Repository Tracts in America,” *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 50.7 (1946), and 50.8 (1946).

60 Alan Richardson, *Literature, Education, and Romanticism: Reading as Social Practice, 1780-1832*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1994). 157.

John Marshall, and the Cheap Repository Tracts

Although Hannah More had originally envisaged that her scheme would operate in the West Country, Bishop Porteus was anxious that it should be extended to include his London diocese.

I shall therefore be a large customer at your shop, and shall endeavour to establish something of the same sort in some central part of my own diocese, and, perhaps, even in London itself. There is a central set of booksellers that are to the full as mischievous as your hawkers, pedlers and matchwomen in vending the vilest penny pamphlets to the poor people, and I am told it is incredible what fortunes they raise by this sort of traffic. . . . If therefore we gain any of these miscreants to our side, we shall have a most respectable set of booksellers to dispose of our works in town and country from the most eminent dealer in small wares in Paternoster Row to the vender of cards and matches at Cowslip Green.⁶¹

John Marshall was an example of a “miscreant bookseller,” involved in the ballad and chapbook trade but who now appeared to be seeking a degree of respectability. He had already been involved in one project “to counteract undesirable reading matter with regular monthly instruction in religion and morality,” through his publication of Sarah Trimmer’s, *Family magazine* which lasted between January 1788 and June 1789.⁶² He also appears to have been a supporter of the movement for the abolition of slavery, which was one of the objectives of More and her circle.⁶³ Furthermore, his business in Aldermary churchyard was at the centre of a well-established network for the distribution of ballads and chapbooks throughout the country. He might therefore be recruited to become the London agent for the new scheme.

⁶¹ Roberts, *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs Hannah More*, 1:436.

⁶² The role of the *Family Magazine* as a precursor to the Cheap Repository Tracts is briefly touched upon in P.M. Heath, *The works of Mrs Trimmer (1741-1810)*, (Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2010), 136, but requires further investigation. As Spinney (298) points out, two of the earliest tracts - *Babay* and *The execution of McLean* - were largely copied from items appearing in this periodical.

⁶³ In addition to publishing an etching depicting “The cruel treatment of the slaves in the West Indies” in 1793 (reproduced in Sheila O’Connell, *The Popular Print in England*, (London: British Museum, 2006), 57, Marshall printed a number of anti-slavery tracts, as well as *The trials of the slave traders Samuel Samo, Joseph Peters and William Tufft*, which he entered in the Stationers’ Register 25 January 1813.

Marshall's business must have been well known to Hannah More and he appears to have been the printer of some of her own early works.⁶⁴ More was also on good terms with the Dicey family, and had composed an epitaph for Cluer Dicey, the former owner of the Aldermary press and business partner of Marshall's father.⁶⁵ No doubt she realised that Marshall was a shrewd businessman, who had treated poor Mrs Trimmer like "a bookseller's fag," during their fruitful and, for him, profitable working relationship.⁶⁶ Hannah More, on the other hand was a somewhat more formidable lady to deal with. Under the original scheme, John Marshall was one of two stockists in London, together with Richard White a bookseller in Westminster, at No. 173 Piccadilly.⁶⁷

More's scheme envisaged the publication of one broadside ballad and two chapbooks each month, but by the end of April 1795 it was clear that Samuel Hazard would not be able to cope with the volume of printing necessary in his relatively small premises in Bath. Due to the unprecedented demand for reprints of the original titles no further tracts were issued until late May, by which time John Marshall had been recruited as a second printer. During those chaotic early weeks in the spring of 1795 Marshall had complained to More that "on account of the extraordinary demand for the tracts, he had not yet been able to fulfil any of the orders in the distant counties."⁶⁸ In the opinion of Henry Thornton, Hazard was a good printer but a bad businessman, "mixing enthusiasm with worldly concerns, and hoping for a divine direction in a way which the Scriptures do not seem to promise it."⁶⁹ Marshall, on the other hand was described in the same letter as "a more worldly man." Thus from the twenty-third

64 Marshall advertised Mary Wiseman, *A Letter from a Lady to her Daughter, on the Manner of Passing Sunday Rationally and Agreeably*, (London 1788), ESTC T65144 as having "The size of the Page and Type the same as "Thoughts on the Importance of the Manners of the Great," *World* (1787) 18 July 1788. Although Marshall's name does not appear on the imprint of More's work the two titles are very similar typographically and appear to have been printed at the same press. Likewise, several other of Hannah More's titles published during the 1780s and 1790s display the same typographical conventions as items printed at the Aldermary press.

