

POVERTY, HUNGER & UNREST 1606-1840

Published by J. Harding 127 Pall Mall. No. 1104



THE FORESTALLER.

Published by J. Harding 127 Pall Mall. No. 1105



THE WIDOW.

EARLY BRITISH DEPARTMENT

MAGGS BROS LTD

POVERTY, HUNGER & UNREST

1606–1840

MAGGS BROS. LTD.

48 BEDFORD SQUARE LONDON WC1B 3DR
46 CURZON STREET LONDON W1J 7UH

Telephone: ++ 44 (0)20 7493 7160

Email: chris@maggs.com

Bank Account: C.Hoare & Co., 37 Fleet Street London EC4P 4DQ
Maggs Bros. Ltd. Sort code: 15-99-00 Account Number: 46668790
IBAN: GB53HOAB15990046668790
SWIFTCODE: HOA BG B2 L

Prices marked with an *asterisk are liable for VAT for customers in the UK.

Access/Mastercard and Visa: Please quote card number, expiry date,
name and invoice number by mail, fax or telephone.

The goods shall legally remain the property of the seller until the
price has been discharged in full.

© Maggs Bros. Ltd. 2022

Design by Radius Graphics

EARLY BRITISH DEPARTMENT



BY APPOINTMENT TO
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN
PURVEYORS OF RARE BOOKS
& MANUSCRIPTS
MAGGS BROS. LTD., LONDON

MAGGS BROS. LTD.

W. M. a.

To be tried a and for the fa 1757. The Crimes, and

To Remain William Culham.

Convicted at the last
Seven Years, but h
cipal Secretaries of State

To be Transported for 14 years Philip Weal.

Convicted at the last A
hanged, but afterwards

Acquitted William Hewet.

Committed the 30th o
an Indictment preferred a

To be Transported for seven years John Cracknell.

Committed the 30th
a Box, and feloniously ta
of Joseph Harvey, of St

Sick. To Remain John Youngs.

Committed the 8th of
ed on the Oath of Tho
Dwelling House of the f
thereout Fifteen Pounds

Bill not found John Outlaw.

Committed the 14th o
Henry Ficklin, of Gunth
thern Purse, and One Po

Guilty Reprimed } Thomas Pooley.

Committed the 6th o
upon his Confession, that
Mrs. Pigg, of Great-M
Seaman, Servants to Mrs
said Robert Smith One A
out of the said Chamber
said Robert Smith: And
Guinea, and One Shilling
Stock: And out of the C
of short Buskins, belong

Committed the 9th of
ing, Wounding, and Rob

Poverty, Hunger and Unrest (1606-1840)

"It is to be lamented, that in these days of imposition and oppression, the article of bread should be kept up at such an abominable price without the smallest reason, and every other necessary of life rising in proportion; insomuch that the poor cannot live and be honest, the middling tradesman can scarcely pay his rent and taxes, and persons of small limited incomes are reduced to beggary."

From a broadside printed in London in 1800 (see item no.9)

The books, manuscripts, broadsides and prints in this catalogue are intended to foreshadow some of the challenging and unsettling struggles that face society today as we attempt to tackle the ever-present gulf between rich and poor, the supply and affordability of food, the threat of war and the possibility of alleviating social injustice.

As well as documents recording the hardships and oppression faced by many different people across two centuries the catalogue also includes first-hand testimony by those actually affected and literary representations of some of the most difficult subjects to address such as power, money and race.

Maggs Bros. Ltd.
London
November 2022

1

“DESTITUTE OF PROTECTION AND SUPPORT”

[ASYLUM FOR ORPHAN GIRLS]. Anniversary Meeting of the Guardians of the Asylum.

Single sheet (266 x 200mm), engraved image by William Skelton after Charles Reuben Ryley showing a woman leading three children away from a group of soldiers – one soldier is lying dead on the floor, three more are carrying a fallen comrade, a scene of destruction is visible in the background; the image is contained in an engraved wreath of laurels with text, and, at the foot of the sheet, a small image of an orphan girl with the legend “When my Father and my Mother forsake me, the Lord taketh me up.”

Condition: Trimmed to just within the plate mark (but not touching the image or the border), a little dusty and slightly crumpled in places, marks in each corner (presumably where it was stuck in an album).
[London: no printer, ?1798]

£750

Rare. There is a copy of the present issue in the British Museum. OCLC records two examples at the Wellcome Library incorporating the same design but dated 1804 and 1822 (with a different venue and stewards).

A deeply evocative illustrated invitation to a meeting of the Guardians of the Asylum for Female Orphans.

poverty, hunger and unrest



The 1809 *Abstract from the Account of the Asylum* states the aim of the institution:

“The children of soldiers, sailors and other indigent persons, bereft of their parents, at a distance from relations, and too young to afford the necessary information respecting settlements, are often left destitute of protection and support, at an age when they are incapable of earning subsistence, and contending with the dangers which surround them.”

The abstract goes on to emphasise the vulnerable position of women, in particular:

“Females of this description are, in a particular manner, objects of compassion; and have also a double claim to the care of the humane and virtuous, from being not only exposed to the miseries of want and idleness, but, as they grow up, to the solicitations of the vicious, and to all the dreadful consequences of early seduction.”

The charity was founded in 1758 by the social reformer Sir John Fielding (1721–1780), half brother of the writer Henry Fielding. The asylum was in St George’s Fields, Lambeth, south of the River Thames and relied on income from investments and donations by the many “Guardians” of the asylum who subscribed money. The young girls taken in were instructed in religion and domestic duties and were expected to undertake mending and needle work.

The present example (the earliest recorded) is for a dinner at the Crown and Anchor Tavern on the Strand on May 19th 179 [the date is left blank but is presumably 1798 to mark the fortieth anniversary of the institution] with a note at the foot of the sheet that “Dinner to be on Table at half past four o’Clock precisely. No collection after Dinner”. The stewards include Sir John Henslow the surveyor to the Navy.

The striking image at the head of the sheet is a deeply moving scene clearly intended to enforce the stark reality that foreign wars directly impact the lives of those left behind, including children. The image is stated to be after a design by Charles Reuben Ryley but the British Museum note that a later version has the artist as Thomas Stothard.

poverty, hunger and unrest



Ryley Delin

ANNIVERSARY MEET
of the

“MELANCHOLY NEWS” FROM NEW JERSEY IN 1763

BEAKES (Edmund). Long letter from Edmund Beakes (signed “Edm.d Beakes”) of Trenton New Jersey to his relation John Stacy [or Stacey] in England describing life in the Colony, dated December 6th December 1763.

Single page written in a neat hand, approximately 660 words, on a bifolium folded for postage, addressed: “To | John Stacey living at Balifield | in Hansworth [Handsworth] parish near Sheffell [Sheffield] | in Yorkshire –”; paper with a ‘Pro Patria’ watermark. Neatly folded for postage, some minor damage where three drops of sealing wax has been broken, address panel a little grubby.
Trenton, New Jersey, 1763

SOLD

An extraordinary and shocking newsletter from Edmund Beakes, deputy surveyor of New Jersey, to his family in England describing the “great numbers ... kill’d and scalpt” by the native population on the frontiers of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York during the so-called Pontiac’s War of 1763 and the attempts to broker a peace treaty.

poverty, hunger and unrest

My Dear J^r. & Relation

By these I lett thee know I rec^d. thy kind Letter dated 16th of May last three months since I am heartily glad to hear of thine and Harriety's good health, as also I congratulate thee of the Increase of thy family as of two sons & three Daughters, and hope thy Spouse is well & flor^d to health after lying on, May thy sons & Daughters it has pleased De^v. Providence to bless you with ~~many~~ be a Comfort to thee & grow in old age I thank thee for thy Congratulation of a peace, & a Peace which Occasioned great Joye coming to every part of our Colonies, But such is the great change of human Affairs, which pleases De^v. Providence to suffer at this time, and almost ever since the peace was proclaimed, than our our Frontier, Virginia Maryland Pennsylvania & New Jersey with New York are great Distation made on the poor Inhabitants of these Frontiers, by the Savages, Great numbers of which are kill'd and scalpt both men & women & children to hard to mention, Occasioned as is said by settling their hands at Pittsburch on the Ohio and else where without purchasing the same, but is further surmised, the French who is suffered to live on the conquered lands are not clear of stirring them up to such Barbarities which are daily committed, and great Numbers have left their habitations & fled to the most populos parts of the provinces to preserve their lives. In order to put a stop to these Depredations, the people are sent out on scouting parties of 50 or 60 to meet with the Savages (who go on small parties) to put a stop to such Barbarities, some troops are voted by the severall Assemblies of the provinces, and we have Notice of some thousands which are sent from England, but not yet arriv'd — how this will End & when God knows, but we hope an End will be put to it, by Destroying them & Oblige them to live for peace, but at present every post we receive the Melancholy News of Numbers of the poor Inhabitants we been Slain, & others fled their houses & barns burnt with the Grain — we communicated thy kind Let^r. to my Brother Nathan Beakes (Ne^w to thy C^o.) Mahlon Stacy who was at Balifield) & Stacy Pitt my Ne^w and Request to hear from thee & family, having a Desire to settle an Acquaintance by Letters, thou Request to give an Acc^t. of thy Affairs in these parts I should gladly do it, but my Brother & Stacy Pitts will be particular in that of thy Relations and how connected. — I should with a good deal of Pleasure have gratified thy Curiosity of knowing the p^rincipall products of our Country after the best manner I am Capable of, but having had a sight of the ingenious Lettery history of North America in Holl: published 1761 to whom I must refer thee, who will Inform thee in the most minutest things, but must not consent of letting thee know that the great men have very fine Gardings, wth variety of flowers as in England, Oranges, Vermmon, Cottons, & most other frucht as the West India Islands produce, but must be put on the Green house in the East to preserve them from the Frost, some vineyards are planted by some and has done very well, & wth good success, it is very common for abundance to have on their Gardings some Choice grapes as Rarities which show it were who are provided wth people who understand this Branch of Agriculture the most would do very well for any of the grapes thou Mentions, but as our Country is but young & labour very dear & scarce & Abundantly more so since the last war began by the Necessitie of the times, Required what of the labouring people to be ^{imployed} to see the Army in his Wars. — My Daughters together with my self Joye in our best Requests to thee & Spouse with thy Mother and Brother conclude with the greatest love & ~~affection~~ Esteeme thy affectionate J^r. & Sonsman
Trenton, on New Jersey Dec^r. 6th 1763
Edm. Beakes



Beakes also comments on agricultural matters detailing the “fine gardening” available and the ability to grow fruits “as the West India Islands produce [sic]” and the planting of a vineyard in New Jersey which promises great success despite the fact that “our Countrie is but young & Labour very dear & scares.”

Beakes begins by thanking Stacy for his letter “dated 16th of May

poverty, hunger and unrest

last” and congratulates him on the birth of his children, he thanks Stacy for his “congratulations” following a recent peace agreement (marking the ending of the French and Indian War of 1763) but cautions that the peace has made way for other dangerous problems in what would become known as Pontiac’s War – hostilities between groups of Native American people against the British colonisers:

poverty, hunger and unrest

“Verjenia [Virginia], Mariland, pensilvania & New Jarsey with New York, are great Disolation made on the poore Inhabitage of these fronteres, by the Savages, Great numbers of which are kill’d and scalpt both men & women & children to[o] horrid to mention. Occasioned as is said by settleing their lands at Pittsburgh on the Ohio and elsewhere without purchasing the same. but is further surmised, the French who is suffered to live on the Conquered lands are not clear of stiring them up to such Barbarities which are dayly committed, and great Numbers have left their habitations & fled to the most popilass parts of the provinces to preserve their lives.”

Beakes goes on in desperate tones to describe how a resolution to the situation – with distinctly violent overtones – has been attempted:

“In order to put a stop to these Depridations, the people are sent out in Scouting parties if possible to meet with the savages (who go in small parties) to put a stop to such Barbarities. Some troops are voted by the several Assemblies of the provinces, and wee have Notice of some thousands which are sent from England, but not yet arrived – how this will End & when God knows, but wee hope an end will be put to it by Distressing them & oblige them to sue for peace but at pr[e]sent b[y] every post we receive the Malancholy News of numbers of the poor Inhabitage [ha]ve been slain, & others fled their houses & barns burnt with the Grain.”

The tone of the letter quickly changes though and Beakes passes on some family news before he begins to describe with a certain amount of pride the agricultural opportunities in **“our Countrie”**:

“I should with a good deale of Pleasure have Gratified thy curiosity of knowing the pr[in]cipall products of our Countrie after the best manner I am Cappable of but having had a sight of the Ingenious Jefferys history of north America in ffoli[o]: published 1761 to whome I must refer thee who will inform thee in the most minutest things, but must not ommit of letting th[ee]

poverty, hunger and unrest

know that the Great men have very fine Gardings wth. variety of flowers as in England, orringes, Lemmon, Cittorins & most other fruits of the West India Island preduce, but must be put in the Green house in the fall to preserve them from the frost.”

The book recommended by Beakes is Thomas Jefferys’ *The natural and civil history of the French dominions in North and South America* which was first published in London in 1760 and reissued the following year (as Beakes notes) with an account of “The French attempt to retake Quebec in 1760”. Jefferys’ book contains, as the title declares, information on the “climate, soil, minerals, animals, vegetables, manufactures, trade, commerce, and languages. Together with the religion, government, genius, character, manners and customs of the Indians and other inhabitants,” making it a useful tool for a potential settler. As Jefferys wrote in the introduction, “the Knowledge of this Territory is now become yet more important, as Providence has thought fit, by a series of Successes almost miraculous, to make it our own.” It would no doubt have interested Beakes – as a surveyor of plantations, amongst other things.

The final section on agriculture ends with an assessment of the possibility for cultivating successful vineyards in New Jersey:

“Some small vineyards are planted by some and has done well. & wth. good success, it is very common for aboundance to have in their Gardins some Choice Grapes as Rarities, which shews if we where provided wth. people who understood this branch of Agriculture the Climat would do very well for any of the Grapes thou Mentions, but as our Countrie is but yong & Labour very dear & scarce & abundantly more so since the last war began as the Necessitie of the times Required what of the Labouring people to be ^possibly^ spared to serve the King in his Wars.”

Edmund Beakes was a Deputy Surveyor of New Jersey to James Alexander (1691–1756), Surveyor-General of East and West New Jersey and New York from 1718 (and Attorney-General of New York 1721–3). Beakes was possibly in office as early 4 June 1724 when he signed a

poverty, hunger and unrest

resurvey of the plantation of Isaac Watson in Hamilton Township (Barry L. Ruderman website). On 28 January 1752 he signed as “dep.y Sur.r” a resurvey of the 772-acre plantation in Hunterdon County by the Raritan River of Jonathan Robinson (W. L. Clements Library, University of Michigan). His signature appears on a number of surveying charts from around this time including that of “Coll. John Bryerly’s draught of 1437 acres ... carefully lay’d down by Edmd Beakes 31st July 1751” (see *NYPL Map Div.* ++ 14-1365). All these are inscribed in his distinctive autograph.

Edmund Beakes was the brother – as he mentions in this letter – of Nathan Beakes (1710–1785). Nathan and Edmund were presumably the sons of William Beakes (1663–1711), a Quaker originally of Somerset, and his wife Ruth Stacy (1680–1755) who had married in Burlington New Jersey in 1705. After William Beakes’s death in 1711 Ruth married Samuel Atkinson, also of Burlington New Jersey. Nathan Beakes was the owner of a large plantation in Trenton and Beakes Avenue marks the location today where the plantation once stood. There seems to have been more than one Edmund Beakes, but he was probably the one, who was also an estate agent, auctioneer, estate valuer, and slave owner, “late of Trenton, now of Maidenhead, Hunterdon County” whose will was dated 25 August 1773 and proved on 29 November 1775.

William Beakes (the father of the writer of this letter) married into one the most prominent and earliest settling English colonial families of New Jersey whose line began with Mahlon Stacy (1638–1704) who had been born in Yorkshire into a Quaker family and emigrated to the new settlement of West Jersey in 1676. Stacy’s land settlement was in what is now Trenton and he named his settlement Ballifield after the place in Yorkshire he came from (the present letter is addressed to Stacy’s descendant at Ballifield).

“When the first ship, the “Shield”, reached the falls of Delaware, in 1678, among its passengers were one Mahlon Stacey, with his wife, Rebecca Ely, their children and servants of the Ballifield Hall family. In sailing up the stream the vessel became entangled in the trees overhanging the shore at a point which is now covered with the ferry-houses and docks of the city of Philadelphia. Some one on board the ship made the prophetic remark while the seamen were endeavoring to free the

poverty, hunger and unrest

rigging from the trees, that the place would make a fine site for a city. It is one of the instances of the landed wealth of the Old World coming to Western Continent to participate in its development. The Stacys left Ballifield Estate in Yorkshire to develop a tract of land in West Jersey which had been acquired in England in the settlement of the estate of Edward Byllynge.” (*The Connecticut Magazine*, Vol 12, (1908) p.138).

The Ballifield estate was inherited by his son Mahlon Stacy (1686–1742) on the death of his father but sold in 1714 to a Philadelphia merchant, William Trent, who built a new house (which still stands today and is open to the public) and the area became known as Trent’s-town becoming the modern day Trenton. Mahlon returned to England for a lengthy period and stayed with his cousin Thomas Stacey at Ballifield – this possibly accounts for the reference in the present letter to “thy Cosⁿ Mahlon Stacey who was a Ballifield”.

I've been Slain, & others fled their houses & barns burnt with the Grain. I communicated thy kind Lett. to my Brother Nathan Beakes (Nephew to thy Cosⁿ Mahlon Stacy who was at Ballifield) & Stacy Potts my Nephew, and Requested to hear from thee & Family, having a Desire to settle an Acquaintance by Letters, thou Requested to give an Acc^t. of thy Ground in these parts, I should gladly do it, but my Brother & Stacy Potts will be particular in that of thy Relations and how Connected. I should with a good deal of Pleasure have qualified thy Curiosity of knowing the principal products of our Country after the best manner I am Capable of, but having had a sight of the Ingenious Jefferys history of North America in Holl: published 1761 to whom I must refer thee, who will Inform thee in the most minutest things, but must not omit of letting thee know that the great men have very fine Gardings, wth variety of Flowers as in England, Oranges, Lemmons, Citrons, & most other fruits as the West India Islands produce, but must be put in the Green house in the East to preserve them from the Frost, some vineyards are planted by some and has done very well, & wth good success, it is very common for abundance to have in their Gardings some Choice Grapes as Rarities, which shows if wee were provided wth people who understood this branch of Agriculture, the Climat would do very well for any of the grapes thou Mentions, but as our Country is but young & Labour very dear & scarce & abundantly more so since the last war began as the Necessitie of the times Required what if the labouring people to be spared to save the King in his Wars. My daughters together with my self Joyne in our best Respects to thee & Spouse with thy Mother and Children conclude with the greatest love & ~~Respects~~ Esteem thy affectionate Nephew & Nephewson
Trenton on New Jersey Dec. 6th 1763
Edm. Beakes

3

“THEY ARE TRAITORS & REBELLS AGAINST THEE” RE-FASHIONING THE HENRICIAN “KING’S PSALMS” IN THE WAKE OF THE GUNPOWDER PLOT

[BIBLE, PSALMS]. **The Psalmes or, Prayers taken out of the Holy Scripture: commonly called, The Kings Psalmes.**

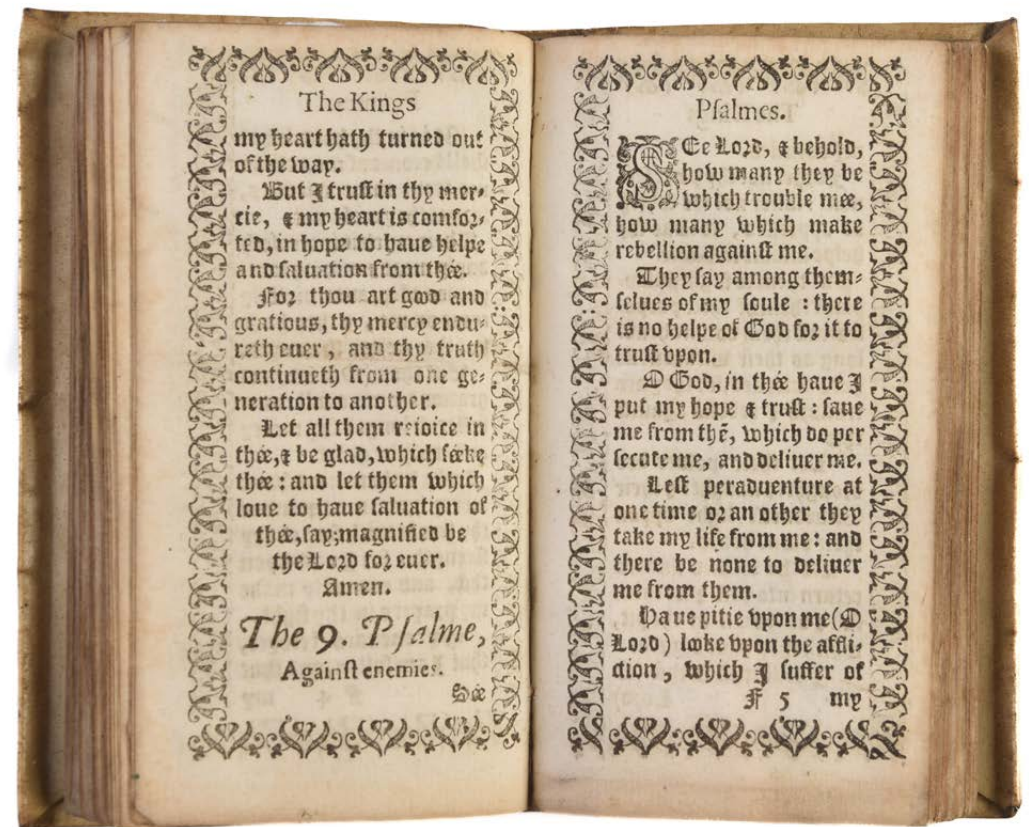
12mo. (123 x 66mm). [288pp]., title within a border formed by woodcut columns at the sides and ornaments at the top and bottom; each page of text within a type-ornament border Some worming in the lower margin in places throughout (forming two short trails around C4-D2), small piece missing from the foot of leaf D5 (possibly a paper flaw, deleting the catchword on the verso and a small section of the borders but not obscuring the meaning), occasionally closely cropped by the binder (just touching the type border in a few places), a few very minor stains but otherwise very clean and fresh. Contemporary limp vellum, covers ruled in gilt with a central Tudor rose and crown device, spine ruled and tooled in gilt (a little marked and spotted in places and with the gilt rose and crown on the covers faded but otherwise remarkably fresh, unsophisticated and well preserved). London: by Valentine Sims, 1606 **£8,500**

Only one other copy of this edition known. STC 3012.7 a single copy is recorded at St John’s College Cambridge (ex George Udny Yule). *The Queenes Prayers, or Meditations* has a separate title-page (I7) also dated 1606.

poverty, hunger and unrest



A very fine and unsophisticated copy of a rare Jacobean devotional work with a text originating 60 years earlier in the tumultuous reign of Henry VIII but here newly printed in the aftermath of the Gunpowder Plot with thanks for the sparing of the King’s life and the frustrating of his enemies and casting James as a new King David. With the signature of an early female owner.



This selection of scriptural prayers in English prose (only a few are properly from the Psalms) derives from the Latin *Psalmi seu precatioes ex variis scripturae locis collectae* compiled by Bishop (& Saint) John Fisher for Henry VIII in 1544. The English version first appeared in that year (STC 3001.7). From 1568 onwards the collection incorporated *The Queenes Prayers or Meditations* (here with a separate title on I7r) written by or for Queen Catherine Parr and first published in 1545 (STC 4818) but early separate editions of both parts were sometimes bound together. No fewer than 23 editions of *The Kings Psalms* were published before 1614 and 14 separate editions of *The Queenes Prayers* before 1641 survive, **all unique or very rare but doubtless others have disappeared entirely.**

Micheline White traced the roots of the *King's Psalms* in her essay, "The psalms, war, and royal iconography", and noted how:

poverty, hunger and unrest

"The psalms were central to representations of political rule in pre-modern Europe, and historians and literary critics have long examined the ways in which Henry VIII used the psalms and King David's life to understand, negotiate, and represent his political power. David had various identities that could be used for different political purposes: he was a shepherd, a child warrior, an author of psalms, a victim of persecution, an adulterer, God's anointed king, a victor over God's enemies, and the father of Solomon." (Renaissance Studies, September 2015, Vol 29, No. 4, 2015, p.554–575).

White argues that Katherine Parr's translation of the Psalms was, "one of the most important and influential acts of royal representation

poverty, hunger and unrest

The Kings

Foz when I laid vnto
thee, my fete be slipped:
thy mercie (O Lord) by
and by did hold me vp.

Teach me to do thy wil,
and lead me by thy path-
way, foz thou art my God.

O Lord, saue my soule,
and deliuer me from the
power of darknesse.

Let the brightnesse of
thy face shine vpon thy
seruant, foz vnto thee (O
Lord God) I haue fled foz
succour.

Loke vnto mee: and
haue mercie vpon me: foz
I am desolate and poore.

Keepe my soule, and de-
liuer mee, that I be not
confounded: foz I haue
trusted

Psalmes.


trusted in thee.

O Lord God forsake me
not: although I haue done
no good in thy sight.

Foz thy goodnes, graunt
me, that at the least wise
now I may beginne
to liue well.

Amen.

The eight Psalme,
A Christian man praieth,
that he may be defen-
ded from his enemies.

 God almighty,
saue mee from
mine enemies:
by thy strong
power defend & keepe mee.

f 2 . 102.

produced in the last four years of Henry's reign." (554–5). She notes that the Psalms were utilised at a point of great crisis when:

"Henry and his advisors were preoccupied with military affairs: they were preparing to raze Edinburgh and force the marriage of Mary Stuart to Prince Edward; they were fine-tuning a military alliance with Charles V against Francis I and the Turks; they were preparing for Henry to lay siege to Boulogne in person; and they were re-writing the text of England's wartime religious Procession."

White considered that Parr's translation of the *Queens Prayers* was designed to: **"represent Henry to God, his courtiers, his soldiers, and his people as a particular kind of Davidic monarch – repentant, desiring of wisdom and obedience, in need of divine military assistance, and thankful for God's help."**

The present edition of the *King's Psalms* was the first to be published in the reign of King James I and it appeared shortly after the uncovering of the Gunpowder Plot.

In the same way that these Psalms can be read as a rallying cry for Henry VIII as he embarked on various foreign military campaigns, they equally suggest James I's own domestic peril in the wake of the plot:

"The eight Psalme, A Christian man praieth that he may be defended from his enemies" (F2r–v): "God almighty save mee from mine enemies: & by thy strong power defend & keepe mee. Preserve my soule, for thou art holy: save thy servant which trusts in thee. For strangers do assault mee daily: and seeke my soule to destroy it. God, help thou me: Lord deliver me fro them that rise up against me ..."

"The 9. Psalme, Against enemies" (F5r–v): "Lest peradventure at one time or an other they take my life from me: and there be none to deliver me from them. Have pittie upon me (O Lord) looke upon the affliction, which I suffer of my enemies. Forget not thy poore servant: suffer not them which be oppressed, to looke for helpe alwaise in vaine. Put them to flight, disappoint them

poverty, hunger and unrest

of their purposes: cast them downe headlong as their wickedness hath deserved, for they are traitors & rebells against thee."

"The thirteenth [sic] Psalm, In which he giveth thanks to God, that his enemies have not gotten the upper hand of him" (H1r–v): "Thou hast taken me out of the lake of miserie: and set my feete upon a rocke, and made my steps sure. ... Thou hast striken all my adversaries: and has abated their strength. Thou hast rebuked the rabblement of them that vexed me: & hast plucked me forth of their hands. Thou has cast them headlong into their owne pit: their faete be wrapped in the net which they laide privilie for me."

Much has been written about the early history of the *King's Psalms* in the reign of Henry VIII and the representation of that monarch as a new King David but John N. King has argued that, "the reputation of James I of England as Britain's 'New Solomon' has long endured" but that in fact, **"King David, looms as the foremost scriptural model for Jacobean iconography"**. ('James I and King David: Jacobean Iconography and its Legacy,' *Royal Subjects: Essays on the Writings of James VI and I*, ed. Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier, 2002, p.421). King argued:

"Despite its inherently conflicted state, Davidic (and Solomonic) iconography represents not a new departure, but an important continuity that connects representations of Stuart monarchs with their Tudor predecessors. Scholarship has therefore worked in a vacuum by ignoring sixteenth-century precedents for praise of Stuart monarchs as Davidic (and Solomonic) kings. ... Davidic and Solomonic typology constitutes an important continuity between Tudor and Stuart iconography." (p423–4).

In the same year that Simmes printed this little devotional work he also printed for Mathew Lawe one of two printings of William Barlow, Bishop of Rochester's sermon preached at St Paul's Cross five days after the uncovering of the Gunpowder plot in which – as with Henry VIII – James I is portrayed as a new King David. Barlowe took as his starting point for the sermon Psalm 18, verse 50 "Great Deliverance giveth hee unto his King, and sheweth mercie to his annoynted David, and to his

poverty, hunger and unrest

seede for ever?" (*The sermon preached at Paules Crosse, the tenth day of November being the next Sunday after the discoverie of this late horrible treason.* STC 1455.5).

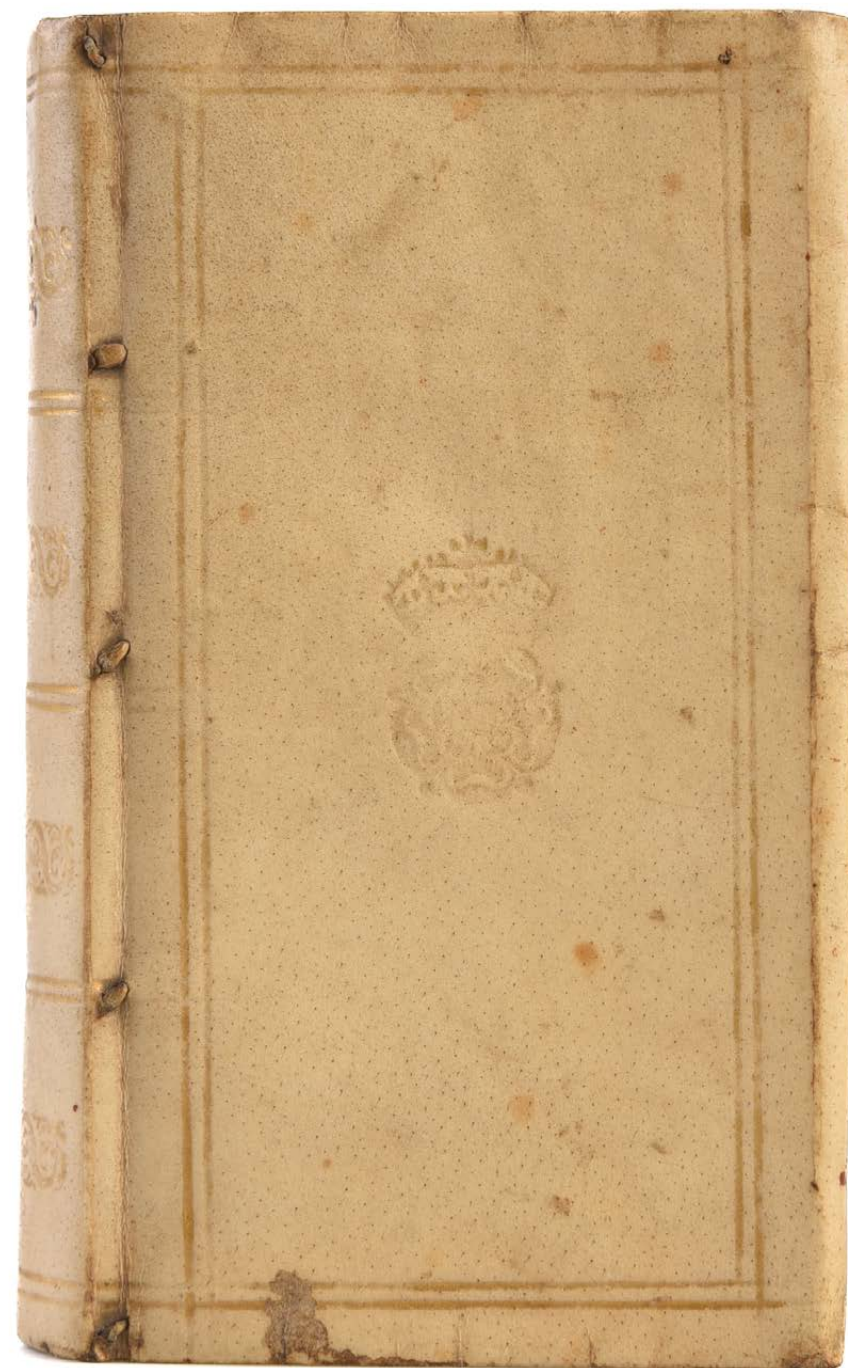
Valentine Sims or Simmes produced at least four editions of the *King's Psalms* (1594, 1595, 1601, 1606). He is best-known as **the printer of Shakespeare and other Elizabethan poets and playwrights** (see *W. Craig Ferguson, Valentine Simmes, 1968*). In the same year that Simmes printed the present work he also produced Ben Jonson's first masque *Hymenaei* (in celebration of the marriage of Robert, Earl of Essex to Lady Frances daughter of the earl of Suffolk), George Chapman's play *The Gentleman Usher*, and Thomas Dekker's *Newes from hell*.

A copy of this edition was offered for sale by Quaritch in 1934 – “apparently the only copy known”. This is almost certainly the copy now at Cambridge; images of the pretty gilt-blocked corner and centre-piece binding are available on the college website: www.joh.cam.ac.uk/library/special_collections/early_books/gtgauf.htm

No other copies of this edition are recorded on Rare Book Hub or ABPC.



Provenance: Susan Clarke, mid-17th century flourished signature in ink on the initial flyleaf.



4

“ONE OF THE FIRST COPIES OF THIS WORK WHICH HAS COME FROM THE PRESS”

COLQUHOUN (Patrick). *A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis*, explaining the various crimes and misdemeanors which at present are felt as a pressure upon the Community; and suggesting remedies for their prevention. By a Magistrate.

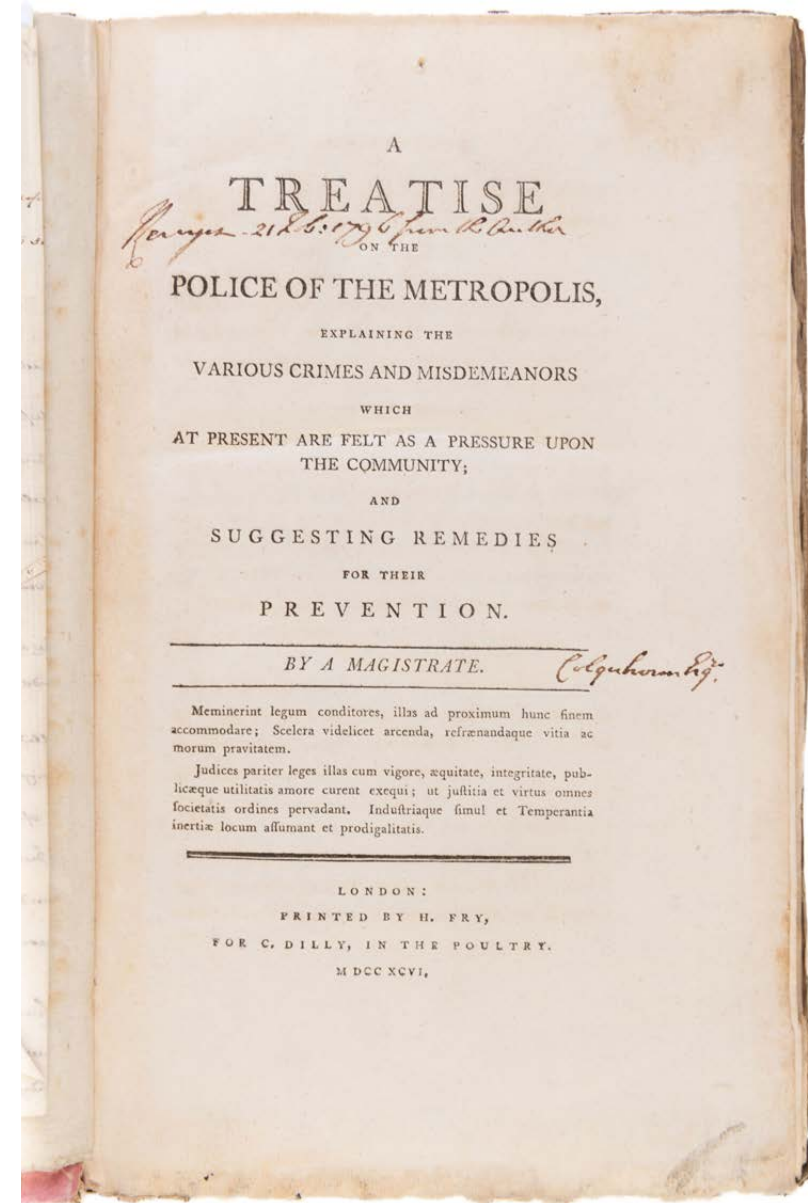
First Edition. 8vo (230 x 143mm). xii, [2], 6–369, [3]., with the folding table. Title-page a little browned at the edges, some minor creasing and spotting in places, pin hole through the upper blank margin of the first quarter of the book (possibly where the ALS [see below] was pinned to the book for presentation), otherwise **an uncut copy in the original pink paper-backed marbled boards**, printed spine label (spine rather dusty and a little creased, label slightly chipped).

London: by H. Fry, for C. Dilly, 1796.

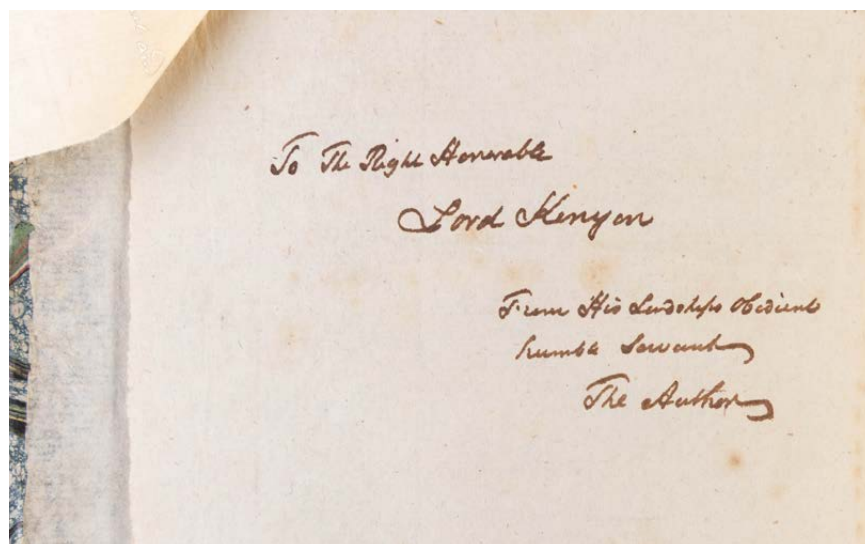
£2,800

Revised and expanded over six further editions in Colquhoun's lifetime. A second and third edition appeared in the same year as the first. Published anonymously, “By a Magistrate”, but Colquhoun's name appears on the title-page of the fifth edition.

poverty, hunger and unrest



A fine presentation copy to the Lord Chief Justice, Lloyd Kenyon with an ALS from the author to Kenyon requesting support for Colquhoun's proposed policing reforms based on his own practical experience as a magistrate in London. Colquhoun outlines the state of crime in London, the prison system and proposes the use of an organised police forces and the active prevention of crime.



Inscribed on the initial flyleaf by Colquhoun: “To The Right Honourable / Lord Kenyon From His Lordships Obedient / humble Servant / The Author” and inscribed (?by the recipient) on the title-page “Kenyon – 21 Feb 1796 from the author” and with “Colquhoun Esq” next to “By a Magistrate” in the title.

The letter accompanying this volume (pasted at one corner onto the front flyleaf) is dated 15th February 1796 (the same date as Colquhoun’s printed advertisement at the beginning of the book) from Colquhoun’s home at Charles Square, Hoxton (London) and begins:

“I take the earliest opportunity of requesting leave to present to your Lordship a Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis and on the Prevention of Crimes which I trust will be found to contain many prominent features of abuses as well as many suggestions for remedying such abuses consonant to those excellent maxims of virtues and morality which your Lordship so ably and so usefully inculcates in the high official situation which you fill with so much honor to yourself and such infinite advantage to the Nation.”

Colquhoun continues:

poverty, hunger and unrest

“Presiding at the highest Criminal Tribunal in the Country it becomes my peculiar duty to convey to your Lordship one of the first Copies of this work which has come from the press.”

In the remainder of the letter Colquhoun stresses that:

“I have been impelled to enter into the details and explanations what it contains from a strong impression arising from practical observations that the subject is not understood: and that the dissemination of this species of knowledge will impel all good men to comply their united influences in promoting such arrangements as shall render the Police of the Metropolis as perfect as possible, and thereby shield the public against those acts of violence deprecation and fraud which increase, but can never be diminished under the present system.

“I have been further encouraged to proceed in this work from an impression that the novelty and interesting nature of the subject will induce most men of weight and property both in and out of Parliament, when it becomes understood to enter zealously into the views of Government in promoting these objects of moral rectitude will with regard to the lower ranks of the people and also these arrangements will be as useful to the Prevention of Crimes which I know would give infinite satisfaction to your Lordship to see accomplished.”

Colquhoun writes in his printed address to the reader:

“The Police of the metropolis is a subject of great importance to be known and understood, since every member of the community has a particular interest in the correct administration of whatever relates to the protection of the public against deprecation and fraud – and to the prevention of crimes ...the Author has submitted to the consideration of the Reader a variety of evils

poverty, hunger and unrest

Charles Gurnea Esq. Feb. 15 1796

My Lord

I take the earliest opportunity of requesting leave to
present to your Lordship a Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis and on the prevention of Crimes
which I trust will be found to contain many prominent features of abuse. as well as many
suggestions for remedying such abuses consonant to those excellent maxims of virtue and morality
which your Lordship so ably and so usefully inculcates in the high official situation which you
fill with so much honor to yourself and such infinite advantage to the Nation.

Presiding at the highest Criminal Tribunal in the
Country it becomes my peculiar duty to convey to your Lordship one of the first Copies of this
work which has come from the press. — I have been impelled to enter into the details and
explanations which it contains from a strong impression arising from practical observations, that
the Subject is not understood; and that the obfcurity of this species of knowledge will
impede all good men to employ their united influence in promoting such arrangements as
shall render the Police of the Metropolis as perfect as possible, and thereby shield the public against
those acts of violence depredation and fraud which may ensue, but can never be diminished
under the present System. —

I have been further encouraged to proceed in this
work from an impression that the novelty and interesting nature of the Subject will induce most
men of weight and respect both in and out of Parliament, when it becomes understood to
enter zealously into the views of Government in promoting those objects of moral rectitude

ISE

the Author

ETROPOLIS,

HE

ISDEMEANORS

PRESSURE UPON
ITY;

EMEDIES

ION.

RATE.

Colquhoun Esq.

ad proximum hunc finem
a, refrænandaque vitia ac

equitate, integritate, pub-
ut justitia et virtus omnes
que simul et Temperantia

H. FRY,

HE POULTRY.

of great magnitude, with other specific details, which are not to be found in books, and which, of course, have never been laid before the public through the medium of the Press."

Colquhoun adds in a personal "advertisement" before the main body of the text:

"Occupied in a laborious public duty, which admits little relaxation, the following sheets have been written at intervals within the compass of about three months, under circumstances where the Author has been subject to many unavoidable interruptions, while the pressure of the moment urged him to proceed."

Colquhoun explores the "causes of the increase of crimes", issues relating to theft on the River Thames (Colquhoun was involved in the creation of a specific police force for the Thames) as well as individual crimes such as fraud, theft, the circulation of false coinage, forgery and the best methods for detecting crimes and prosecuting and punishing offenders. Ruth Paley notes in the *ODNB* that, "**Its novel use of statistics added authority to arguments already familiar from the works of earlier writers such as Beccaria and Henry Fielding, and helped it to become an immediate success**". Colquhoun discusses the death penalty and the transportation of convicts to New South Wales.

Colquhoun was born in Dumbarton and became a wealthy Glasgow merchant but later moved to London where, through the help of Henry Dundas, he was appointed a stipendiary magistrate at Worship Street police office in Shoreditch, east London.

"Anxious to prove his worth, he prepared an analysis of metropolitan crime and ways to prevent it. The basis of his preventive scheme was to introduce an extensive system of regulation of all those aspects of lower-class life that he deemed likely to lead to crime. This was a system of police in the eighteenth-century sense of the term: a series of regulations and regulatory agencies for the supervision of the manners, morals, and health of society rather than a body of officers in the way that the term would now be understood." (*ODNB*).

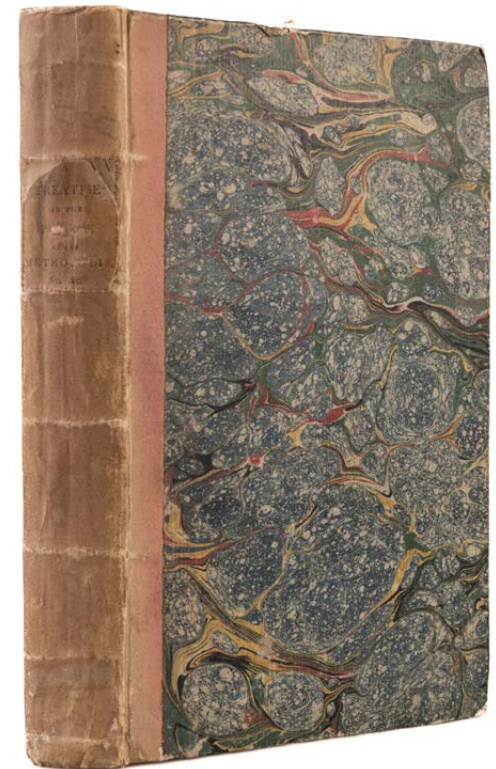
poverty, hunger and unrest

The present book is based on this practical experience as a magistrate but also on Colquhoun's interest in statistics and was prompted by his frustration at what he perceived to be the government's "failure to grant him appropriate reward for his services." (*ODNB*).

Colquhoun's book is wide-ranging and deeply prescient when it covers the numbers of police on the streets in the capital, the connections between poverty and crime and the need for prison reform to prevent reoffending.

Lloyd Kenyon, first Baron Kenyon (1732–1802) was a prominent lawyer and parliamentarian who, supported by Pitt and Lord Thurlow, was appointed Lord Chief Justice in 1788. Kenyon would have been an important and powerful advocate for Colquhoun's proposed reforms and was also "acutely aware" of the potential for unrest in the country – Douglas Hay notes in the *ODNB* that in 1799 Kenyon ordered, "six huge blunderbusses—deadly instruments each capable of killing 50 men at a shot (more I believe than his Lordship's mouth ever sent from this world at one judgement)", so fearful was he of a Jacobite uprising.

Provenance: By descent through the Kenyon family and recently dispersed as part of the sale of the library at Gredington, Hanmer, Flintshire.



poverty, hunger and unrest

5

FIRST-HAND ACCOUNTS OF CRIMINAL TRIALS

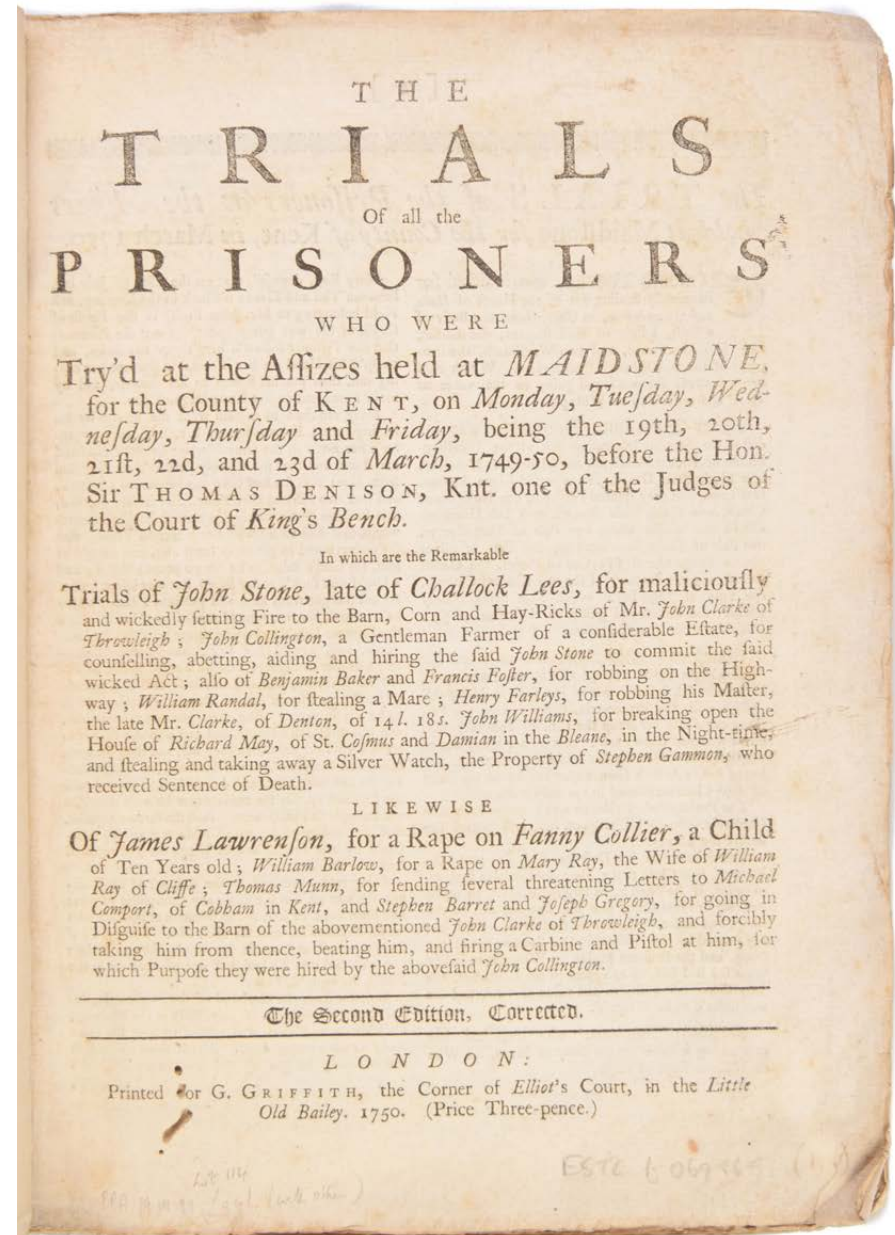
[CRIMINAL TRIALS]. The Trials of all the Prisoners who were Try'd at the Assizes held at Maidstone, for the County of Kent, on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, being the 19th, 20th, 21st, 22d, and 23d of March, 1749-50, before the hon. Sir Thomas Denison, Knt. one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench ...

“Second Edition, Corrected”. 4to (245 x 183mm), 12pp. A little browned and marked in places, some worming to the lower part of each leaf (occasionally touching a few words but not obscuring the meaning). Light grey paper wrappers, “Bibliotheca Cantiana” label with manuscript title on the upper cover (a little stained marked and crumpled), bound in recent calf-backed marbled boards. London: for G. Griffith, 1750

£1,500

Rare. ESTC records BL and Cornell only. *Bibliotheca Cantiana* p.245. No copy of the first edition appears to survive (it is not recorded in *Bibliotheca Cantiana*). A third edition was published in the same year (ESTC records National Library of Wales and Bodley).

poverty, hunger and unrest



Shocking and stark accounts of criminal trials involving theft, arson, fire, forgery, fraud and burglary in Kent in the middle of the 18th century. With details of the crimes, personal testimonies by the victims and the accused and the eventual outcome of the case.

One of the most striking accounts is that of William Barlow, “indicted for committing a Rape on the body of Mary, the Wife of William Ray, of Cliffe” (p2). The crime is described in great detail with the victim being made to describe the events and “explain what she meant by his having carnal Knowledge of her”. Barlow was eventually found not guilty.

The accounts of the trials are often quite lengthy. The reported case of John Stone – “indicted for maliciously and wickedly setting Fire to the Barn, Corn, and Hay Ricks of Mr. John Clarke”, and subsequently sentenced to death, runs to c.5pp and, importantly, **directly reports the speech of the accused and the victims**, for example, we are told that John Gregory, one of John Stone’s accomplices, said “d-m him we’ll kill him ... d-m him, blow his Brains out.” (p.7).

John Stone was eventually sentenced to death. The judge reprimands Stone for disrespecting the court during the jury’s verdict and Stone’s plea to the judge for mercy is printed.

Some of the crimes appear relatively trivial but carry extremely heavy sentences: Amy Dunn found guilt of stealing “twenty five coloured, and six Scots Handkerchiefs [value of 4s. 6d]” was **sentenced to Transportation**.

A note at the end of the publication states that further accounts of trials are now available in the *Ladies Magazine*, also published by G. Griffith. Vol I of the *Ladies Magazine* was published in November 1750, copies are recorded on ESTC at Chawton House and Yale (lacking the title-page).

Only a single copy of this book is recorded on Rare Book Hub sold at Dominic Winter in 2011 (“close-trimmed to lower margin”).

Provenance: John Russell Smith (1810–1894), bookseller and bibliographer, with his “Bibliotheca Cantiana” label on the upper cover of the wrapper. Smith compiled his important collection of books relating to Kent and published a bibliography *Bibliotheca Cantiana* in 1837.

poverty, hunger and unrest

The TRIALS of the Prisoners at the Assizes
held at Maidstone for the County of Kent, in March 1750.

ELizabeth Brooks, was indicted for feloniously stealing out of the House of *Hannab Quarrington*, at *Gillingham*, the Body of a Shift, a Pair of Shift Sleeves, one Guffet, two Shoulder Straps, and two Wristbands, the Property of the said *Hannab Quarrington*. Which Fact being proved, she was found guilty to the value of 10 s. and order'd to be Whipp'd.

Mary-Banstone Benham, was indicted for feloniously stealing out of the Dwelling-House of *Richard Cutbush*, her Master, at *Maidstone*, one black Stuff Gown, five chequ'd Linen Aprons, two Caps, one grey quilted Petticoat, one Duffil Short Cloak, one black Silk Bonnet, two Silk Handkerchiefs, one Mullin ditto, one Pair of Shift Sleeves, one Pair of Silver Shoe Buckles, one Pair of Silver Sleeve Buttons, and five Crown Pieces, the Goods and Money, the Property of the said *Richard Cutbush*, the 29th of *July* last; which Fact being plainly proved, she was found guilty to the value of 39 s. and order'd for Transportation.

Margaret Whitnall, was indicted for stealing eight Yards of *Irish* Cloth, the Property of *Elizabeth Gill*, Spinster, out of her Shop in *Mainstone*.

Mrs. Gill, the Prosecutrix, depos'd, that the Prisoner came into her Shop the 16th of February last, and cheapened some Yarn; that on her going out of the Shop she suspecting she had stole something, followed her, and took from under her Apron the Piece of *Irish* Cloth mentioned in the Indictment.

The Prosecutrix's Evidence was confirmed by the Constable, who took Charge of her, and carried her before the Mayor.

The Prisoner in her Defence, said, she took the Piece of *Irish* Cloth to the Shop-door only to look at, in order, if she liked it, to buy some of it to make her two or three Caps, that she was not out of the Shop, and had no Intention of stealing it. But it being proved by the Prosecutrix that she was out of the Shop, and the Prisoner having no Witnesses to justify what she had said, or to appear to her Character, the Jury found her guilty to the value of 10 s. and she was order'd to be Whipp'd.

William Barlow, was indicted for committing a Rape on the Body of *Mary*, the Wife of *William Ray*, of *Cliffe*.

Mary Ray, depos'd, that on the 28th of *July* last, between Ten and Eleven o'Clock in the Evening, in a Field belonging to *Mr. John Proby* in the Parish of *Cliffe*, as she was going home, she met the Prisoner; that the Prisoner follow'd her, threw her down, and clapp'd his Hand on her Throat to prevent her crying out, then put his Knees to her Bowels, and by main Force had carnal Knowledge of her.

Being required to explain what she meant by his having carnal Knowledge of her, said, that he enter'd her Body in the same Manner her own Husband had done, and that she sensibly perceiv'd an Emission from him; that she had been the Mother of Children, and had two alive at that Time. She farther depos'd, that he kept her in the Fields near three Hours afterwards, and had to do with her a second Time; that she endeavour'd to get away from him, and begg'd of him, for God's Sake, to let her go home; that she had a Child that suck'd at her Breast, but was left at home. At last she got from him, and got into a Lane, where he overtook her, near the House of one *Hatch*, where the Prisoner lodg'd; there he threw her down by main Force, and, against her Will, had carnal Knowledge of her as before; that he wanted her to unbutton his Breeches, and to commit several Indecencies. (Here she mentioned several obscene Actions, not fit to be put in print.) She then got away from him, and ran to *Hatch's* House, and call'd to the People to let in their Lodger, which they did, and then she went home and complain'd to her Husband in what Manner she had been used, and desir'd him to go and take the Prisoner up, for she could never be easy unless he was brought to Punishment. And she farther depos'd, that she being young with Child, miscarried, occasion'd by the Fright and ill Usage she had received from the Prisoner.

Being cross-examined, at the Request of the Prisoner, she was ask'd if she made any Complaint of what had been done to her, to the Woman at *Hatch's* who let the Prisoner in, and she said, No. Being ask'd if she did not ask at *Hatch's* for an old Shoe to be lent her, and said that she had lost one of her own in the Fields, she reply'd, Yes.

William Ray, the Husband of the Prosecutrix, depos'd, that on the 29th of *July*, early in the Morning, his Wife came Home, and related to him the same Story as above-mentioned. About Four o'Clock in the Morning he got up and went to the Prisoner's Lodgings,

6

“WHO GOES THERE?”

PREPARING FOR THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR

CRUSO (John). *Castrametation, or the measuring out of the quarters for the encamping of an Army.*

First Edition. Small 4to (193 x 145mm). [8, dedication to Philip Skippon (signed H4) proceeds the title-page], 51, [7], 57–74 pp., with numerous woodcut diagrams throughout the text. Title-page a little dusty, some water staining to the margins near the end, a few marks in places, verso of final leaf rather dusty. Disbound from a larger pamphlet volume with the partial remains of an old calf spine still visible.

London: by R. C. for Andrew Crook, 1642

£1,800

Wing C7432 recording **Huntington** and **University of Michigan** only in the USA. *The Order of Military Watches* has a separate title-page and dedication to Philip Skippon which appears in two settings in this copy (as it also does in the British Library copy), one signed H4 before the main title-page and again (unsigned) after the separate title-page. The only copy to appear on Rare Book Hub is the Macclesfield copy sold in October 2007 (now at Huntington).

Cruso's detailed treatise on military encampment utilising new Continental methods on the eve of the English Civil War.

poverty, hunger and unrest

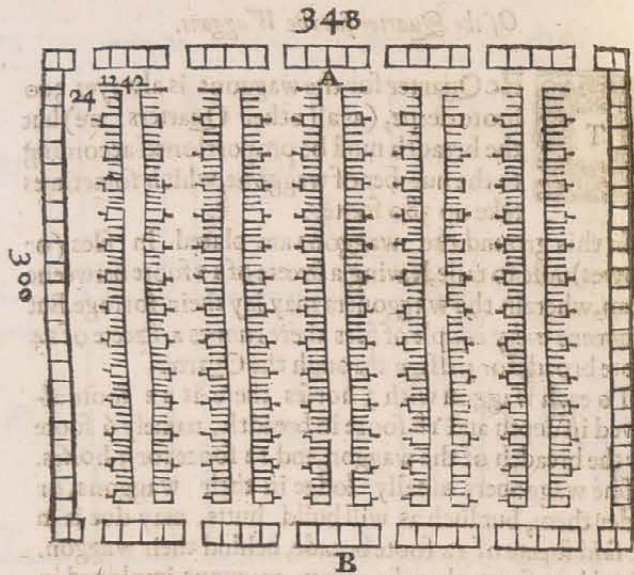
Castrametation,
OR THE
MEASVRING OVT
OF THE
QVARTERS
FOR THE
Encamping of an Army.



By J. C.

LONDON,
Printed by R. C. for Andrew Crook, and are to
be sold at his shop at the signe of the Greene
Dragon in Saint Pauls Church-yard.
1642.

Figure 6.



middle of the Quarter from B. to A. placing the Generall of the waggons at the front thereof, allowing him 60 foote in depth: behind him they place the Lieutenant of the waggons, and the Secretary, (allowing them 40 foote in depth:) behinde these, the Conductors of the waggons, giving them 48 foote in depth, the rest of the ground serving for the Suttlers Huts.

And howsoever these be placed, the middle of the Quarter from B. to A. placing the Generall of the waggons at the front thereof, allowing him 60 foote in depth: behind him they place the Lieutenant of the waggons, and the Secretary, (allowing them 40 foote in depth:) behinde these, the Conductors of the waggons, giving them 48 foote in depth, the rest of the ground serving for the Suttlers Huts.

CHAP.

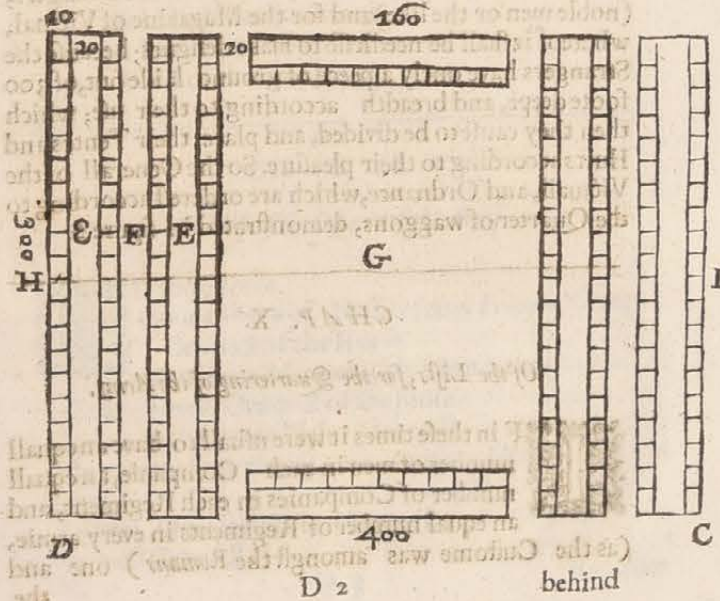
CHAP. IX.

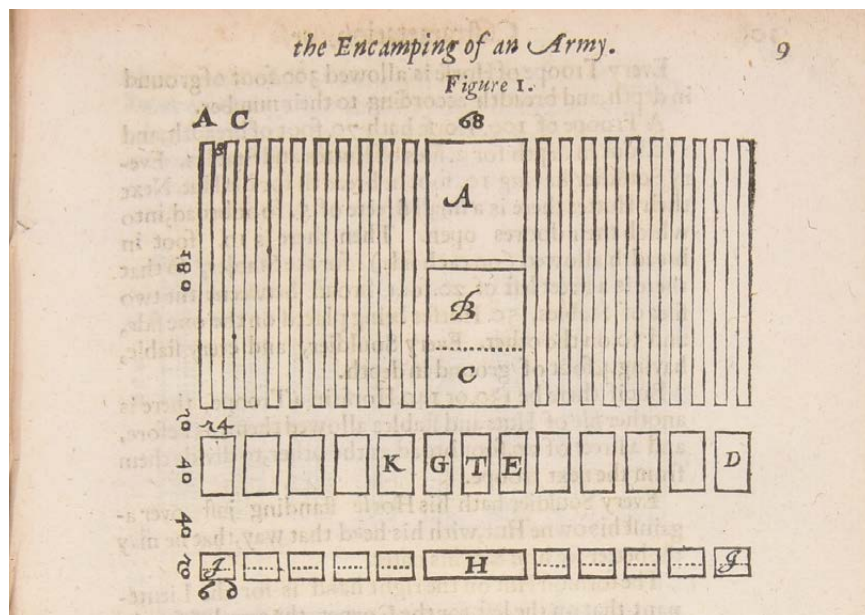
Of the Market place, or Suttlers Quarter.

For the Market place there is usually about 400 foote of ground allowed in breadth, and 300 foote in depth, wherein there be divers double files, (or Rowes) of Huttes made (for the most part 4 files on both sides of the Quarter) every Hutt having 10 foote in breadth, and a streete of 20 foote byoad betweene each file of Hutts.

The 2 files of Hutts neerest to the market place are appointed for the Mercers, Drapers, and other shopkeepers, the next behind them are for Innes and Tavernes; those

Figure 7.



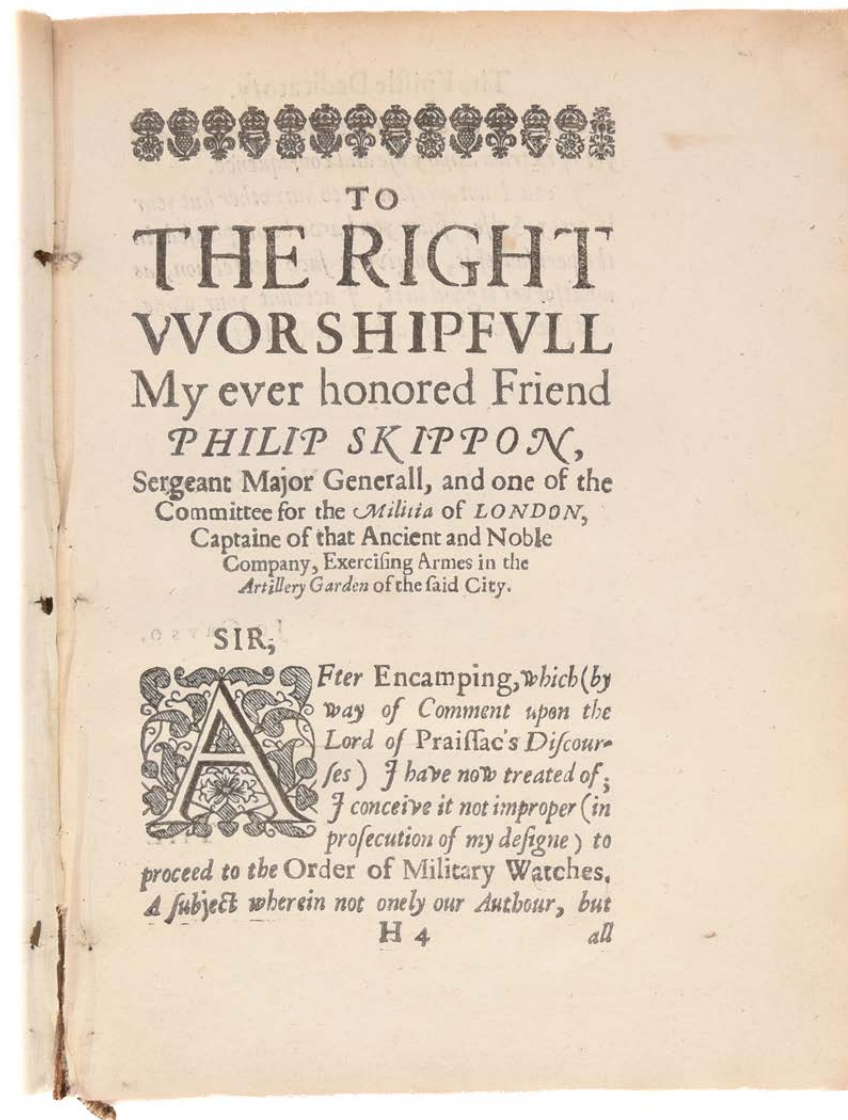


John Cruso was born in Norwich in 1595 to parents who had fled Flanders and Cruso himself remained part of the Dutch community in Norwich throughout his life serving as musketeer and later captain in a Dutch trained band in the area. Cruso used many of the new techniques practiced during the wars in the Low Countries and presented them for an English audience which, by 1642, was becoming embroiled in Civil War. The book contains details on the types of camp, such as a temporary resting place or a long-standing position from which to besiege a town. Cruso gives precise specifications for the amount of space required and dimensions for the quarters provided for various officers and different military specialities. Chapter 9 describes the building of a “Market Place” with **accommodation for a mercer, draper, a tavern, butcher and baker** giving a sense of how a camp could become a small town-like setup designed to cater to the needs of the army and those who travelled with it.

The Order of Military Watches includes detailed instructions on how to prepare and organise watches over the military encampments described in the first section of the book:

poverty, hunger and unrest

“Every Sentinell must stand on his Sentinell posture facing outward, each Musketteere having his match cocked and his pan guarded; each Pike cheeked: and must suffer no man to come within them, but must present their Musket, and charge their Pike ... At the discovery of any person, he is to aske, Who goes there?” (p.61).



poverty, hunger and unrest

7

THE RISE OF ADULTERY

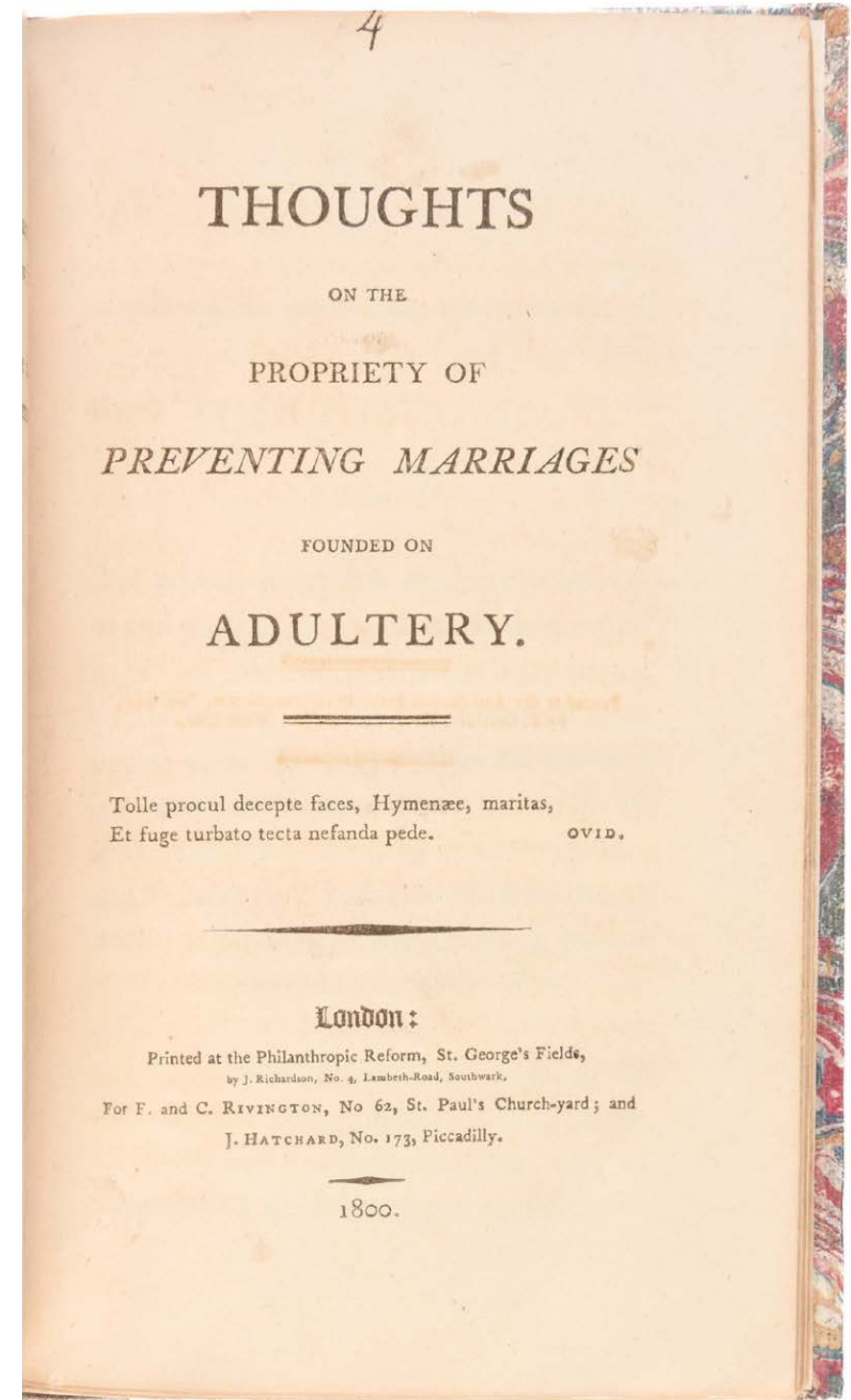
[DIVORCE]. **Thoughts on the Propriety of Preventing Marriages founded on Adultery.**

First Edition. 8vo (204 x 125mm). 27 [1]pp. Lightly browned and with a small inked tract number in the blank upper margin of the title-page but otherwise fine. Modern calf-backed marbled boards, leather spine label. London: at the Philanthropic Reform ... by J. Richardson ... for F. and C. Rivington ... and J. Hatchard, 1800 **£950**

Rare. ESTC records copies at BL; Huntington and McMaster only.

A rare pamphlet arguing that women who commit adultery should not be allowed to divorce and marry the person they have been unfaithful with. Printed at the Philanthropic Society, a reform organisation, “training up to Virtue and Industry Vagrant Children”, including teaching them how to print under the, “direction of able masters”.

poverty, hunger and unrest



“To be convinced that Adultery is become more common in this country, than it used to be, we need only turn our eyes to our courts of law ... the encrease of this evil is, perhaps, the natural consequence of the growing wealth and luxury of this great kingdom; and of a course of dissipation, not confined, as formerly, to the winter season, and within the walls of the capital, but pursued with unremitting ardour during the remains of the year, as watering places, and other places of public resort ...” (p.3-4).

The anonymous author of this pamphlet argues that the practice of allowing women to marry the man they have been unfaithful with threatens to undermine the institution of marriage and legitimises adultery in the eyes of the wider public. Divorce, by act of Parliament, was available to only those wealthy enough to pursue the legal case. The pamphlet makes it clear that women are the primary concern here and should be punished and ostracised for adultery: **“It is notorious, that of these [women granted divorces] many have married the Adulterer; and some, by means of numerous connections, active friends, and perhaps, in a few instances, from their own share of personal merit, have, in a great measure, regained the countenance of the world.”** (p.10).

This pamphlet was printed at the Philanthropic Reform, a society set up in 1788 for – according to a prospectus for that year – **“the Prevention of Crimes, and for a Reform among the Poor; By training up to Virtue and Industry Vagrant Children, and such who are in the Paths of Vice and Infamy; To save them from Ruin, and prevent their becoming injurious to Society”**. An engraved “Plan of the Philanthropic Reform” by William Skelton was published in 1794 and shows the “printing office” occupying four rooms (see <https://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/craxe/p/largeimage88319.html>).

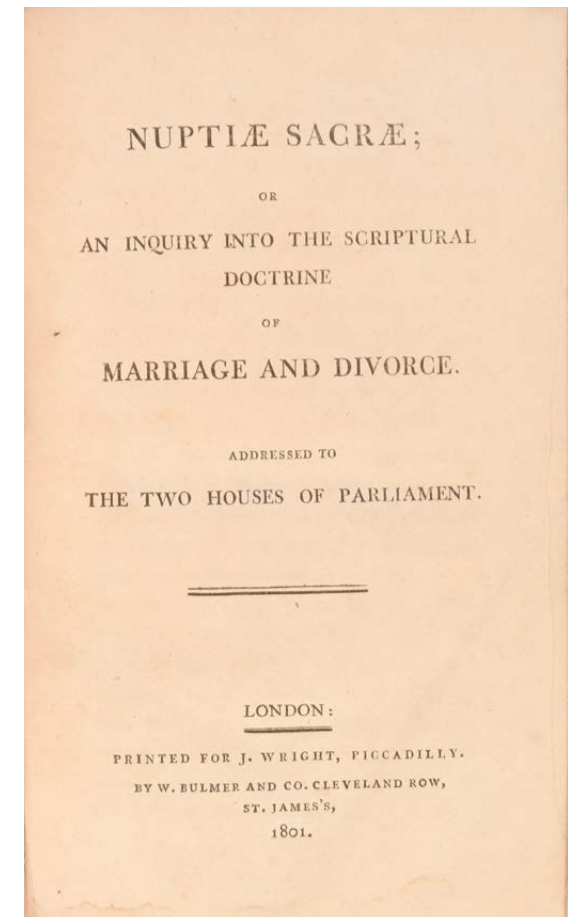
The printer, John Richardson, lived at the Philanthropic Reform building and was also employed as a private printer by the surgeon John Hunter (see A.H.T. Robb-Smith, John Hunter’s Private Press, *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, Volume XXV, Issue 3, 1 July 1970). In a later prospectus for the Philanthropic Reform it is explained how children will learn various trades including printing:

poverty, hunger and unrest

“For the employment of the children, a building is now preparing, with suitable workshops, &c. in St George’s Fields; in this Reform several master workmen are placed for the purpose of teaching the children some useful trade. The trades already established are those of a **Printer**, Carpenter, Shoemaker, Taylor and Ropemaker ... [in a footnote below] **On mature deliberation, therefore, it was resolved to discontinue, at least for the present, the trade of Bricklayer, and to take up that of the Printer, as there were printing-materials belonging to the Society, and as the boys might be employed in this both usefully and profitably.”** (*An Address to the Public from the Philanthropic Society* (1792) p. 10).

[Bound with]: **IRELAND** (John). *Nuptiae Sacrae; or An Inquiry into the Scriptural Doctrine of Marriage and Divorce*. First Edition. 8vo. London: for J. Wright ... by W. Bulmer, 1801. Rather browned throughout and with some pencil annotations.

Provenance: Both of these pamphlets were almost certainly at one time bound together with two other works on divorce (no longer present) and were offered for sale at The Walpole Galleries August 1923 (the tract numbers at the head of each work match). Bought separately by Maggs and rebound (back) together.



poverty, hunger and unrest

8

ANNOTATED BY FRANCIS MASERES

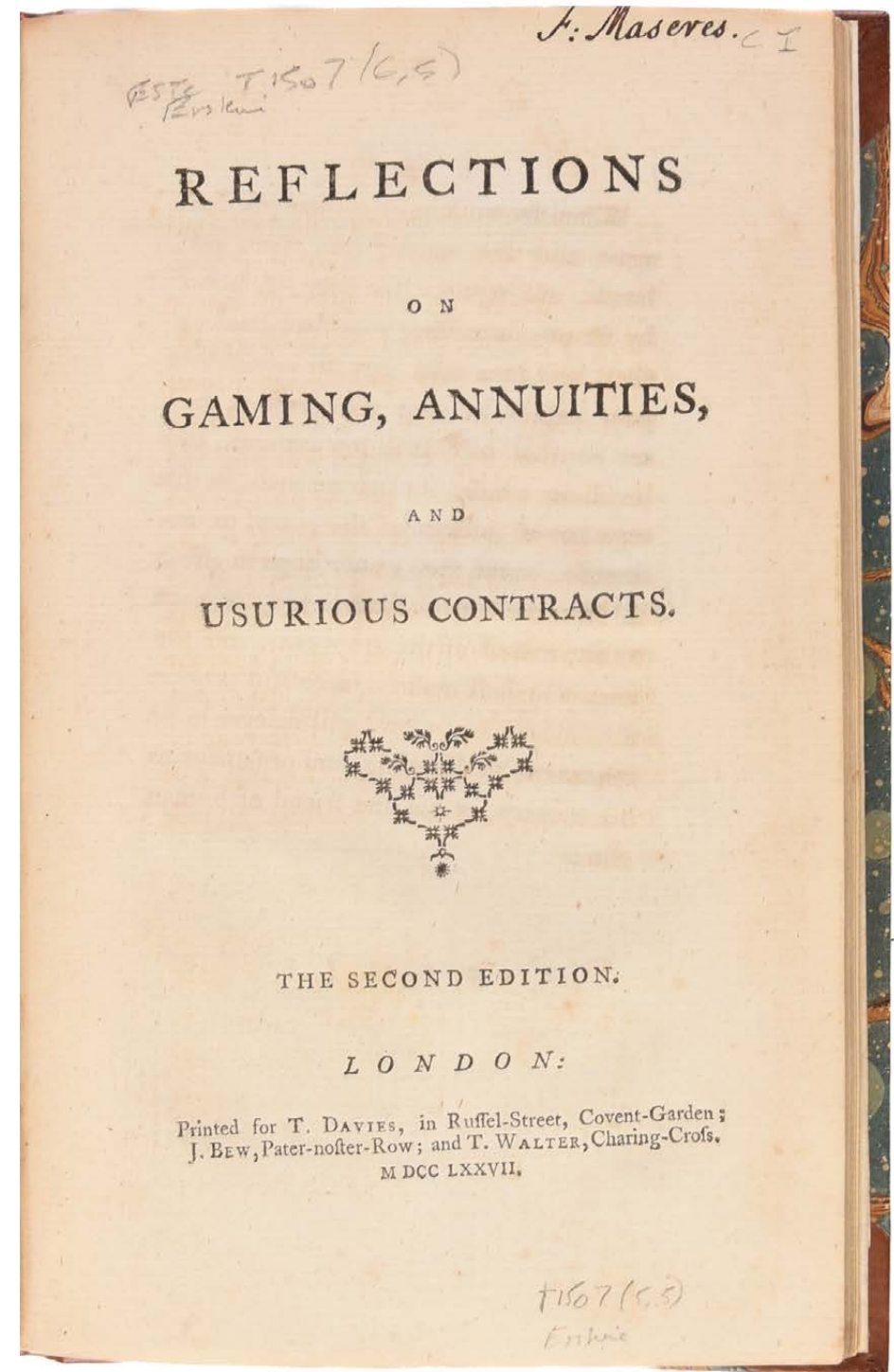
[ERSKINE (Thomas)]. **Reflections on Gaming Annuities, and Usurious Contracts.**

Second Edition. 8vo (209 x 130mm). [2], 55, [1] pp. Very lightly spotted in places but otherwise fine, upper margin of the title-page very slightly cropped, **marked-up and annotated throughout by Francis Maseres** [see below]. Modern calf-backed marbled boards, red leather spine label. London: for T. Davies ... J. Bew ... and T. Walter, 1777 £1,650

ESTC records copies of this edition at BL, National Library of Scotland, Bodley, John Rylands and National Trust (Nostell Priory); Harvard School of Business, Newberry, Rutgers, Illinois and University of Kansas. First published in 1776 (Ohio State and Yale only).

An angry argument for the restriction of high stake gaming, life annuities and high interest loans arguing that it destroys the fabric of society and requires strict Government regulation. Marked-up and critically annotated by the lawyer and governor of Quebec, Francis Maseres, who had himself written on the use of life annuities to support the poor.

poverty, hunger and unrest



"The jails are filled with debtors which languish away unheard of, and the gibbets bend with the bodies of assassins; the women turn prostitutes, and if not swept away by the arm of justice, are left to rot by inches in the streets, to poison the sources of the rising generation, and nip population in the bud; while the children that in a few years should be ready to arm in defence of their country, when so many clouds are thickening over her, are left to perish for want of care, or survive only to infect society with their vices." (p.9).

Erskine suggests that a law should be imposed whereby anyone winning a sum over forty pounds in a 24 hour period should be forced to pay into a public fund which would contribute to institutions such as the Chelsea and Greenwich hospitals.

The author also argues that stricter laws should be imposed regarding usurious contracts, arguing that many of these agreements amount to a gamble and should be undertaken with the same caution expected at the gaming table:

"But were a man to lend his money on the same conditions as respondentia to a person going to a gaming-table instead of to India, expressing in the bond that the capital was to be restored together with twenty per cent at the end of eighteenth months if the dice run favourably, this would no longer be a lawful contract, but notorious infamous usury which nobody would have the impudence to produce before a court of justice. For although the risque be ten times greater in lending to the gamester driving to Whites, than to the merchant sailing to the Indies yet the principle of public and mutual advantage being lost on which even common interest is founded and supported the contract instantly changes its nature and rests upon the honor of an individual, instead of the sanction of the laws." (p.24).

Provenance: Francis Maseres (1731–1824), his signature ("F. Maseres."), slightly cropped, in the upper margin of the title-page and with his inked notes (including numerous "N.B.") and two annotations in the text. Maseres would have been interested in this work as he had published

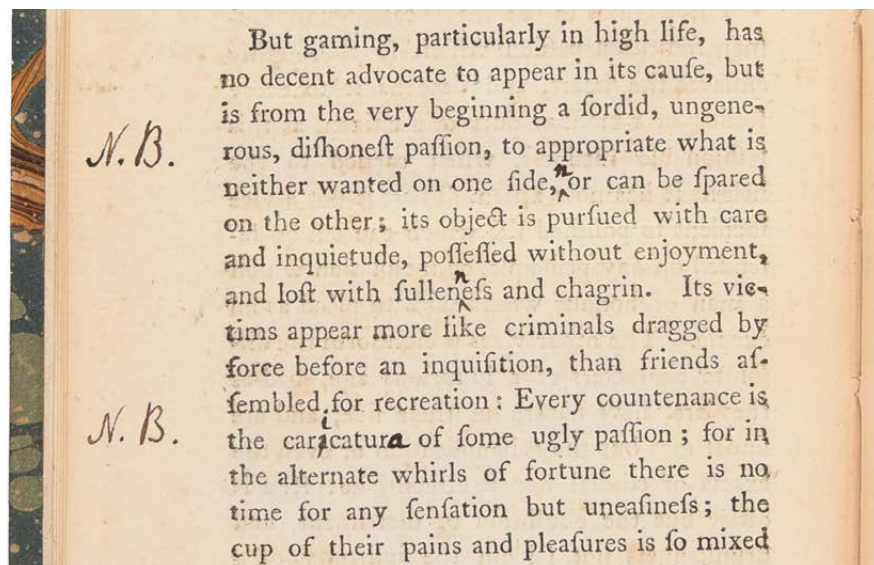
poverty, hunger and unrest

prove, and shews that, in contradistinction to common loans, the principal and interest extinguish together till death shuts the account. When therefore the hazard is altogether done away by the feller's outliving the estimate formed of his life, can there be any thing so repugnant to common justice as that a compensation should continue to be paid perhaps for a very long life, doubling the capital every six years, altho' the single pretence on which the rate of common interest is evaded, has fallen to the ground by the continuance of the feller's life beyond the calculation on which the contract was founded? the usurer then is driven to this last reply; "That the enjoyment of the annuity after the risque has become extinct by the feller's surviving the estimate, formed of his life, is the compensation for the hazard of his dying within it;" a plea which would be equally good for a highwayman, who, having taken a purse at the risque of his neck, should plead it as a just title to preserve it.

N.B. This plea of the usurer would be a just one, supposing the price given for the annuity was a fair one.
+ This comparison is very unsatisfactory.

Parliament therefore may justly address them in the following manner: "The ba-

poverty, hunger and unrest

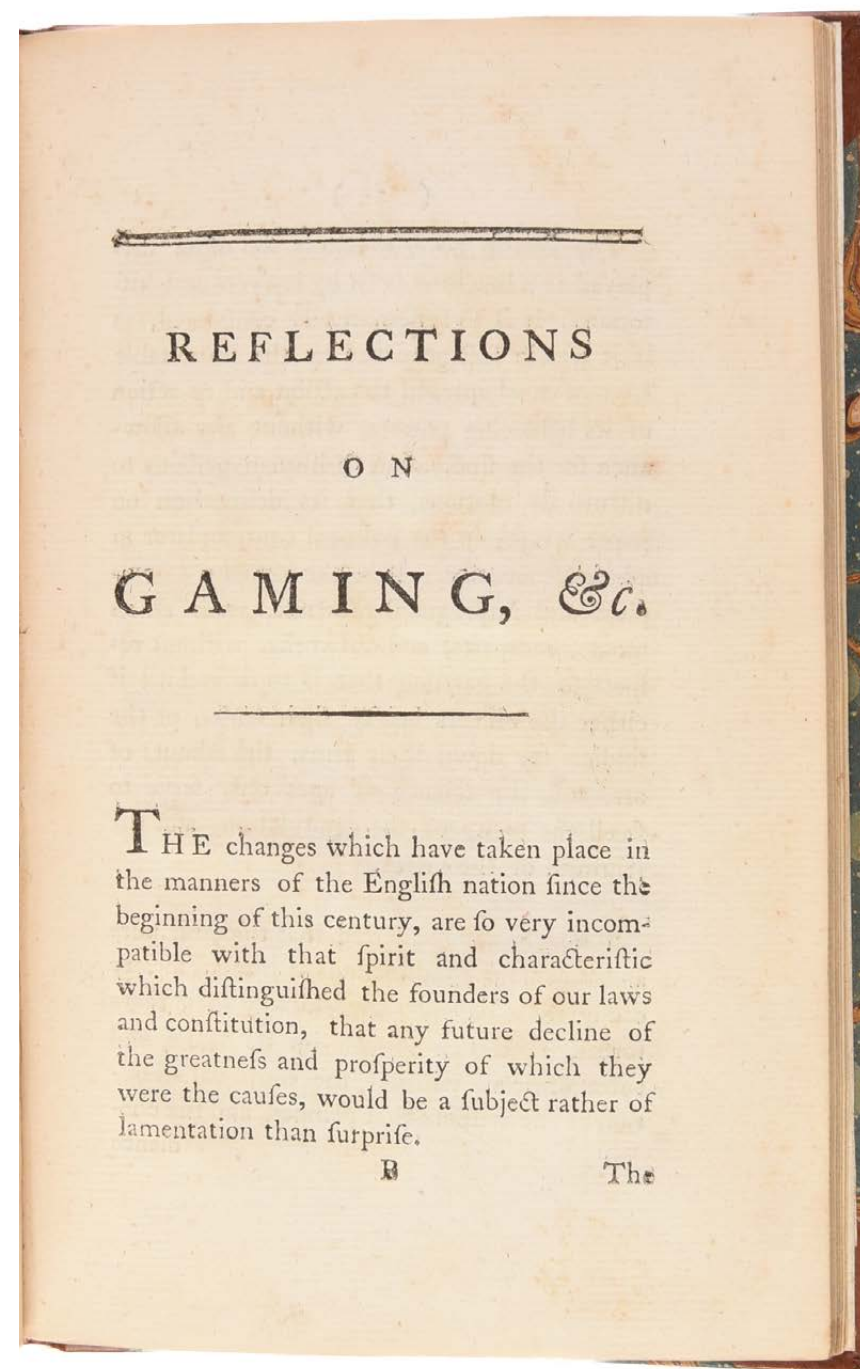


his own scheme based on annuities in 1772, *A proposal for establishing life-annuities in parishes for the benefit of the industrious poor*, this was followed in 1783 by a longer consideration of annuities in general, *The principles of the doctrine of life-annuities*. In the margin of p.44 Maseres reacts negatively to Erskine's likening of life annuities as, "a highwayman, who having taken a purse at the risque of his neck, should plead it as a just title to preserve it." Maseres notes in the margin "**This comparison is very unsatisfactory.**" The text has also been carefully corrected with numerous spelling and editorial marks.