65 Spinney 304.

66 Jones, *Hannah More*, 141-2.

67 The names of several other booksellers in London and the West Country were given in the manuscript prospectus seen by A. de Morgan 'Cheap Repository Tracts', 1861, but Marshall, Hazard, White and later Elder are the only names to appear in the imprints.

68 Stott, *Hannah More the first Victorian*, 176.

69 Jones, *Hannah More*, 142.

tract, *The Lancashire Collier Girl*, issued in May 1795, the production was shared by both Hazard and Marshall, with each man being designated as “Printer to the Cheap Repository” in their respective cities and each one’s name taking precedence over the other in different editions of the same new title. At the same time William Watson, the printer to the “Association for Discountenancing Vice and Promoting the Knowledge and Practice of Religion and Virtue,” was also appointed “Printer to the Cheap Repository” in Dublin and permitted to reprint the existing titles.⁷⁰

Although forty-nine tracts had been published in England by January 1796, printing the same text at two English locations, with each press having to commission its own woodcuts, was proving to be wasteful and expensive. Furthermore, the hawkers were unhappy with their percentage. As Hannah More later noted in a letter to a friend, “I found I was got on too expensive a plan.”⁷¹ On January 6, 1796, she wrote to Zachary Macaulay indicating that she was planning to reorganise the plan to meet hawkers’ demands:

We were mistaken in believing them cheap enough for the hawkers. I find they have been used to get three hundred percent on their old trash; of course they will not sell ours, but declare they have no objection to goodness, if it were but profitable.⁷²

At the same time, some of the wealthy supporters of the scheme were also seeking copies printed on a better quality paper that could be bound and preserved.

Of the two “Printers to the Cheap Repository” on the mainland, only John Marshall had a sufficiently large business to be able to cope with the volume of printing on his own. The organising committee therefore had cause to revise their scheme, and issue a new prospectus, no doubt after consulting with Marshall.⁷³ Whilst they had by then received sufficient

70 Mary Pollard, *Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade 1550-1800*, (London: Bibliographical Society, 2000), 595-6. The Dublin editions sometimes have slightly different titles to their London equivalents, for example, *The Gin-shop* became *The Dram Shop*, and *The Wonderful Advantages of Adventuring in the Lottery* was advertised as *John Doyle*.

71 Stott, *Hannah More the First Victorian*, 176.

72 Letter from More to Zachary Macaulay, 6 January, 1796, Roberts, *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs Hannah More*. 1:473.

73 *Cheap Repository for Moral and Religious Publications*, ([London]: Sold by J. Marshall, printer to the Cheap Repository, for religious and moral tracts; and R. White, London: by S. Hazard, Bath; and by all booksellers, newsmen, and hawkers, in town and country, [1796?]. ESTC T30543). This also included a treasurer’s report (signed: Harry Thornton, Esq. M.P.) and a list of subscribers The revised objectives for the

subscriptions to continue to subsidise new publications for some time, the economic model was not sustainable in the long term and savings had to be made. The result was the decision to print the text at one location only, but in two chapbook formats on different qualities of paper. The tracts intended for general sale would be produced in an octavo format on a cheaper paper, whereas copies intended for preservation would be issued as duodecimos on better paper. The latter copies would also be advertised as bound annual collections with a separate title page. Two different editions of the ballads were also to be printed, “one in the form of a little book for binding, the other in a very cheap manner in sheets.”⁷⁴ However, the following July 1796 production of the broadside ballads seems to have been quietly dropped.

Another aspect of the revised scheme of February 1796 was to seek to improve the distribution of the tracts in the “the distant counties.” To this end, the committee appointed an additional distributor - John Elder, bookseller, bookbinder and stationer of North Bridge, Edinburgh. His name therefore began to appear on both the new tracts and the reprints of those already issued.

Thus from February 1796 John Marshall supplanted Samuel Hazard as “Printer to the Cheap Repositories,” and the latter became merely a stockist of them. More dismissed the Bath bookseller’s objections to the revised scheme, claiming that the business had already been “very gainful” to him.⁷⁵ Thus at exactly the same time that Marshall’s dispute with Evans had been resolved and he was receiving damages from the former manager of his shop, he was presented with a new and potentially profitable business opportunity. His new pre-occupation with the production and sale of the Cheap Repository Tracts seems to have been the reason why he gave up his Long Lane premises at Easter 1796 and abandoned the business undertaken there to his rival John Evans. He also appears to have begun to neglect his children’s publishing activities, adding no new titles, although he did continue reprint his existing stock as and when necessary. Any plans that his “commodious” bookshop” at 17

scheme from this report and a list of Tracts already published were also issued as a 1/4^o handbill (ESTC T152710).

⁷⁴ *Cheap Repository for Moral and Religious Publications*, (ESTC T152710) p.1. This reference explains the existence of a number of narrower editions of the ballads printed without any imprint, which are discussed by Spinney (p.323). Also, ESTC T19972, which contains six of the earlier ballads in reprinted in a duodecimo format is an example of the new form referred to.

⁷⁵ Stott, *Hannah More the First Victorian*, 176.

Queen Street would receive the “patronage of the Nobility, Gentry, and Heads of Schools,”⁷⁶ were deferred and the premises began to be advertised as one of two Cheap Repositories in London.

There is no doubt that John Marshall went to some trouble over the production of the Cheap Repository Tracts and the scheme profoundly altered the nature of his business. He acquired a new fount of type supplied by Edmund Fry, which matched that already used by Hazard.⁷⁷ He was now responsible for the production of three new tracts each month together with supplying many reprints of a growing number of existing ones, as well as producing and marketing the annual volumes.⁷⁸ He also had to commission the woodcuts shown on the title page of each title, which were of much better quality than those usually found in chapbooks.⁷⁹

Marshall was quite used to dealing with well-to-do lady authors, such as Lady Fenn or Mrs Trimmer, but Hannah More appears to have been much more demanding of the publisher’s time and attention, and was always willing to call him to account either in person or through letters. Whereas his previous authors had permitted him to enter their new titles in the Stationers’ Register under his own name, More insisted that they were entered under hers.⁸⁰ Her name continued to appear on the entries until May 1797, although presumably the transaction was carried out by Marshall or one of his employees as the titles were completed. However, for the next five months the three new titles published each month begin to be entered under John Marshall’s name. The reason for this change, and whether or not Miss More was aware that it had taken place, is not known.

It must also have been difficult for Marshall to deal with the prime mover and principal author of the scheme who was based so far away in Somerset, even if she did have friends in

⁷⁶ *The Times*, Monday, March 1, 1790.

⁷⁷ Spinney 305.

⁷⁸ ESTC currently records 277 Cheap Repository Tracts in the Hazard Marshall series, but investigations by the author indicate that there are in the region of a further 100 editions yet to be recorded on the database.

⁷⁹ Many of the woodcuts are signed ‘Lee’, or ‘L’ denoting John Lee who was used by Marshall to illustrate several of his children’s publications.

⁸⁰ Spinney 307. Hannah More begins to enter the titles in the Stationers’ Register on February 20, 1795, but several of earliest titles which were not written by her or her sister were not entered.

London. As she wrote to Zachary Macaulay in January 1796, before Marshall had even taken on sole responsibility for printing the tracts

Mr Babington [Macaulay] has promised to take Marshall in hand. I do believe his judicious investigations of Marshall's neglect and other faults will produce some outward reformation, at least, in his management.⁸¹

No doubt Marshall was “taken in hand” for over the next twenty months they managed to publish a further 59 tracts in co-operation with one another, and the tracts continued to sell well over the summer of 1797. It was only in the September that they did not meet their target of issuing three tracts per month, and in that instance it was due to the failure by Henry Thornton to supply a promised manuscript in time.⁸² However, Hannah More was beginning to tire of her dealings with Marshall, for in the same month she wrote to Macaulay, that “Mr. M. has never belied my first opinion of him, selfish, tricking and disobliging from first to last.”⁸³