Maseres' signature is cropped on all of the books belonging to him which we have examined suggesting that they were read and annotated in boards and bound at a later date. This is further suggested here as the longer annotation on p.44 has been carefully preserved by the binder by folding the margin into the book block.

Loosely inserted is a review of this work from *The Monthly Review* (1777): "There are few Pamphlets more seasonable or better adapted to the purpose for which it is designed, than that which is the subject of the present article".

poverty, hunger and unrest



poverty, hunger and unrest

9

“... WILL SIT DOWN PERFECTLY AT THEIR EASE,
AND, WITH A SMILING COUNTENANCE,
BEHOLD THOUSANDS OF THEIR FELLOW-CREATURES
PERISHING FOR WANT OF BREAD ...”

[FORESTALLING]. The Forestaller [...] The Widow.

Landscape Folio (335 x 425mm). Single sheet divided into two sections each with an etched image (165 x 315mm) by Silvester Harding, one section titled “The Forestaller” with an image of a forestaller or engrosser sat amongst numerous bags of flour and hand-in-hand with a journalist; in the background, set on a hill, is an empty gallows. On the opposite side is “The Widow”, a dour-looking woman in an empty room surrounded by her supportive son, crying daughter and with an infant at her feet. Long text explanations beneath in two columns. A little chipped at the edges, laid down on thicker later paper (watermarked 179?8) and folded in the centre (just obscuring a single letter of text in the imprint), old ink number in the lower right-hand corner.

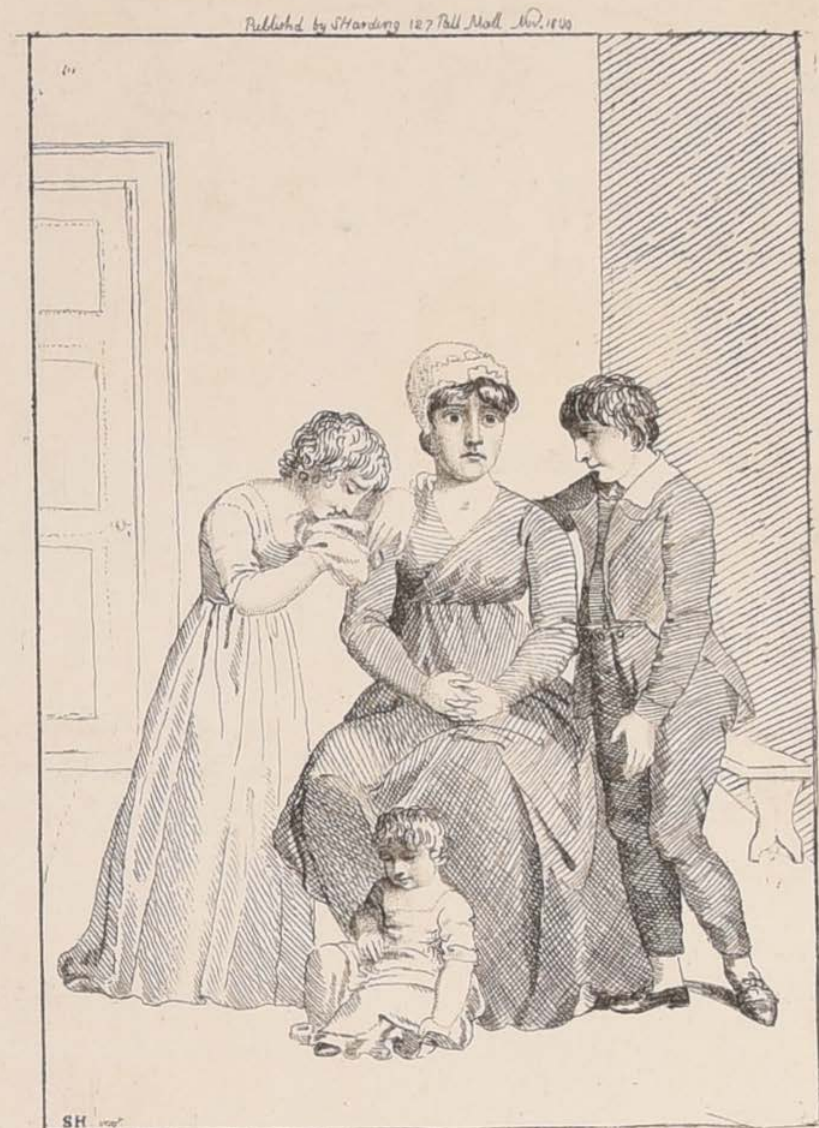
[London]: by T. North, Little Tower Street, for S[ilvester].

Harding, Pall Mall, [1800].

£2,850

Apparently Unrecorded – not in OCLC, COPAC or the BM Catalogue. Each of the etched images is signed “S[ilvester] H[arding]” with “Published by S Harding 127 Pall Mall Nov 1800” at the head. The Forestaller image has “H / GR Sculp” in the lower left-hand corner.

poverty, hunger and unrest



THE WIDOW.

IT is to be lamented, that in these days of imposition and oppression, the article of bread should be kept up at such an abominable price without the smallest reason, and every other necessary of life rising in proportion; infomuch that the poor cannot live and be honest, the middling tradesman can scarcely pay his rent and taxes, and persons of small limited incomes are reduced to beggary. Such is the fate of the poor Widow here represented: she was the daughter of a man of family and fortune: the first time she knew sorrow was at the death of a tender and amiable mother. Her father being a fashionable man, and a modern philosopher, to alleviate his misfortune took a mistress into his house; and, between her and the gaming-table, he soon found himself a beggar; when, with all the assistance of a philosopher, the new

Is it not surprising, that in these times there should be no such character as a patriot in this country? What is become of all those men of *virtue*, as they call each other, men blest with great and powerful abilities, who have thundered out their eloquence in carts, in waggons, and in the senate, in favour of liberty and reform? What have they done for the good of their country? Have they not proved, by absenting themselves from their duty, that all the liberty they wanted was, to turn out the ministry; and all their reform was, to sit in their places? [How wonderfully the nation would be benefited if the old turnpike-men at Hyde Park Corner were turned out, and others placed in their stead.] Now when great abilities are wanting to

“It is to be lamented, that in these days of imposition and oppression, the article of bread should be kept up at such an abominable price without the smallest reason, and every other necessary of life rising in proportion; insomuch that the poor cannot live and be honest, the middling tradesman can scarcely pay his rent and taxes, and persons of small limited incomes are reduced to beggary.”

An impassioned illustrated plea to end “forestalling” – the large-scale purchasing of goods (especially food) before they reach the open market so that they can be sold at a large profit – arguing that it leads to poverty and starvation across the country. The text below the images explains that the medium – “the public prints” – has been chosen to have the greatest impact.

The text explains that, “In every age and country, there have been a few of those infamous characters called Forestallers ... these harpies have been put to their shifts to keep up the price of Corn, but the humanity of a number of noblemen and gentlemen, who have raised subscriptions to purchase it, and retail it at a low price to the poor, has revived their drooping spirits, and enabled them, by a consequent increase in the demand, to raise it even higher than they expected. And in order to cover this wickedness, in which they persists **it becomes necessary for them to call in the aid of the public prints.**”

The text continues beneath *The Forestaller*:

“The sketch above represents a Forestaller, surrounded with his Bags of Flour, drinking success to Forestalling, with the Writer of a Newspaper, who has been base enough to prostitute his pen to assist such infamous purposes ...”

The text warns:

“These are the men of humanity, who are piously condemning the

poverty, hunger and unrest

dreadful desolations of war; whose feelings are shocked at the spilling so much blood! And yet these very men will sit down perfectly at their ease, and, with a smiling countenance, behold thousands of their fellow-creatures perishing for want of bread ...”

There is a warning – echoed by the empty gallows in the background of the image – at the end of the text that the Forestaller will eventually be punished:

“Let these wretches tremble, lest this sleep of death prove not an awakening to eternal misery! Let them be made to feel, that there is not only a terrible hereafter, but that dreadful torments will await such crimes as theirs”.

Beneath the image of *The Widow* the text explains that the woman has suffered various misfortunes including having a father who lost his money through a mistress and gambling debts and eventually “put an end to his existence by a pistol.” The woman went on to marry a young artist who eventually left her with children to care for:

“She is driven to distraction, with her childrens’ cries for bread; – and you now see her in such a state of mental derangement, with her children round her, as would excite pity in the breast of any living creature but a Forestaller”.

Between 1799 and 1801 widespread rioting broke out across Britain due to the scarcity, and extremely high prices, of food (especially bread) due to Napoleon’s blockade of Continental supplies. Grain dealers became popular figures for attack as it was believed that many were stockpiling supplies and selling them at inflated prices. The government was persuaded by figures such as Lord Kenyon to revive laws surrounding engrossing or forestalling and to prosecute those taking advantage of the high prices. The most famous case was that of John Rusby who was found guilty by Kenyon of re-selling oats in the same market on the same day. Rusby was fined and his house destroyed by an angry mob.

poverty, hunger and unrest



THE FORESTALLER.

IN every age and country there have been a few of those infamous characters, called Forefallers; and their depredations have not been small. In India, we believe it stands upon record, that more than twenty-thousand of our fellow-creatures have perished in consequence of the forestalling of Rice; and, we are sorry to say, that some of the persons concerned in that wicked traffick, were Englishmen. Though most of them, not being able to endure the stings of a bad conscience, have put an end to their existence, that is no consolation to the miserable sufferers. In these days, and in this country, so famed for equitable laws, and impartial justice to poor as well as rich men, such monsters have grown into an enormous body. Our worthy neighbours the French have invented an atheistical philosophy, which is peculiarly acceptable to the heart of a Forefaller, and acts as a strengthening-plaster, to prevent any little weakness, or tenderness of conscience for his suffering fellow-creatures, to corrode his usual cheerfulness, or damp his hilarity at his own well-provided table.

As the Almighty, in his great goodness, has blessed us with a plentiful harvest, these harpies have been put to their shifts to keep up the price of Corn; but the humanity of a number of noblemen and gentlemen, who have raised subscriptions to purchase it, and retail it at a low price to the poor, has revived their drooping spirits, and enabled them, by a consequent increase in the demand, to raise it even higher than they expected. And in order to cover this wickedness, in which they perish, it becomes necessary for them to call in the aid of the public prints.

The sketch above represents a Forefaller, surrounded with his Bags of Flour, drinking Success to Forestalling, with the Writer of a Newspaper, who has been base enough to prostitute his pen to assist such infamous purposes. As a proof of this assertion, it may be found in one of our morning papers, a short time back, that this paragraph-monger was in the daily habit of abusing the Forefaller, to the full extent of his venomous abilities; when, behold, in a little while, he became as violently lavish in their praise, repro-

bating, and giving the opprobrious name of Jacobin to every man who wishes to alleviate the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, and to reduce the unwarrantable price of provisions. It is these wretches who are the Jacobins; these are the villains, who spread an alarm of scarcity round the country, when it is well known there is no scarcity at all, in order to make the poor rife, that they may have an opportunity of mingling with them, in order to effect their devilish purposes. But it is hoped every TRUE ENGLISHMAN will have virtue enough to bear his sufferings with patience, till Parliament shall "curb the growth of these domestic spoilers." These are the men who wish to overturn our happy constitution. These are the men of humanity, who are piously condemning the dreadful desolations of war; whose feelings are shocked at the spilling so much blood! And yet these very men will sit down perfectly at their ease, and, with a smiling countenance, behold thousands of their fellow-creatures perishing for want of bread; while their warehouses, and even dwellings, are so filled with Grain, that they are obliged to keep men continually at work to turn it over, for fear the fleeth should breed an infection.

That there is a God, all nature cries aloud! And will not that God punish the actors, and encouragers of such infernal wickedness? He will! His punishment may be slow, but it is sure. Woe be to those men, whom he hath blessed with more than common understanding; who have prostituted those abilities to the most shocking purposes; who are endeavouring to overturn all ideas even of his very being and existence! who are destroying every principle of gratitude; who are stripping virtue of every thing but her name; which they wear as a cloak for their villainy; who are encouraging bad men in their wickedness, by assuring them that there is no hereafter; that there is no punishment for crimes, however great; that death is an eternal sleep!—Let these wretches tremble, lest this sleep of death prove not an awakening to eternal misery! Let them be made to feel, that there is not only a terrible hereafter, but that dreadful torments will await such crimes as theirs.



THE WIDOW.

IT is to be lamented, that in these days of imposition and oppression, the article of bread should be kept up at such an abominable price without the smallest reason, and every other necessary of life rising in proportion; inasmuch that the poor cannot live and be honest, the middling tradesman can scarcely pay his rent and taxes, and persons of small limited incomes are reduced to beggary. Such is the fate of the poor Widow here represented: she was the daughter of a man of family and fortune: the first time she knew sorrow was at the death of a tender and amiable mother. Her father being a fashionable man, and a modern philosopher, to alleviate his misfortune took a mistress into his house; and, between her and the gaming-table, he soon found himself a beggar; when, with all the indifference of a philosopher of the new school, he put an end to his existence by a pistol. She had contracted an intimacy with an ingenious young artist, who had been her drawing-master, and married him. Joined to great abilities, he possessed the only two qualifications likely in these days to bring a man to poverty, namely, modesty, and merit. Hurt to see impudence and ignorance preferred before him, together with the imprudence of his father-in-law, preyed upon his mind, and threw him into a decline, which rapidly took him away from his disconsolate Widow, now left to the world with a family of children. She applied herself to teaching drawing, for which task she was well qualified, but with small success. Had she been an impertinent French emigrant, with half the abilities she possessed, she would have found friends in abundance among the great; but, alas! she was a MODEST ENGLISHWOMAN. Her last resource was to take a little school, which she conducted with such propriety and economy, that her days began to brighten; till these detestable wretches, the Forefallers, raised the articles of life to such a degree, that her income no longer enabled her to supply her family with food. She is driven to distraction, with her children's cries for bread;—and you now see her, in such a state of mental derangement, with her children round her, as would excite pity in the breast of any living creature but a FORESTALLER.

Is it not surprising, that in these times there should be no such character as a patriot in this country? What is become of all those men of virtue, as they call each other, men blest with great and powerful abilities, who have thundered out their eloquence in carts, in waggons, and in the senate, in favour of liberty and reform? What have they done for the good of their country? Have they not proved, by absenting themselves from their duty, that all the liberty they wanted was, to turn out the ministry; and all their reform was, to fit in their places? [How wonderfully the nation would be benefited if the old turnpike-men at Hyde Park Corner were turned out, and others placed in their stead.] Now when great abilities are wanting to devise means to check the rapacity of these detestable wretches the Forefallers, and be of real service to their country, these men of virtue have thrunk like foxes into their holes. Even the great city of Westminster may be said to be without a representative. Is there nothing to be done by a member of the legislature, for the good of the community, but badgering a minister? O shame, where is thy bluff? It is to these mock patriots that most of the misfortunes of this country are owing. Look into what are called the patriotic news-papers and magazines, conducted by men of these principles; read them with attention, and you will soon find what care is taken to convey intelligence and advice to our enemies. Ought these things to be? Sure some honest disinterested man, some real patriot, if such is to be found, will bring a bill into parliament for making a law to transport for life all Forefallers of provisions of every description; another, to destroy that Hydra, the licentiousness of the press; and a third, to subject the corn to the excise laws.* By the first we shall get rid of a set of villains that are a pest to society; by the second, our enemies will no longer receive intelligence from these wretches of our own country; and by the third, we shall always be able to distinguish between a real and an artificial scarcity.

* Why should not the Farmer be subject to the Excise laws, as well as the Brewer, the Grocer and Distiller?

Forestalling had long been a subject of debate in English law and it was subsequently abolished in the Forestalling Act of 1844. Adam Smith though, for example, *encouraged* the practice and felt it was necessary for stimulating a successful economy, he wrote in *The Wealth of Nations* :

“The popular fear of engrossing and forestalling may be compared to the popular terrors and suspicions of witchcraft. The unfortunate wretches accused of this latter crime were not more innocent of the misfortunes imputed to them than those who have been accused of the former. The law which put an end to all prosecutions against witchcraft, which put it out of any man’s power to gratify his own malice by accusing his neighbour of that imaginary crime, seems effectually to have put an end to those fears and suspicions by taking away the great cause which encouraged and supported them. The law which should restore entire freedom to the inland trade of corn would probably prove as effectual to put an end to the popular fears of engrossing and forestalling.”

Kenyon specifically rebutted Smith’s stance at the trial of Samuel Ferrand Waddington who was found guilty of forestalling hops in 1800 stating:

“It is said, that people have no more reason to fear forestalling, engrossing, and regrating, than they have to fear witchcraft. It is easy for a man to write a treatise in his closet; but if he would go to the distance of 200 miles from London, and were to observe people at every avenue of a country town, buying up butter, cheese, and all the necessaries of life they can lay hold of, in order to prevent them from coming to market (which has happened to my knowledge), he would find, that this is something more real, and substantial, than the crime of witchcraft. This country suffers most grievously by it.” (see *Summary of the Trial the King v. S. F. Waddington for Purchasing Hops at Worcester ...* London 1800).

Adam Smith’s views on forestalling became a key part of the argument surrounding the subject, the MP Sir Richard Hill wrote to Wilberforce in December 1800:

“I am indeed sorry to see that the novel maxims of one scotchman, should be the rule of practice in all England and that the greatest men in the nation are kissing the toe of Pope Adam Smith. I heartily wish that *The Wealth of Nations* may not contribute to make ours poor, by

poverty, hunger and unrest

introducing opinions which strongly militated against the well being of the middle class of individuals, as well as against the more indigent.”

This print is an important and hitherto unstudied source for the violent contemporary opposing views surrounding engrossing and specifically uses the medium of the popular print to attack those seen as profiting from escalating food prices and the harsh living conditions of the poor.

See: Douglas Hay, “The State of the Market in 1800: Lord Kenyon and Mr Waddington”, *Past & Present*, Feb 1999, p. 101–162.



poverty, hunger and unrest

10

“THE GRAVE OF THOUSANDS”

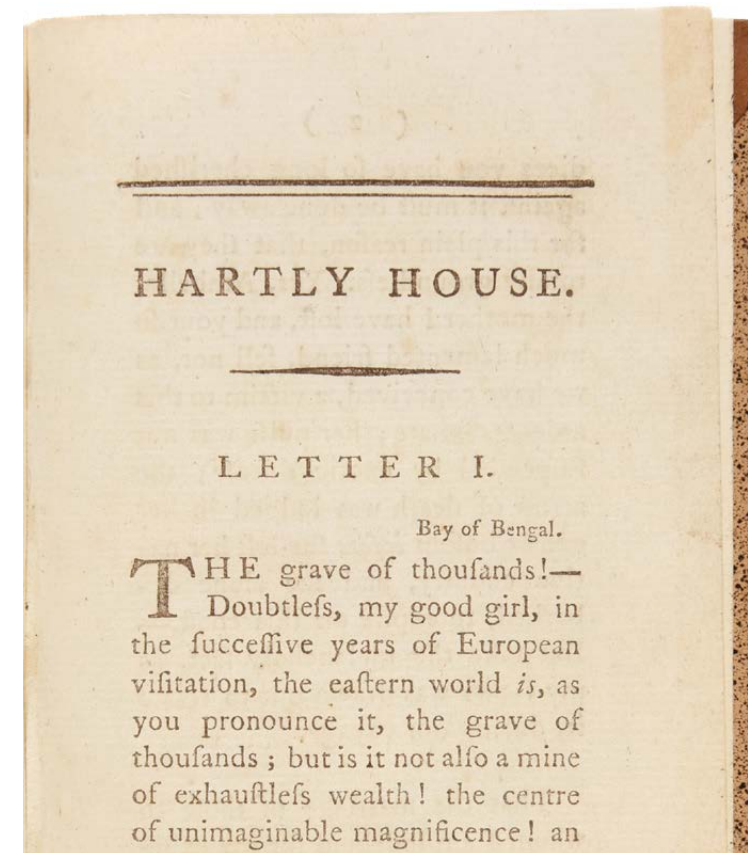
A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF ANGLO-INDIAN LIFE
IN THE GUISE OF A NOVEL

[GIBBES (Phebe)]. *Hartly House, Calcutta*. In Three
Volumes.

First Edition. Three Volumes. Small 8vo. (151 x 98mm).
Title-page of first volume very slightly shorter at the fore-
edge (not touching the text), some minor light staining from
the leather corners of the binding onto the title-page and
endleaves, a few spots in places but otherwise very clean.
Early 19th-century northern European polished sheep-backed
sprinkled boards, spines ruled in gilt with a red morocco label
and a green oval morocco “EdeW” cipher label, sprinkled
edges, plain endleaves, pink ribbon marker (tailcap of the
spine of Vol. 2 chipped, but otherwise remarkably fine).
London: for J. Dodsley, 1789 £10,000

ESTC records copies at BL, National Library of Scotland, Bodley;
Harvard, Huntington, New York Public Library and UCLA. OCLC adds
Sheffield University; University of Illinois, Minnesota, Case Western and
Goettingen and one formerly at the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (War Loss). A
one-volume Dublin edition was published in the same year. Aside from
the present, no complete copies of the first edition are recorded on Rare
Book Hub.

poverty, hunger and unrest



A rare and remarkable early Anglo-Indian novel by the long-neglected Phebe Gibbes that was reviewed by Mary Wollstonecraft. Written against the backdrop of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, *Hartly House, Calcutta* is a highly detailed account (based on the letters from Gibbes’s own son who would later die in India) of colonial life, so detailed in fact, that it was thought by some contemporary readers to be a real-life account of the Subcontinent. The protagonist’s letters to her friend in England provide a contrasting description of India as she attempts to understand the various religions and customs, the hierarchies of native and colonial rule under the problematic stewardship of the East India Company and her own search for a husband against the complexities of class, race and the horror of sexual violence.

In the first letter (addressed from the Bay of Bengal) Sophia Goldborne writes to her friend in England describing her first impressions, and the reputation, of India:

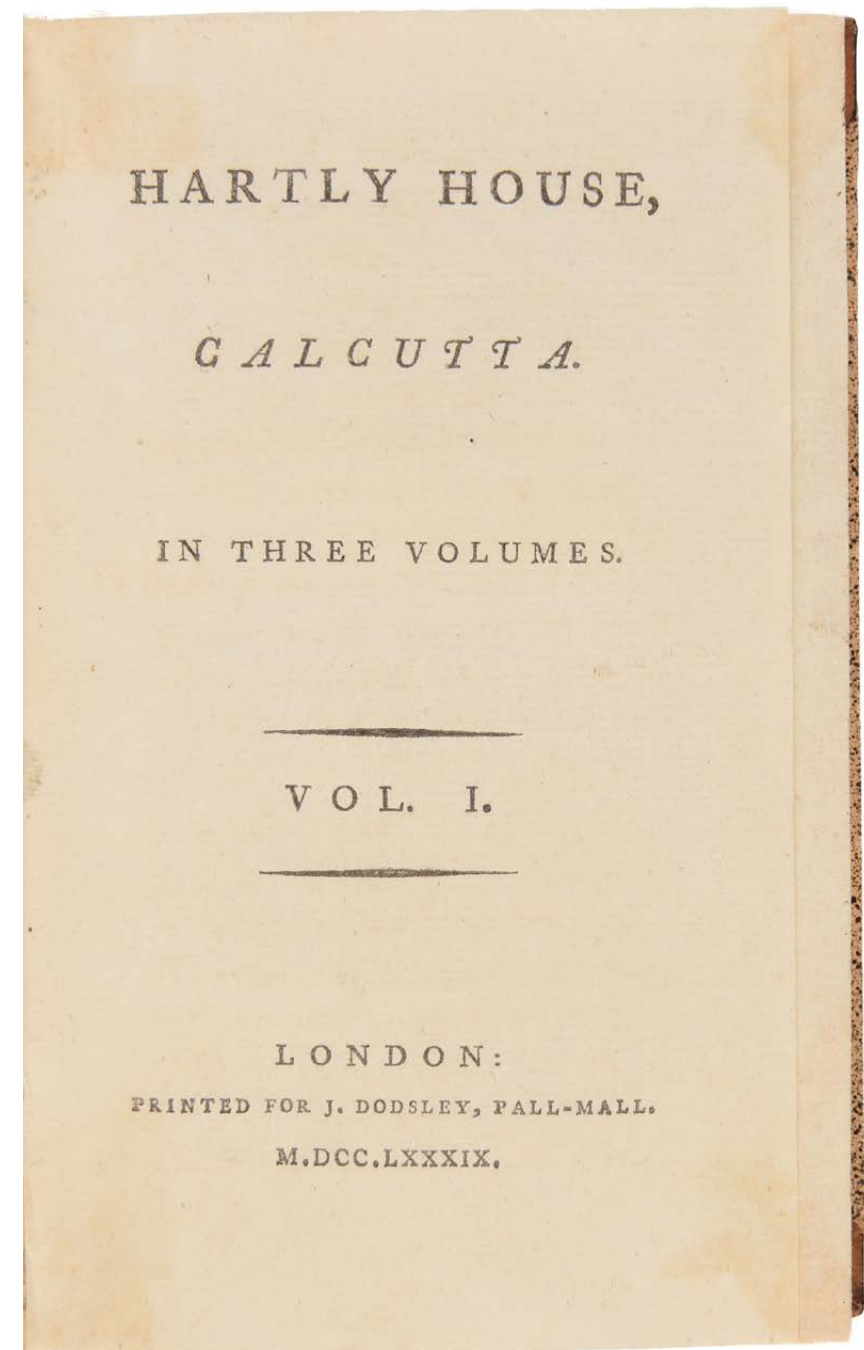
“The grave of thousands! – Doubtless, my good, girl, in the successive years of European visitation, the eastern world is, the grave of thousands, but is it not also a mine of exhaustless wealth! the centre of unimaginable magnificence! an ever blooming, an ever brilliant scene?”

Across a series of letters Sophia describes the country in great detail remarking on many of the aspects of colonial life in India including the people she sees, the temperature and weather, the time difference, food (“the palm, the cocoa-nut, the tamarind, the guava, the orange, lemon, pomegranate, pine, &c. &c. in the highest perfection”, I, p. 81), architecture, fashion, religion, and the local people. Sophia repeatedly attempts to find a comparison between what she sees in India and an equivalent in England and so asks her friend to imagine the “burgeos” as like “very handsome barges on the river Thames” (I p.15) and later compares “the Bengal burying grounds” to the famous burial ground at St. Pancras in London (II, p.8).

On arriving at Hartly Hous – a large colonial house with “a spacious balcony, called a veranda, covered in by Venetian blinds, and lighted up with wax candles, placed under glass “shades” (I, p.21) – Sophia describes the “musketto” curtains that adorn her bed and explains, “I must tell you, though I shudder at the bare recollection of so vulgar a nuisance, that, in like manner with the bugs in London, they mercilessly annoy all new-comers, blistering them, and teasing, if not torturing them continually ...” (I, p.23).

Much of the detail on India in Gibbes’s novel was provided by her son in his letters home before his death in the country. Gibbes’s portrait of India was felt to be **so accurate that shortly after the publication of *Hartly House* the Scots Magazine published a large portion of one of Sophia’s letters as though it was fact rather than fiction** under the title, “Picture of the Mode of living in Calcutta. In a letter from a Lady

poverty, hunger and unrest



poverty, hunger and unrest

to her friend in England” (*Scots Magazine*, May 1789). The belief that Gibbes’ novel was fact rather than fiction can perhaps be excused on the basis of passages (ostensibly between two young people) such as the following:

“No wonder lawyers return from this country rolling in wealth; their fees are enormous; if you ask a single question on any affair, you pay down your gold mohr, Arabella, (two pounds)! and if he writes a letter of only three lines, twenty-eight rupees (four pounds)! I tremble at the idea of coming into their hands; for what must be the recoveries, to answer such immense charges! – You must, however, be informed, that the number of acting attornies on the court roll is restricted to twelve; who serve an articulated clerkship of three years only, instead of five as in England” (II p.47).

The overwhelming bulk of the “novel” is comprised of these detailed and sometimes didactic sketches of Anglo-Indian life. The essential plot is in fact quite minor and turns on Sophia’s disinclination to choose a husband, much to the annoyance of her father (“My father, perceiving me disinclined to marry in the East, for wealth &c. with me old enough to make me guilty ...”). An English suitor “Doyly” is suggested and, though she finds herself attracted to a charismatic Brahmin [see below], eventually accepted prompting her return to England at the end of Vol. 3.

On the climate of India, Sophia complains that, “so great an enemy to beauty is this ardent climate that even I, your newly-arrived friend, am only the ghost of my former self; and however the lily has survived, the roses have expired: neither my lips (the glow of which you yourself have noticed) or cheeks are much more than barely distinguishable from the rest of my face, and that only by the faintest bloom imaginable.” (I, p.65).

The third volume begins strikingly with the following passage:

“Henceforth, Arabella, you are to consider me in a new point of view. – Ashamed of the manners of modern Christianity,

poverty, hunger and unrest

(amongst the professors of which acts of devotion are subjects of ridicule, and charity, in all its amiable branches a polite jest). I am become a convert to the Gentoo faith, and have my Bramin to instruct me per diem.” (III, p.1).

Near the end of this volume Sophie also witnesses a shocking scene which seems to magnify some of the Colonial undertones in the rest of the book:

“I have, within the passing hour, beheld one of these wretches conveyed to prison – and may condign punishment be his portion! He is, my dear, an officer in the army – who having, in one of his country rides, discovered an old man’s daughter to be lovely beyond whatever his country has produced, cruelly and basely resolved to rob him of her. To her father’s house he went, on this diabolical design, and was received by its innocent and unsuspecting inhabitants with the utmost kindness; – in consequence of which reception, he changed his plan of outrage – and, instead of bearing her off, as he had intended, he settled it to violate the laws of hospitality – of God and of man – and accomplish his work of darkness under his paternal roof!” He killed the girl’s father and then, “proceeded to fill up the measure of his iniquity.” (III, p.163–4).

Very little is known about Phebe Gibbes and much of what is taken from an application she made to the Royal Literary Fund for financial support in October 1804. Many of Gibbes’s novels were published anonymously (as here) but in her application she noted that she is the author of 22 novels, a number of books for children, French translations and reviews for the *London Magazine*.

“Her scrawled petitioning letters reveal that she was a widow with two daughters, her only son having died in India, and that she had been reduced to an impoverished condition by her father-in-law’s financial mismanagement. These few concrete facts about her life resonate in the repeated concerns of her fiction.” (Franklin, xiii).

poverty, hunger and unrest

Hartly House, Calcutta, was reviewed in *The New Annual Register* by Mary Wollstonecraft.

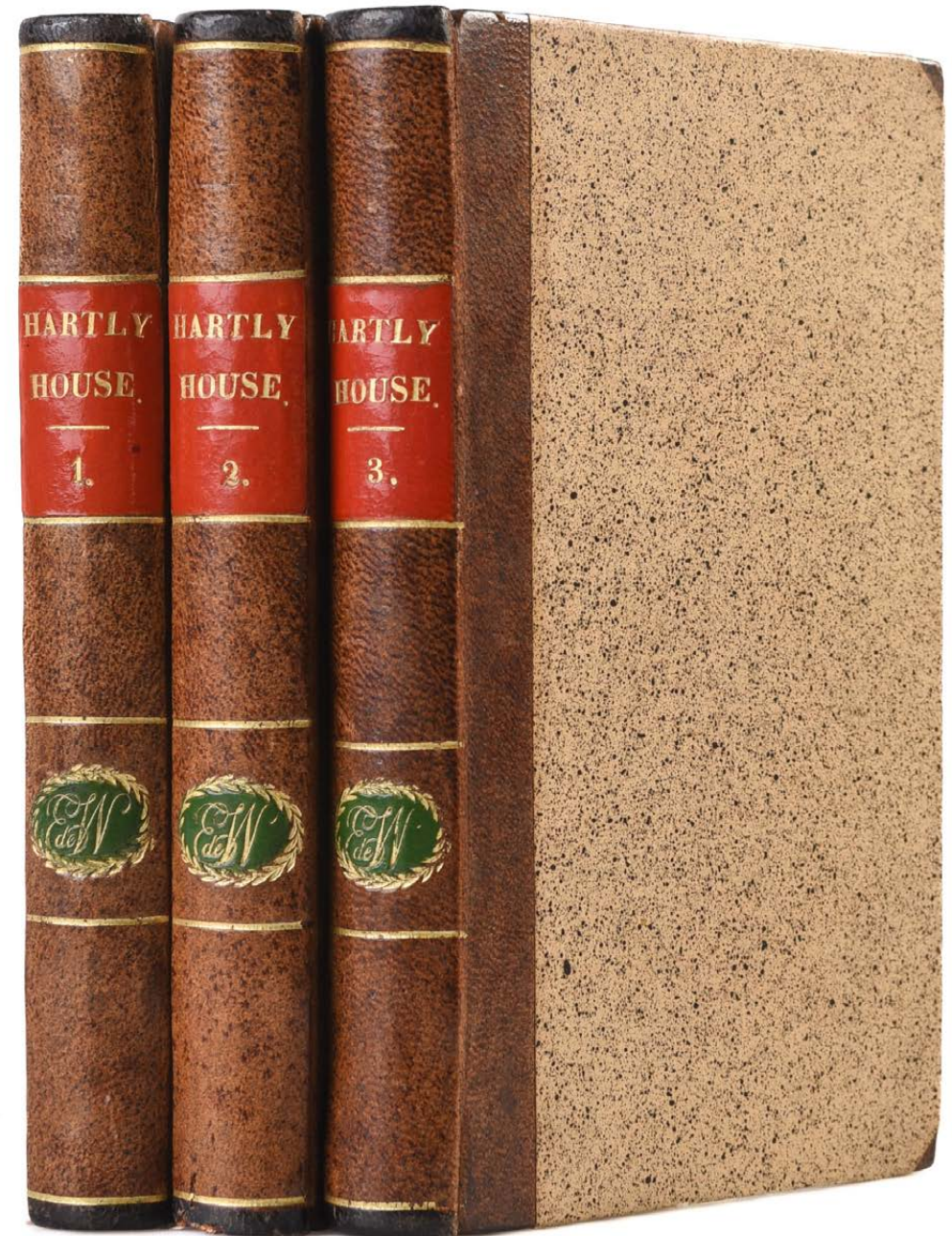
Wollstonecraft remarked on the “entertaining account of Calcutta” and correctly assumed that the novel is by, “a person who had been forcibly impressed by the scenes described ... Probably the ground-work of the correspondence was actually written on the spot” (or, as we know, the scenes impressed on her son and communicated by letters). Wollstonecraft concluded:

“These letters indeed are written with a degree of vivacity which renders them very amusing, even when they are merely descriptive, and the young reader will see, rather than listen to the instruction they contain.” (*The New Annual Register* (1789), p.147).

Michael Franklin notes that (as of 2007) very few of Gibbes’ novels have been re-printed resulting in an “**exemplary case of scholarly neglect**” (xiv). Isobel Grundy notes: “**Gibbes is creeping into critical notice, but she is not likely to be rediscovered in the foreseeable future except by those with access to a very good research library indeed**”. (Isobel Grundy, ‘(Re) discovering women’s texts’, *Women and Literature in Britain 1700–1800*, ed. Vivien Jones, Cambridge UP, 2000). When *Hartly House* was re-printed by the Pluto Press to mark the 200th anniversary of its first publication the edition was re-printed from a Calcutta edition of 1908 and the author listed as “anonymous” (see Grundy).

Provenance: Unidentified cipher “EdeW” on an oval label on the spine, no doubt from what must have once been a very handsome European library.

poverty, hunger and unrest



poverty, hunger and unrest

11

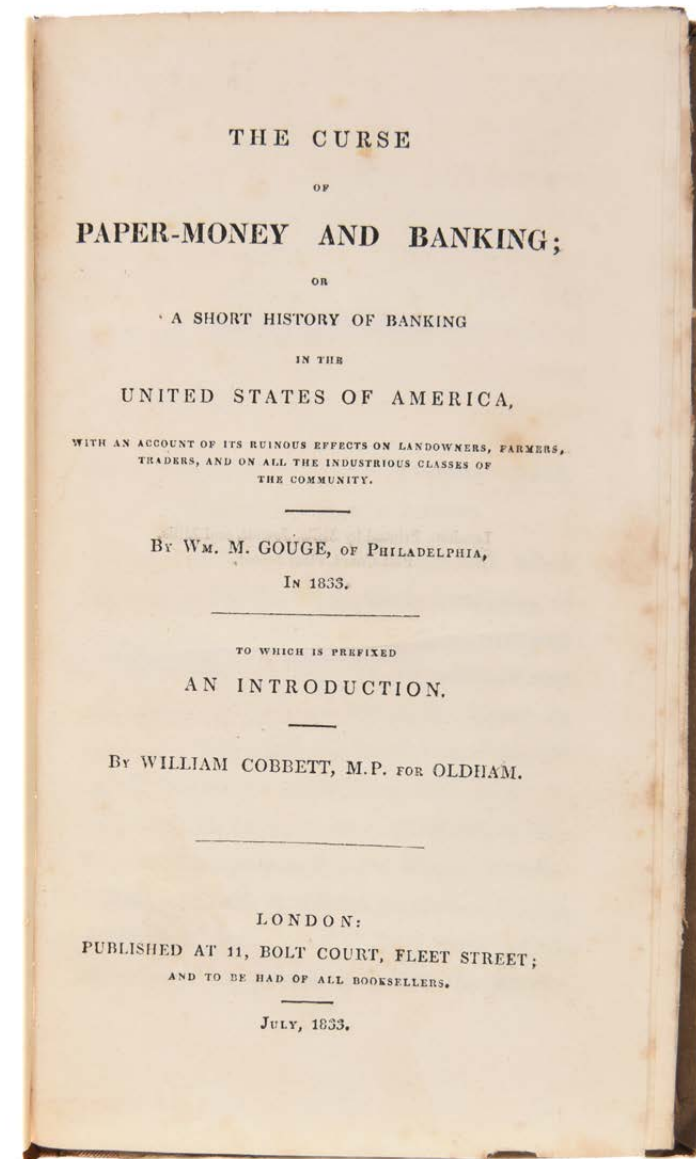
“THE INIQUITY AND THE MISCHIEFS OF PAPER-MONEY AND BANKING”

GOUGE (William). with an introduction by, **COBBETT** (William). **The Curse of Paper-Money and Banking**, or a short history of banking in the United States of America, with an account of its ruinous effects on landowners, farmers, traders, and on all the industrious classes of the community. To which is prefixed an introduction by William Cobbett, M.P. for Oldham.

First English Edition. 8vo (182 x 110mm). xxii, [2, contents leaf], 200, [12, adverts for other works by Cobbett] pp. Some very minor foxing in places but otherwise clean. Original embossed cloth-backed paper covered boards, spine with a printed paper label, **edges uncut and unopened in places**. London: [by Mills, Jowett, & Mills] to be had of all booksellers, 1833. **£750**

Goldsmiths' 28014; Kress C3499. First published in Philadelphia as *A Short History of Paper Money and Banking in the United States* in the same year.

poverty, hunger and unrest



The first English edition – with a new and important introduction by William Cobbett – of Gouge’s important and influential work on the “iniquity and the mischiefs of paper-money and banking” in America. Published in the midst of the controversy surrounding that year’s Bank of England Act, making the Bank’s notes legal tender up to five pounds.

In his speech of Jan. 2nd, 1815, Mr. Webster said, "The depreciation of the notes of all the Banks in any place is, as far as I can learn, general, uniform, and equal." In looking through Grotjan's Price Current, we have found the quotations of Pennsylvania and Ohio notes to be, for months together, from five to six, and afterwards ten, per cent. discount, and those of Virginia and North Carolina two to three per cent. So general seemed to be the rate of depreciation for each part of the country, that the names of particular Banks were not given in the Price Current for more than a year after the suspension of specie payments. While Philadelphia paper, the standard in which they were estimated, was always varying in value, as compared with silver, the notes of most of the country Banks had, as compared with one another, a singular equality of depreciation.

This equality lasted for some time after it became the custom to give regular quotations of the price of Bank paper. It will be seen, by inspecting the table, that in May, 1816, the notes of twenty-seven out of thirty-five country Banks of Pennsylvania, were at a discount of ten per cent. It will also be seen that the discount was diminished with a regularity approximating to uniformity, up to May, 1818. In the succeeding July, the United States Bank commenced its curtailment: and then the great confusion in exchanges begun.

In other States the confusion was as great as it was in Pennsylvania. This may be seen by the following table:—

PRICES OF BANK NOTES.

NOTES.	AT NEW YORK, April 7th, 1819.	AT BALTIMORE, August 7th, 1819.
	<i>per cent. dis.</i> par to 2	<i>per cent. dis.</i> 1 to 6
New England	— " —	1 " 6
Philadelphia	— " —	— " —
Pennsylvania	— " —	1 " 60
Delaware	4 " 12½	1 to 8 and to 50.
Baltimore	— " 1½	— " —
Maryland	2 " 20	1 " 40
District of Columbia	— " —	1 " 60
Virginia	— " 2	1½ " 25
North Carolina	2 " 3½	20 " 25
South Carolina	— " 1½	8 " 10
Georgia	2 " 3	7 " 8
Tennessee	— " 7	— " —
Kentucky	— " —	15 " 25

NOTES.	AT NEW YORK, April 7th, 1819.	AT BALTIMORE, August 7th, 1819.
	<i>per cent. dis.</i> par to 5	<i>per cent. dis.</i> par " —
Bank of Kentucky	6 " 15	10 " 50
Ohio Banks	25 " 75	— " —
Unchartered Bank of Ohio	— " 6	— " —
Louisiana	— " —	15 " 60
Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri	— " —	— " —

Mr. Niles, from whom we have taken the items which form this table, says the prices of Bank notes varied several per cent. in the course of a week. The notes which were at par in one part of the country, were in other parts at a heavy discount. At the same time that exchange at New Orleans on New York was at from seven to ten per cent. discount, exchange at New York or New Orleans was at six per cent. discount. A Bank's paying specie did not prevent its notes depreciating: for nobody knew how long any distant Bank would continue to pay specie. All the Banks whose notes were at a discount at New York of less than 5 per cent., and some of the others, were understood to pay specie on demand.

Of the increase and decrease of the local currency of Pennsylvania, the reader may form an idea from the following table:—

NOTES IN CIRCULATION.*			
	City Banks.	Country.	Total.
Nov. 1814, -	3,363,802	1,942,479	5,306,281
1815, -	4,810,507	5,349,247	10,159,754
1816, -	3,416,248	4,787,722	8,203,970
1817, -	2,355,694	3,853,866	6,209,560
1818, -	1,987,945	3,093,966	5,081,911
1819, -	1,645,000	1,384,325	3,029,325

It will be seen that the great increase in circulation took place in the year after the war. Great as it was we ought not to wonder at it. The Government's receiving inconvertible paper in payment of duties, was quite as efficient a sanction of the continued suspension of specie payments as could have been afforded by an act of Congress

* The returns of the Farmers and Mechanics' Bank, in 1814, were for August 2nd; those of the Pennsylvania Bank for August 30th; and those of the Philadelphia Bank for September 1st. The returns of the other Banks were for November. No return was made in any of these years of the circulation of the Bank of North America.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Old Bank of the United States.