The failure to publish three tracts in September 1797 seems to have caused More to decide to end her scheme in the November, with the completion of the new titles due to be published in December. “At Christmas the three volumes will be complete, when I promise myself a little cessation,” she announced in a letter to Zachary Macaulay on September 8, 1797, although her London printer may not have been made aware of the fact.⁸⁴ This decision may have been due to her dissatisfaction with Marshall, as suggested by Spinney. (Perhaps it was the discovery that the printer had been entering the titles in the Stationers Register under his own name?) Alternatively, it may have been that the strain of the work involved was “affecting Hannah More’s fragile health,” as suggested by Stott.⁸⁵ After the initial enthusiasm for the project, the number of volunteer authors declined and she was “often driven to the necessity of furnishing three titles myself.” Perhaps it was a combination of both these factors?

Marshall continued to enter three new titles in the Stationers' Register at the end of each month until 30 October 1797. A fortnight later, on 14 November, he also entered of the third annual volume of collected containing Cheap Tracts for 1797, and handed over nine copies of

81 Spinney, p.306.

82 Stott, *Hannah More the first Victorian*, p. 205.

83 Jones, *Hannah More*, 143.

84 Stott, *Hannah More the first Victorian*, p. 205. ***Check on this***

85 Stott, *Hannah More the first Victorian*, p. 205.

this work. Yet no examples of this collection appear to have survived, and the edition, which was seemingly made up of the individual duodecimo tracts bound together with a new title page, appears to have been withdrawn from sale.⁸⁶

Thus during the second half of November 1797 there seems to have been the row between Marshall and the Committee, the result of which caused his dismissal from further involvement with the project as either printer or distributor. The Committee under their treasurer, Henry Thornley, took over closer control and in place of Marshall, three new London distributors were found: Francis and Charles Rivington (printers to the S.P.C.K) of 62 St. Paul's Churchyard, John Hatchard (successor to Richard White at 173, Piccadilly), and John Evans and Co. of 41 and 42 Long Lane, West Smithfield. The services of Samuel Hazard in Bath were also retained. What must have been particularly galling for John Marshall was that Evans & Co were appointed as the new "Printers to the Cheap Repository." Marshall was clearly furious over the revocation of his contract and threatened to sue both Hannah More and her committee, claiming copyright on some of the tracts.⁸⁷ He also still held in stock substantial supplies of the unsold tracts that he had printed, as well as the wood blocks necessary for the reprints. It would take several months of difficult negotiations before the two parties could separate their interests and the remaining stocks were purchased in the September.⁸⁸

John Evans and the Cheap Repository Tracts

Having found a new, and presumably less "selfish, tricking and disobliging" printer and main distributor, Hannah More seems to have had second thoughts about bringing her series of tracts to an end. Several new titles with the imprints of Evans and Co. and Hatchard began to appear, starting with *Here and There or, This World and the Next*, which contained "suitable

⁸⁶ Spinney, 307 states that the volume was entered to Henry Thornton, treasurer of the Cheap Repository, but it appears that he was mistaken. The register of copies for November 1797 (f.354) shows that the title was entered with the whole share to John Marshall. Henry Thornton's name does not appear until the collected editions published April-June 1798.

⁸⁷ Stott, *Hannah More the First Victorian*, 205, Jones, *Hannah More*, 143.

⁸⁸ Stott, *Hannah More the First Victorian*, 207.

thoughts for the New Year” and so seems to have been published for January 1798.⁸⁹ Since these new tracts were no longer entered in the Stationers Register, do not contain any advertisements announcing further titles and only relatively small numbers have survived, it is difficult to be certain as to the dates and order of publication. Spinney noted a further five additional titles printed by Evans, but Anna Blanch has suggested another five confirmed titles, as well as a number of unconfirmed titles, (three of which have also recently come to light).⁹⁰ The individual tracts printed by Evans & Co from 1798 onwards are far rarer than their predecessors published between 1795 and 1797, and this was no doubt the reason why Spinney chose to restrict his detailed bibliography to the Hazard and Marshall series. Most of the survivors are only known from copies in the later collected editions.⁹¹

A newly printed edition containing virtually all of the tracts published by Hannah More and the Committee, collected in three volumes appeared between April and June 1798, and was entered at Stationers Hall by Henry Thornton. Presumably the issue of the ownership of the copyrights of those fourteen titles entered under Marshall’s name had by then been resolved since they were all included. The new collected edition carried the imprints of Rivington, Hatchard and Evans, and was organised according to the length of the tracts and intended use,⁹² There was one volume of shorter stories and ballads: “well suited to the use of

89 Hannah More , *Here and There or, this World and the Next. Being suitable thoughts for the New Year*, London, (1797) . ESTC T84913. This was only an 8 page tract, which was shortly afterwards reprinted with several other short pieces to make a 16 page tract ESTC N52011.