“LET the Americans,” said William Pitt the elder, “adopt their funding system, and go into their Banking institutions, and their boasted independence will be a mere phantom.”

No small number of Americans were of a similar opinion; but it was contended by others, that if the revolutionary debt was not funded, injustice would be done to the public creditors. Out of this funding system sprung the old Bank of the United States, for three-fourths of its capital consisted of public stocks. The Bank, its friends

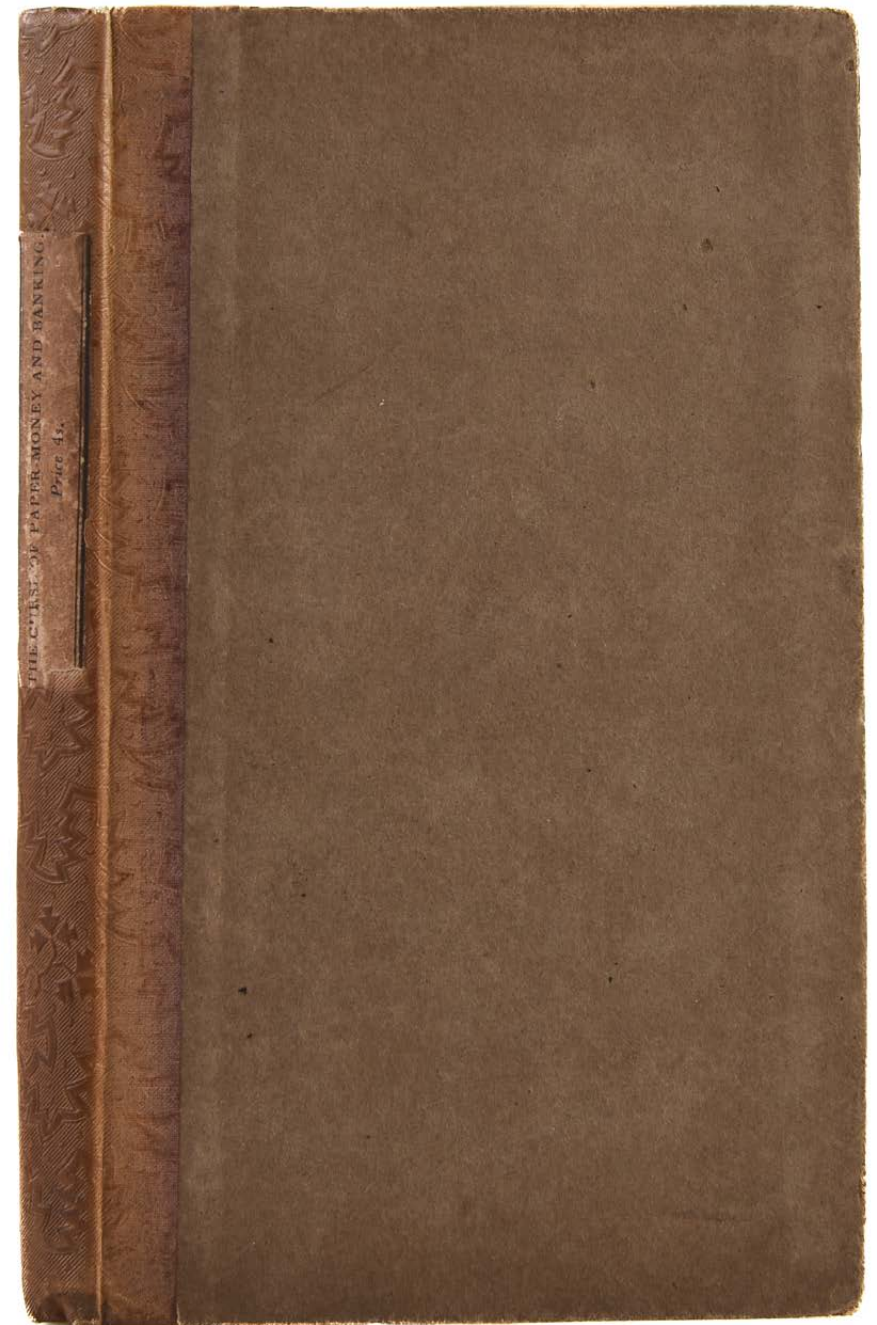
William Gouge (1796–1863) was an American economist who was, “**an uncompromising opponent of banks, paper money and corporations. Banking, he affirmed, simply takes loanable money out of the hands of the owners and places it under control of irresponsible corporations.**” (*DAB*).

Gouge believed that paper money encouraged speculative booms and was a key issue in increasing inequality. In William Cobbett’s highly unusual critical introduction he begins by condemning Gouge as, “an apparently exceedingly dull and awkward man ... the arrangement of the matter is as confused as it can well be made; the statement of facts is feeble, and there is as little clearness as can be imagined, in any thing coming from the pen of a being in its sense.” (*see Introduction*).

However, Cobbett eventually concedes:

“Mr Gouge has put together a collection of acts, respecting the iniquity and the mischiefs of paper-money and banking, quite enough to frighten any man, who knew America before that infernal system was in vogue, and who now beholds that which is about to be done in England. I, who knew America forty years ago and who took little notice of what was passing when I was there in 1818 and 1819; who have, in fact, known nothing of it in this respect, and in any thing like detail, since the year 1799, am filled with astonishment as I read.” (x).

poverty, hunger and unrest



poverty, hunger and unrest

12

“AMONGST THE GREAT ABUSES OF THIS AGE”

GRANTHAM (Thomas). *A Motion against Imprisonment*, wherein is proved that Imprisonment for debt is against the Gospel, against the good of Church, and Commonwealth.

First Edition. Small 4to (195 x 147). 8pp. A little water stained in the upper and lower margins but otherwise fine. Modern calf-backed marbled boards, red leather spine label.

London: for Francis Coules, 1642

£550

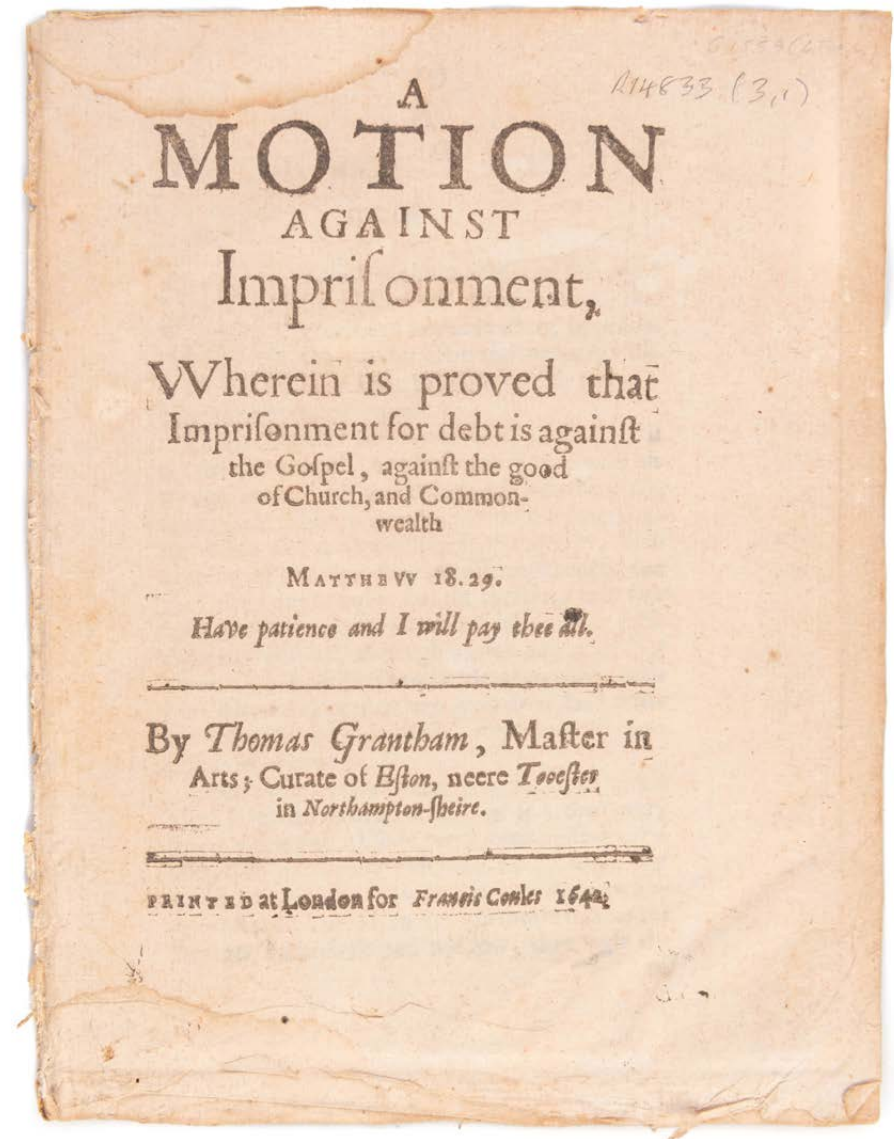
Rare. Wing G1559 recording BL, Oxford (x2); Harvard and Harvard Business School. Rare Book Hub records a single copy at Sotheby's in 1972 (£9, bought by Quaritch).

“Arguments of pure sense” concerning imprisonment for debt.

Thomas Grantham (c.1610–1664) was a schoolmaster and writer from Lincolnshire who was educated at both Oxford and Cambridge. For a time he held the post – as advertised on the title-page here – of curate of Easton Neston in Northamptonshire.

Grantham describes imprisonment for debt as “amongst the great abuses of this age”, calling it “cruell and inhuman” (p.3). He cites various Biblical sources for his argument but also evokes Francis Bacon (p.8).

poverty, hunger and unrest



The *ODNB* provides a detailed account of Grantham's life both as a school teacher and writer (including his “lamentable” translation of Homer's *Illiad* with “awful” preliminary verses to Charles II) and notes that Grantham's style could be “absurd” – see for example his *A Marriage Sermon ... Called a Wife Mistaken (1641)*, “a celebrated piece of nonsense”; but describes the present work on debt as containing “**arguments of pure sense.**”

13

“A MOST PARTIAL & UNJUST CONCLUSION
WITHOUT ANY PREMISES”

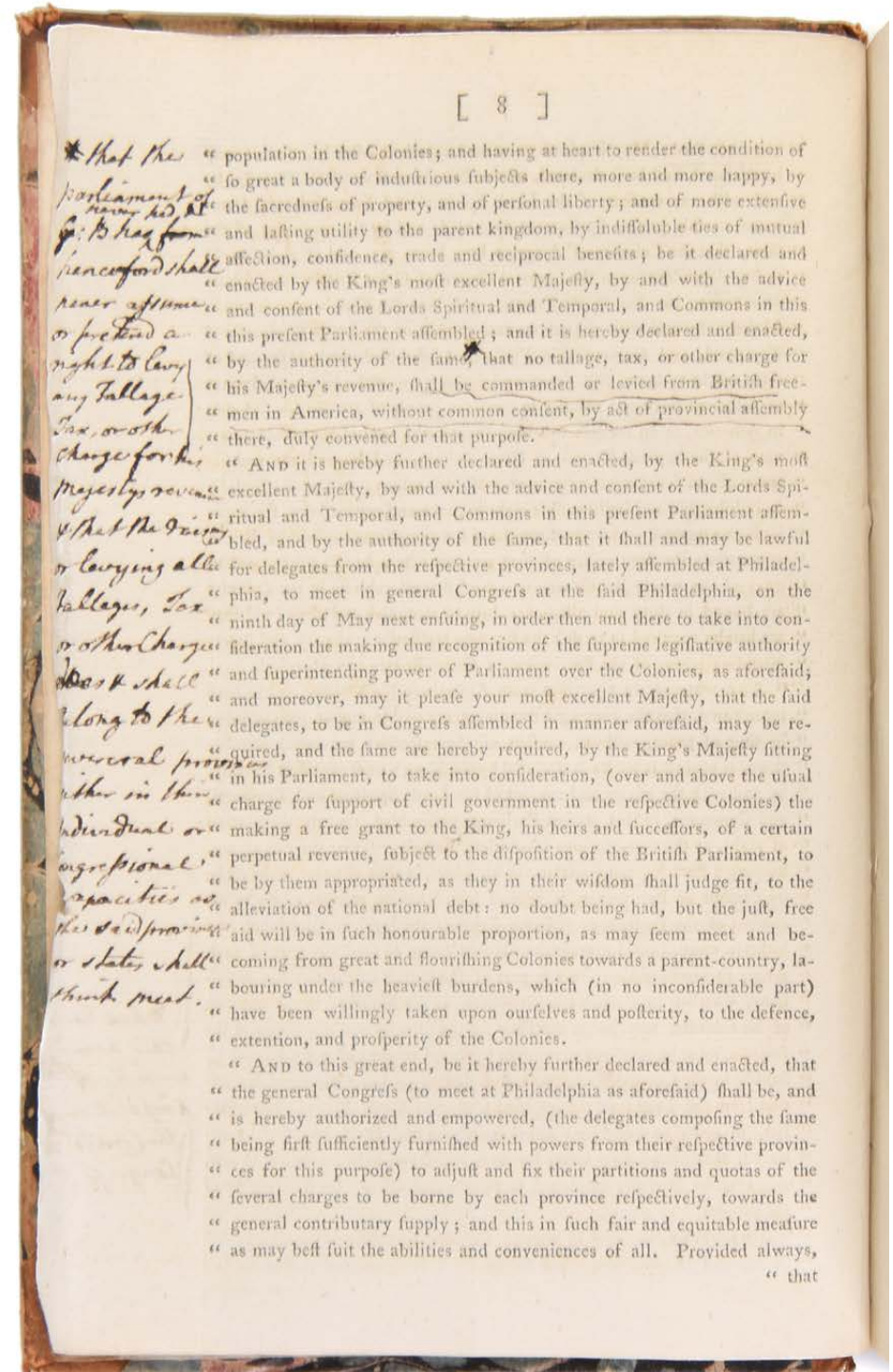
HARTLEY (David). [Letters on the American War].

Sixth Edition. 8vo. (200 x 120mm). ii, 126 [2 (instructions to binder)] pp., **lacking the title-page but extensively annotated throughout** [see below]. A little browned in places, occasionally closely cropped (sometimes touching the annotations) but largely the margins of the leaves have been folded-over to preserve the annotations. Modern calf-backed marbled boards, once part of a larger tract volume. [London: printed for Almon ... Kearsly, Dilly, Cruttwell ... and Becket, 1779 1779. £6,500

First published in 1778. An eighth edition also appeared in 1779.

“... this wretched cause of so much bloodshed and destruction, the Tea Tax.” Hartley’s objections to the American War of Independence and the imposing of the Tea Act vehemently opposed by a contemporary reader.

poverty, hunger and unrest



been esteemed capricious, comparing different times and occasions. The present noble Lord, at the head of the treasury, has expressed his most earnest wishes over and over, to return to the state of 1763, which therefore implies the taking this thorn out of his side, viz. the Tea Tax. Many and many motions have been made in parliament during his ministry, for the repeal of this wretched cause of so much bloodshed and destruction, the Tea Tax. If then there does exist some secret irresistible influence, we are to suppose, that when the noble Lord wishes in his heart to say Aye, the secret influence is inflexible, and dictates No. Cost what it will, thousands of lives, millions of money, tearing whole continents from your dominion, this inflexible spirit still persists, No! No! And all this, for the poor wretched Tea Tax! Now let us go back a little to the year 1766, when the Marquis of Rockingham was minister, at the time of the repeal of the stamp act. That noble Lord was at least as earnest to arrange the system of the American measures to the state of 1763, as the present minister can be. What stood in his way?—The Stamp Act; which, upon the mere calculation of revenue, was of ten times the magnitude of the Tea Tax. What said this supposed secret influence to the repeal of the Stamp Act? To judge by appearances, it seemed to go a little against the grain; but, after some struggle, that noble Lord, who knew how to set a true value upon the substantial interests, and beneficial connection, between Great-Britain and America, was at last permitted to remove the stumbling-block, and to restore his country to peace, and to the system of 1763. Whether any such secret influence, as that which has been much talked of, does exist or no, I will not take upon me to determine; but thus much, I think, is clear, that the apparent caprice of its operation, in submitting, with very little struggle, to the repeal of the stamp act, and wading through seas of blood in support of the Tea Tax, only requires this clue to unravel it. The duties imposed by the Stamp Act were under the immediate controul and disposition of parliament, but the Tea Tax was appropriated to the sign manual; and if such a secret spirit does exist, its attachment is to a revenue under the sign manual, and not to a parliamentary supply.

It is a strange thing to conceive, how the public have been made dupes to the expectation of a parliamentary revenue from America.

+ not this Tea Tax alone but the repealing the whole system of American laws of taxation. I am convinced the principle of that act was not the establishing a new crown revenue as it was done in consequence of repeated complaints from the Gov. & Judges of the appearance of this situation respecting their salaries. X the noble Marquis & his eloquent & set. retort. of 1763. standing they repealed the duties contained for the principle of the act. by the right / not the power / of the Parliament. Seals by part or province of the British dominions -

rica. There has never been any such object in contest between us. The only American revenue act which has had any existence for twelve years, is that of which I have recited the clause, giving up its produce to a civil list, and to a sign manual. If the Americans, in the year 1773, instead of throwing the tea overboard, had submitted to pay the duty, would the produce have been under the controul and disposition of parliament? * This is the test, and the plain answer is, No; for the same act which granted a duty of three-pence a pound upon tea imported into America, gave to the crown a right, as his Majesty or his successors shall think proper and necessary, of appropriating the produce to an American civil list, by warrant under the sign manual, without any controul or accountableness to parliament; and yet parliament have been induced to spend thirty or forty millions of the public money, in the pursuit of an imaginary revenue which would not have been in their's, even if it could have been got from America. There is indeed a clause in the act, appropriating the residue to the disposition of parliament, after all such ministerial warrants under the sign manual, as are thought proper and necessary, shall be satisfied. So this mockery of an American revenue proves at last to be the crumbs that fall from the minister's table; the residue, indeed, of a royal warrant, counter-signed by the first Lord of the Treasury! What would my constituents say to me, if I were to give my vote for inserting a similar clause into the land-tax, excise, and customs in this country; to give full scope to every warrant upon the revenue, counter-signed by the first Lord of the Treasury, for the purpose of giving pensions to the judges during pleasure, and for the support of an universal civil list, with appointments to any amount unlimited and unaccountable? Would they be satisfied with my answer, if I were to tell them, that his Majesty's ministers had always professed the most zealous attachment to the public interests, and to the constitutional rights of their country; that they were best fitted to judge what dispositions of the public revenue were proper and necessary; and that, when the influence of ministerial munificence had found its ne plus ultra, the residue was reserved for the disposition of parliament? I should be very sorry to think that any constituents in the kingdom would be satisfied with such an account. I assure you, Sirs, I shall never put my friends to this trial. As long as I have the honour of a parli-

* what were the objects? the opposition made by America gaining the Tea duty, was on the ground of the Parli: of G. B. not having the right of imposing any Tax's at all on the provinces. The Marquis defended that right in the report preamble to the repeal, Altho' he thought it proper to relinquish the duties. The people of America therefore equal to oppose the people on that ground & petitioned against that declaration. but they did not then take up arms.

mentary tion

Extensively marked-up, underlined and annotated by an informed but deeply critical reader: George, 7th Baron Kinnaird (1754–1805). Despite lacking the title-page the 29 lengthy marginal annotations in this copy have been (for the most part) carefully preserved by the binder with many of the lower and fore-margins folded to preserve the manuscript text. The manuscript annotations amount to well over a thousand words of text and predominantly take issue with Hartley's printed text.

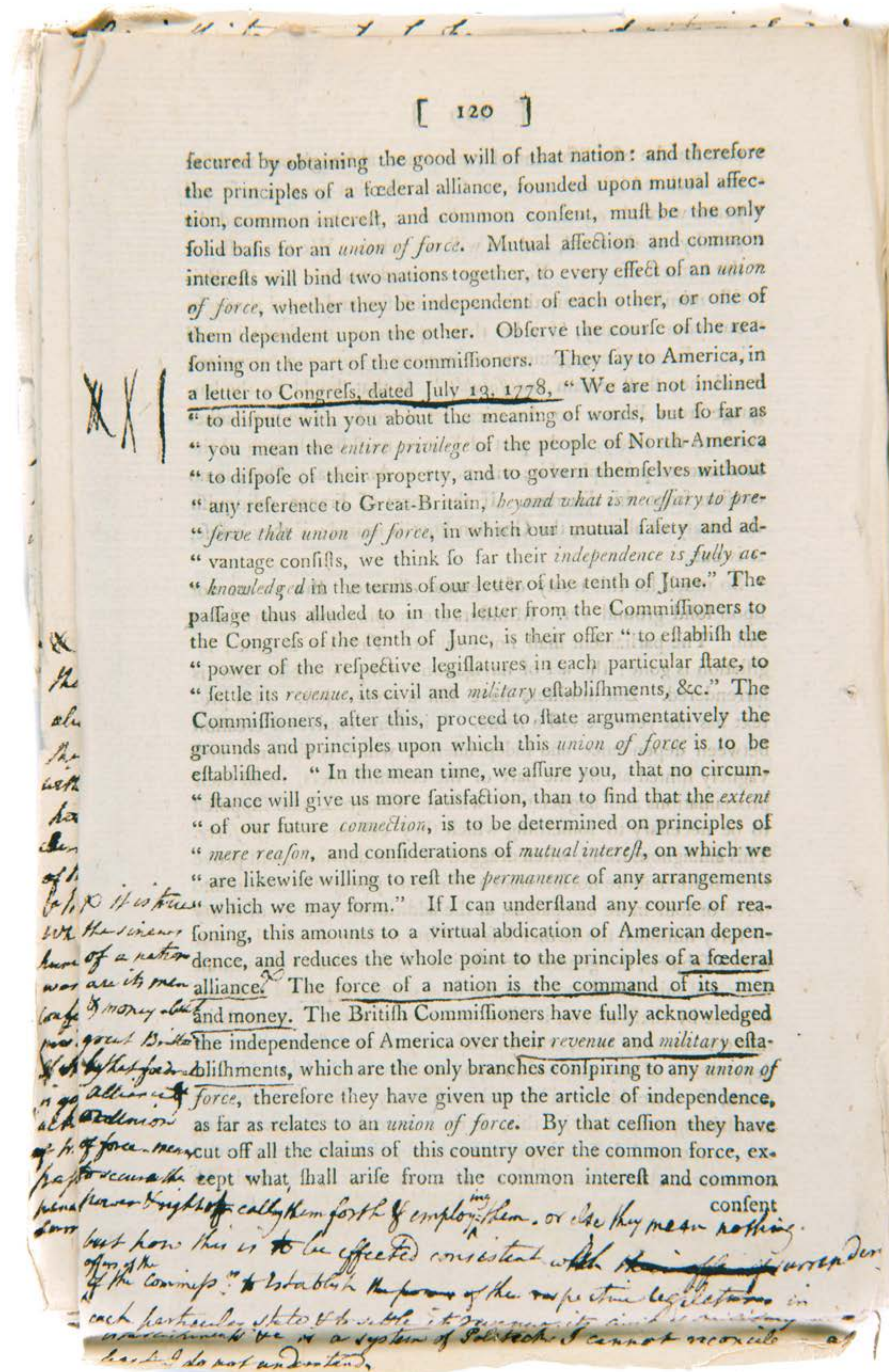
David Hartley (1731–1813) was passionately opposed to the American War of Independence and his *Letters on the American War* set out in detail his views on the subject and outlined how he believed a peace treaty could be agreed.

The annotator most often takes an individual statement by Hartley – marks it with an asterisk – and then uses a marginal annotation to carefully rebut it: on p.55 Hartley states that “Reconciliation with America is the last stake that we have to contend for” with the annotator clearly stating their case in the margin: **“at what price? the acknowledgement of the Independency of america[?]”**.

Later Hartley discusses the various controversial Acts (such as the Stamp and Sugar Acts) and states that “All these duties were reserved specially under the controul of parliament” (p.57). In the margin the annotator attempts to argue that the revenue from the Acts was in fact intended to protect America too: **“for this reason they [the Acts] were on a large scale & intended as a fund to support & defend the colonies in case of another War. The Tea act was intended only for the purpose above mentioned to rend the Judges & Gov^{ers} less dependent on the provinces & consequently to remove a great many grounds of dispute.”**

On the next page, Hartley calls for, “the repeal of this wretched cause of so much bloodshed and destruction, the Tea Tax”, and states that without it, it will be impossible to find peace between England and America. The annotator replies by stating: **“Not this Tea Tax alone but the repealing of the whole system of American laws of Taxation. I am convinced the principle of that act was not the establishing of a mere crown revenue – as it was done in consequence of repeated complaint from the Gov^{ers} and Judges ...”** (p.58).

poverty, hunger and unrest



poverty, hunger and unrest

The annotator becomes more agitated on the following page when Hartley argues: “If the American, in the year 1773, instead of throwing the tea overboard, had submitted to pay the duty, would the produce have been under the controul and disposition of parliament? This is the test, and the plain answer is, No”. The annotator replies: “**What wretched sophistry!** the opposition made by American gainst paying the Tea duty was on the ground of the Parli[^]t[^] of G.B. not having the right of imposing any Tax’s at all ...” (p.59).

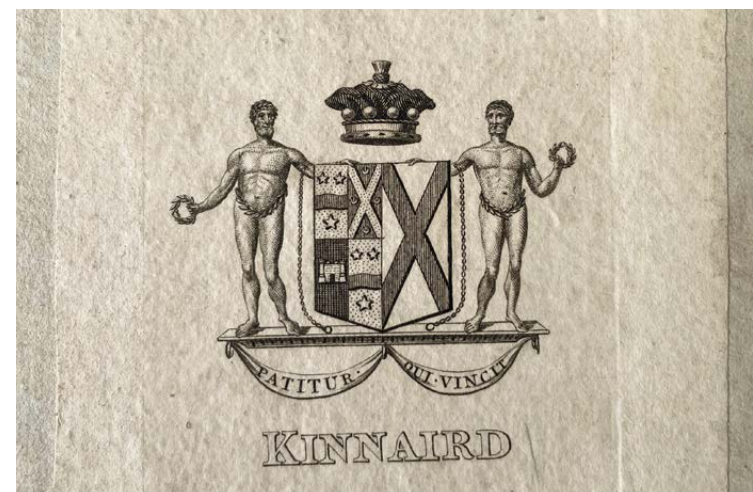
THE ANNOTATOR:

The only clue to the identity of the annotator is the Kinnaird bookplate on the front pastedown. It seems very likely that this pamphlet was extracted from a large number of similar political pamphlets – **many quite rare and also concerning America** – from the Kinnaird library that were sold at Christie’s on 15/12/2013, lot 160. At the foot of p.5 in this pamphlet is a manuscript note stating: “see the proceedings of the province of S[outh]. C[arolina] in [?vol] two ...”. In the Kinnaird pamphlets, comprising 43 titles in 5 volumes, sold at Christie’s was a copy of Sir Egerton Leigh’s *Considerations on Certain Political Transactions of the Province of South Carolina* (1774).

Provenance: Barons Kinnaird of Inchtute, with armorial bookplate of Charles Kinnaird, 8th Baron (1780–1826), with his arms impaled with FitzGerald, for his wife, Lady Olivia Laetitia Catherine FitzGerald, youngest daughter of the 2nd Duke of Leinster. The Barony of Kinnaird of Inchtute (Scotland) was created in 1682 for Sir George Kinnaird (d. 1689), M.P. for Co. Perth 1661–63, and became extinct on the death of the 13th Baron in 1997 (from 1831–78 they also held the English Barony of Kinnaird of Rossie).

The annotator would have been his father, George, 7th Baron Kinnaird (1754–1805) who succeeded to the title in 1758. George Kinnaird is known as an art collector who was part of the consortium that bought

poverty, hunger and unrest



the Orléans Collection in 1792 but he was also a banker and partner in the firm of Ransom, Morland and Hammersley, chairman of the British Fire Office insurance company and treasurer of the Royal Institution from 1801. He was a Scottish representative peer in the House of Lords from 1787–90, Kinnaird also helped to found the Dundee New Bank in 1802. As such, he would have been conscious of the financial stress that the American War of Independence was putting on the British economy and would have been well placed to make comment on the implications of colonial taxation on America, albeit from the British point of view. He would have been at once conscious that the financial instability caused by the War was bad for his banks investments and the wealth of his investors but also keen to support and extend a taxation system derived from the colonies which stimulated the domestic economy.

Later Provenance: With Simon Finch Rare Books (pencil stock number on the pastedown). Anonymous sale, Dominic Winter, 11/11/2020, lot 2: “extensively annotated to margins throughout in manuscript by an authoritative hand ... It is possible the annotator is Andrew Elliot (1728–1797), Governor of New York (1779–1783).” We have compared Andrew Eliot’s hand with that of the annotator and they do not match and our conclusion is that the annotator was George, 7th Baron Kinnaird.

poverty, hunger and unrest

14

“A SORT OF WEST INDIAN TOM JONES”

[HILL (“Sir” John)]. **The Adventures of Mr George Edwards, A Creole.**

First Edition. 12mo (167 x 95mm). xvi, 269, [3, advertisements] pp., with the half-title and final advertisement leaves.

First and final few leaves browned at the edges from the old turn-ins, lightly foxed in places. Modern calf, spine lettered in gilt, old red sprinkled edges, old flyleaves preserved (covers a little scuffed but otherwise fine).

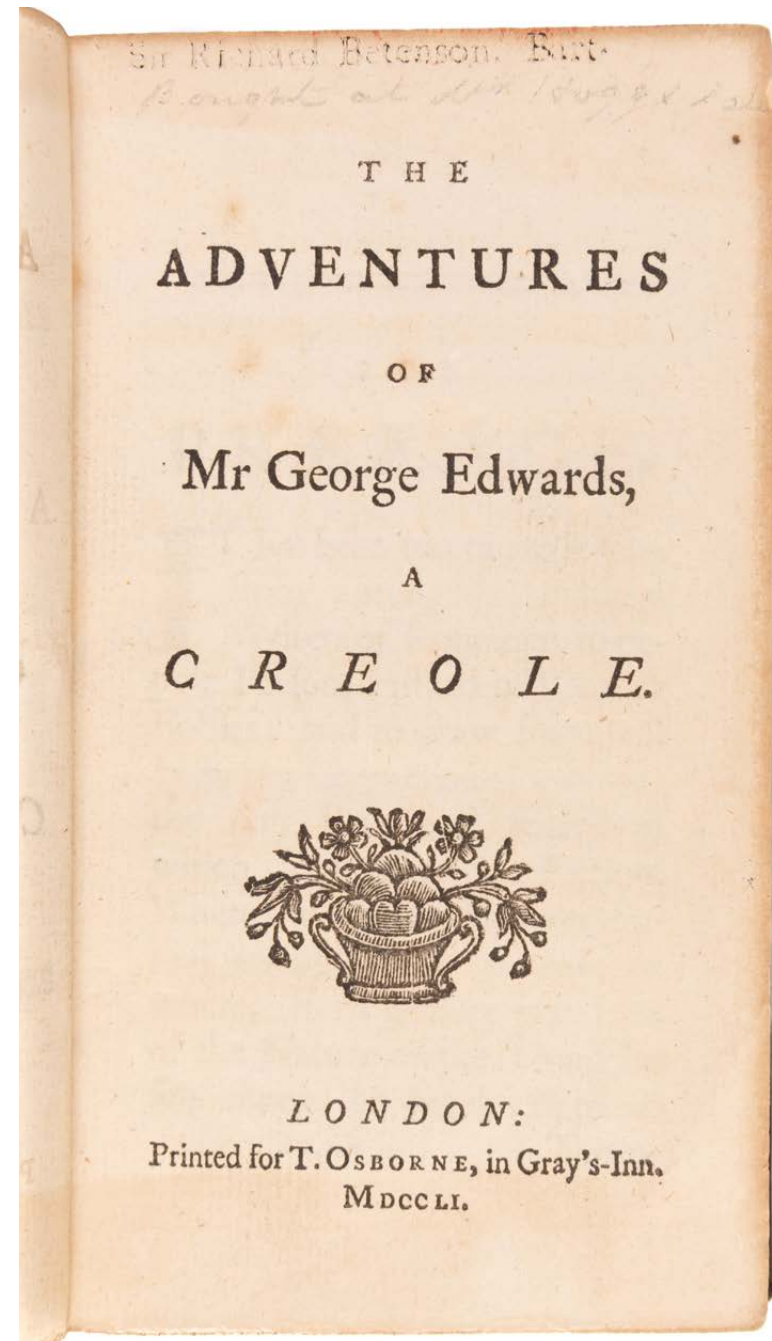
London: for T. Osborne, 1751

£2,500

Sabin 21921 (“a doubtful title from an English catalogue”). ESTC records only three copies in the UK (BL, University of Bristol and Private Collection); nine locations in the US. A second, third and a Dublin edition were also published in 1751 with a final edition in 1788. The last copy recorded on Rare Book Hub was in 1975 (a copy of the second edition).

“Sir” John Hill’s novel – “a weird amalgam of satirical fiction, realism, and erudition” by, “one of Georgian England’s most vilified men” – which begins and ends in the sugar plantations of the West Indies, includes a protagonist based on a real ornithologist and a satirical portrait of the Royal Society. Influenced by Fielding but “sailing so near the wind that it narrowly skirts pornography.”

poverty, hunger and unrest



“The story opens with the young George Edwards setting-out for England from the West Indies where he is befriended *en route* by the young and equally naïve Spence, an uneducated white Creole. In London they find Edwards’s Uncle Jeremy at Will’s coffee house. The wise, if duplicitous, uncle takes nephew Edwards under his wing, thematically emphasizing the uncle-nephew kinship attachment so important to the Georgians, and pretends to introduce him to the best London society, while doing so for his own gain. Once settled Edwards soon becomes a ‘Man of Pleasure’ devoted to women but quickly loses interest in the hedonistic life; in book III he becomes a ‘Philosopher’ in search of scientific truth ...

In one chapter: “Our Hero makes violent Love to the celebrated Mrs Conquest (238–43) which almost undoes him. The book closes with Edwards winning the lovely Miss Wentworth and returning home to the West Indies just before his father’s death to inherit the fortune he has left him – but not before the curtain comes down exposing the deceptive Uncle Jeremy who dies eight months later and leaves the money Edwards repays him to his ward, Faithful Ruth.” (*see Rousseau, p. 101*).

Despite specifically mentioning both Richardson’s *Clarissa* and Fielding’s *Tom Jones* (*The Oxford Handbook of the Eighteenth-Century Novel* calls the novel “a sort of West Indian *Tom Jones*”) in the preface, it also appears that Hill may have had one eye on the success of Cleland’s scandalous *Fanny Hill* – Hill was associated with the publisher Ralph Griffiths, “the most significant of Hill’s publishers not merely for the number of titles he printed but because he launched Hill’s career ...”, (*see Rousseau*) and through his work on the *Monthly Review*. The title of Hill’s *Memoirs of a Man of Pleasure* clearly alludes to Cleland’s work. Hill also published his *History of a Woman of Quality* in 1751 – a supposed memoir of a courtesan based on the life of Frances Vane (*see no.15*).

Clearly influenced by Cleland, Hill describes an encounter between George and a prostitute, Miss Sparkle, that leaves George “with three hundred Pounds less than he went in with ...”:

“Miss Sparkle is as careful of her Attitudes, on these Occasions, as the People who only represent Occurrences of this kind on the Stage; she practises an intended Air of Softness, or Severity, as often at

poverty, hunger and unrest

the Glass, as Mrs Cibber does. The Form in which she has no dispos’d her Limbs was of the most advantageous Kind, and was too thoroughly practis’d before-hand not to be play’d off in Perfection. Her head, reclining to one side, gave her an Opportunity of shewing one of the brightest Eyes Nature ever gave a Woman; and a Cheek naturally all Lily, but now stain’d with a living Crimson, that every Instant glow’d more and more intensely; and might have alarm’d the Youth, who came out of a Rattlesnake Country, had he recollected, that the Colours of that terrible Reptile always brighten up in this Manner, when it is about to do Mischief. Her Neck display’d more of it’s snowy Brightness by this Posture, than it could have done under any other Circumstances; and the hyacinthe Veins that wander’d over it, almost disclos’d, through their thin Coats, the purple Fluid that roll’d thro’ them: Her Bosom let somebody describe that dares to look at it, I have more Regard to the Inhabitant of my own: Her Waist, naturally almost too slender, was now rather improv’d than injur’d, by the Effects of an Accident that had a little rounded it: The Sattin Petticoat, from which the Gown had fallen back with an artful Negligence, fell so close, as almost to shew the Shape of the Limbs it cover’d; and it’s Shortness suffer’d about the Half of one of the truest form’d Legs in the Universe to show itself, terminated by the only Foot in the World, that is worthy to have that Honour. The white Sattin Shoes, the caruse Silk Stocking, the Elegance of the Gown, and the Fineness of the Linnen, all conspir’d to add, if possible, to the Charms of the Object.” (p.82–3).

In this copy a reader has written beneath this passage: “So Lais looked when all the youth of Greece” and on the facing page, “A smutty book for parson Hogg to possess”.

Ernest A. Baker describes *The Adventures of Mr George Edwards* as, “... only a cheap-jack, catchpenny production aping Tom Jones, and sailing so near the wind that it **narrowly skirts pornography** ... A would-be lovely and dashing style, exuberant to the point of verbosity, made this conventional stuff go down, even with the reviewers.” (Baker, *History of the English Novel*).

poverty, hunger and unrest

licacy would be as much out of the Course of Nature as Centaurs or Unicorns, we are not to wonder, that the Sight of one of the elegantest Figures of this elegant Age struck him with no common Emotions. Miss *Sparkle* is as careful of her Attitudes, on these Occasions, as the People who only represent Occurrences of this kind on the Stage; she practises an intended Air of Softness, or Severity, as often at the Glass, as Mrs *Cibber* does. The Form in which she had now dispos'd her Limbs was of the most advantageous Kind, and was too thoroughly practis'd before-hand, not to be play'd off in Perfection. Her Head, reclining to one Side, gave her an Opportunity of shewing one of the brightest Eyes Nature ever gave a Woman; and a Cheek naturally all Lily, but now stain'd with a living Crimson, that every Instant glow'd more and more intensely; and might have alarm'd the Youth, who came out of a Rattlesnake Country, had he recollected, that the Colours of that terrible Reptile always brighten up in this Manner, when it is about to do Mischief. Her Neck display'd more of it's snowy Brightness by this Posture, than it could have done under

*4 To Lais's husband when
all the youth of Greece*

under any other Circumstances; and the hyacinthine Veins that wander'd over it, almost disclos'd, through their thin Coats, the purple Fluid that roll'd thro' them: Her Bosom let somebody describe that dares to look at it, I have more Regard to the Inhabitant of my own: Her Waist, naturally almost too slender, was now rather improv'd than injur'd, by the Effects of an Accident that had a little rounded it: The Sattin Petticoat, from which the Gown had fallen back with an artful Negligence, fell so close, as almost to shew the Shape of the Limbs it cover'd; and it's Shortness suffer'd about the Half of one of the truest form'd Legs in the Universe to show itself, terminated by the only Foot in the World, that is worthy to have that Honour. The white Sattin Shoe, the Gawse Silk Stocking, the Elegance of the Gown, and the Fineness of the Linnen, all conspir'd to add, if possible, to the Charms of the Object. The Youth, in honest Rapture, sigh'd out what he could not speak; and, after three Days Transport, issued out of the Apartments of this earthly Angel, with a Heart full of triumphant Content, and with three hundred Pounds less than he went in with, in his Pocket.

E 6

CHAP.

*4 pretty book by Pearson
Hogg to be sold*

The central character, George Edwards, is said to have been based on the ornithologist George Edwards (1694–1773): “Edwards was a member of the best learned societies in London. He was a neutral, rather than controversial, figure among the the FRS. He would have no reason to complain about Hill’s unfair treatment of him even if he is vehicle rather than developed character in his own right. Nor did he – when Edwards read the novel he apparently smiled.” (see *Rousseau*).

The novel also includes a detailed satirical description of The Royal Society (“a Philosophical Club”), with one meeting described thus:

“At the upper End of the Room, stood an empty Arm-chair for the Father of our Hero’s Mistress; the rest was fill’d somewhat indiscriminately, with Philosophers, Antiquarians, Mathematicians, and Mechanics. A Scotch Peasant produc’d a New Orrery; a German Mechanic, a Table Fountain contriv’d to play in a Desert, to the great Entertainment, and Bedabbling of every body present; and the Doctor’s Son and Heir, the Model of a new invented Mouse-trap. The Audience consisted of the Doctor’s Taylor; an Anabaptist Preacher; a converted Jew who sold Spectacles; an Atheist and two Roman Catholics; a blind Fidler, who fully expected he should be restor’d to Sight by the Doctor is Nostrums; and the Master and Mistress of a Pamphlet shop at Charing Cross ...” (p.163).

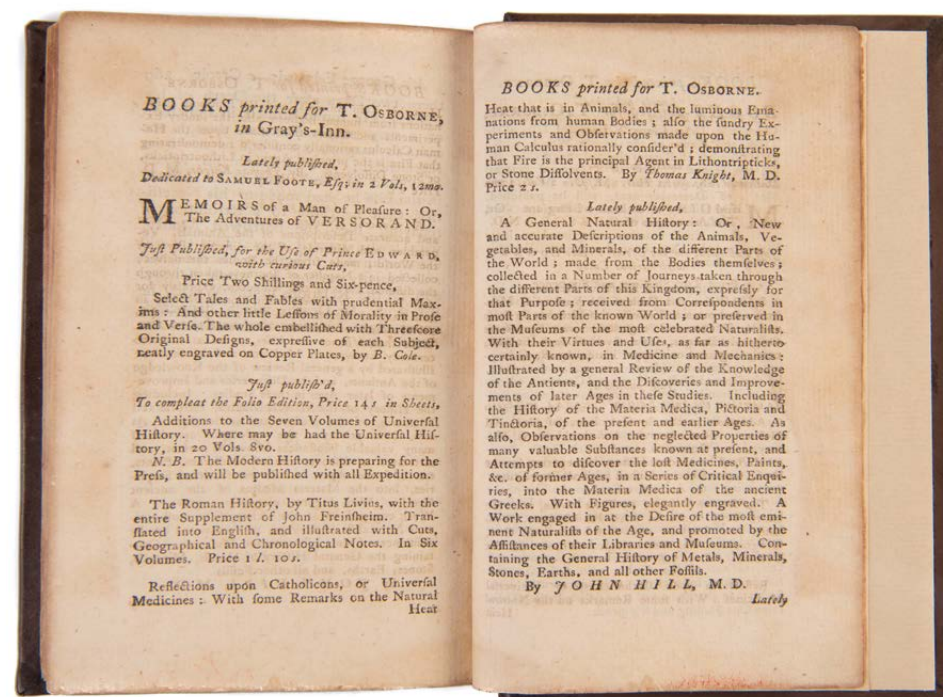
Although the bulk of the novel is set in London, the West Indies provide a background which pervades the entire book and is used by Hill repeatedly as a powerful “othering” trope to set against the (supposedly) civilised London and its (supposedly) civilised inhabitants. Near the beginning of the book George is described as writing to London, “with all the Politeness a West Indian Education cou’d inspire ...” (p.34) and the society on the islands is dismissed as, “a Place of very moderate Expence: The utmost a Man’s Friends expect of him, is to make them drunk as often as they come to see him ...” (p.46). In perhaps the most striking use of this othering, the women of London are compared to those of the West Indies: **“When we consider the Part of the World Mr Edwards was just come from, where Women of Taste or**

poverty, hunger and unrest

Delicacy would be as much out of the Course of Nature as Centaurs or Unicorns, we are not to wonder that the sight of one of the elegant Figures of this elegant Age struck him with no common Emotions.” (p.81–2).

In his recent book on John Hill (“the first biography of this incongruous figure”), George Rousseau describes him as one of “Georgian England’s most vilified men” (ix) and continues, “Hill was overreachingly ambitious, uncannily intuitive, puzzlingly indefatigable, and sickeningly cowardly: extremes causing him to be universally vilified. **It is hard to think of anyone else in mid-Georgian England who aroused more widespread contempt, and occasionally pity.**” (xiv). Rousseau, *The Notorious Sir John Hill, The Man Destroyed by Ambition in the Era of Celebrity*, 2012).