90 Blanch *A Reassessment of the authorship of the Cheap Repository Tracts*, 12 and 196-8. The three previously unverified tracts are *The true rights of man, or, the contented Spitalfields' weaver*, (ESTC N479199), *Fair words and foul meaning*, (ESTCN472627), and *The loyal subjects political creed*; (ESTC N472633).

91 In addition, there are also several Dublin printed title from this period which may have been issued in London in editions which are now lost. For example, there are three Dublin editions of Benjamin Franklin’s *Path to Riches and Happiness*, (ESTC T207609, N64012 and N23559). each of which was issued with two other “Cheap Repository” titles and contains advertisements for others but does not carry the “Cheap Repository” series title. Similarly, *The Two Sisters; or, the One Thing Needful*, contains the series title “Sunday reading’ but not that of the ‘Cheap Repository.’

92 . There were three collections published by Rivington: *Cheap repository shorter tracts*, (London : sold by F. and C. Rivington, No. 62, St. Paul's Church-Yard; J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West-Smithfield; J. Hatchard, No. 173, Piccadilly; and S. Hazard, Bath, 1798, ESTC T30544, (also 1799 edition, ESTC T76318, and 1800 edition, ESTC T208013); *Cheap repository tracts; entertaining, moral, and religious*, London : sold by F. and C. Rivington, No. 62, St. Paul's Church-Yard; J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West-Smithfield; J. Hatchard, No. 173, Piccadilly; and S. Hazard, Bath, 1798, ESTC T30545, (also 1799 edition ESTC T208013, and 1800 edition

Boarding Schools as well as by private families.” Another volume contained longer tales and some poetry, and a third the religious tracts, designated as Sunday Reading.⁹³ The volumes were available for sale individually or as a set. The committee had not abandoned their original objective of producing subsidised tracts for the poor, however, since the “advertisement” prefacing these volumes states:

The profits which may arise from the sale of these volumes will be applied to the purpose of forwarding the more extensive circulation of the individual tracts, which are sold by Mr Evans at 41 and 42 Long-lane West Smithfield and also by Mr Hatchard, No. 172 Piccadilly, London.

However, John Marshall had retained the original woodcuts, several of which were later used for his own series of tracts. Thus many of the original titles in the collected edition were published without illustration, and it is doubtful whether they were also issued as individual tracts in this form. Only the more popular titles were reprinted by Evans with new woodcuts.

By the autumn of 1798 the Cheap Repository was a shadow of what once it had been. No doubt John Marshall’s rival series (discussed below) was having a considerable impact on the potential sales of new tracts. At last, on 22 September 1798, Hannah More’s diary contained the entry “Cheap Repository is closed. Bless the Lord! Oh my Soul! that I have been spared to accomplish that work.”⁹⁴ By this time the main value monetary value in the Cheap Repository was not in the publication of new titles, but rather in the right to reprint the existing titles many of which were all still selling well. The 1798 three volume collected edition was clearly a commercial success since it was reprinted in both 1799 and 1800. By the latter date, the printing was taken over by the firm of Bye and Law, although Evans, whose printing and bookselling business was flourishing, remained as a distributor.

The rights to reprint the tracts seem to have been sold to Rivingtons, who published collections of the tracts at regular intervals until the mid 1840s, and Evans is listed as a distributor of an 1807 collection, but not one of 1810.⁹⁵ John Evans, later his son, Charles,

ESTC N471125; and *Cheap repository tracts for Sunday reading. To which are added, some prayers for individuals and for families*, (London : sold by F. and C. Rivington, No. 62, St. Paul’s Church-Yard; J. Evans, No. 41, Long Lane, West-Smithfield; J. Hatchard, No. 173, Piccadilly; and S. Hazard, Bath, 1798, ESTC T30546), The 1800 edition is ESTC T184326.