Provenance: Sir Richard Betenson (d.1786), 4th Baronet of Bradburn Place, Sevenoaks, Kent., ownership ink stamp in the upper blank margin of the title-page. Pencil note beneath, presumably by Betenson noting the book was bought at “Mr Hoggs sale”. Note by Betenson on p.82/83 concerning a “smutty” passage and Hogg’s readership (see above).



15

“GLARING IMPROBABILITIES, NOTORIOUS FALSHOODS,
AND GROSS ABSURDITIES”

[HILL (“Sir” John)]. **The History of a Woman of Quality:** or, the adventure of Lady Frail. By an impartial hand.

First Edition. 12mo (160 x 93mm). xii, 227, [1]pp. A couple of very minor spots in places and the final couple of leaves a little browned but otherwise very clean. Contemporary speckled calf, covers with a double gilt ruled border, spine ruled in gilt, red sprinkled edges, (endleaves browned at the edges by the turn-ons but otherwise a **very fine copy**).

London: for M. Cooper ... and G. Woodfall, 1751 £4,500

ESTC records five locations in the UK and eight in the USA. **Rare Book Hub records only the present copy offered at auction.**

A handsome unsophisticated copy of Hill’s controversial fictional memoir of the unrepentant serial adulterer Frances Vane – written at great speed in order to pre-empt Smollett’s *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* which was published the same year and contained a “true” account of Vane’s notorious life.

poverty, hunger and unrest

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F A
Woman of **Q U A L I T Y** :
O R, T H E
A D V E N T U R E S
O F
L A D Y F R A I L.

By an **I M P A R T I A L H A N D**.



L O N D O N:

Printed for M. COOPER, at the *Globe* in *Pa-ter-noster Row*, and G. WOODFALL, at the *King's Arms*, the Corner of *Craig's-Court*, *Charing-Cross*. 1751.

Frances Anne Vane (née Hawes), the beautiful daughter of a bankrupt director of the South Sea Company, married her second husband the 2nd Viscount Vane in 1735:

“Frances made no secret of the fact that she despised her second husband, and almost immediately embarked on a series of highly public liaisons. For approximately the next thirty years her sexual adventures and extravagant spending caused Viscount Vane both social embarrassment and financial difficulty.” (ODNB).

The relationship between husband and wife was such that in 1751 Frances allowed Smollett to publish an account of her life (purported to be written by Frances herself) which recounted her many lovers and “left readers in no doubt as to the identity of the ‘lady of quality’” (ODNB). The *Memoirs* included in Smollett’s novel were probably written by Frances Vane but revised for publication by Dr John Shebbeare.

“What contemporaries found so shocking was that Lady Vane, far from trying to preserve a reputation for sexual purity, should instead effectively advertise her adultery. While other memoirists such as Laetitia Pilkington, Teresia Constantia Phillips, and George Anne Bellamy used their apologetic texts to claim that they had been calumniated, and to express remorse for their frailties, Lady Vane unrepentantly publicized the details of her tumultuous affairs. After the candour with which she accounts for her first sexual digression, her tone for the remainder of her narrative vacillates uneasily between a refreshing denial of contemporary social and moral mores, and the need at least partially to vindicate her behaviour and character by blaming her family, her husband, and a hypocritical world.” (ODNB).

In the same year, John Hill (bap.1714–d.1775), hearing that Smollett’s novel was half printed began to write his own account of the life of Frances Vane as *The History of a woman of Quality: or the adventures of Lady Frail* and managed to have it printed *before* Smollett completed his own (Hill’s novel was published in February 1751 (see London Evening Post *advertisement*) priced “3s bound, or 2s. 6d sew’d). Unlike Smollett’s version which was based on Vane’s own account, Hill’s work is entirely imaginary and traces Lady Frail’s reluctance to get married and describes her series of lovers including, in one chapter:

poverty, hunger and unrest

“An Armour with a Creole: “W-- was a true and genuine Creole, a Fellow, half mad, half fool, and thoroughly stocked with Absurdity and Impudence: He had left one of the Caribbee Islands, in order to get rid of an enormous Estate, which an Uncle had been scraping up for him there, in England ...” (p.177).

The novel ends with Lady Frail being reluctantly reconciled with her husband:

“It was not difficult for her Ladyship now to see that she was no longer that Idol of the World she had used to think herself. She made a thousand Attempts in Town to fix herself with a new Lover, but all in vain: she found every body had at length deserted her, and she determined to follow the only Party in the World that she had not given her a Proof of it ... She returned to England, to London, to her Husband ... In Despair she at length fixed upon what her own Sex had before held in as high Contempt as the other now held herself; and turned the Tables upon the World, by finding Charms in him which even the most accomplished of her former Lovers had never come to see.” (p.226–7).

In the same year was also published *An apology for the conduct of a Lady of Quality, lately traduc’d under the name of Lady Frail* (London, 1751) which defends the insertion of Smollett’s account of Vane’s life in *Peregrine Pickle* and strongly condemns Hill’s: “... her whole *Life* was most opprobriously scandalized, by an Accumulation of Falsities, published under the Title of *The History of a Woman of Quality: Or, the Adventures of Lady Frail.*” (p. 11) The account continues:

“But whoever was concerned in putting together this elaborate Piece of Falsity, or by what Means soever the Author obtained all his fictitious material; yet certain it is, that **the Town was previously informed of the Work being in the Press, long before it made its Apperance in publick.** And those who had distinguished themselves for their Enmity to the poor *Heroine* altho’ they pretended being under great Obligations to her for former Favours, took a vast deal of assiduous Care to extol

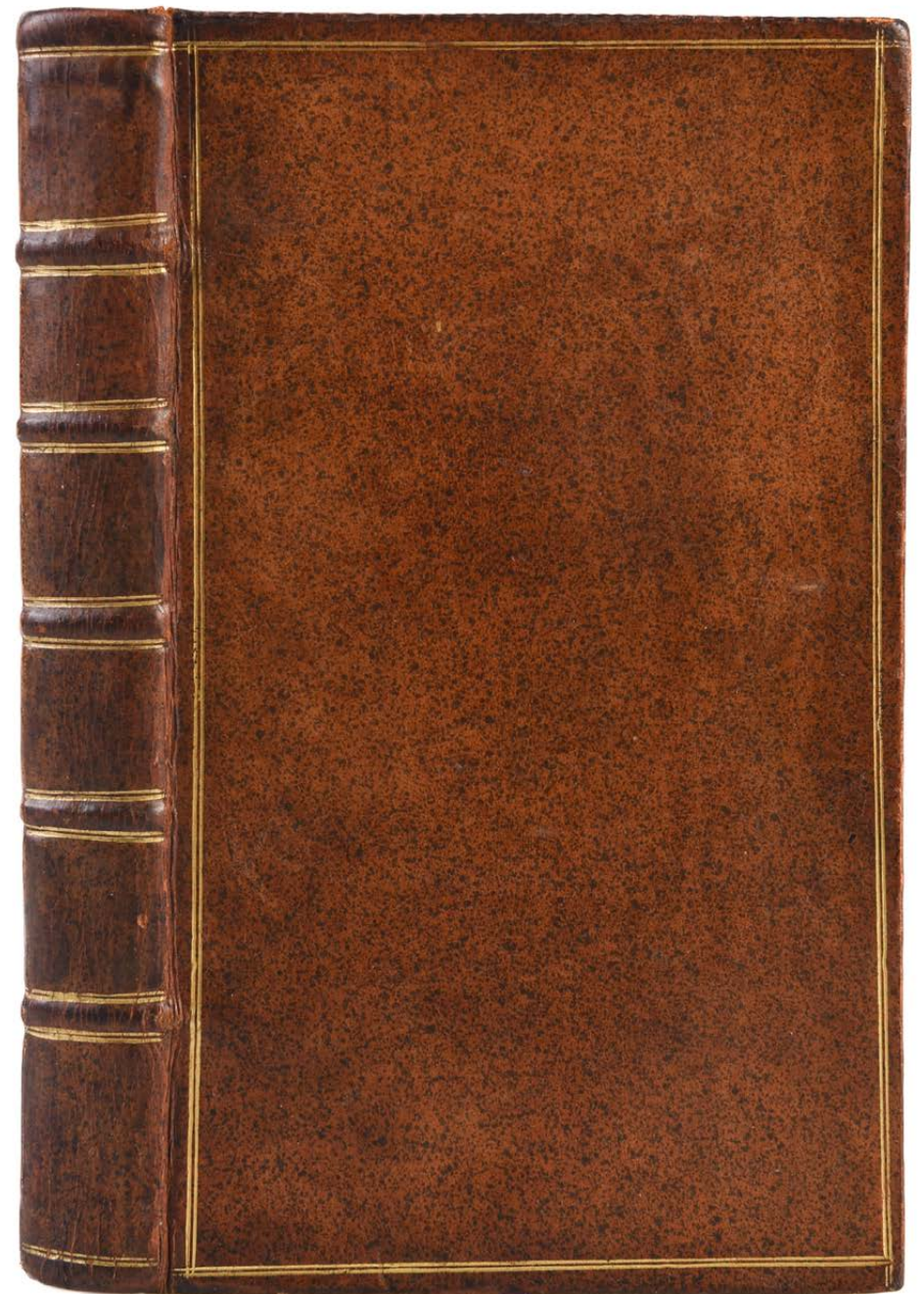
poverty, hunger and unrest

the Merits of *The History of Lady Frail* in all Assemblies, as one of the most *authentick* Pieces that ever came from the Press; and being, as they said, executed by an *impartial* Hand. **This Proclamation had its desired Effect; to the great Emolument of the Booksellers, and the no small Disappointment of many of the Purchasers; who found the Book filled with the most glaring Improbabilities, notorious Falshoods, and gross Absurdities;** which, however conspicuous, gained Credit among those that knew no better, and who chose rather to believe *common* Fame, than be at any Pains in investigating the *Truth.*" (p.12–13).

Provenance: Bartholomew Richard Barneby (1714–1783) of Brockhampton, Herefordshire, handsome armorial bookplate on the front pastedown.



poverty, hunger and unrest



poverty, hunger and unrest

16

“ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND ENGLISH SHOULD QUICKLY BE SENT TO JAMAICA”

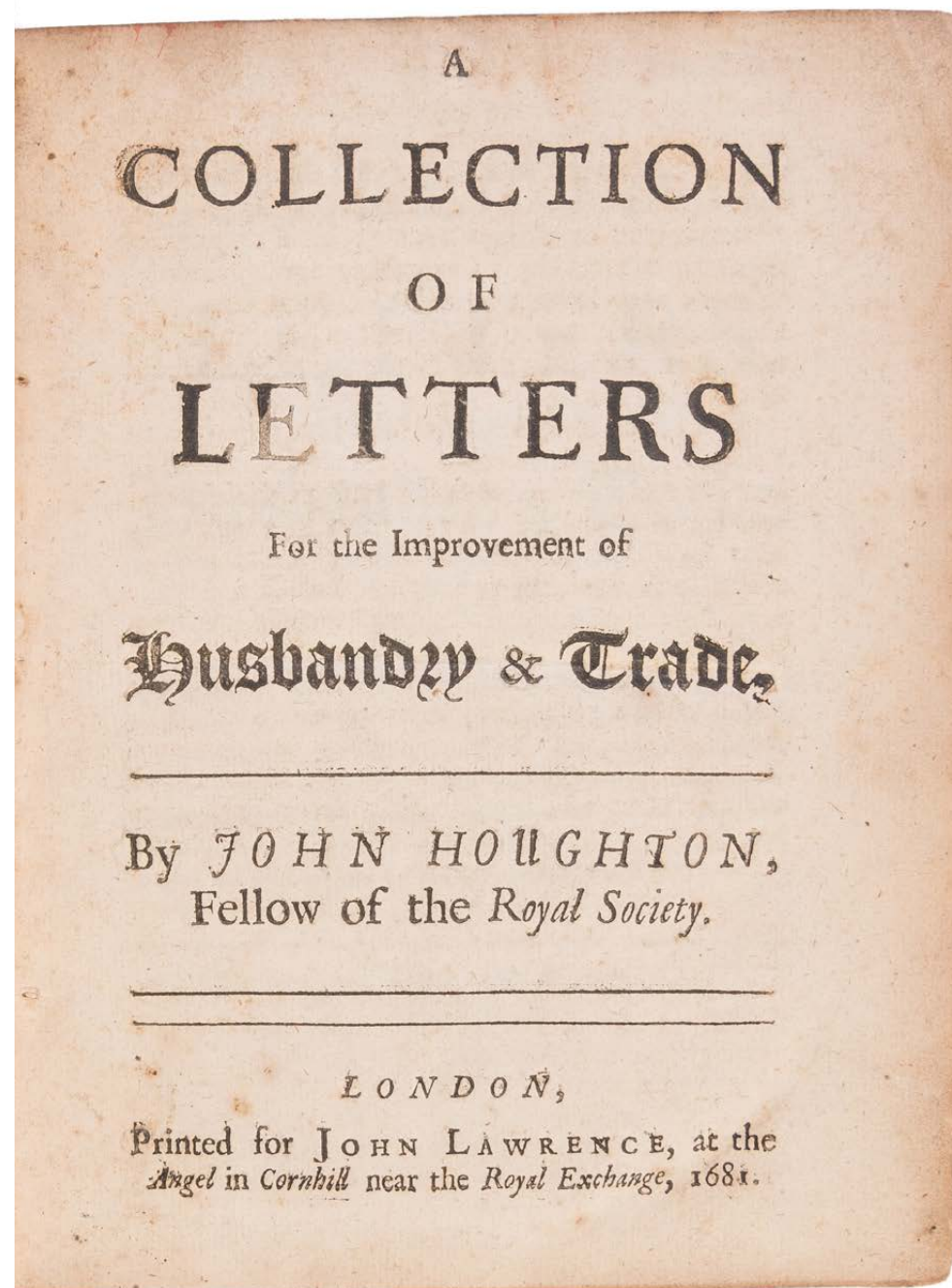
HOUGHTON (John). *A Collection of Letters for the Improvement of Husbandry & Trade.*

Two Volumes in One. Vol 1, no.-15, Vol 2, no.1-6 [all published]. Each part browned and dusty, dog's muddy paw print on verso of Q4, hole through the centre of F1 (in the second part) touching three lines of text but not obscuring the meaning. Contemporary calf, covers ruled in blind, red edges (rebacked with a new spine, corners repaired and reinforced, rather worn and scuffed). London: for John Lawrence ... [and, second part], by John Gain for the Author, John Houghton ..., 1681-1683 1681-1683 £8,000

Rare. ESTC records many institutional copies, but these are largely single issues of the periodical rather than the complete volumes as found here. Before the recent sale of the Rothamstead copy at Forum Auctions only a handful of complete collections of this periodical have appeared at auction.

The first trade and agricultural periodical in England.

poverty, hunger and unrest



A Collection of Letters, “appeared at monthly intervals from September 1681 to 1683 (though the final numbers emerged from the press only in 1685). Each issue consisted of Houghton’s lengthy editorial, plus one or more letters, covering all aspects of agriculture and land improvement and occasionally venturing into matters of commerce or popular science and technology; they dealt with matters then under active discussion by progressive agriculturalists. **Houghton was the first to remark on the cultivation of the potato as a field crop**, just beginning at that time. His practice was to send the letters free of charge to those who agreed to supply him in return with local prices and news. His correspondents included many small farmers, countrywomen, rural merchants, and husbandmen such as John Worlidge, besides his fellow members of the Royal Society, among them **John Evelyn, John Flamsteed, Edmond Halley, and Robert Plot.**” (ODNB).

Issue no. 12 has a long description by John Evelyn on bread with information of “The sorts of French Bread”, “Brioche” and “Household-Bread”.

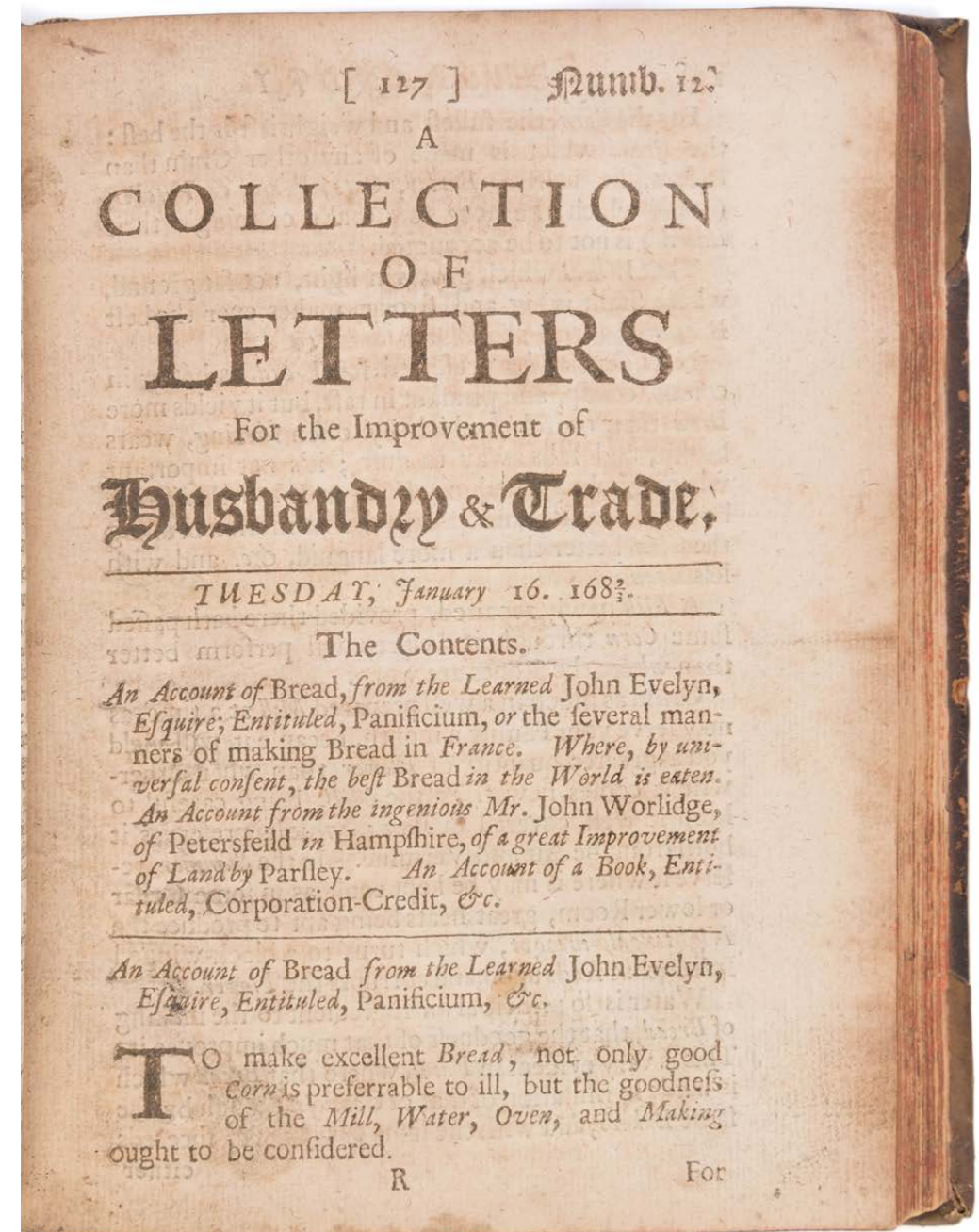
“An Account from Mrs. A. Lancashire, of Manchester, shewing the manner how there they Cure Woodcocks, so well that a better dish is seldom met with” (p.108).

In issue no.15 of the first volume, Houghton advertises his own wares, “The Author and Collector hereof sells by the pound, chocolate of several sorts, so good, that he thinks none sells better: and one sort especially, that is made with the best sort of nuts, and but with a very little sugar, without spice or perfume: any within compass of the *Penny-Post* may have it sent to them, if they send him five shillings for each pound, as directed at the bottom hereof”. (p.168).

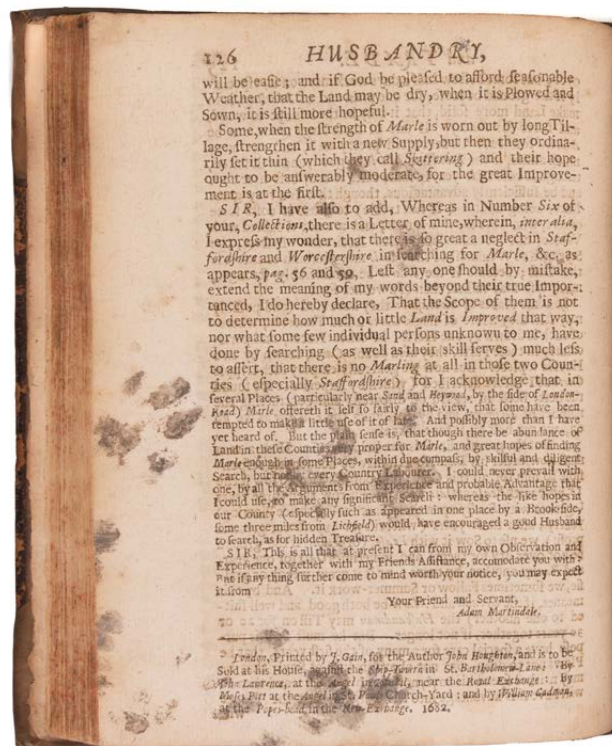
In the 12th issue Houghton advertises “The Philosophical Transactions [of the Royal Society] will be reviv’d and published Monthly” (p.142).

There is much information concerning America and other English Colonies: on p.35 of the first volume the author discusses how “The Plantations do not depopulate, but rather increase or improve our People”. He continues further on:

poverty, hunger and unrest



poverty, hunger and unrest



"I would advise, that One hundred thousand English should quickly be sent to Jamaica, foreseeing that others would supply them with Negro's and other servants and Slaves, as long as ever they could give an encouraging price." (p.37).

This section continues with a discussion of the economics of using slave labor. He reminds the reader that, "the Scots, who tho they have no Plantation, yet run about and disperse themselves to take possession of every corner of the known World." (p.38).

In the next issue is a letter on the "Manner and Advantage of Planting Liquorice" with the suggestion "These setts [of liquorice plants], if kept in good mould, may be kept three or four months, and by consequence be sent to our American Plantations." (p.40).

In relation to, "An Act prohibiting Irish Cattel", the author suggests the following:

poverty, hunger and unrest

"I was once told by Mr. Rainsford Waterhouse, a Merchant at Wapping, who hath a great Plantation in Jamaica, and keeps a great number of Whites and Blacks, Viz. That he found it cheaper to go to Leaden-hall Market, and buy good Beef there, and send it to his Plantation, than to send it from Ireland." (p.85).

There are also extensive lists of imports and exports (imported books, almond, honey, skins tobacco and wine) and exports (chairs, violins, a guittar, globes, salmon and swords). **Tobacco "exported by certificate" is separated into tobacco for Virginia and Bermuda.** There is also a list of ships coming into and leaving England including one coming from Virginia, three from Barbados, one from New England, one from New York.

Provenance: John Cator (1728–1806), armorial bookplate on the inside of the upper board. Cator was an English timber merchant and politician. Cator was a friend of Samuel Johnson's, who remarked to Mrs Thrale that: "Cator has a rough, manly, independent understanding, and does not spoil it by complaisance, he never speaks merely to please and seldom is mistaken in things which he has any right to know."



poverty, hunger and unrest

17

“WHAT AN EXCELLENT LAWYER MR. JOHNSON WOULD HAVE MADE!”

JOHNSON (Roger). A Full and Particular Account of the Life and Notorious Transactions of Roger Johnson, Containing I. His early inclination to all Manner of Villanies ... II. His getting acquainted with a Gang of Thieves Pickpockets &c ... III. His dressing himself in the Habit of a Parson and the several Pranks he play'd in that Disguise. IV. His turning Smugler ... V. His being seiz'd and committed to Newgate ... and a particular Account of his Escape ... VI. His being apprehended a second Time ...

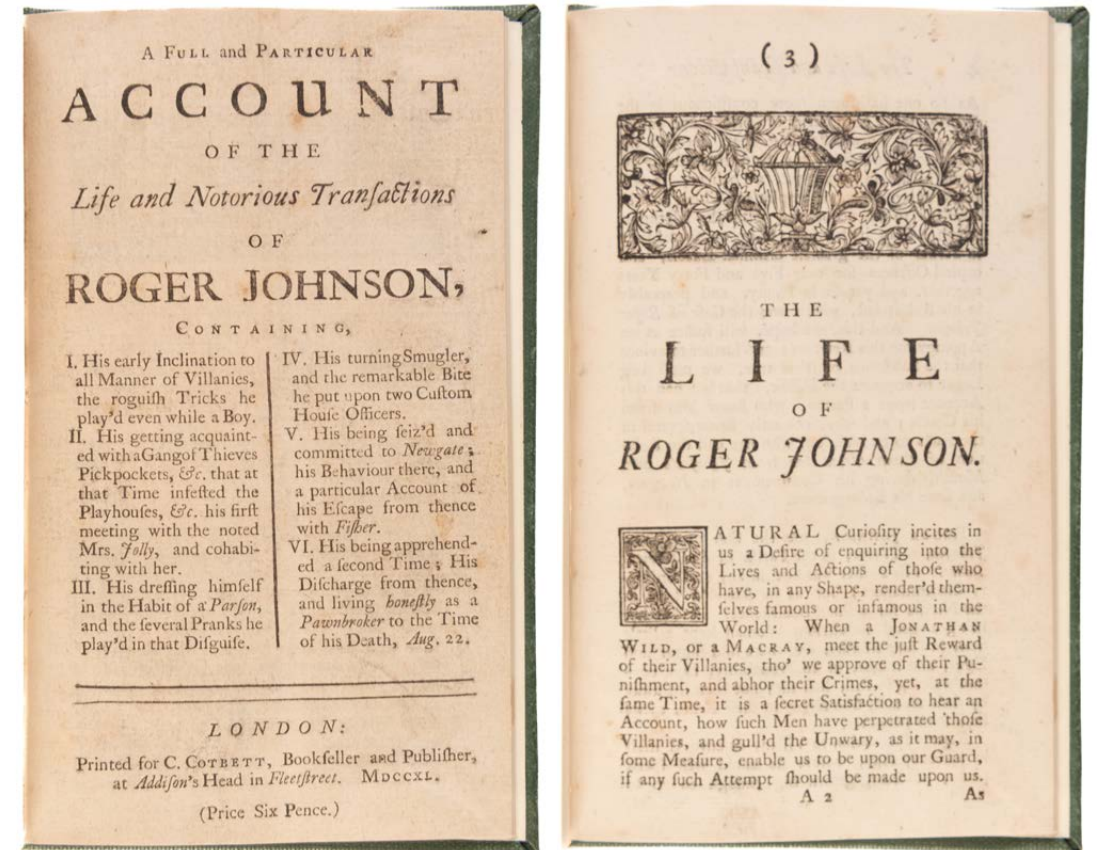
First and Only Edition. 8vo (182 x 117mm). 27 pp. Title a little dusty, a few minor marks in places but otherwise fine. Modern green buckram, lettered in gilt on the spine and upper cover (spine slightly faded).

London: for C. Corbett [sic, i.e. Corbett], 1740

£2,850

Very Rare. No copies recorded in the US. ESTC records BL and Senate House (each leaf individually mounted) only. No copies recorded on Rare Book Hub or ABPC. Advertised as published September 10th 1740 (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser*).

poverty, hunger and unrest



A startling account of the career-criminal Roger Johnson, supposedly taken, “from Johnson’s own Mouth, during his Confinement in Newgate” where, as well as continuing his criminal activities, he also provided a quasi-legal advice service for his fellow prisoners.

The breathless account states that Johnson was ill-behaved from an early age and disruptive at school. His despairing family thought of sending him to sea but the young boy escaped their clutches and spent most of his early years in the church yard of St Clement’s in the City of London – “a sort of nursery for all manner of young Thieves.” (p.5) His first con

poverty, hunger and unrest

was a thimble and ball game used to trick his fellow school friends out of their morning breakfast bread rolls (p.6). This quickly escalated into tricking a young and foolish lawyer's clerk out of a large sum of money that had been entrusted to him.

The account continues by relating many of the illegal activities undertaken by Johnson often using what the author describes as the “**cant** [or slang] **Language**” of the London thieves. (p.8).

Johnson eventually falls in with a gang of Irish thieves and begins “**Preaching the Parson**”, or dressing as a priest and travelling the country “pretending that he fell short of Money upon the Road.” (p.12).

Johnson soon becomes too well known and so buys a boat and “**turned smugler**” (p.17), illegally importing goods from Holland into England.

Johnson is later caught and sentenced to imprisonment in Newgate where he manages to get himself into the relatively more relaxed Press Yard. Having gained this confidence Johnson, along with his friend, the murderer Harry Fisher, plans a successful (and dramatically re-told) escape from the prison by climbing the walls (in irons) and escaping over the roof tops. Johnson uses his freedom to return to a life of crime.

The account of Johnson and Fisher's escape from prison is announced in the *Daily Courant* on May 20th 1727:

“Whereas HENRY FISHER; committed on a violent suspicion for the murder of Widdrington Darby, Gent. and ROGER JOHNSON, committed for Felony, and other Crimes, broke out of His Majesty's Goal of Newgate last night, between the hours of Nine and Ten o'Clock ... whoever shall take or cause to be taken the said FISHER shall receive the sum of One Hundred Pounds”, and for the said JOHNSON, the sum of Fifty Pounds ...”

He is soon re-captured and returned to Newgate: “... **on the Common Side, and even in the very worst part of that, the Stone Hole, that is a place under the Gate Way in Newgate, where all the most miserable lousy creatures are put**” (p.22) but consoles himself by selling rum and brandy to the prisoners (p.24) and manoeuvring himself into a position

poverty, hunger and unrest

where, “**he did as it were govern the whole Goal Roger's Word was a Law.**”

Johnson also acts as a quasi-lawyer or legal advisor for the other prisoners:

*“... he tried the Thieves (as they call it) before they were carried down to the Session House to be tried, that is, **he sate [sat] as Judge.** The Prisoner told him the Truth of the Fact, and what he imagin'd would be swore against him, Roger then told him what to say, what Evasions and Doubles to make, and told him whether he would come off or not: **He behav'd so well latterly, having suffer'd for the contrary so much before, that he contributed as much as any Body to keep Newgate in proper Order.**” (p.25).*

The account of Johnson's life ends with the conclusion:

*“That Talents which wrongly apply'd are villanous in one Class of Life might in another have been of Use, and then we may say, **What an excellent Lawyer Mr. Johnson would have made!**” (p.27).*

Roger Johnson was closely associated with the famous criminal Jonathan Wild (bap. 1683 – d. 1725). The *ODNB* describes Johnson as one of Wild's “henchmen” and in Fielding's famous account of Wild's life (published three years after the present work) he noted:

“There resided in the Castle [Newgate] at the same time with Mr. Wild, one Roger Johnson, a very great man, who had long been at the Head of all the Prigs, and had raised contributions on them. He examined into the Nature of their Defence, procured and instructed their Evidence, and made himself, at least in their Opinions, so necessary to them, that the whole Fate of Newgate seemed entirely to depend upon him. Wild had not long been in confinement, before he began to oppose this man. He represented him to the Prigs as a Fellow, who under the plausible pretence of assisting their causes, was in reality undermining the Liberties of Newgate.” See Fielding *Miscellanies* (1743) p.175.

poverty, hunger and unrest

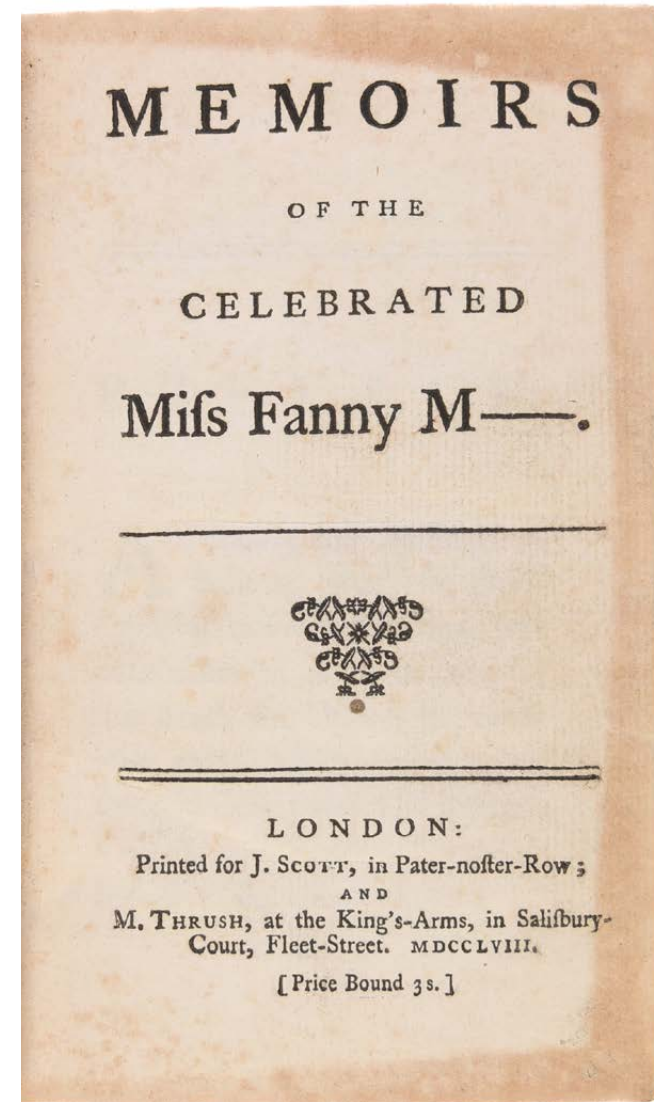
18

THE SUPPOSED “MEMOIRS” OF A REAL PROSTITUTE

[MURRAY (Fanny)]. **Memoirs of the Celebrated Miss Fanny M---**.

First Edition of the First Part [the Second Part not published until the following year (*see below*)]. 12mo (164 x 95mm). xiv, 200, [1 (advertisement for Vol. 2, verso blank)]; apparently lacking a final blank leaf] pp. Title-page and final leaf browned by the turn-ins, light browning and spotting throughout, a couple of brown stains (*see K6 and Q4*) but otherwise clean. Contemporary polished calf, covers with a double gilt rule, spine unlettered and ruled in gilt, plain endpapers, red sprinkled edges (spine split down the centre and a little worn but still held firm by the cords, edges and corners rubbed, some gatherings slightly sprung in the binding). London: by J. Scott, in Pater-noster Row; and and M. Thrush, at the King’s-Arms, in Salisbury-Court, Fleet-Street, 1758 £16,500

Very Rare. ESTC records one copy only of the first edition at **UCLA**. The final leaf has a notice stating that, “copy for a second volume is in great Forwardness ... and if the foregoing sheets meet with the Approbation of the Public, will be put to Press immediately”. The second volume was published the following year and survives in a single copy at **Harvard**. A second edition of the first volume was published in 1759 (BL, Harvard, UCLA and Yale only). An edition in two volumes was published in Dublin in 1759 (Dublin City Library and Trinity College Dublin) and a second edition (with a plate) in the same year (Yale only). The last copy of any edition of this book to appear on Rare Book Hub was a copy of the second edition (2 vols., “1769” *sic*) sold at the American Art Association, New York, in 1920.



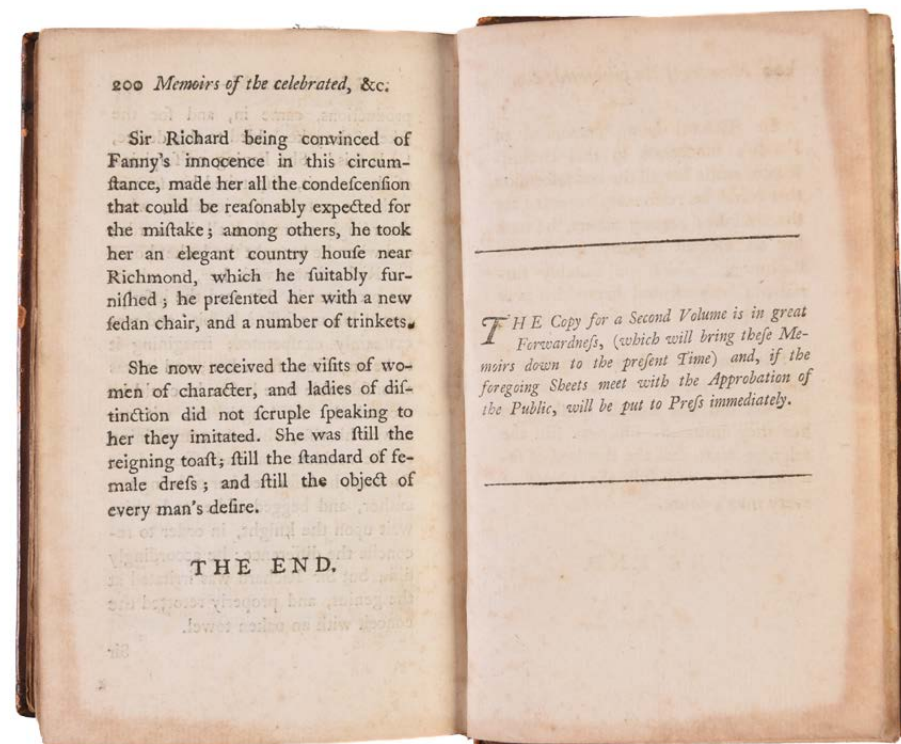
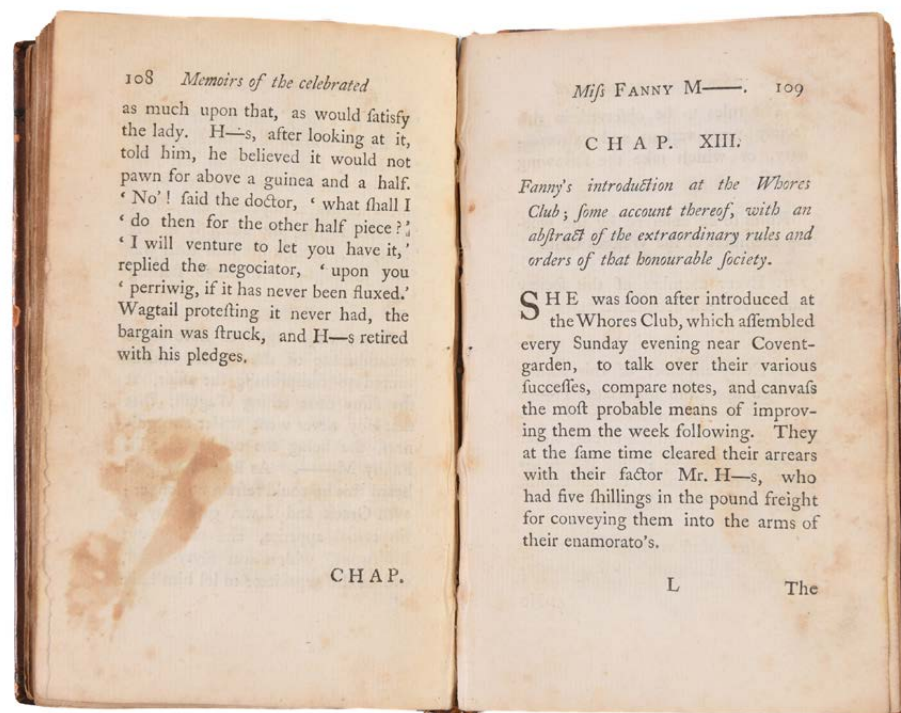
The very rare first edition of the first “biography” of a real English prostitute who comes to prominence in London society when she is included in *Harris’s List of Covent Garden Ladies*. The account of her life includes her indoctrination into the so-called “Whores Club”, a group of prostitutes (controlled by Harris) who agree to follow a series of rules regulating their trade.

Frances [Fanny] Murray (1729–1778) was one of the most famous prostitutes of the 18th century (along with Kitty Fisher) who became the mistress of John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich and was regarded as a celebrity in London society. Despite the obviously sensationalised account of Fanny Murray's life offered in the *Memoirs* it nevertheless provides a substantial basis for her *ODNB* entry and is one the principal sources for her life. The title-page provides a coy reference to the identity of the subject in question but the Preface goes further by suggesting innocently that, "... my very bookseller, tho' so well acquainted with illusions of this kind, went so far as to believe I really intended by these Memoirs, the Adventures of Miss Fanny M-rr-y; nay, what is still more amazing, after having perused the work, he was not entirely convinced of his mistake." (iv).

Fanny is described as the only surviving child of a musician father and by the age of 12 both of her parents were dead. At this point, "she was first taken notice of by the celebrated Jack *** of libertine memory, and he soon found means to seduce the innocence, which might have then been corrupted, with less powers than he used to effect his intent." (p.3). The *ODNB* expands on the the identity of Jack ***: "All sources agree that as a twelve-year-old flower-seller Fanny was seduced by Jack Spencer (1708–1746), grandson of the first duke of Marlborough, either on the steps of Covent Garden Theatre or in the abbey churchyard at Bath. Deserted by Spencer in Bath, Fanny soon came to the attention of the city's elderly master of ceremonies, Richard (Beau) Nash (1674–1761) and she went to live with him as his mistress in his mansion in St John's Court. The liaison was short-lived and within a couple of years Fanny had left him, assumed the name of Murray, and moved to Covent Garden, London."

The entry for Murray in the *ODNB* continues: "**While the Memoirs contains much that is spurious it gives a vivid account of Fanny's early, miserable career in London**, where 'a variety of lovers succeeded each other'. She was soon pox-infected and destitute, with 'her small stock exhausted in chirurgical fees' (*Memoirs* 89). She was always in debt: when she worked for the procurer Madam Maddox, from whose establishment in the Old Bailey she 'dressed up in dabs for the patrol of Fleet Street and the Strand', she kept only 6d. of her

poverty, hunger and unrest



weekly earnings of £5 10s. 6d., the rest being taken up in board, lodgings, and clothing.”

Much of the first part of the book is remarkably chaste until Fanny is introduced to **Jack Harris “the celebrated negociator in women”** (p.100) who is now most famous as the supposed author of *Harris’s List of Covent Garden Ladies*, a quasi-directory of prostitutes operating on the London streets around Covent Garden which was first published in 1760 (according to an advertisement in the *Public Advertiser* for 19th April – no copy exists although Freeman notes that a copy was sold at auction in 1833 [see below]); the first edition recorded in ESTC is 1761 – NLS only) and ran through numerous editions (all of which are understandably very scarce).

“Within weeks of its launch derisory notices of the new publication had appeared in both the *Monthly Review* and the *London Magazine*. It [p]retends to give some account of the most noted Girls of the Town; but it has all the air of a lying Catch-penny Jobb [sic], the work of some literary Pandar’, sniffed the former, while the *London* predicted that if the *List* had any use other than to guide ‘gentlemen of the town’, it might be to ‘deter youngsters from any connection with females, who, tho’ here dizen’d out in their best, are sufficiently frightful, and smell strongly of paints, pills, bolus’s, and every venereal slop’. But despite this inauspicious beginning, for the next thirty-four years *Harris’s List* was published every (or nearly every) winter and vigorously advertised in the London newspapers, where in four years a second, expanded edition was also announced” (Janet Ing Freeman, ‘Jack Harris and ‘Honest Ranger’: The Publication and Prosecution of Harris’s List of Covent-Garden Ladies, 1760–95’, *The Library*, 7th series, vol. 13, no. 4, December 2012).

The *Memoirs* recount how in order to be included in *Harris’s List* Fanny is required to be checked by a doctor “for a complete examination of her person, and to report her well or ill.” **The *Memoirs* are notable in that they reproduce a satirical entry for Fanny in Harris’ List.** Freeman notes, “The prototypes of the printed *List* appear instead to have been the manuscript rosters of available women kept by London pimps and tavern waiters” and this explains why Fanny describes being “enrolled upon his [Harris’s] **parchment list.**” (p.100). Freeman notes

poverty, hunger and unrest

that there had been a number of allusions to Harris in print (including as a character in *Memoirs of the Shakespear’s-Head* (1755) and in *The Age of Dullness* (1757) but the *Memoirs* is the **first printed example of an entry in Harris’s List (albeit a fictional one).**

Murray is described under separate headings as follows (*see p.101*):

Name: Fanny M---

Condition: Perfectly sound wind and limb.

Description: A fine brown girl, rising nineteen years next season. A good side-box piece – will shew well in the flesh market – wear well – may be put off for a virgin any time these twelve months – never common this side Temple-Bar, but for six months. Fit for high keeping with a Jew merchant.--N.B. A good praemium from ditto. Then the run of the house – and if she keeps out of the Lock, may make her fortune, and ruin half the men in town.

Place of Abode: The first floor at Mrs. ---’s, milliner at Charing Cross.

fo like the original, it required some virtù not to be imposed upon.

Notwithstanding Fanny’s extensive commerce, Mr. H—s, the celebrated negociator in women, applied to get her enrolled upon his parchment list, as a *new face*; though, properly speaking, she had now been upon the town near four years. However, the ceremony was performed with all the punctilios attending that great institution; a surgeon being present for a complete examination of her person, and to report her well or ill, and a lawyer to ingross her name, &c. after having signed a written agreement, to forfeit twenty pounds, if she gave the negociator a wrong information concerning the state of her health in every particular. Then her name was ingrossed upon a whole skin of parch-

ment, with the following description and account adjoined.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Condition.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Place of Abode.</i>
FANNY M---	Perfectly sound wind and limb.	A fine brown girl, rising nineteen years next season. A good side- box piece — will shew well in the flesh- market — wear well — may be put off for a vir- gin any time these twelve months—ne- ver common this side Tem- ple-Bar, but for six months. Fit for high keeping with a Jew mer- chant.--N.B. A good præ- mium from ditto.—Then	The first floor at Mrs. ---’s, milli- ner at Cha- ring Cross.

After being advertised as such Murray's professional life changes dramatically:

"After being thus initiated in the arcanum of Mr. H--'s system of fornication, she plied regularly in the flesh-market at the house during the season; by which means she increased the price of her favours, never now receiving under two guineas, and being still in hopes of preferment, as we find her upon H--s's list".

Through Harris, Murray is also introduced to the "**Whores Club**", an organised union of prostitutes who agree to operate under a set of rules under the domineering control of Harris. The rules of the Whores Club include:

1. *Every member of this society must have been debauched before she was fifteen*

2. *Every member of this society must be upon the negociator H--s's list; and never have incurred the penalty of being erased therefrom; either on account of not paying poundage, making proper returns of her health or any other cause whatever*
[...]

4. *No member of this society must have been in Bridewell above once.*
[...]

6. *Any member of this society who may become with child, shall be struck of the list, no longer coming under the denomination of a whore*
[...]

10. *No man whatever to be admitted into this society, except our negociator; who has the privilege of chusing what member he pleases for his bedfellow that night, she not being pre-engaged*
[...]

poverty, hunger and unrest

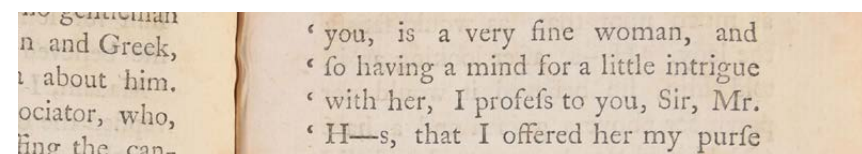
12. *Any member who shall get so intoxicated as not to be able to walk, shall be immediately sent home in a coach or chair, at the expense of the society, to be refunded by her at the ensuing meeting.*

The account of Murray's life continues and she meets "Sir Richard" a thinly veiled portrait of the real life Sir Richard Atkins of Clapham, "who supplied most of her income until his sudden death in 1756" (*ODNB*).

"Following Atkins's death Fanny sought support from the family of the man who had first seduced her. Jack Spencer had died in 1746 but his son John Spencer, first Earl Spencer, was determined to make amends for what his father had done. It is said that he offered the popular actor David Ross (1728–1790) an allowance of £200 per annum if he would marry Fanny, and this he did, probably in the 1750s. Fanny settled into a life of married respectability until her past caught up with her in 1763. In that year the earl of Sandwich tried to expose his parliamentary adversary John Wilkes as the author of *Essay on Women* – an indecent parody of Pope's *Essay on Man* – which contained a dedication to Fanny, widely thought to be Fanny Murray, but possibly Frances Fielding." (*ODNB*).

The first volume of the *Memoirs* was quietly, and with little description, advertised in the newspapers as published on the 30th November 1758 (see the *Public Advertiser* – "Neatly printed, Price 3s. bound, 2s. 6d. sewed"). An advert for the second volume "This Day were publish'd" appeared four months later in March 1759: "Price 2s. bound, sew'd 2s. 6d. The second volume of *Memoirs of the Celebrated Miss Fanny M--*. Printed for M. Thrusch ... Where may be had, The First Volume" (*Whitehall Evening Post*, March 1759).

Provenance: no marks of provenance at all (perhaps understandably given the content), save for an early inked cost or price code "o-i" on the front pastedown.



poverty, hunger and unrest

19

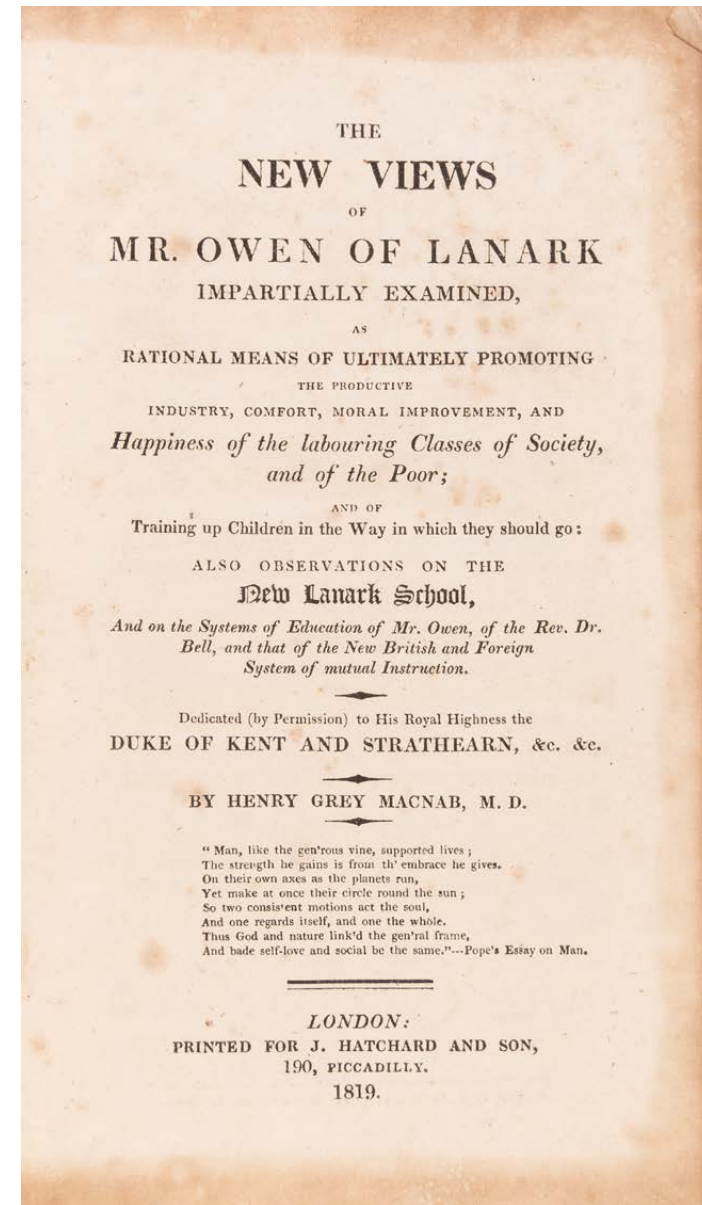
A PROTO-SOCIALIST COMMUNITY IN SCOTLAND

[OWEN (Robert).] MACNAB (Henry Grey). **The New Views of Mr. Owen of Lanark Impartially Examined**, As Rational Means of Ultimately Promoting the Productive Industry, Comfort, Moral Improvement, and Happiness of the labouring Classes of Society, and of the Poor; And of Training up Children in the Way in which they should go; Also observations on the New Lanark School and on the Systems of Education of Mr. Owen, of the Rev. Dr. Bell, and that of the New British and Foreign System of mutual Instruction.

First Edition. 8vo (210 x 126mm). iv, 234 pp. Some offsetting to outer margins of title page and terminal leaf from binding turn-ins some minor spotting in places but otherwise internally clean. Contemporary sheep, flat spine ruled in gilt, lettered in gilt on black morocco label (extremities rather worn, spine rubbed at head and tail, small split to the foot of the front joint but with the hinges still holding firmly). London, J. Hatchard and Son, 1819. £2,750

Goldsmiths' 22699; Kress, C.351. Relatively well-held institutionally, but significantly scarce at auction with RareBook Hub and ABPC listing **only one copy to have sold at auction** (Bonhams, 2008).

poverty, hunger and unrest



One of the earliest independent accounts of Robert Owen's educational and social reforms at New Lanark, a cotton mill and worker's community in Scotland, where Owen pioneered ideas that would become cornerstones of the socialist movement, such as the eight-hour working day, social housing, urban planning, and universal education.

PART II.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE COLONY OF NEW
LANARK, ITS POPULATION, &c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

*The Account given by Mr. Owen of himself—A
Description of New Lanark—The Obstacles
met with in forming the labouring Class to
Habits of Sobriety, &c. &c.*

HAVING learnt that several enlightened foreigners on the continent of Europe, have expressed a strong desire to obtain accurate information respecting the author of the *New Views*, and on their practicability, I shall here, previously to giving a description of the establishment of Messrs. Owen and Co. insert the account given by Mr. Owen, of himself, at a Public Meeting, in London.

“It is,” Mr. Owen said, “that a Public Meeting shall be held at the City of London Tavern, on Thursday, the 14th day of August, to take into consideration a plan to be pro-

attend for a moment to the experience of men, who, during the principal part of their lives, have devoutly employed their talents in the acquisition of useful knowledge. The greater the success of their labours was in the citadel of truth, the more clearly have they seen the confined boundaries of the human understanding. It is those men who have traced modestly, though nobly, the great relations of man as a rational and social being; darting their mind's eye from heaven to earth, and from earth to heaven—of all men they have been the least disposed to ascribe to the human race, absolute or perfect knowledge. They have, on the contrary, zealously endeavoured to prove that all human knowledge is relative.

On the subject of the high degree of perfection maintained by Mr. Owen, I sincerely believe that the evidence of every good man, freed from the influence of passion and prejudice, *has always been, is now, and will ever be,* in favour of the following truth, that the conduct of men is not absolutely, but only relatively good.

With these views, going hand-in-hand with Mr. Owen in point of principle, but preferring to remain behind in point of degree, on the scale of supposed excellence, I hail with anxious solicitude, every possible measure or plan which

A hugely positive and widely cited report, with special reference to Owen's efforts towards the education of worker's children described as, "perhaps the fairest in spirit and fullest in detail of any work written concerning Robert Owen." (Lloyd Jones, *The Life, Times & Labours of Robert Owen*, p. 195).

The report was undertaken by Henry Grey Macnab (1760–1823), personal physician to Prince Edward, Duke of Kent and Strathearn (1767–1820). The Duke was one of Owen's more high-profile patrons, and their correspondence shows his interest to have been "genuine and not altogether motivated by the loans made to him by Owen." (Harvey, *Robert Owen: Social Idealist*, p. 47). The Duke had made plans to visit New Lanark, but the proposed trip never materialised, and he eventually sent Macnab in his place to write a report.

Macnab's visit came at a time of widespread antagonism against Owen for his outspoken denunciation of religion at a notorious meeting at the City of London tavern in August 1817 (*ODNB*). In contrast, Macnab offered a defence of Owen's views on religion, stressing the fundamental religious freedom of workers at New Lanark, and stated the aim of his report is to demonstrate "that the New Views of Mr. Owen embrace morally and politically, the highest and dearest interests of society." (p. 11) The report is meticulously detailed, with a long account of the development of New Lanark, as well as a sustained analysis of its population, furnished with three statistical tables. Macnab also quotes extensively from Owen's various publications, newspaper articles, and speeches, including *A New View of Society* (1813–1814), Owen's first and most important published work.

However, Macnab reserved his highest praise for Owen's pioneering efforts at youth education at New Lanark. Owen had outlined his egalitarian educational doctrine in *A New View of Society*, calling for a universal state education system guided by the principle that the character of individuals is derived from their circumstances, rather than any natural predisposition. Owen worked towards the development of his educationalist doctrine with the establishment of the Institute for the Formation of Character at New Lanark in 1816, a school for the children of the workers and the first such institution in Scotland. Macnab described in glowing terms the idyllic atmosphere of the school:

poverty, hunger and unrest

"The school for the children, of two or four years old, was our first object, and a more pleasing sight to the philanthropist is not to be found, from Johnny Groat's house to the Land's End. The glow of health, of innocent pleasure, and unabashed childish freedom, mantled on their pretty countenances. This melting sight gave me a pleasure which amply repaid the toils of the journey. We then went into the upper school – a school for cleanliness, utility, and neatness, I should suppose not surpassed in the kingdom." (p. 100).

Macnab's report would prove popular and was translated into French in 1821. His "enthusiastic account, and the Duke's patronage no doubt did much to rehabilitate Owen's reputation amongst many who had been alienated by his proceedings in 1817." (Podmore, *Robert Owen: A Biography*, pp. 258).

Provenance: near-contemporary ownership inscription of 'Sam'l C. Allen' in black ink to the front free endpaper, possibly that of Samuel Clesson Allen (1772–1842), Federalist politician of Massachusetts. With some occasional inked underlining, particularly to Part III, Chapter III, 'An impartial Examination of the practical and speculative Opinions of Mr. Owen', and throughout Part IV, 'On Systems of Education'. Loosely inserted is a small manuscript sales receipt, priced in dollars and dated 1826, from an unidentified (presumably American) bookseller made out to 'Mr. Allen' for four books ('White's Selections', 'Burns', 'Charles 2', and 'Allison'). An interesting example of North American readership of Robert Owen, who had established the short-lived commune of New Harmony in Indiana in 1825.

On the subject of the high degree of perfection maintained by Mr. Owen, I sincerely believe that the evidence of every good man, freed from the influence of passion and prejudice, *has always been, is now, and will ever be*, in favour of the following truth, that the conduct of men is not absolutely, but only relatively good.

poverty, hunger and unrest

20

A DETAILED RESPONSE TO THE CORN LAWS WITH
A CRITIQUE OF THOMAS MALTHUS AND ADAM SMITH

PARRY (Charles Henry). **The Question of the Necessity of the Existing Corn Laws**, considered in their relation The Agricultural Labourer, the Tenantry, The Landholder, and the Country.

First Edition. 8vo (225 x 140mm). vii, [1], 229. Lightly browned throughout, a few minor spots but otherwise a clean and largely uncut copy. Original blue paper-backed boards, remains of the original printed spine label (some very slight marking, endpapers a little grubby). London: by Richard Cruttwell, 1816

£1,250

Rare. OCLC records five locations in the UK and one (Dartmouth) in the USA. No copies recorded on Rare Book Hub or ABPC.

An argument against “the interference of Government in matters relating to the subsistence of a people [and] the attempt to establish a permanent price for home production.” With detailed criticism of the theories of Adam Smith and Thomas Malthus.

poverty, hunger and unrest

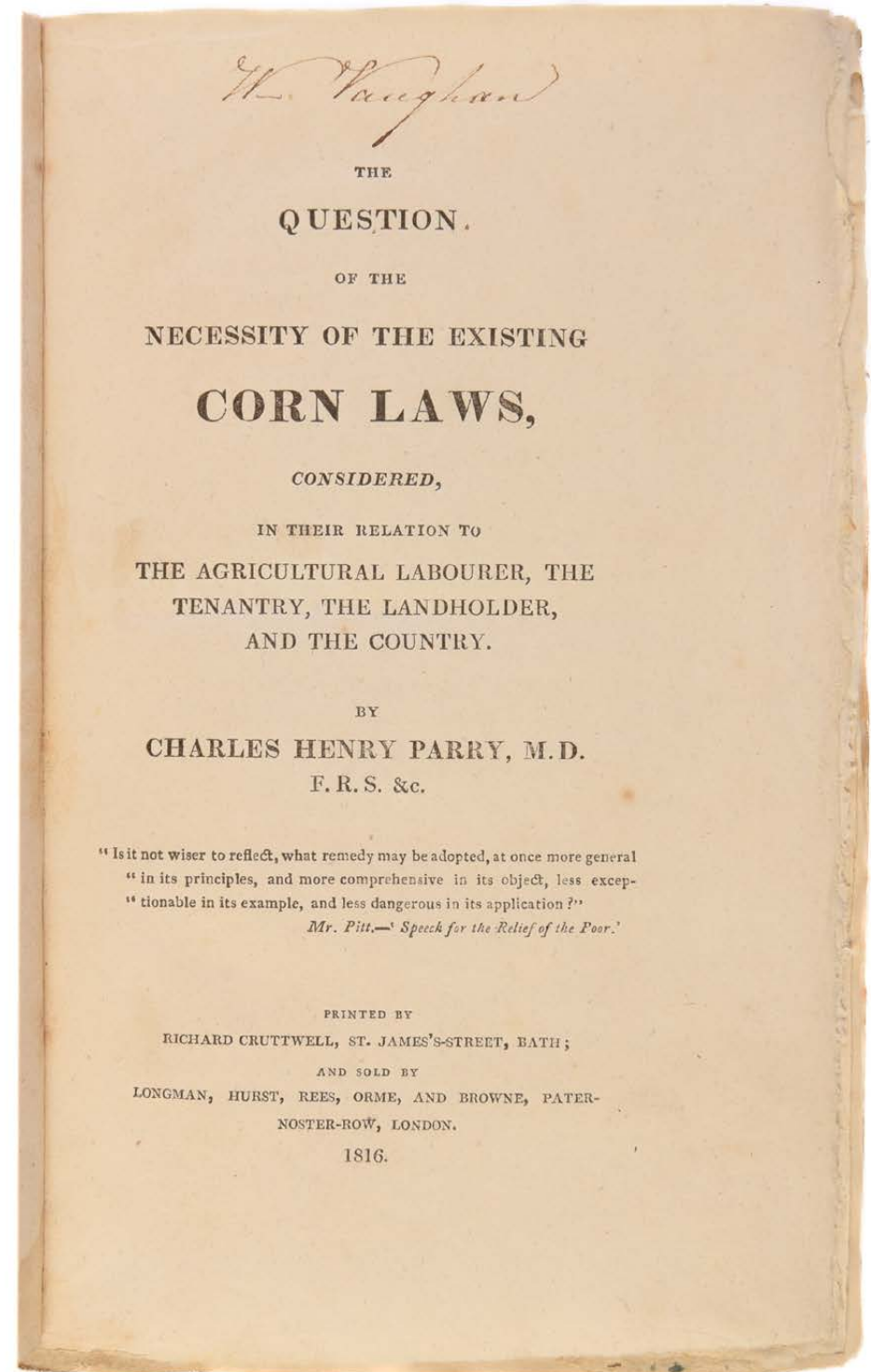


TABLE III. (Continued.)

SUFFOLK.						
Family of 4 Persons.	4 Persons.	8 Persons.	6 Persons.	7 Persons.	8 Persons.	
1792	1794	1796	1796	1795	1796	
Total Expense. 11s. 8½d.	12s. 10½d.	11. Os. 7½d.	13s. 1¼d.	19s. 0d.	1l. 3s. 0½d.	
Bread. 3s. 0d.	3s. 9d.	14s. 8½d.	9s. 9d.	11s. 4½d.	15s. 10½d.	

SUSSEX.					
8 Persons.	3 Persons.	6 Persons.	6 Persons.	7 Persons.	3 Persons.
1793	1793	1793	1793	1793	1793
16s. 5d.	6s. 11½d.	14s. 1½d.	14s. 4½d.	15s. 6½d.	9s. 0d.
6s. 8d.	1s. 11d.	5s. 9d.	5s. 9d.	6s. 2½d.	2s. 10½d.

SOMERSETSHIRE				YORKSHIRE.
7 Persons.	6 Persons.	5 Persons.	4 Persons.	5 Persons.
1795	1795	1795	1795	1795
16s. 1d.	14s. 1¼d.	14s. 1¼d.	11s. 0½d.	11s. 10¼d.
5s. 6½d.	5s. 1d.	5s. 3d.	4s. 4d.	4s. 9d.

TABLE IV.

SHewing THE AVERAGE WEEKLY EXPENSES
OF EACH INDIVIDUAL IN THE LABOURER'S
FAMILY, AND THE AVERAGE WEEKLY
EXPENSE OF BREAD FOR
EACH PERSON.

	Average Weekly Expense of Bread per Person.	General Average Expense.
	s. d.	s. d.
Bedfordshire	1 4	2 5½
Cumberland	0 8¾	1 9¾
Huntingdonshire	0 9½	1 10½
Hertfordshire	1 8	4 1¾
Leicestershire	1 3½	2 11
Lincolnshire	0 10½	2 4
Norfolk	1 1½	2 1½
Northamptonshire ...	1 0	2 7½
Oxfordshire	1 5	2 7
Suffolk	1 6¾	2 10
Somersetshire	0 11	2 6
Yorkshire	0 11¼	2 2½
	13 7¾	£1 10 4¾
Average of Bread in Twelve Counties - -	1s. 1½d.	2s. 6½d.
		Average Weekly Expense in Twelve Counties.

ON REAL PRICE.

THOUGH, notwithstanding the singular contradiction which the admission involves, the author of the Observations on the Corn Trade has been obliged to admit, as a matter conformable to experience, and in direct opposition to his theory, that the wages of labour do rise, where they have not been obviously and purposely kept down, about in the same proportion as the price of corn, it may be well to consider the merits of the case which he has laid before the public. Mr. MALTHUS has stated the argument, which has been supported on this subject by ADAM SMITH, to be as follows: "Corn is of so peculiar a nature, that its real price *cannot* be raised by an increase of its money price: and as it is clearly an increase of real price alone, which can encourage its production, the rise of money price occasioned by a bounty can have *no* such effect." In answer to this argument, Mr. MALTHUS endeavours to shew, that the money price of labour does *never* rise in proportion to the money price

c

Charles Henry Parry (1779–1860) is primarily known as a physician who arranged the publication of his father's (Caleb Hillier Parry) unpublished medical works in 1825. In 1799 Parry (and his brother) had accompanied Samuel Taylor Coleridge on a walking tour in the Harz Mountains.

The Corn Laws were a highly divisive piece of legislation designed to control the price of cereal grains produced by domestic farmers by placing high duties on imported foreign corn. The bill was passed by the Government in March 1815 and Parry explains in his preface to this work that the publication has been delayed as he wishes to assemble accurate information on the amount and price of grain imports. The work is split into six chapters discussing the implications of the law on farmers, labourers and land holders as well as the effect on rent and real prices.

poverty, hunger and unrest

The book draws repeatedly on the writings of both Adam Smith and Thomas Malthus. Parry praises the "masterly analysis" by Malthus in his *An Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent* (1815) and notes that his "opinions always deserve attention" but argues that the study does not "appear sufficiently expanded in its application to the circumstances of the time." (p.2) This is followed by a detailed response to Malthus' work based on Parry's own careful accumulation of statistics. Parry also quotes extensively from Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (first published in 1776) and whilst praising some of his theories he also condemns them for being unsuitable as models for current argument surrounding corn prices.

The book ends with a detailed appendix recording four years of grain importation prices, the average wages of workers in the main agricultural counties of England, and "the proportion of bread to the weekly expenses of agricultural labourers." Parry's notes at the end of the book are highly detailed and include numerous bibliographical references.

Provenance: W. Vaughan, signature in ink to the upper pastedown and the blank upper margin of the title-page.



poverty, hunger and unrest

“TO BE TRANSPORTED FOR 14 YEARS”

[PENAL TRANSPORTATION]. A Calendar or List of the several Prisoners to be tried at the next Assizes, to be held at Thetford, in and for the said County, on Friday the 25th Day of March, 1757. The Times of their Commitments, their several Crimes, and by whom committed.

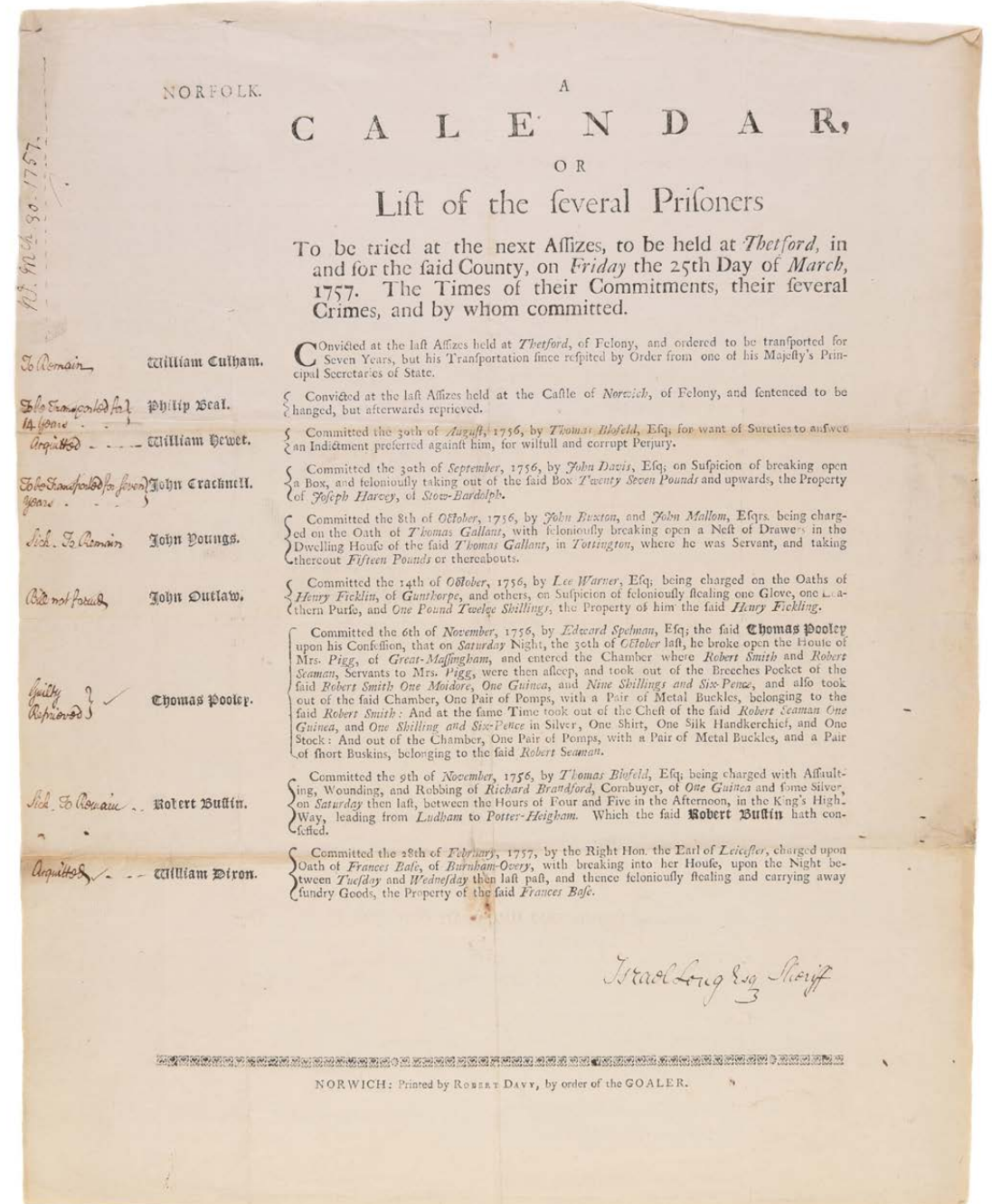
Broadside (414 x 325mm). Old neat fold lines, a couple of small minor stains, some contemporary ink annotations [see below] but otherwise fine; docketed in ink on the verso and signed beneath the printed text by Israel Long, sheriff Norfolk. Norwich: by Robert Davy, by order of the GOALER, [1757]

£1,850

THIS EXAMPLE NOT IN ESTC OR OCLC. ESTC lists 22 similar broadsides all printed in Norwich between March 1748 and March 1779. All of the examples in ESTC are recorded in a single copy at the Bodleian.

A very rare broadside recording the crimes of nine prisoners in Norfolk in the middle of the 18th century. The sheet has been annotated by a contemporary hand who has recorded the fate of the prisoners including details of those to be transported to the Colonies.

poverty, hunger and unrest



The list of prisoners begins with William Culham convicted of, “Felony, and ordered to be transported for Seven Years but his Transportation since respited by Order from one of his Majesty’s Principal Secretaries of State.” The *London Evening Post* for September 1757 notes that Culham was reprieved on the condition, “of his inlisting himself in the Army.”

The next prisoner listed is Philip Beal: “Convicted at the last Assizes held at the Castle of Norwich, of Felony, and sentenced to be hanged, but afterwards reprieved”. The manuscript note in the margin records that Beal was “**To be transported for 14 years.**”

John Cracknell, found guilty “of breaking open a box and feloniously taking out of the said box Twenty Seven Pounds and upward” – is recorded in the margin as being sentenced to be “**Transported for seven years.**”

The *General Evening Post* for September 1757 (after the Assizes recorded on this broadside) states that: “At the assizes held at Norwich for the county of Norfolk, 43 prisoners were tried, six of whom received sentences of death, viz. Robert Bustin, for robbing Mr. Rd Brandford on the highway ... John Youngs, for robbing his master [...] Thomas Pooley, who received sentence of death at the last assize at Thetford, was ordered to be transported for fourteen years; and William Culham, who was under sentence of transportation for seven years, received his Majesty’s pardon on condition of his inlisting himself in the army”.

The manuscript annotations on this broadside provide useful context for some of the above – Robert Bustin, for example, is recorded here as “Sick. To Remain” and so was presumably not fit to stand trial but received a death sentence once he recovered. Thomas Pooley is said, in a manuscript note on this broadside, to be “Guilty [and] Reprieved”. Presumably it was decided that he would not be executed but his fate was still to be decided later in the year.

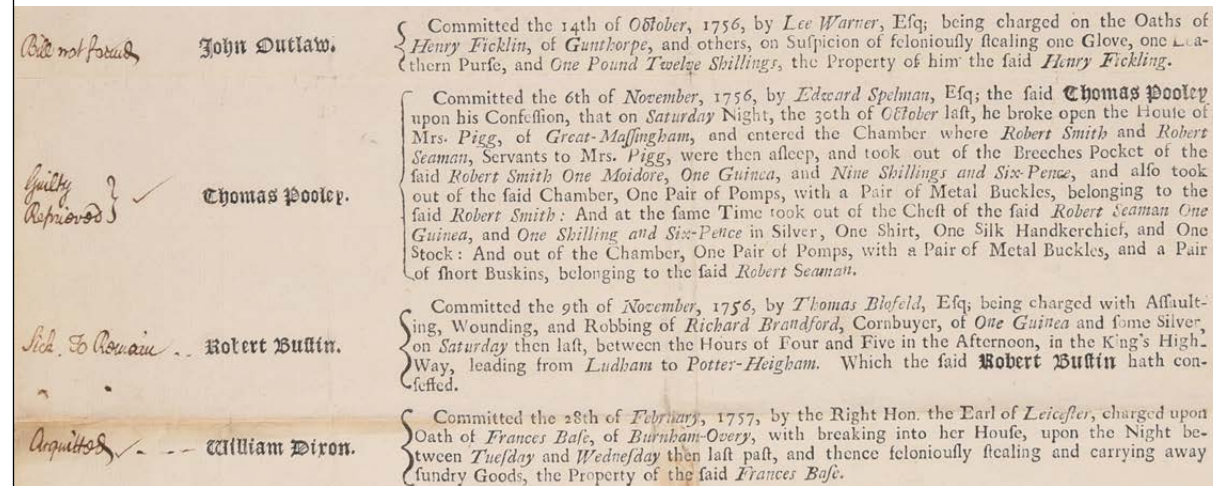
The present example of this *Calendar* is the only one printed by Robert Davy. Davy was a printer and bookseller who also operated the *Norwich Gazette* and the *Norwich Journal*. Davy had inherited the business from his father-in-law, Henry Cross-grove (1706–1744). Davy’s business was ideally located for printing this work as his business was situated at St Giles’s

poverty, hunger and unrest

Gates in Norwich and the 18th century jail was a very short distance away opposite the Guildhall. For more information on Davy and Cross-grove see Trevor Fawcett, ‘Eighteenth-Century Norfolk Booksellers: A Survey and Register’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, Vol 6, No. 1 (1972).

The treatment of convicts was notoriously harsh – unlike slaves (who were still treated terribly), convicts were not considered property and were also of far less value on the slave market in America. Convicts were offered for open sale once they arrived in the Colonies and were often bought by poorer planters who could not afford slaves who were considered more trustworthy, less likely to run away and were fitter and more capable of undertaking the work. Convicts left unsold were grouped together and sold in bulk. After 1776 convicts were sent to Australia and Tasmania.

The National Archives notes that to “find out more about a person transported to North America or the West Indies is likely to be difficult” due to the lack of records once the convict reached the colonies. **Assize court listings – especially those with manuscript additions, such as here – are some of the little evidence we have for criminals transported to the American colonies.**



poverty, hunger and unrest

22

“A WRETCHED DUNGEON”

[PRISONS, IRELAND]. An Account of all the Gaols, Houses of Correction or Penitentiaries, in the United Kingdom ... as far as relates to Ireland.

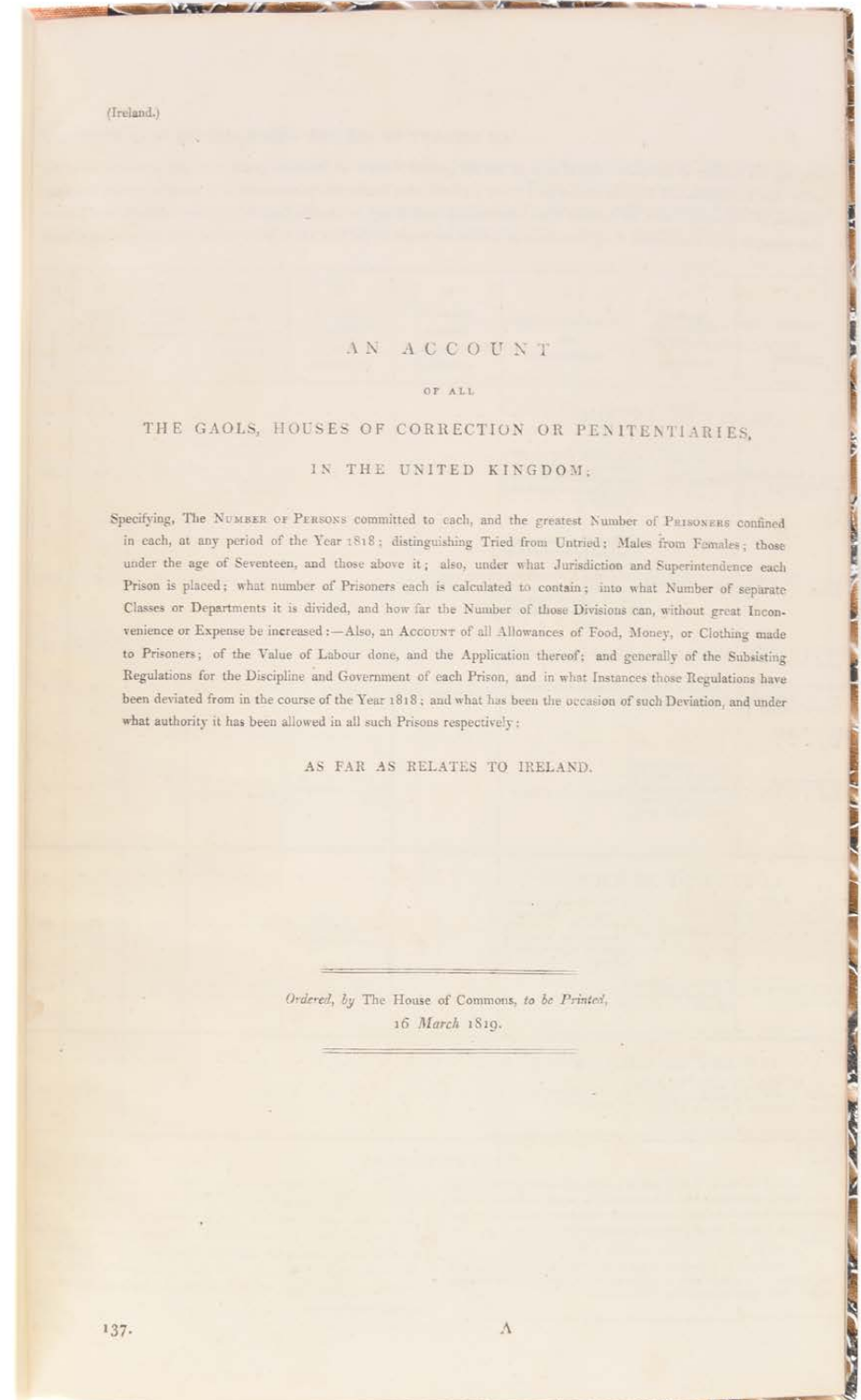
First Edition. Folio (330 x 194mm). 21pp., title-page followed by double-page tables arranged by county. Closely cropped at the fore-margin throughout touching a few letters of text but otherwise very clean. Modern cloth-backed marbled boards, label to the upper cover.

[London: ?Luke Hansard] Ordered, by the House of Commons to be Printed, 16th March 1819. £950

Rare. OCLC records copies at University of London, Cambridge and University of Amsterdam.

A detailed and shocking account of all the prisons in Ireland at the beginning of the 19th century with information on the size, number and type of prisoners, labour undertaken by the prisoners and the allowances for food and clothing. The report highlights overcrowding, disease and the dilapidation of prisons in the period.

poverty, hunger and unrest



AN ACCOUNT OF ALL THE GAOLS, HOUSES OF CORRECTION

Specifying, the Number of Persons committed to each, and the greatest Number of Prisoners confined in each, at any period of the under what Jurisdiction and Superintendance each Prison is placed, what Number of Prisoners each is calculated to contain, into what Expense, be increased:—Also, An Account of all Allowances of Food, Money, or Clothing made to Prisoners; of the Value of Labour done, and the Application thereof; and generally of the subsisting Regulations for the Discipline and Government of each Prison, and in what instances those Regulations have been deviated from in the course of the Year 1818; and what has been the occasion of such

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
NAMES of PRISONS.	Whether Common Gaol, House of Correction, or Penitentiary.	Under what Jurisdiction and Superintendance.	Number of Prisoners each is capable of containing.	Number of Classes or Departments.	Whether the Classes can be increased?	Number of Prisoners committed in 1818.	Greatest Number of Prisoners at one time in 1818.	Debtors.
COUNTY OF ANTRIM:								
County of Antrim Gaol at Carrickfergus	Common Gaol	Grand Jury of said county, who have appointed S. Allen, M.D. Esq. Inspector and physician of same	340	6	Classes cannot be increased within the present walls of the gaol, but additions might be made thereto from the garden which adjoins the prison	429	951	182
House of Correction, Belfast	House of Correction	Three Commissioners appointed by the Grand Jury of the county of Antrim; viz. Thos. L. Stewart, sen. Esq. Geo. Bristow, and C. M. Skinner, Esqs. Justices of the Peace for the said county	88	2	Room for increasing	216	40	None
Marshalsea of the Manor of Belfast	Prison for Debtors	Thos. L. Stewart, Senex	20	2				76
Marshalsea of the Manor of Killinagh, Town of Lisburn	Common Prison for Debtors only	A common bailiff, keeper of it	Not more than 3 or 4	1 room only	There might, but there is not any occasion	5	2	2
BALLYMONEY Gaol								
BALLYCASTLE Gaol	Gaol for the use of the manor of Ballycastle, for the confinement of debtors residing in the said manor	Seneschal of the Manor	4	2 separate apartments, and a black hole	Not without additional building			31
COUNTY OF ARMAGH:								
ARMAGH Gaol	Common county gaol	High Sheriff, Inspector, Surgeon, Apothecary, Protestant Chaplain, Presbyterian Chaplain, Romish Chaplain, and Keeper	80	4; viz. criminals, debtors, males and females	No	511	180	83
SEWTOWN HAMILTON	Bridewell or prison attached to Sessions House		8	2 rooms	They may be increased if necessary	39	5	None
COUNTY OF CARLOW:								
County of Carlow Gaol, Marshalsea and House of Correction	Gaol, Marshalsea and House of Correction, all one house	Sheriff, local Inspector and Gaoler	33	4	Not	180	65	20

Col. 10. brought down.

OBSERVATIONS.

Antrim:—(a) County of Antrim gaol is not yet finished agreeable to this return, but the additions thereto will be executed at or before the Lent Assizes next. See in Appendix A, the remarks on the regulations prescribed by Act 50 Geo. III. c. 103, s. 69. From the said regulations there has been no deviation in 1818.

(b) Dimensions of the gaol; length 9 feet 8 by 17 feet 2, with one door and one window. The gaoler's house is 10 feet by 16 feet, with one door and one window. It is a most miserable place of confinement.

Armagh:—(c) An addition to the gaol is in considerable forwardness; when this addition is completed, many if not all of the defects in the present state of the gaol, will, it is hoped, be remedied. The 17 regulations of 50 Geo. III. c. 103, are the standing rules of the gaol, and from them no remarkable deviation has occurred. On one occasion the gaoler, on his own authority, confined two or three of the criminals in the dungeon of the gaol, having found them, when about to lock them up for the night, with their bolts removed, and being apprehensive of an attempt to escape.

(d) Prisoners

OR PENITENTIARIES, IN THE UNITED KINGDOM;

Year 1818; distinguishing Tried from Untried, Males from Females, those under the Age of Seventeen and those above it:—Also, Number of separate Classes or Departments it is divided, and how far the Number of those Divisions can, without great Inconvenience or done, and the Application thereof; and generally of the subsisting Regulations for the Discipline and Government of each Prison, and in what Deviation, and under what Authority it has been allowed, in all such Prisons respectively; as far as relates to Ireland.

CRIMINALS.						16.	17.	18.	19.
Tried.	Untried.	Males.	Females.	Under Seventeen.	Above Seventeen.				
COUNTY OF ANTRIM:									
222	85	265	42	23	284	None		9 lbs. of oatmeal, 3 stone of potatoes, and 7 pints of sweet milk, per week, to each prisoner, each class is furnished with soap salt and a razor for shaving, new jackets and trousers made of brown cloth, shirts and shoes are given by the inspector to those who are really in want of them	(a)
200	16	132	84	16	200	About £.20	For the good of the house	Same allowance as above.	
25 have got the benefit of the Act of Insolvency.									
COUNTY OF ARMAGH:									
61	26	78	19	8	89	No work is done		A sixpenny loaf per diem; the prisoners are forbid to commute this allowance for other provisions, but it is impossible to prevent an occasional breach of this order; clothing is generally allowed to convicts when removing	(c)
		34	5	3 males	36	None		Each prisoner while confined receives daily sixpence worth of bread, which is reimbursed by presentment at the next assizes	(d)
COUNTY OF CARLOW:									
9	38	35	10		45	None		6d. worth of bread each day to every felon, and 12 d. worth of bread each week, to the very poor debtors	(c)

Col. 10. brought down.

OBSERVATIONS.

(d) Prisoners are committed for a short period only, and until it may be convenient to transmit them to the county gaol at Armagh, in said county.

Carlow:—(c) There are three corridors in the felons part of the gaol and house of correction, with eight sleeping rooms in each 8 feet by 6; one of these

corridors is occupied by women, and the other two by men; it was originally intended that one person only should sleep in each cell, but from the number now in custody, they are obliged to sleep two and three in each bed. There are three rooms for debtors, two for males and one for females; the dimensions are, N^o 1 and 2, 18 feet by 14; N^o 3, 10 feet square; these rooms are not capable of containing nine persons.

“The jail at Galway Town Court is described as “ **the most insecure prison in Ireland**,”. The report continues:

“... it has no mode of preventing escape of prisoners, in the day-time but one door; no outward guard room; no proper mode of preventing the occasional mixing of male and female prisoners; no place of solitary confinement; no difference in the places of confinement between the most abandoned criminals and those confined for minor offences; no bath; and no place which can with convenience be converted into an hospital ...” (p.9).

The prison at Dungarvan (Waterford) is described starkly as, “**a wretched dungeon**”, consisting of one apartment, where prisoners [around 14 in number] of both sexes are confined together, and neither bed or bedding allowed, unless provided by themselves.”

The tables also give details of the provisions and clothing allocated to each prisoners, for example at the main Wexford prison:

“Each criminal, and the poorer description of debtors, are allowed half a quartern loaf and a pint of milk every day; several of the prisoners are allowed jacket, trousers and shirt, and sometimes shoes; the latter very seldom: all these supplied at the expense of the county. No allowance of money to any prisoner.” (p.19).