⁹³ ‘Advertisement,’ *Cheap repository shorter tracts*, iii.

⁹⁴ Jones *Hannah More*, 143.

⁹⁵ *Cheap Repository Tracts: Entertaining, Moral, and Religious*. (London: Rivington: 1807), and *Cheap Repository Tracts: Entertaining, Moral, and Religious*. (London: Rivington: 1810).

and his grandson John Edward would remain in business at 42 Long Lane until 1839 when John Edward transferred the business to Snowhill.⁹⁶ However, the family may have retained some connection with the tracts since there is an edition of *The History of Tom White: the Postillion*, among a series of thirty penny tracts from the 1830s, with the imprint “Sold by J.E. Evans, printer to the Cheap Repository for Moral and Religious Tracts.”⁹⁷

John Marshall’s Series of Cheap Repository Tracts

Throughout the greater part of 1796 and 1797 John Marshall’s business model had been focused upon the production and distribution of three new Cheap Repository Tracts each month, as well as keeping pace with the continuing demand for reprints of the existing titles. He had not entered any new children’s titles in the Stationers Register since March 1795 when he began his association with the scheme.⁹⁸ The loss of the Cheap Repository Tracts was therefore a significant blow to him and, irrespective of Hannah More’s opinion of him, he clearly considered himself to have been badly treated by her. It was hardly his fault that she and her aristocratic friends had been unable to keep up a steady supply of suitable texts, and so there was no reason why he should not do continue to do so himself. Thus, from December 1797, Marshall began to publish a new series of Cheap Repository Tracts of his own, at the rate of three each month, and which he continued for the next two years. The first three of these were: *Delays are dangerous*, *Richard and Rebecca*, *The widow of Zarephath*, all of which he entered on 30 November 1797.

Marshall’s new tracts were similar in appearance to the original chapbook series in octavo format. The woodcut illustrations were of the same size and style and undertaken by the same workmen. The new publications continued to bear the name “Cheap Repository” at the head of the title page, and the only obvious difference was in the wording of the imprint which now read:

Printed and sold by John Marshall, at the Cheap Repository, No. 17, Queen-Street, Cheapside, and No. 4, Aldermay Church-Yard, Bow-Lane; and may be had of the booksellers, newsmen, and hawkers in town and country.

⁹⁶ Shepard, 37

⁹⁷ Reference from copac.ac.uk.

⁹⁸ During the 1780s he had been entering an average of six new children’s titles each year, and although this number had begun to reduce in the 1790s, he was still entering new titles at regular intervals.

He was undoubtedly counting on his tracts being confused with the original series by buyers, and judging from the number of survivals, he seems to have been fairly successful in doing so. The committee therefore placed an advertisement in a London newspaper to announce their new publishers and to warn: “those new Tracts, which are now sold by Mr. Marshall, the former printer, and which are entitled “Cheap Repository,” not proceeding from this Institution.”⁹⁹

Marshall’s tracts were also similar in content to the original series. One tract per month was designated “Sunday Reading” with a religious message, and another usually contained a ballad. They were, perhaps, a little racier in content. According to Mary Jones:

Marshall’s standards of decorum were not those of Miss More. Most of the tracts were innocuous; others such as the *Baker’s dream, or death no bad change to the poor and good*, would never have passed muster under Miss More’s surveillance. Nor is it conceivable that the mild ribaldry of the ballad *The contented cobbler and his wife*, would have got past the censor.¹⁰⁰

Without the cachet of Hannah More’s involvement, Marshall’s series of “Cheap Repository Tracts,” have largely been ignored by literary scholars and bibliographers, except on those unfortunate occasions when then two series have been confused with one another.¹⁰¹

Relatively little work has been done to ascertain their authorship: some are signed with the initials “A.R.,” “F,” “W,” “L” or “M” but the identities of these writers are not known.¹⁰²

Presumably Marshall had contact with a number of hack writers who were able to produce a ballad or moral tract to order. Several of them were signed “S.S.,” initials which had previously been associated in Marshall’s newspaper advertisements with works by Mary Anne Kilner, and which apparently referred to her home in “Spittal Square,”¹⁰³ but it cannot

⁹⁹ *The Star*, December 12, 1797. There are significant numbers of surviving copies of Marshall’s tracts where the words ‘Cheap Repository’ have been neatly scored out, and so it appears that some people (whether readers or booksellers) did not wish to be associated with the subterfuge.