At the main Londonderry jail prisoners are allocated:

*“One quart of buttermilk to each person daily, together with a 7 1/2lbs of oatmeal, 21lbs. of potatoes, and half a pint of salt weekly to each. No clothing allowed, but bedding only: **during the prevalence of the typhus fever**, a jacket and trousers were provided by order of the Judge, to clothe such prisoners as came to be tried at the assizes, but the practice ceased with the disease.”* (p.13).

There are though signs of minimal success, the prison in Sligo is reported to have a school, opened in October 1818,

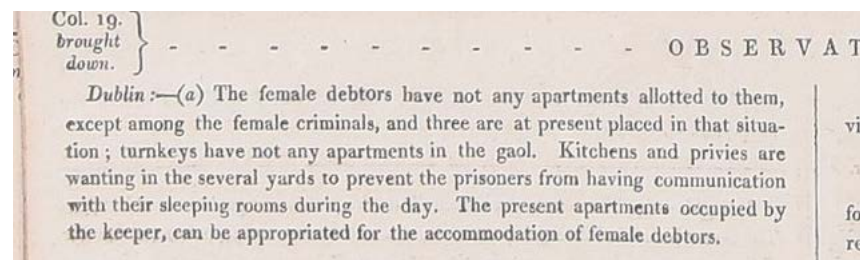
poverty, hunger and unrest

*“... to employ the male prisoners, as no tradesmen were to be found among them; **about 30 of them are now learning to read, write and cypher**; the best conducted man of each class is appointed to superintend the cleanliness &c. of the department to which he belongs, and for which duty he is allowed a double portion of bread. The female prisoners receive constant employment from a few ladies who visit the prison.”* (p.16).

The living conditions at Carlow prison are described as such:

*“There are three corridors in the felons part of the gaol and house of correction, with eight sleeping rooms in each 8 feet by 6; one of those corridors is occupied by women, and the other two by men; **it was originally intended that one person only should sleep in each cell, but from the number now in custody, they are obliged to sleep two and three in each bed ...**”* (p.3).

This report was part of a wide-scale investigation into the the state of prisons in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. Reports were commissioned in 1819 (as here) and also in 1823 and were the basis for the measures implicated under the Gaols Act of 1823 which was initiated by the Home Secretary, Robert Peel, and aimed to standardise conditions in prisons across the British Isles. It was also at this time that Elizabeth Fry began her own inspection of prisons concentrating on the welfare of female prisoners and created the Association for the Improvement of Female Prisoners. **The tables here provide much information on the difficult (and dangerous) conditions for women in prison with many, for example, being forced to share cells with men.**



poverty, hunger and unrest

23

“CRIMINALS UNDER SENTENCE OF DEATH
ARE ALLOWED A WARM DINNER”

[PRISONS, SCOTLAND]. *An Account of all the Gaols, Houses of Correction or Penitentiaries, in the United Kingdom ... as far as relates to Scotland.*

First Edition. Folio (330 x 194mm). 17pp., title-page followed by double-page tables arranged by county.

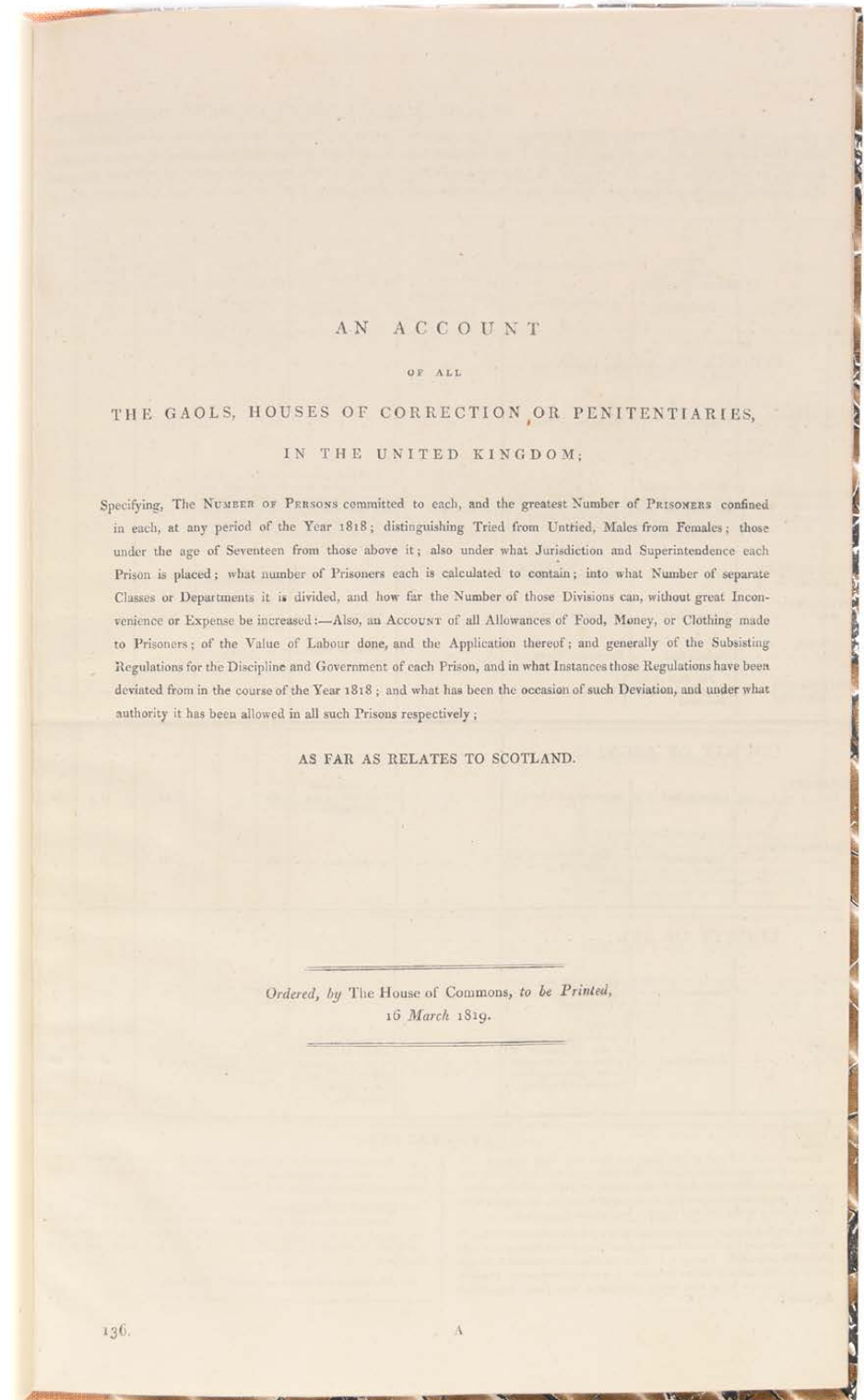
Closely cropped at the fore-margin throughout touching a few letters of text otherwise very clean. Modern cloth-backed marbled boards, label to the upper cover.

[London: ?Luke Hansard] Ordered, by the House of Commons to be Printed, 16th March, 1819. £950

Rare. OCLC records copies University of London, Lilly Library, University of Amsterdam and National Library of Australia.

Aberdeen:—(a) The gaol of late years has been very much crowded, and obnoxious to the health of the prisoners. The prisoners of both descriptions; viz. civil and criminal, have been nearly doubled within ten years. It is in contemplation at present to erect a new gaol in some central situation, the expense to be defrayed jointly by the town and county. Regulations, Appendix A.

poverty, hunger and unrest



1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.					16.	17.	18.	19.		
									CRIMINALS.									10.	11.
NAMES of PRISONS	Whether Common Gaol, House of Correction, or Penitentiary	Under what Jurisdiction and Superintendence.	Number of Prisoners each is capable of containing.	Number of Classes or Departments.	Whether the Classes can be increased?	Number of Prisoners committed in 1818.	Greatest Number of Prisoners at one time, in 1818.	Debtors.	Tried.	Un-tried.	Males.	Females.	Under Seven-teen.	Above Seven-teen.	VALUE of LABOUR In 1818.	APPLICATION Thereof.	ALLOWANCES OF FOOD, MONEY, AND CLOTHING.		
COUNTY OF DUMBARTON:																			
DUMBARTON, Jail	Common Gaol	The Magistrates of Dumbarton	19; viz. ten debtors rooms, and two others	3 apartments; two for debtors, and the other for criminals	The apartments cannot be increased, on account of the narrowness of the prison-house	89	21	18	4	1	4	1	5				COUNTY OF DUMBARTON: Criminals are alimented by receiving from six-pence to eight-pence per day out of the county rogue money. No clothing allowed to any description of prisoners, and they provide their own food from the alms given.	(a)	
COUNTY OF DUMFRIES:																			
DUMFRIES, Gaol	Common Gaol	The Magistrates of Dumfries	30; viz. 6 convicted criminals, 16 debtors, 8 delinquents	19; viz. 1 for convicts, 4 for debtors, 8 for delinquents	Not without very great expense	236	33	19	4	13	10	7	4	13	Nothing		Criminal before and after trial, 6d. per day; to petty delinquents, 3d. per day; to vagrants, 2 lb. of bread per day. The 1st and 3d paid by the rogue money of the county, and the 2d paid from the police funds	(b)	
ANNAN, Gaol	Common Gaol	The Magistrates of the Borough	8	4; viz. 3 debtors rooms, and place for criminals	Yes	29	5		5	5			5	No labour			Criminal sixpence per day for their sentence, which is allowed from the rogue money of the county	(c)	
LOCHMABEN, Gaol	Common Gaol	Magistrates	4	2	No increase can be made	12	3	3											
SANQUHAR																			
COUNTY OF EDINBURGH:																			
Bridewell for the City and County of EDINBURGH	House of Correction	Parliamentary Commissioners, under the Act 31 Geo. III. c. 57	The greatest number ever in custody at one time, was 323, but the prison was then overcrowded	4; viz. 1, male, old offenders, 2, female, old offenders, 1, first offences, 24 day-cells, each 15 feet by 9; 144 sleeping cots, each 7 feet by 6	So long as the number in custody continues so greatly to exceed the extent of accommodation, no increase in the number of classes can be effected without additional buildings	1,490	253	253	67	186	45	208		£ 349. 3s. 8d. The accounts for 1818, not being yet completed, the above is stated on an average of the three preceding years			Where the earnings exceed the maintenance, &c. the surplus is payable to the prisoner by three instalments; viz. one-third at liberation, another third in six months after, upon producing a certificate from a Justice of the Peace, of the prisoner's having been honestly and industriously employed since liberation, and the last third at the end of twelve months after dismissal, upon production of a like certificate. The general profits of the prisoners work, not disposed of as above, are applied, when requisite, for the general purposes of the institution; and when not so required, are allowed to go towards diminishing the obligation laid on the several committees by the Act to defray the alms and clothing of their respective prisoners	Food: bread from wheat, ground over all, without any of the bran being taken out, made up in loaves of the size of 12 to the weight of a quarter loaf (i. e. about 5 oz. each) two of these loaves to each prisoner weekly; viz. one on Wednesday, and the other on Saturday to dinner. Prisoners sentenced to be fed on bread and water only, have three of these loaves daily. Outrinal; two-thirds of a pound, avoidupois, per diem for each prisoner, one-half made into achopin (quart) of porridge for breakfast, and the other half into a similar quantity for supper. Barley; four ounces avoidupois, per diem for each prisoner, made into a Scotch pint of broth for dinner six days in the week. Cheese; four ounces avoidupois, to each prisoner every Saturday for dinner, the quality to be equal to soft Kaseer or Dutch old milk. Beer; one half pint, English, per diem to breakfast, and one English pint every Saturday for each prisoner to dinner. Salt; one ounce per diem to each prisoner six days in the week, and 4 an ounce to each on Sundays. Flesh; usually cow or ox heads, 12 lbs. (Dutch weight) for every 20 prisoners on Sundays, and the same for every 30 prisoners on Wednesdays. Vegetables from the garden as necessary, and in season.	(d)
MUSSELBURGH, Gaol	Common Gaol	Sheriff of the county and Bailies of the burgh	15	2	To a small extent	21	4	4						Nothing				(e)	
DALKEITH, Gaol	Common Gaol	The Sheriff and Baron Bailie of Dalkeith	18	3	No	33	8		8	7	1	1	7	Nothing		Nine-pence per day		(f)	
CALTON HILL, Jail	Common Gaol	Magistrates of Edinburgh	170	58 night-cells, 7 day-rooms, 7 arcades, 7 areas, chapel, kitchen, hospital, water-closets, governor's house, and better apartments for debtors	Cannot	780	100	10	14	66	76	4	19	61	No labour		Each criminal prisoner was allowed 8d. per diem for all, but by regulations at present under trial the prisoner is alimented, and receives 3d. per day to purchase what he pleases	(g)	
Lock-up-House			32	8	Cannot													(continued.)	

OBSERVATIONS.

Dumbarton.—(a) The prison was built upwards of two hundred years ago, and is now very much decayed; repairs have been made thereon at different periods, and considerable expense thereby incurred, as well by escapes, which expense has been hitherto paid out of the revenue of the burgh, but the revenue is now so much reduced, as to become inadequate.

Dumfries.—(b) There never were any written or printed rules or regulations, so far as the present Magistrates and jailer know. The security of the prisoners has always been the first object, and their comfort, so far as circumstances would

admit, the next. An extensive yard for air and exercise for debtors; an iron railing for air occasionally to criminals; the departments for the debtors are not considered as sufficiently secure. The former court house within the yard of the gaol was last year converted into a correction house, containing 19 departments, for the confinement and punishment of petty delinquents, but not yet occupied, and considered not sufficiently secure for debtors or criminals.

(c) There are no particular regulations. Two of the rooms for debtors are 12 ft. by 9 ft. each, and one 13 ft. by 9 feet. The place for criminals is 12 ft. by 8 feet.

OBSERVATIONS.

Edinburgh.—(d) All the clothing and bedding (with a very trifling exception) is manufactured and made up within the prison by the labour of the prisoners. The comparatively small amount of the earnings is owing to the unprofitableness and difficulty of procuring work of so simple a nature as to be suitable for the employment of prisoners committed for short periods, it being obviously impossible for them, in that time, to acquire a knowledge of any work of a complicated nature. Regulations are in Appendix E.

(e) No criminals are detained here, as when apprehended they are transmitted to Edinburgh.

(f) Used for lodging culprits for examination, on their way to Edinburgh.

(g) The Calton jail is intended for criminals only, and it is proposed to build another for debtors. The regulations for the prison have been for some time past under trial, and are not finally adjusted; a copy is in Appendix F. The lock-up-house is in the neighbourhood of the court-house, where prisoners are placed immediately before trial and after condemnation.

Specifying, the Number of Persons committed to each, and the greatest Number of Prisoners confined in each, at any period of the Year 1818; distinguishing under what Jurisdiction and Superintendance each Prison is placed, what Number of Prisoners each is calculated to contain, into what Number of separate Cells, and the Value of the Expence, be increased:—Also, An Account of all Allowances of Food, Money, or Clothing made to Prisoners; of the Value of Labour done, and the Apportionment of the Expence, and what instances those Regulations have been deviated from in the course of the Year 1818; and what has been the occasion of such Deviation, and un-

In Glasgow the prisoners at the Tolbooth jail are given a small stipend of 6d to support themselves while in the prison and prisoners preparing for execution are, “allowed a warm dinner extra” (p.13), at the Bridewell prison in the same city the inmates are fed on, “porridge and milk for breakfast, broth and bread for dinner, bread and water for supper, and those at hard labour get potatoes and herrings three times a week for supper.”

The main prison in Aberdeen is said to be “very much crowded, and obnoxious to the health of the prisoners” although it is noted that a new prison building is planned.

The Bridewell prison in Edinburgh (with a total of 1,490 prisoners in 1818) is given a very detailed description noting that the prisoners are provided with:

“... bread from wheat, ground over all, without any of the bran being taken out, made up in loaves of the size of 12 to the weight of a quartern loaf ... two of these loaves to each prisoner weekly ... Prisoners sentenced to be fed on bread and water only have three of these loaves daily. Oatmeal; two-thirds of a pound ... Cheese, four ounces ... Beer; one half pint ... Flesh; usually cow or ox heads, 13lbs for every 20 prisoners on Sundays and the same for every 30 prisoners on Wednesdays. Vegetables from the garden as necessary, and in season.” (p.7).

Even the smallest prisons are described such as the gaol at Peebles in the Scottish Borders. The prison received a total of 20 prisoners in 1818 with only a maximum of three at any one time. The prison itself is described as having a single room for debtors, one for “minor criminals” and another for “more atrocious” inmates. In the supplementary information the jail is said to be, “new and in perfect repair. It is fire proof, all under one roof ... No drink allowed to be sold in the prison.” (p.14).

poverty, hunger and unrest

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.
NAMES of PRISONS.	Whether Common Gaol, House of Correction, or Penitentiary.	Under what Jurisdiction and Superintendance.	Number of Prisoners each is capable of containing.	Number of Classes or Departments.	Whether the Classes can be Increased?	Number of Prisoners committed in 1818.	Greatest Number of Prisoners at one time, in 1818.	Debtors	Tried.	Un-tried.	Males
COUNTY OF ABERDEEN: - - - - -											
ABERDEEN, Gaol - - - - -	Common Gaol - - - - -	Magistrates of Aberdeen - - - - -	45 - - - - -	4 - - - - -	No - - - - -	157 - - - - -	30 - - - - -	18 - - - - -	2 - - - - -	10 - - - - -	10 - - - - -
ABERDEENSHIRE, Bridewell, or House of Correction - - - - -	House of Correction, with the exception of one floor, on east wing, fitted up as a subsidiary Gaol - - - - -	Magistrates and Justices of Peace for the city and county of Aberdeen - - - - -	52 - - - - -	No classification has as yet been observed, further than that the male and female prisoners are kept quite separate, and that every prisoner is provided with a working and sleeping cell, solitary confinement being attended to as much as possible in this prison - - - - -		116 - - - - -	56 - - - - -	- - - - -	51 - - - - -	5 - - - - -	28 - - - - -
FRASERBURGH } TOLBOOTH - - - - -	Gaol - - - - -	The Provost and Bailies - - - - -	7 - - - - -	Not without considerable expense - - - - -		None - - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
INVERURY, Gaol - - - - -	Common Gaol - - - - -	Magistrates of Inverury - - - - -	- - - - -	Two rooms - - - - -	Might be increased by an alteration in the gaol - - - - -	None - - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
KINTORE, Gaol - - - - -	Common Gaol - - - - -	Provost and Magistrate - - - - -	3 - - - - -	1 room; no separate classes or departments - - - - -	No occasion - - - - -	None - - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
PETERHEAD } TOLBOOTH - - - - -	The Gaol of the burgh of barony of Peterhead - - - - -	The Baron Bailies - - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	None - - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
COUNTY OF ARGYLL: - - - - -											
INVERURY, Gaol - - - - -	Common Gaol - - - - -	Magistrates of Inverury - - - - -	8 - - - - -	4 departments; 1 for debtors, and 3 for criminals - - - - -	No - - - - -	24 - - - - -	11 - - - - -	9 - - - - -	5 - - - - -	4 - - - - -	9 - - - - -
CAMPBELTOWN, Prison - - - - -	Common Gaol - - - - -	The Magistrates of Campbeltown - - - - -	9 - - - - -	5 departments - - - - -	No - - - - -	66 - - - - -	16 - - - - -	5 - - - - -	7 - - - - -	4 - - - - -	9 - - - - -
COUNTY OF AYR: - - - - -											
AYR, Gaol - - - - -	Common Gaol - - - - -	Magistrates who have under them a gaoler and 4 town officers - - - - -	30 - - - - -	6 - - - - -	Classes cannot be increased - - - - -	75 - - - - -	30 - - - - -	12 - - - - -	12 - - - - -	6 - - - - -	16 - - - - -
IRVINE, Gaol - - - - -	Common Gaol - - - - -	Under the jurisdiction of the Magistrates of Irvine, and superintended by a gaoler appointed by them with a salary - - - - -	12 - - - - -	4; viz. 2 rooms and lobby, and use of the court-house during the day, and 2 small places for confinement of delinquents - - - - -	Not without much inconvenience and great expense - - - - -	75 - - - - -	27 - - - - -	27 - - - - -	No criminals are for more than 24 uniformly transmitted at Ayr - - - - -		

Col. 19. brought down. } OBSERVATIONS.

(a) The gaol of late years has been very much crowded, and obnoxious to the health of the prisoners. The prisoners of both descriptions; viz. civil and criminal, have been nearly doubled within ten years. It is in contemplation at present to erect a new gaol in some central situation, the expence to be defrayed jointly by the town and county. Regulations, Appendix A.

(b) A detailed account of this institution, with a plan, is printed in the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons of the Prisons of the Metropolis, p. 238, printed 8th May 1818. Column 7, includes the prisoners committed to the gaol part of the house, and the number in column 11, is of that description of prisoners, Bridewell prisoners being tried before commitment takes place. Regulations, Appendix B.

(c) From the ruinous state of this prison, the Magistrates have for several years past been under the necessity of sending all those liable to confinement to the Tolbooth of Aberdeen, or to the Bridewell of that city.

(d) Debtors always, and criminals almost always, are imprisoned in the Aberdeen gaol; occasionally, when criminals cannot be immediately carried to Aberdeen, they are confined for a night in the Inverury gaol, but with this exception; and that petty rioters are sometimes confined for a day or a night; this gaol is never used.

(e) All criminals and debtors are carried to Aberdeen.

Argyll:—(f) A new prison is to be built so that double the number of prisoners may be accommodated there.

(g) The Magistrates are to be enlarged the prison, and to have any aid. Rules and

24

THE EXPANDING METROPOLIS AND CARE FOR THE POOR

[PROPERTY LAW]. *A Briefe Declaration for what manner of speciall Nusance concerning private dwelling houses, [...]* and to know what they are to doe concerning Bastards borne in their Parishes, reliefe of the poore, and providing for poore children, what remedy for the same.

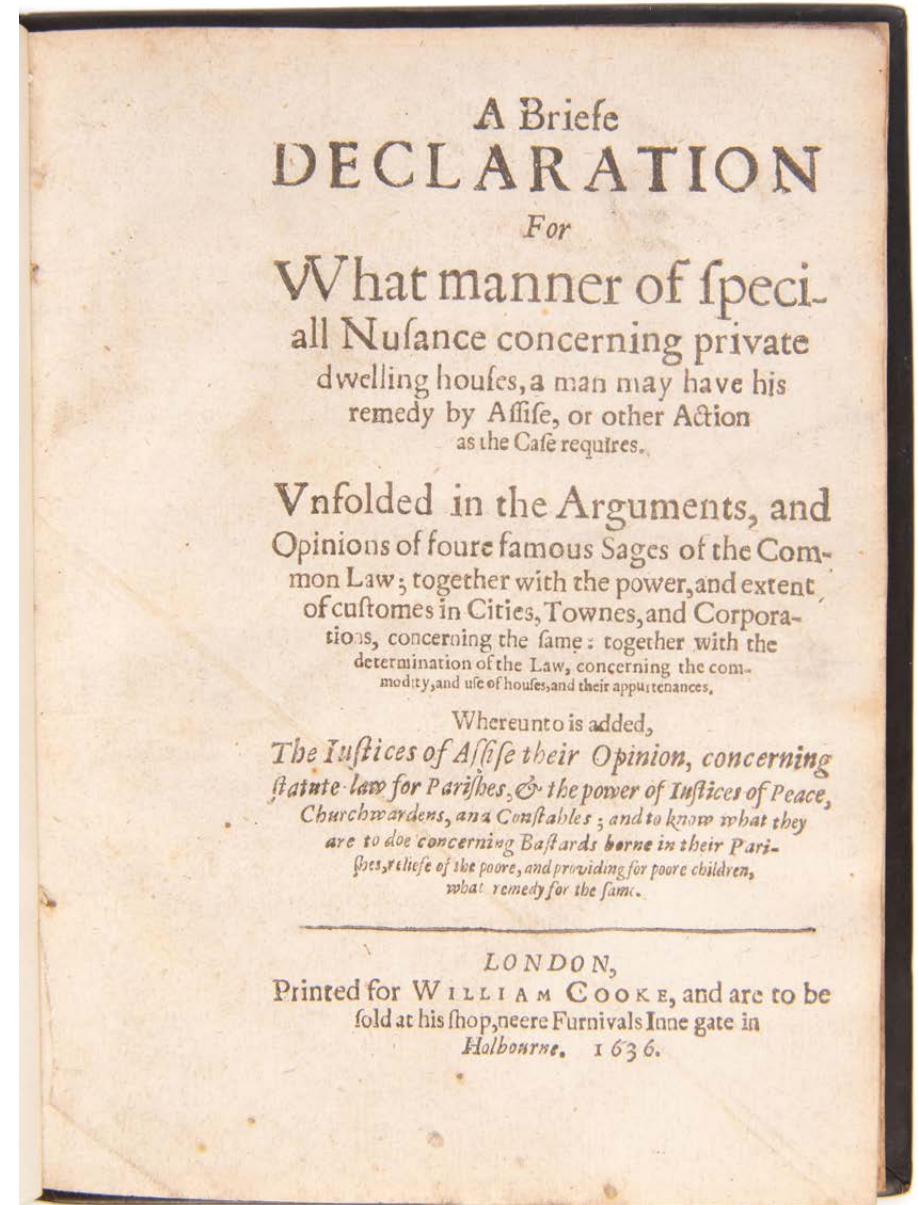
First Edition. Small 4to (185 x 131mm). [2], 45, [1, without the final blank] pp. A little browned in places, small hole (caused by a paper flaw) through the blank fore-margin of B1 but otherwise a good large copy. Modern dark brown calf, spine lettered in gilt, old red sprinkled edges (upper joint just starting at the head but still holding firm, edges lightly rubbed).

London: for William, Cook, 1636

£1,500

STC 6453. In this setting the text begins on B1r. The last copy of the first edition recorded at auction on Rare Book was this (the Kenney copy) sold at Sotheby's in 1965 (£38, bought by Francis Edwards). A second edition was published in 1639.

poverty, hunger and unrest



“This Citty is the greatest Citty, and the most populous in this Realme, and the more populous, the more honourable, & the more buildings, the more populous, and honourable will it be”. Settling land disputes in the growing 17th-century metropolis and caring for the resulting marginalised and impoverished individuals.

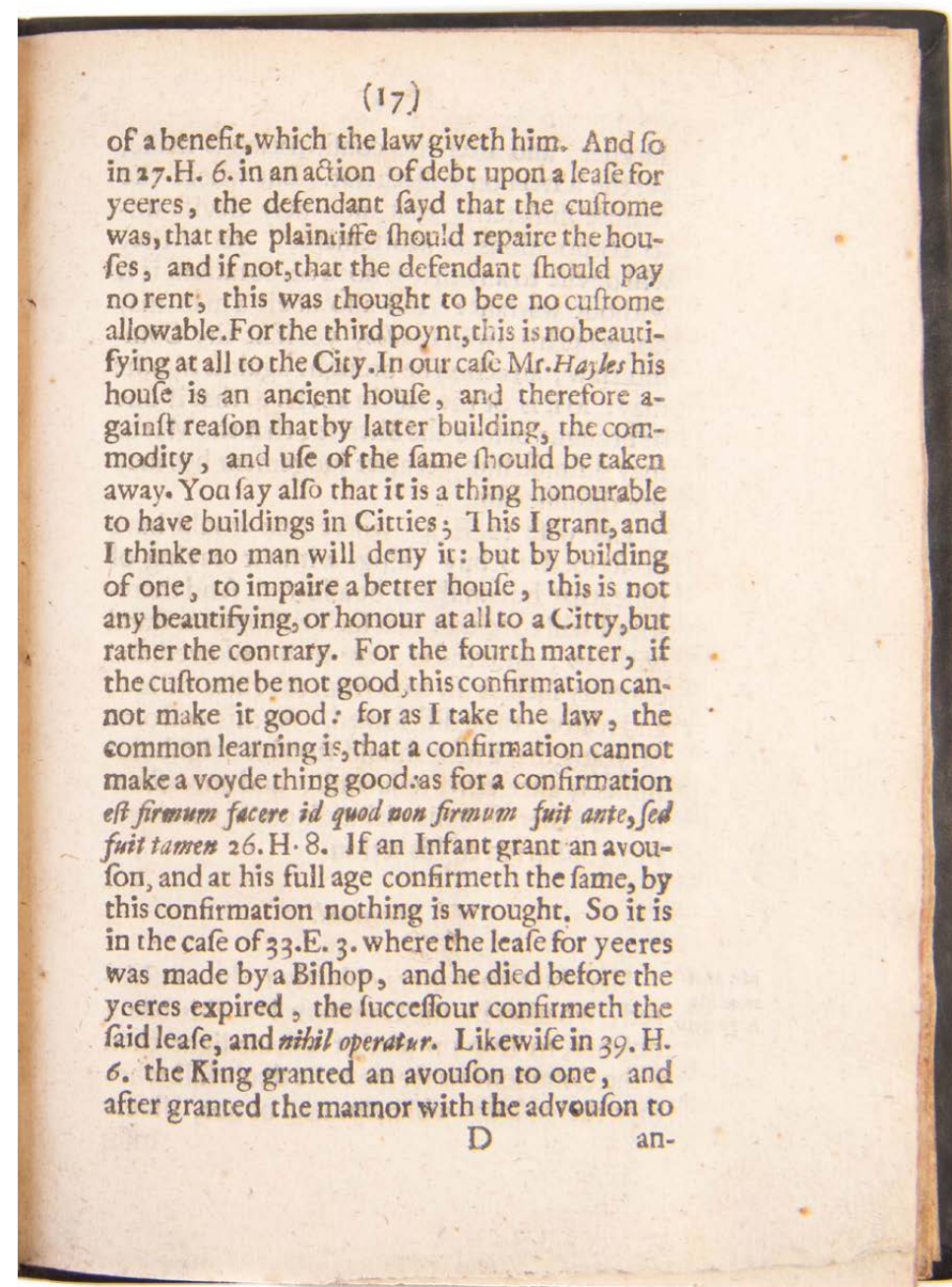
The first part of this work discusses the rights of private householders and argues that “whoso taketh from man so great a commodity as that which preserveth mans helth in his castle, or house, doth in a manner as great wrong as if he deseised him altogether of his freehold.” (p.1). Arguments are taken on this subject from “foure famous Sages”: Edmund Plowden, Robert Monson, Sir Christopher Wray and John Manwood. The arguments are extraordinarily prescient with discussions on land rights, poor upkeep of a house having a detrimental effect on the neighbouring houses and with discussions of cases such as that of “a plaintiffe ... annoyed by the smell of the smoke [from a neighbouring house] because his Apple-trees, and other fruits were destroyed by the same.” (p.20).

The arguments attempt to draw a line between the need for expansion in the already crowded City of London and the rights of householders to protect their own property and the space around it. The author argues: “This Citty is the greatest Citty, and the most populous in this Realme, and the more populous, the more honourable, & the more buildings, the more populous, and honourable will it be. And therefore building is to be favoured.” (p.24).

The second section discusses the community’s obligations to marginalised individuals including illegitimate children and the poor. The author proposes a series of scenarios including, “If a woman servant unmarried bee begotten with child, and then goeth out of her Mistris service, before or after it is discovered that she is with child, and the reputed father be runne away, or is not able to free the parish: whether the Master may be enforced to provide for her till she be delivered, and for a moneth after?” (p.30).

Provenance: Cyril Ernest Kenney, FSA, FRICS (1898–1973), quantity surveyor and collector of books on surveying, land management, etc., with his small book label on the front pastedown and blue serrated paper label with number “897” on the lower pastedown. Sold at Sotheby’s in 1965.

poverty, hunger and unrest



of a benefit, which the law giveth him. And so in 27.H. 6. in an action of debt upon a lease for yeeres, the defendant sayd that the custome was, that the plaintiffe should reaire the houses, and if not, that the defendant should pay no rent; this was thought to bee no custome allowable. For the third poynt, this is no beautifying at all to the City. In our case Mr. Hayles his house is an ancient house, and therefore against reason that by latter building, the commodity, and use of the same should be taken away. You say also that it is a thing honourable to have buildings in Citties; This I grant, and I thinke no man will deny it: but by building of one, to impaire a better house, this is not any beautifying, or honour at all to a Citty, but rather the contrary. For the fourth matter, if the custome be not good, this confirmation cannot make it good: for as I take the law, the common learning is, that a confirmation cannot make a voyde thing good: as for a confirmation *est firmum facere id quod non firmum fuit ante, sed fuit tamen* 26. H. 8. If an Infant grant an avouson, and at his full age confirmeth the same, by this confirmation nothing is wrought. So it is in the case of 33.E. 3. where the lease for yeeres was made by a Bishop, and he died before the yeeres expired, the successour confirmeth the said lease, and *nihil operatur*. Likewise in 39. H. 6. the King granted an avouson to one, and after granted the manor with the avouson to

D an-

poverty, hunger and unrest

25

“CRY GOD FOR US! FOR ENGLAND!
AND KING GEORGE!”

[SHAKESPEARE (William)]. *Shakespeare's Ghost!*

Broadside (600 x 420mm). A little dusty and grubby near the edges, single small closed tear to the lower portion of the sheet (not obscuring the text), edges a little chipped in places, paper mount torn at the right-hand side.

London: Luke Hansard, [1803]

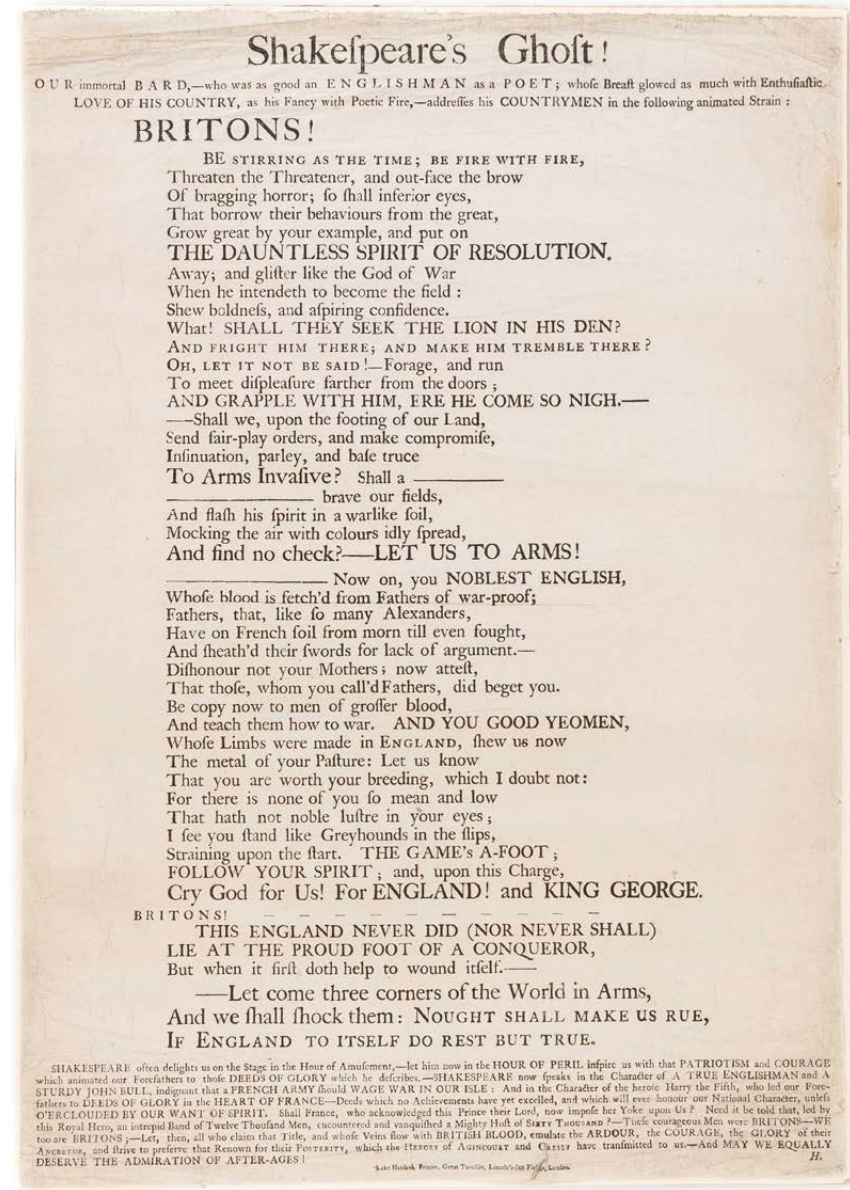
£1,850

Bibliotheca Lindesiana 1534; Klingberg & Hustvedt, *The Warning Drum, The British Home Front Faces Napoleon, Broadside of 1803*, no.32.

An amalgamation of pertinent lines from various plays by Shakespeare intended to rouse the country against France.

The most recognisable lines are those from *Henry V*, which have long been used as a rallying call for Britain in times of war. Klingberg and Hustvedt note that this broadside was part of a larger use of Shakespeare as a patriotic figure in this period, the *Gentleman's Magazine* carried a parody entitled “To arm or not to arm?” in the same year.

poverty, hunger and unrest



Shakespeare's Ghost!

OUR immortal BARD,—who was as good an ENGLISHMAN as a POET; whose Breath glowed as much with Enthusiastic LOVE OF HIS COUNTRY, as his Fancy with Poetic Fire,—addresses his COUNTRYMEN in the following animated Strain:

BRITONS!

BE STIRRING AS THE TIME; BE FIRE WITH FIRE,
Threaten the Threatener, and out-face the brow
Of bragging horror; so shall inferior eyes,
That borrow their behaviours from the great,
Grow great by your example, and put on
THE DAUNTLESS SPIRIT OF RESOLUTION.
Away; and glitter like the God of War
When he intendeth to become the field:
Shew boldness, and aspiring confidence.
What! SHALL THEY SEEK THE LION IN HIS DEN?
AND FRIGHT HIM THERE; AND MAKE HIM TREMBLE THERE?
OH, LET IT NOT BE SAID!—Forage, and run
To meet displeasure farther from the doors;
AND GRAPPLE WITH HIM, Ere HE COME SO NIGH.—
—Shall we, upon the footing of our Land,
Send fair-play orders, and make compromise,
Insinuation, parley, and base truce
To Arms Invasive? Shall a _____
_____ brave our fields,
And flash his spirit in a warlike foil,
Mocking the air with colours idly spread,
And find no check?—LET US TO ARMS!

Now on, you NOBLEST ENGLISH,
Whose blood is fetch'd from Fathers of war-proof;
Fathers, that, like so many Alexanders,
Have on French foil from morn till even fought,
And sheath'd their swords for lack of argument.—
Dishonour not your Mothers; now attest,
That those, whom you call'd Fathers, did beget you.
Be copy now to men of greater blood,
And teach them how to war. AND YOU GOOD YEOMEN,
Whose Limbs were made in ENGLAND, shew us now
The metal of your Pasture: Let us know
That you are worth your breeding, which I doubt not:
For there is none of you so mean and low
That hath not noble lustre in your eyes;
I see you stand like Greyhounds in the slips,
Straining upon the start. THE GAME'S A-FOOT;
FOLLOW YOUR SPIRIT; and, upon this Charge,
Cry God for Us! For ENGLAND! and KING GEORGE.

BRITONS!

THIS ENGLAND NEVER DID (NOR NEVER SHALL)
LIE AT THE PROUD FOOT OF A CONQUEROR,
But when it first doth help to wound itself.—

—Let come three corners of the World in Arms,
And we shall flock them: NOUGHT SHALL MAKE US RUE,
IF ENGLAND TO ITSELF DO REST BUT TRUE.

SHAKESPEARE often delights us on the Stage in the Hour of Amusement,—let him now in the HOUR OF PERIL inspire us with that PATRIOTISM and COURAGE which animated our Forefathers to those DEEDS OF GLORY which he describes.—SHAKESPEARE now speaks in the Character of A TRUE ENGLISHMAN and A STURDY JOHN BULL, indignant that a FRENCH ARMY should WAGE WAR IN OUR ISLE: And in the Character of the heroic Harry the Fifth, who led our Forefathers to DEEDS OF GLORY in the HEART OF FRANCE—Deeds which no Achievements have yet excelled, and which will ever honour our National Character, unless OBEYED BY OUR WANT OF SPIRIT. Shall France, who acknowledged this Prince their Lord, now impose her Yoke upon Us? Need it be told that, led by this Royal Hero, an intrepid Band of Twelve Thousand Men, encountered and vanquished a Mighty Host of SIXTY THOUSAND?—These courageous Men were BRITONS—WE too are BRITONS;—Let, then, all who claim that Title, and whose Veins flow with BRITISH BLOOD, emulate the ARDOUR, the COURAGE, the GLORY of their Ancestors, and strive to perform that Renown for their Posterity, which the HEROES of ANTIQUITY and GREECE have transmitted to us—AND MAY WE EQUALLY DESERVE THE ADMIRATION OF AFTER-AGES!

Printed by Luke Hansard, Old Bailey, London, in the Year 1803.

“Shakespeare often delights us on the Stage in the Hour of Amusement, – let him now in the Hour of Peril inspire us with that Patriotism and Courage which animated our Forefathers to those Deeds of Glory which he describes.”

A copy of this broadside was included in the exhibition *Remembering Shakespeare* at the Beinecke Library, Yale University, June 2012.

Shakespeare's Ghost!

OUR immortal BARD,—who was as good an ENGLISHMAN as a POET; whose Breast glowed as much with Enthusiastic LOVE OF HIS COUNTRY, as his Fancy with Poetic Fire,—addresses his COUNTRYMEN in the following animated Strain:

BRITONS!

BE STIRRING AS THE TIME; BE FIRE WITH FIRE,
Threaten the Threatener, and out-face the brow
Of bragging horror; so shall inferior eyes,
That borrow their behaviours from the great,
Grow great by your example, and put on
THE DAUNTLESS SPIRIT OF RESOLUTION.
Away; and glister like the God of War
When he intendeth to become the field:
Shew boldness, and aspiring confidence.
What! SHALL THEY SEEK THE LION IN HIS DEN?
AND FRIGHT HIM THERE; AND MAKE HIM TREMBLE THERE?
OH, LET IT NOT BE SAID!—Forage, and run
To meet displeasure farther from the doors;
AND GRAPPLE WITH HIM, ERE HE COME SO NIGH.—
—Shall we, upon the footing of our Land,
Send fair-play orders, and make compromise,
Insinuation, parley, and base truce
To Arms Invasive? Shall a _____
_____ brave our fields,
And flash his spirit in a warlike foil,
Mocking the air with colours idly spread,
And find no check?—**LET US TO ARMS!**

_____ Now on, you **NOBLEST ENGLISH,**
Whose blood is fetch'd from Fathers of war-proof;
Fathers, that, like so many Alexanders,
Have on French soil from morn till even fought,
And sheath'd their swords for lack of argument.—
Dishonour not your Mothers; now attest,
That those, whom you call'd Fathers, did beget you.
Be copy now to men of grosser blood,
And teach them how to war. **AND YOU GOOD YEOMEN,**
Whose Limbs were made in ENGLAND, shew us now
The metal of your Pasture: Let us know
That you are worth your breeding, which I doubt not:
For there is none of you so mean and low
That hath not noble lustre in your eyes;
I see you stand like Greyhounds in the slips,
Straining upon the start. **THE GAME'S A-FOOT;**
FOLLOW YOUR SPIRIT; and, upon this Charge,
Cry God for Us! For ENGLAND! and KING GEORGE.

BRITONS!

**THIS ENGLAND NEVER DID (NOR NEVER SHALL)
LIE AT THE PROUD FOOT OF A CONQUEROR,
But when it first doth help to wound itself.—**

**—Let come three corners of the World in Arms,
And we shall shock them: NOUGHT SHALL MAKE US RUE,
IF ENGLAND TO ITSELF DO REST BUT TRUE.**

SHAKESPEARE often delights us on the Stage in the Hour of Amusement,—let him now in the HOUR OF PERIL inspire us with that PATRIOTISM and COURAGE which animated our Forefathers to those DEEDS OF GLORY which he describes.—SHAKESPEARE now speaks in the Character of A TRUE ENGLISHMAN and A STURDY JOHN BULL, indignant that a FRENCH ARMY should WAGE WAR IN OUR ISLE: And in the Character of the heroic Harry the Fifth, who led our Forefathers to DEEDS OF GLORY in the HEART OF FRANCE—Deeds which no Achievements have yet excelled, and which will ever honour our National Character, unless O'ERCLOUDED BY OUR WANT OF SPIRIT. Shall France, who acknowledged this Prince their Lord, now impose her Yoke upon Us? Need it be told that, led by this Royal Hero, an intrepid Band of Twelve Thousand Men, encountered and vanquished a Mighty Host of SIXTY THOUSAND?—These courageous Men were BRITONS—WE too are BRITONS;—Let, then, all who claim that Title, and whose Veins flow with BRITISH BLOOD, emulate the ARDOUR, the COURAGE, the GLORY of their ANCESTOR, and strive to preserve that Renown for their POSTERITY, which the HEROES of AGINCOURT and CRESSY have transmitted to us.—And MAY WE EQUALLY DESERVE THE ADMIRATION OF AFTER-AGES!