¹⁰⁰ Jones, *Hannah More*, 143.

¹⁰¹ See Mitzi Myers. “Hannah More’s Tracts for the Times: Social Fiction and Female Ideology,” in *Fetter’d or Free?: British Women Novelists, 1670-1815*, eds. Schofield, Mary Anne and Cecilia Macheski. Athens, Ohio (1986), 280, n.8 which criticizes Samuel F. Pickering, *John Locke and Children’s Books in Eighteenth Century England*, Knoxville, Tennessee (1981) for such an error.

¹⁰² See Blanch, *A Reassessment of the Authorship of the Cheap Repository Tracts*, 183-196.

¹⁰³ Darton, *Children’s books in England*, 162.

be said with certainty that she was the author of these tracts. Marshall appears to have lost two of his most prolific female authors, Sarah Trimmer and Ellenor Fenn, as a result of his dealings with Hannah More and the Cheap Repository, as they were both keen supporters of the institution, and went on to use other publishers.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, Dorothy and Mary Anne Kilner, continued to supply new material for him to publish, as did Lucy Peacock.

John Marshall pressed on with his new series of tracts at the rate of three tracts each month throughout 1798, whilst Hannah More's series could only manage about one per month. In the December he even went so far as to advertise a bound collection of them in *The Times*.¹⁰⁵ He probably realised that it was only a matter of time before his ploy became common knowledge and the goodwill associated with the scheme would be lost to him. Nevertheless, his tracts were still selling well, and he used the opportunity provided by this advertisement to announce his intention of carrying on publishing in the New Year. In fact he continued to publish three each month ending the series with *The history of Jenny Froth and Polly Goodchild, or, Pride and humility*, which was entered 25 November 1799. By this time 73 titles had been issued in Marshall's series, but no annual volume for 1799 was ever published.

John Marshall is usually portrayed as the villain in the story of the Cheap Repository Tracts and there is no doubt that he approached the scheme with a more commercial eye than the others involved. Unfortunately only Hannah More's comments about him are preserved and there is little evidence to present his side of the story. Although an admirable woman, Hannah More could be "high-handed" with those she dealt with and her comments sound a little like the grumbles of a woman who had taken on too much "good work" and was feeling under enormous pressure to publish three tracts each month. Having to rely upon others, less capable, to deal with the day to day negotiations with her publisher would also have been a complicating factor. It was no doubt difficult for Marshall to minister to the unpredictable demands of a loosely organised group of philanthropists and their forceful leader living 130 miles away. Broadly speaking, he appears to have done a good job in terms of the production and distribution of the tracts. As Spinney noted:

¹⁰⁴ Lady Fenn's business relations with John Marshall are discussed in Stoker, 'Ellenor Fenn as "Mrs Teachwell" and "Mrs Lovechild":

¹⁰⁵ *The Times*, 25 December, 1798.

Without knowing the details it is hard to judge him [Marshall], but the probability is that he was a good business man, but a poor philanthropist. It must have been rather trying for him to handle such a good selling proposition without filling his own pockets.¹⁰⁶

John Marshall was a printer and wholesale bookseller who had been associated with the commercial production and distribution of ballads and chapbooks since the days of his apprenticeship. The whole purpose of the Cheap Repository Tracts was to undermine this business, and to undersell the existing publishers who legitimately made their living in this way. He was no doubt happy to take part in the scheme when it was selling huge numbers of tracts, and providing him with plenty of work, but this also involved him making sacrifices in the conduct of his own business. The sudden withdrawal of the contract in November 1797 would have had a serious impact on his business and so his decision to continue publishing his own series of tracts may be more understandable.

In May 1799 the Religious Tract Society was formed “to promote the dispersion of religious tracts, which should develop more fully than Mrs Hannah More had done in her excellent Cheap Repository Tracts, the evangelical doctrines of the Gospel.”¹⁰⁷ The writing was on the wall for Marshall so far as his chapbook publishing business was concerned. Soon afterwards he seems to have given up this side of his business and surrendered several of his remaining ballad titles to John Pitts, one of his former workmen who later became a noted ballad printer of Seven Dials in London.¹⁰⁸ Instead, he returned to that aspect of publishing he knew best: children’s literature.

In 1819 a reviewer of a collection of fairy tales commented:

As for the much lamented Mr. Marshall, now no longer of Aldermay Churchyard, whose cheap and splendid publications at once excited and rewarded our youthful industry, he hath been compelled to shut up his shop long ago. Not a soul in the trade would bid for the copy-right and back stock of Tommy Two Shoes. His penny books are out of print one and all...¹⁰⁹

106 Spinney, 305.

107 Shepard, *John Pitts*, 32.

108 Henry Dixon, ‘Ballad printers’ successions’, *Notes and queries*, 166 (1871), 187. See also Shepard, 29-37.

109 “Fairy Tales of the Lilliputian Cabinet”, *Quarterly Review*, 21:41 (1819), 91.

This comment was only partially true, for although he moved out of Aldermary Churchyard in 1807, to new premises at 140 Fleet Street, Marshall had by then revived his business as an innovative children's publisher. Between 1800 and his death in 1824 he helped to introduce both colour and entertainment to children's publications and invented a wonderful series of miniature libraries and cabinets of cards which would soon be imitated by other publishers.¹¹⁰ Following his death his business was continued by E. Marshall (either his widow or his daughter both of whom were named Eleanor), until the early 1830s.

The bibliography of the Cheap Repository Tracts

Although the Cheap Repository Tracts have been a popular topic of study for literary and social historians over the last century, this has not been the case among bibliographers. Emanuel Green listed 215 separate titles in his 1902 bibliography of Hannah More's works but implicitly assumed that they were all written by More, and confused the tracts issued in John Marshall's own series with the originals.¹¹¹ G. H. Spinney's excellent article, remains the starting point for any study of the origins and bibliography of the tracts,¹¹² but, as Mitzi Myers has pointed out, cannot be regarded as the definitive account because it is "incomplete."¹¹³ As his title states, Spinney only dealt with the original Hazard/Marshall series in any detail, listing, but not describing, the titles in Marshall's own later series and barely mentioning those subsequently published by John Evans. Furthermore, Spinney's bibliography was restricted to the copies that he had consulted in British Museum Library and the Bristol and Bath Public Libraries. As a result, he only ever sought to "provide a rough outline of the innumerable issues and editions they went through."¹¹⁴

At the time of writing this paper, there were 639 entries for the Cheap Repository on the *English Short title Catalogue* database, 486 of which were printed in England. The author of this paper believes, on the basis of examining copies in major UK and US libraries that there

¹¹⁰ This period of Marshall's career is covered in the chapters entitled, "The dawn of levity," and "The innovators" in Alderson and de Marez Oyens, *Be Merry and Wise*, 118-167, and also in Brian Alderson, "Miniature Libraries for the Young", *The Private Library*, 3rd series, 6. (1983), 2-38.

¹¹¹ Emanuel Green, *Bibliotheca Somersetensis*, (Taunton: Barncott and Pearce), 1902. volume.3. For a critique of Green's treatment of the tracts see Blanch, 20-1.

¹¹² Spinney. 295-340

¹¹³ Myers, "Hannah More's Tracts for the Times", 281, n. 9.

¹¹⁴ Spinney, 312.

may be approaching one hundred further issues and editions which have yet to be recorded, and which fall within the scope of ESTC. At the same time there are around sixty entries on the database for *quarto* editions, which, (in the author's opinion) are bibliographical ghosts. Most of these are already recorded on the database as octavos, but once such ghost entries are created other libraries begin to record copies. The main reason for this confusion has been the practice of both Marshall and Evans to use imposition schemes other than those covered by the bibliographical textbooks. Thus octavo tracts may have four or eight leaves to a gathering and either vertical or horizontal chain lines. In addition, there are many other entries with incorrect dates, which might easily be rectified (or at least made more accurate) by reference to Spinney's article to ascertain the date of first entry, and any accompanying announcements or list of recent tracts that they often contain. As a result, the bibliographical record for the Cheap Repository Tracts has become a quagmire and individual copies or collected editions can often present identification problems to library cataloguers.