26

A POVERTY-STRICKEN WEDDING

[SLIP SONG]. The Bunter's Wedding

Single Sheet (Approx 350 x 225mm)., two small woodcut illustrations, four columns of text. Chipped at the edges (one corner missing a small portion of text) and neatly folded down the centre, imprint cut away at the lower right-hand corner. [London: by J. Pitts, Great St, Andrew Street, Seven Dials, [c.1820?]

£250

ESTC records four undated (supposedly) 18th-century printings of this slip song which all survive in a single copy. The printer, John Pitts, was active trading between 1802–1844 working as a printer stationer and print seller but also selling toys (*see the British Book Trade Index*).

*“Goo [sic] people attend, I’ll discover
a wedding that happened of late,
I cannot tell why we should smother
The weddings of poor more than great
Twixt Ben of the Borough so pretty
Who carries a basket ‘tis said.
And daint plump Kent-street fair Kitty
A coney wool cutter by trade”*

poverty, hunger and unrest

The BUNTER'S WEDDING.



Goo people attend, I'll discover,
a wedding that happen'd of late,
I cannot tell why we should smother,
The weddings of poor more than great,
Twixt Ben of the Borough so pretty,
Who carries a basket 'tis said.
And dainty plump Kent-street fair Kitty,
A coney wool cutter by trade.

The guests were all quickly invited,
Been order'd the dinner by noon,
And Kitty was highly delighted,
They obey'd the glad summons so soon;
An ox cheek was order'd for dinner,
With plenty of porter and gin,
Ben swore on the oath of a finner,
Nothing should be wanting in him.

Dolly the ragwoman's daughter,
From Tyburn road she did stride,
And Jenny the quilter came after,
Whole nole it stood all of one side,
There was Roger the chimney sweeper,
No foot he would gather that day,
But because he would look the compleater,
His foot bag and brush threw away.

There was bandy-legged sheep's head Sufan
We hear in Fie-d lane di hie,
and draggle tail Pat with no shoes on,
Who pins and faces doth cry;
Ralph the thegrinder he set by his barrow,
So soon as he heard of the news,
and swore he would be there so morrow,
Aitho' he'd no heel to his shoes.

Johnson's *Dictionary* defines "bunter" as "A cant word for a woman who picks up rags about the street; and used by way of contempt, for any low vulgar woman." In this entertaining slip song Kitty, the "bunter" in question, is married to Ben in front of a wedding party comprised of "Levi the Jew", "Fanny the pretty matchmaker", "Nan the tub-woman out of Whitechapel" and "squinting black Molly".

One of the most notable aspects of the song is the celebration of food and drink – which would no doubt have been scarce on any other normal day. The guests enjoy "plenty of porter and gin" and "ox cheek" for dinner.

When the wedding party pass through Borough market they are greeted, "With their marrow bones and cleavers, the butchers they run 'em a peal".

The BUNTER'S WEDDING.



GOO people attend, I'll discover,
 A wedding that happen'd of late,
 I cannot tell why we should smother,
 The weddings of poor more than great,
 Twixt Ben or the Borough so pretty,
 Who carries a basket 'tis said,
 And dainty plump Kent street fair Kitty,
 A coney wool cutter by trade.

The guests were all quickly invited,
 Been order'd the dinner by noon,
 And Kitty was highly delighted,
 They obey'd the glad summons so soon;
 An ox cheek was order'd for dinner,
 With plenty of porter and gin,
 Ben swore on the oath of a sinner,
 Nothing should be wanting in him.

Joe the sandman and Bessy the bunter,
 We hear from St. Gie's did prance,
 Dick the fiddler and Sally the mumper,
 Brought Levi the Jew for to dance.
 Tom the chanter he quickly was present,
 And squinting black Molly likewise,
 And Billy the dustman quite pleasant,
 With Nell with no nose and fore eyes.

Ned the drover was also invited,
 Unto this gay wedding to come,
 From Smithfield he posted delighted,
 Before that the market was done;
 And Fanny the pretty matchmaker,
 And Betty to Bunting Bets,
 Who had the devil might take her,
 Was not one of the guests,

Dolly the ragwoman's daughter,
 From Tyburn road she did stride,
 And Jenny the quilter came after,
 Whose nose it stood all of one side,
 There was Roger the chimney sweeper,
 No foot he would gather that day,
 But because he would look the compleater,
 His foot bag and brush threw away.

There was bandy-legged sheep's head Susan
 We hear from Fie d lane d hie,
 and draggle tail Pat with no shoes on,
 Who pins and taces doth cry;
 Ralph the the grinder he set by his barrow.
 So soon as he heard of the news,
 and swore he would be there to morrow,
 Altho' he'd no heel to his shoes.

Sam the grubber he having had warning
 His wallet and broom down did lay,
 And early attended next morning,
 The bride for to give away,
 And Peggy the mop-yarn spinner,
 Her cards and her wheels let aside,
 And swore as she was a sinner,
 She'd go and attire the bride,

Nan the tub-woman out of Whitechapel,
 Was also invited to go,
 And as she was kin to the couple,
 She swore she the stocking would throw.
 So having all gather'd together,
 As they appointed to meet,
 And being all birds of a feather,
 They presently flock'd to the fleet,

But when at Fleet-bridge they arrived,
 The bridegroom was handing his bride,
 The barkers they all to them driv'd,
 Do you want a parson? they cry'd;
 But as they down Fleet-ditch did prance fir
 What house shall we go to? says Ben,
 Then Kitty in raptures made answer,
 Let s go to the Hand and the Pen.

Then into the house they did bundle,
 The landlady shew'd them a room,
 The landlord roar'd out like thunder,
 The parson shall wait on you soon;
 Then in came so eager to fasten,
 He itaid not to fasten his hole,
 A fat belly d ruddy-face d painted,
 That brandy had painted his nose.

But before he this couple did fasten,
 He looked all round on the men,
 My fee s half a crown, says the parson,
 I treely will give it says Ben;
 Then Hymen he presently follow'd,
 and the happy knot being ty'd,
 The guests they hooped and hol'ow'd,
 All joys to the bridegroom and bride.

Like malt horses home they all pranced,
 The bride she look'd not like the same,
 And thus thro' the city they danced,
 But when to the Borough they came;
 The bride to look buxom endeavour'd,
 the bridegroom as brisk as an eel,
 With their marrow bones and clavers,
 the butchers they rung 'em a peal.

and as they were homewards advancing,
 A dancing and singing of songs,
 the rough music met them all prancing,
 With fringing pans, shovels and tongs;
 tin cannisters, salt boxes plenty,
 With trotter bones beat by the boys,
 and they being most now and empty,
 They made a most racketing noise.

Bow's gridirons platters and ladles
 And pokers tin kettles did bruse
 the noise none to bear it were able
 the warning pan beat with old shoes;
 such a rattling racketing uproar
 Had you but have heard it no doubt
 All hell was broke loose you'd have swore
 And the devils running about.

The mob they all hollow'd and
 The streets as they pass'd along,
 The people to see how they scouted,
 Together in clusters did throng;
 All the rattling they made they were at
 And they were usher'd in,
 But ere they all sat down to table,
 They each had a glass of old gin.

Dinner being decently ended,
 The table was cleared with speed,
 And thus they to be merry intended,
 So straight did to dancing proceed;
 But Harry the nightman so jolly,
 With madnefs he almost cry'd,
 and all the night fat melancholy,
 For he had a mind to the bride,

Bob the brick maker now being merry,
 Tho' to foot it first he was loath,
 He told them he'd tip them Bob Perry,
 But they swore they'd have Newgate broth,
 Tom the chanter he tript thom a trilly,
 That never before was in print,
 While the dustman they call smutty Billy,
 Gnaw'd the head of black Moll that di
 squiet.

Jack the coal heaver thought himse
 flicted,
 They carried the rig on so quiet,
 And swore as he was not invited,
 He'd go there and kick up a riot;
 Then hectoring, bouncing, and swearing,
 So boldly he enter'd the house,
 But when he saw Joey the sandman,
 The cull was as still as a mouse.

Bess the bunter sung Murdock O'Blaney,
 The chorus it made the house ring,
 Neil with no nose cry'd you'll shame me
 If such bawdy songs you do sing;
 Drunken Levi the Jew was abusive
 And would have got trimm'd as tis said,
 Had not his pomatum been useful,
 As Kitty the bride was a maid.

Joe the sandman then talk'd of a Naifort
 Away the coal heaver did flink,
 Quite raint hearted worse than a taylor,
 Left Joey should give him a clink;
 But being all got drunk together,
 Ben pray'd them all night for to stay,
 So coupled them in his long feathers,
 And parted good friends the next day;

“CERTAIN WICKED INCENDIARIES HAVE SECRETLY,
BY FIRE ... DESTROYED THE CORN, HAY, BUILDINGS
AND OTHER PROPERTY OF OUR SUBJECTS”

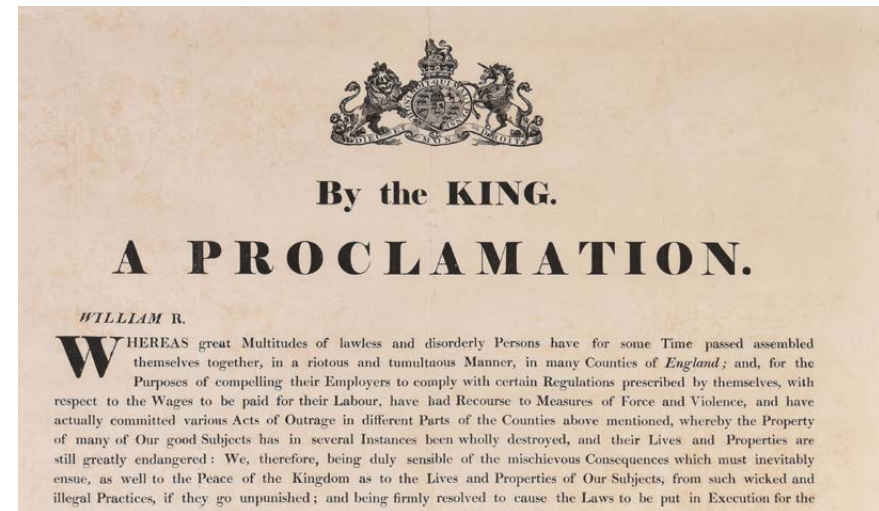
[WILLIAM IV]. By the King. A Proclamation.
William R. Whereas great Multitudes of lawless and
disorderly persons have for some time passed assembled
themselves together, in a riotous and tumultuous
manner ...

Large Broadside (566 x 435mm)., Royal arms at the head
of the sheet. Printed on the recto only, some worming
to the outer corners and near the central fold line (just
touching a single word of text), closed tear to the lower
edge (touching a couple of lines of text), lightly foxed
and carefully laid down on a sheet of thicker paper.
London: printed by George Eyre and Andrew Strahan, 1830. £950

OCLC records a single copy at Queen's University (Canada).

A striking proclamation urging local authorities to “discover,
apprehend, and bring to Justice” those involved in the Swing
Riots – a violent uprising by agricultural workers protesting
against the mechanisation of farm labour and the working con-
ditions of the labourers.

poverty, hunger and unrest



The riots began with the destruction of threshing machines in East Kent in August 1830 and spread quickly to other counties. By October, more than 100 threshing machines had been destroyed in East Kent alone. The name “Swing Riots” was derived from “Captain Swing,” the fictitious name appended to the threatening letters sent to farmers, landowners, magistrates and other officials. Swing was a reference to the swinging flail used in threshing by hand.

The proclamation promises anyone with information about the rioters a reward of fifty pounds (and immunity from prosecution themselves) but specifically states that anyone with information about those setting fire to “corn, hay, buildings, and other property” will be eligible for a further reward:

“... any person who shall discover and apprehend, or cause to be discovered and apprehended, the Authors of the said Fires, so that they or any of them may be duly convicted thereof, shall be entitled to the Sum of FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS for each and every person who shall be so convicted ...”

Many of those convicted of involvement in the Swing Riots were sentenced to death or transported to New South Wales.

poverty, hunger and unrest



By the **KING.**

A PROCLAMATION.

WILLIAM R.

WHEREAS great Multitudes of lawless and disorderly Persons have for some Time passed assembled themselves together, in a riotous and tumultuous Manner, in many Counties of *England*; and, for the Purposes of compelling their Employers to comply with certain Regulations prescribed by themselves, with respect to the Wages to be paid for their Labour, have had Recourse to Measures of Force and Violence, and have actually committed various Acts of Outrage in different Parts of the Counties above mentioned, whereby the Property of many of Our good Subjects has in several Instances been wholly destroyed, and their Lives and Properties are still greatly endangered: We, therefore, being duly sensible of the mischievous Consequences which must inevitably ensue, as well to the Peace of the Kingdom as to the Lives and Properties of Our Subjects, from such wicked and illegal Practices, if they go unpunished; and being firmly resolved to cause the Laws to be put in Execution for the Punishment of such Offenders, have thought fit, by the Advice of Our Privy Council, to issue this Proclamation, hereby strictly commanding all Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, Under-Sheriffs, and all other Civil Officers whatsoever, within the said Counties, that they do use their utmost Endeavours to discover, apprehend, and bring to Justice, the Persons concerned in the riotous Proceedings above mentioned.

And, as a further Inducement to discover Offenders, We do hereby promise and declare, That any Person or Persons who shall discover and apprehend, or cause to be discovered and apprehended, the Authors, Abettors, or Perpetrators of any such Outrages as those above mentioned, in the said Counties, so that they or any of them may be duly convicted thereof, shall be entitled to the Sum of FIFTY POUNDS for each and every Person who shall be so convicted, and shall also receive Our most gracious PARDON for the said Offence, in case the Person making such Discovery as aforesaid shall be liable to be prosecuted for the same.

And whereas certain wicked Incendiaries have secretly, by Fire, in many Parts of the said Counties, destroyed the Corn, Hay, Buildings, and other Property of Our Subjects, We do hereby promise and declare, That any Person or Persons who shall discover and apprehend, or cause to be discovered and apprehended, the Authors of the said Fires, so that they or any of them may be duly convicted thereof, shall be entitled to the Sum of FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS for each and every Person who shall be so convicted, and shall also receive Our most gracious PARDON (except the actual Perpetrator of any of the said Fires), in case the Person making such Discovery shall be liable to be prosecuted for the same.

And the Lords Commissioners of Our Treasury are hereby required to make Payment accordingly of the said Rewards.

Given at Our Court at *Saint James's*, this Twenty-third Day of *November* One thousand eight hundred and thirty, in the First Year of Our Reign.

God save the King.

TAXATION TO FUND WAR

[TAXATION]. Thoughts on the Present Scheme of Extensive Taxation.

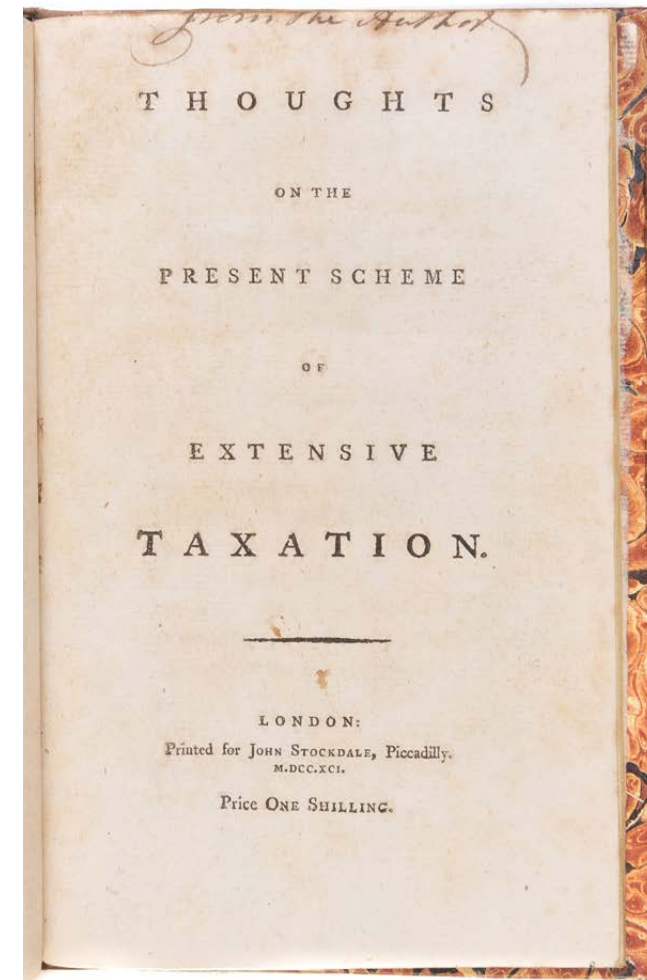
First Edition. 8vo (197 x 120mm). 24 pp., **without the four final advertisement leaves**; inscribed 'From the Author' to the head of title page, inscription very slightly shaved. Recent calf-backed marbled boards, spine with four single raised bands outlined in gilt, lettered in gilt on a red morocco label. London: Printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly. 1791. **£875**

Goldsmiths' 14937; Kress, B.2219. **Rare**. ESTC lists only six copies, two in the UK (BL & Senate House), and four in North America (Columbia, Harvard, Huntington, and State University of New York at Stony Brook). RareBook Hub and ABPC list no copies at auction.

A rare anonymous defence of a four year tax scheme introduced by the British government to levy funds for armaments in anticipation of the French Revolutionary Wars.

The pamphlet offers a stark warning against the dangers of national debt and what the author describes as the "pernicious system of perpetual funding", with particular reference to the French Revolution: "... we may read an awful and destructive lesson ... that it is not the rigours of despotism in the government of France, so much as to the disorder of her finances, that her fall is to be attributed" (pp. 14–15).

poverty, hunger and unrest



A contemporary review in *The Analytical Review* summarised the main arguments of the pamphlet: "These thoughts are intended to reconcile the people of this country to the scheme of paying off the expenses of the late armament in four years. The present situation of France, to which she was reduced by the system of perpetually funding her debts, affords the principal argument to this writer, who contends that a similar defalcation of resources must inevitably follow a perseverance in the same practice, the consequence of which must be the death of the constitution. Hence he exhorts his countrymen to contribute cheerfully to the proposed scheme as the best means of giving an effectual check to the 'pernicious system of perpetual funding, that the accumulation of debt may not overlay our resources when we least expect it."

29

THE INFAMOUS TEA ACT: A KEY DOCUMENT IN
THE STORY OF AMERICA'S INDEPENDENCE
– THE CATALYST FOR THE BOSTON TEA PARTY

[TEA ACT]. An Act to allow a Drawback of the duties of Customs on the Exportation of Tea to any of his Majesty's Colonies or Plantations in America; [...] and to empower the Commissioners of the Treasury to grant Licenses to the East India Company to export Tea Duty-free.

First Separate Issue. Small Folio (318 x 198mm). [2], 895–902pp., the separate issue with a general title-page.

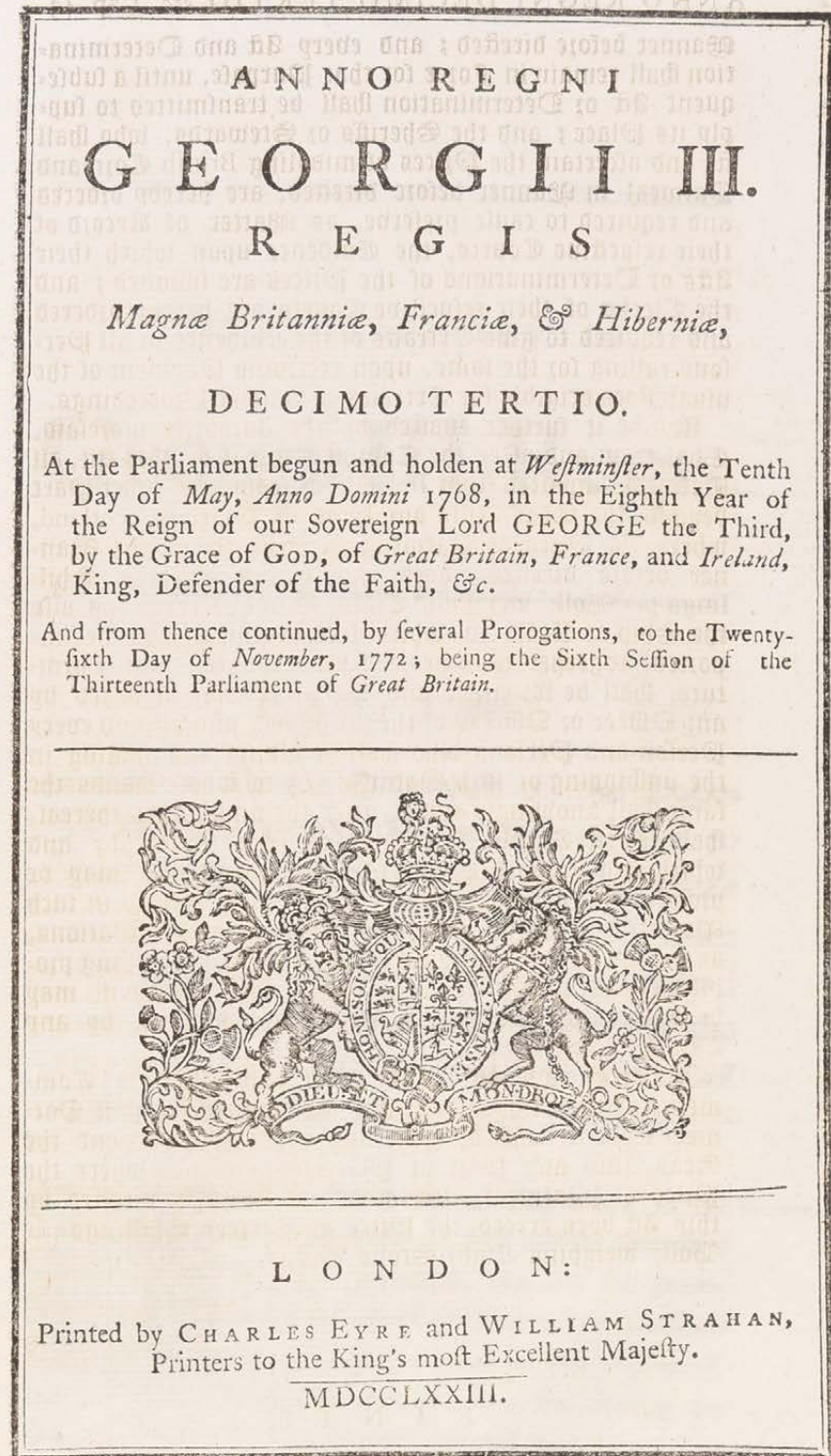
A couple of very small spots in places but otherwise a very clean and large copy. Later blue paper wrappers.

London: by Charles Eyre and William Strahan, 1773 £25,000

Rare. ESTC records copies at Lincoln's Inn; Newberry, Tulane University, Library of Congress, University of Minnesota and Yale. OCLC adds a copy at the American Philosophical Society Library. Not in Church, not in Howes, not in Sabin

A modest-looking Parliamentary Act – passed “without opposition, nay, almost without remark” – that sparked the Boston Tea Party and precipitated the American War of Independence.

poverty, hunger and unrest



for every Chest of Bohea Tea, under the same Terms and Conditions, and subject to the same Forfeitures, Penalties, and Regulations, as are mentioned and contained in the said recited Act of the Eighteenth Year of the Reign of His said late Majesty.

Commissioners of the Treasury may grant Licence to the East India Company to export to America any Quantity of Tea they shall think proper, without Penalty.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for the Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, or any Three or more of them, or the High Treasurer for the Time being, upon Application made to them by the said United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies for that Purpose, to grant a Licence or Licences to the said United Company, to take out of their Warehouses, without the same having been put up to Sale, and to export to any of the British Plantations in America, or to any Parts beyond the Seas, such Quantity or Quantities of Tea as the said Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, or any Three or more of them, or the High Treasurer for the Time being, shall think proper and expedient, without incurring any Penalty or Forfeiture for so doing; any Thing in the said in-part recited Act, or any other Law, to the Contrary notwithstanding.

Act 6th. III. recited.

And whereas by an Act made in the Ninth and Tenth Years of the Reign of King William the Third, (intituled, An Act for raising a Sum not exceeding Two Millions, upon a Fund, for Payment of Annuities, after the Rate of Eight Pounds per Centum per Annum; and for settling the Trade to the East Indies), and by several other Acts of Parliament which are now in Force, the said United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies are obliged to give Security, under their Common Seal, for Payment of the Duties of Customs upon all unrated Goods imported by them, so soon as the same shall be sold; and for exposing such Goods to Sale, openly and fairly,

by Way of Auction, or by Inch of Candle, within the Space of Three Years from the Importation thereof: And whereas it is expedient that some Provision should be made to permit the said United Company, in certain Cases, to export Tea, on their own Account, to the British Plantations in America, or to Foreign Parts, without exposing such Tea to Sale here, or being charged with the Payment of any Duty for the same; be it therefore enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this Act, it shall and may be lawful for the Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, or any Three or more of them, or the High Treasurer for the Time being, to grant a Licence or Licences to the said United Company, to take out of their Warehouses such Quantity or Quantities of Tea as the said Commissioners of the Treasury, or any Three or more of them, or the High Treasurer for the Time being, shall think proper, without the same having been exposed to Sale in this Kingdom; and to export such Tea to any of the British Colonies or Plantations in America, or to Foreign Parts, discharged from the Payment of any Customs or Duties whatsoever; any Thing in the said recited Act, or any other Act, to the Contrary notwithstanding.

Treasury may grant Licence to the Company for any Quantity of Tea to be exported to America, discharged of Customs.

Provided always, and it is hereby further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That a due Entry shall be made at the Custom-house, of all such Tea so exported by Licence, as aforesaid, expressing the Quantities thereof, at what Time imported, and by what Ship; and such Tea shall be shipped for Exportation by the proper Officer for that Purpose, and shall, in all other Respects, not altered by this Act, be liable to the same Rules, Regulations, Restrictions, Securities, Penalties, and Forfeitures, as Tea exported to the like Places was liable to before the passing of this Act: And upon the proper Officer's Duty, certifying the Shipping of such Tea to the Collector and Comptroller of His Majesty's Customs for the

Entry to be made of all Tea exported by Licence, and shipped by the proper Officer;

and such Tea is liable to the same Rules, Penalties, &c. not hereby altered, as before passing this Act.

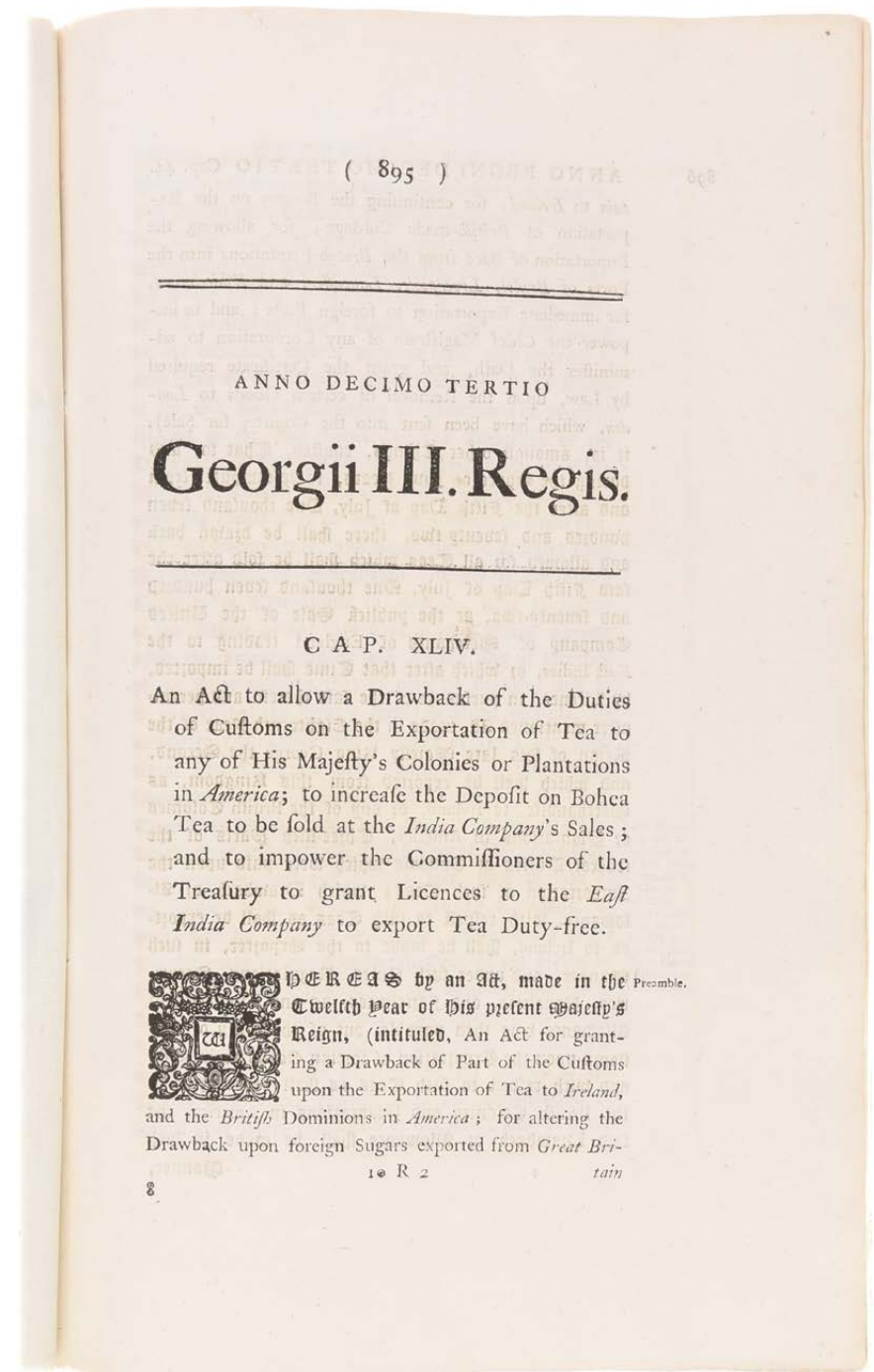
Officer's and Collector's Duty on Exportation.

“The tea destroyers hailed from all walks of life. Men with strong backs and hard Yankee accents, they were a mix of young merchants, craftsmen, apprentices, and workers. They believed in a wrathful God, and they feared that the temptations of tea would turn them into tools of a corrupt, tyrannical empire. The grown men among them believed they were embarked on a noble deed of patriotic virtue. The younger boys thrilled to the idea of an evening spent wreaking chaos and destruction ... On the evening of December 16, they spoke for all the dissidents in Boston who had squared off against the policies of the British government. **The Boston Tea Party wasn't a rebellion, or even a protest against the king – but it set in motion a series of events that led to open revolt against the British Crown**” (Benjamin L. Carp, *Defiance of the Patriots: the Boston Tea Party and the Making of America* Yale 2010).

Great Britain clearly hadn't foreseen the ramifications of what appeared to be a straightforward piece of legislation. The Tea Act was passed by the British Parliament on April 27th 1773 and received Royal assent shortly after on the 10th May. The Act allowed the faltering East India Company to export tea directly to America without paying customs duties. This gave the East India Company an effective monopoly on the lucrative trade by ensuring that it could be sold cheaply enough to undercut even the tea smuggled into the colony. **The Act was passed in Britain, “without opposition, nay, almost without remark”** (Mahon, *History of England* (1858), vol V, p.319) with Benjamin Woods Labaree noting that **“Perhaps no bill of such momentous consequences has ever received less attention upon passage in Parliament.”** (*The Boston Tea Party* (1979), p.73).

Benjamin Franklin writing in London to Thomas Cushing on 4th June 1773 stated: “It was thought at the beginning of the session, that the American duty on tea would be taken off. But now the wise scheme is, to take off so much duty here, as will make tea cheaper in America than foreigners can supply us, and to confine the duty there, to keep up the exercise of the right. They have no idea that any people can act from any other principal but that of interest; and they believe, that three pence in a pound of tea, of which **one does not perhaps drink ten pounds in a year, sufficient to overcome all the patriotism of an American.**”

poverty, hunger and unrest



poverty, hunger and unrest

An Act to allow a Drawback of the Duties of Customs on the Exportation of Tea to any of His Majesty's Colonies or Plantations in *America*; to increase the Deposit on Bohca Tea to be sold at the *India Company's* Sales; and to empower the Commissioners of the Treasury to grant Licences to the *East India Company* to export Tea Duty-free.



WHEREAS by an Act, made in the Twelfth Year of His present Majesty's Reign, (intituled, An Act for granting a Drawback of Part of the Customs upon the Exportation of Tea to *Ireland*,

Preamble.

In America the Tea Act was seen as another aggressive piece of tyrannical taxation and recalled previous protests such as those surrounding the Stamp Act of 1765. **Instead of celebrating the lower price, Americans were furious that their own middlemen in the tea trade were being driven out of business.** This culminated in the so-called Boston Tea Party on 16th December 1773 when colonists (many dressed as Native Americans) boarded East India Company ships in Boston harbour and dumped the tea (valued at £18,000 – nearly a million dollars' worth today) overboard.

Parliamentary Acts were issued individually – as here – with a separate title-page and as continuous runs (hence the pagination). A group of individual acts including the present act (as the leading item) were sold at Sotheby's in 1988 for \$3,850. A copy of the (more common) Stamp Act of 1765 (*An Act for Granting and Applying certain Stamp Duties ... in America*) sold at Sotheby's in April 2010 (\$7,000). A copy of the Stamp Act is for sale online priced at \$27,500.

poverty, hunger and unrest

the Port of London, upon the Back of the Licence, and the Exportation thereof, verified by the Oath of the Husband or Agent for the said United Company, to be wrote at the Bottom of such Certificate, and sworn before the said Collector and Comptroller of the Customs, (which Oath they are hereby empowered to administer), it shall and may be lawful for such Collector and Comptroller to write off and discharge the Quantity of Tea so exported from the Warrant of the respective Ship in which such Tea was imported.

No Licence to be granted, unless it shall first be made to appear to the Satisfaction of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, or any Three or more of them, or the High Treasurer for the Time being, that at the Time of taking out such Teas, for the Exportation of which a Licence or Licences shall be granted, there will be left remaining in the Warehouses of the said United Company, a Quantity of Tea not less than Ten Millions of Pounds Weight; any Thing herein, or in any other Act of Parliament, contained to the Contrary thereof notwithstanding.

Provided nevertheless, That no such Licence shall be granted, unless it shall first be made to appear to the Satisfaction of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, or any Three or more of them, or the High Treasurer for the Time being, that at the Time of taking out such Teas, for the Exportation of which a Licence or Licences shall be granted, there will be left remaining in the Warehouses of the said United Company, a Quantity of Tea not less than Ten Millions of Pounds Weight; any Thing herein, or in any other Act of Parliament, contained to the Contrary thereof notwithstanding.

poverty, hunger and unrest

30

“THE EVIL OF DRINKING”

[TEMPERANCE]. Wine, spirits, malt liquor, and crime.

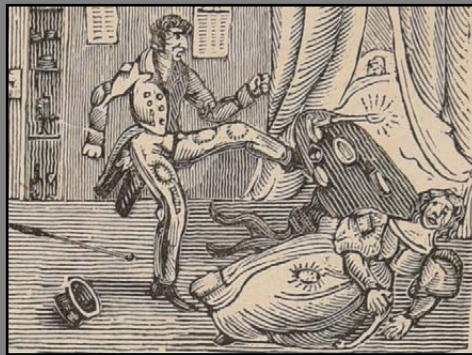
Single sheet handbill (256 x 184mm)., two woodcut illustrations. Evenly browned, slightly creased at the edges, small tape repair on the blank verso.

London: by J. V. Quick [and] J. Paul, [c.1840]

£550



Rare. OCLC records a single copy at the University of London.

A striking temperance handbill with two illustrations: the first showing a smartly dressed gentleman drinking a glass of wine, in the second image the same man is shown in a dishevelled suit (presumably under the influence of alcohol) kicking over his wife and a table in his home while a small child looks on from the bed.



poverty, hunger and unrest

**WINE, SPIRITS, MALT LIQUOR, AND
CRIME.**

The connection, as of cause and effect, between indulgence in *intoxicating drinks* and the commission of crime, is admitted by the almost unanimous testimony of judges, members of the bar, and peace officers. The great Judge Hale says—“The places of judicature which I have long held in this kingdom, have given me an opportunity to observe the original cause of most of the enormities that have been committed for near twenty years, and, by a due observation, I have found, that if the murders and manslaughters, the burglaries and robberies, and riots and tumults; the adulteries, fornications, rapes, and other great enormities that have happened in that time, were divided into five parts, four of them have been the issues and product of excessive Drinking, of Tavern and Ale-house meetings.

The Under-Sheriff of London and Middlesex, examined in the House of Commons on the Police of the Metropolis, thus remarks: “I would make some observations upon an evil, which, I am decidedly of opinion, lies at the root of all other evils in this City, and elsewhere; I mean the evil of drinking, but especially of drinking spirits. I have been long in the habit of hearing criminals refer all their misery to this source, so that I now cease to ask them the cause of their ruin.”

The SOBER Man's expenditure per Annum!			
One Glass of Gin per day costs	-	-	£0. 0s. 2d.
That is Seven in a week	-	-	0 1 2
Three Pints and a Half per month	-	-	0 4 8
Thirteen months in the year, Forty-five Pints and a Half, or Five Gallons Five Pints and a Half	-	-	3 0 8
One Ounce of Tobacco per week	-	-	0 0 3
That is Three Pounds and a Quarter per year	-	-	0 18 0
Total	-	-	£3. 13s. 8d.

Printed and Sold by J. V. QUICK, 13, Bowling Green Lane, Clerkenwell; J. PAUL, 53, Paternoster Row, where may be had "Grand View of the Times," "Hard Times," and "Vices of the Gin Shop," publications on Temperance.

Beneath the illustrations the text explicitly links drinking to crime and quotes a long passage, supposedly from “Judge Hale [Matthew Hale]”, claiming that the increase over the past 20 years of “murders and manslaughters ... burglaries and robberies, and riots and tumults” are all linked to the “excessive Drinking of Tavern and Ale-house meetings.”

Beneath the text is a table, “The SOBER Man’s expenditure per Annum!” which curiously does not seem to call for total abstinence as “one glass of gin per day” is included in the budget.

The printer and publisher John Vanderburg Quick produced numerous (often crime related) ballads and broadsides and was trading between 1823–1853. Three other temperance handbills are also advertised in the imprint including “Vices of the Gin Shop.”

31

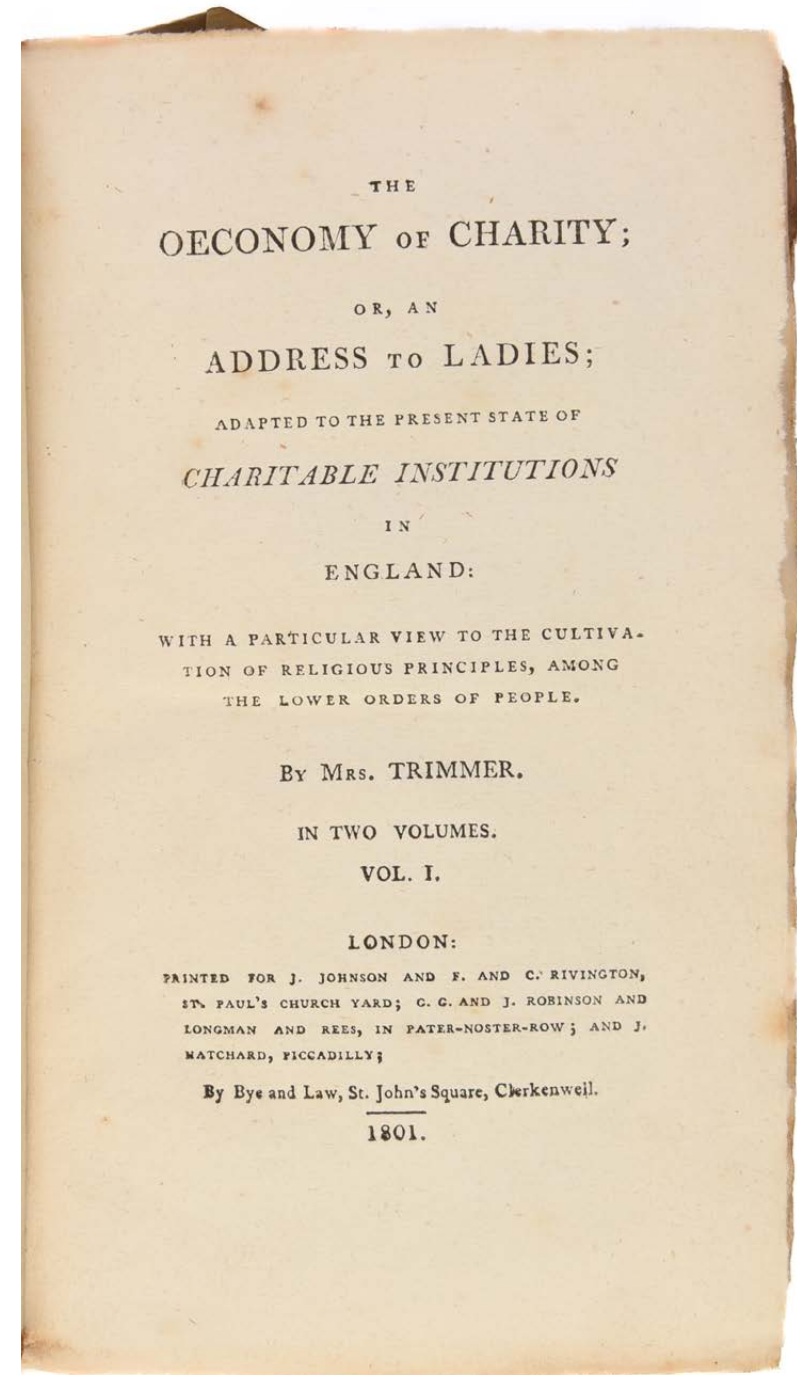
“THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FEMALE SEX IN SOCIETY”

TRIMMER (Sarah). *The Oeconomy of Charity; or, an Address to Ladies; adapted to the present state of Charitable Institutions in England: with a particular view to the Cultivation of Religious Principles, among the lower orders of people.* by Mrs. Trimmer.

First Edition. Two Volumes. Small 8vo (190 x 113mm).
xiii, [5], 337; [6], 353 pp. A little foxed in places but otherwise a clean and uncut copy with some gatherings still unopened. Original blue paper-backed publisher's boards, printed paper spine labels (spines worn and torn, labels beginning to detach, edges a little rubbed).
London: for J. Johnson ... F. and C. Rivington ... by Bye and Law, 1801 £275

A detailed work full of information on the education and treatment of the poor at the very beginning of the 19th century by largely female-led charitable institutions. The second volume concentrates on care for poor adults with information on soup kitchens, providing winter fuel, preventing infectious diseases and caring for pregnant women.

poverty, hunger and unrest



CONTENTS.		CONTENTS.	
	Page		Page
Extract concerning one of those Establishments at Tottenham High Cross	138	Proposal for raising charitable Funds for Sunday Gifts	243
Observations concerning the Sick Poor	143	Account of a method successfully used for inducing the Poor to be constant in their Attendance at Public Worship	251
Observations concerning Hospitals, &c.	155	A short Account of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge	263
An Account of Mr. Martin's Plan for relieving Common Beggars	165	Extract from an Account of the Bath Repository	269
Observations on Lodging Houses for Beggars, Purses, &c.	169	On relieving Prisoners	276
On the consequence of the Emigration of the Poor	172		
Extracts concerning Friendly Societies, from Philanthropic Tracts, by the Rev. Mr. Cowe	184	APPENDIX	
Extract concerning a Female Friendly Society at Lymington in Hampshire	193	Rules for the Management of Servants	282
Extract concerning a Female Friendly Society at Empingham, in the County of Rutland	197	Extract from the Preliminary Address to the First vol. of the Reports of the Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor	289
The building of Alms Houses recommended	201	Extract concerning the Comforts of the Poor	294
Extract concerning a Friendly Society for the aged Poor at Winton	208	Observations concerning the Influence of the Middle Classes of Society on the Conduct of the Poor	298
Remarks on the great neglect of Public Worship which prevails among the Poor, and the Causes of it	230	Extract concerning the Establishment at Hamburg for the Regulation of the Poor	301
Extract from an Account of the Free Church, Bath	225	Extract concerning supplying the Poor with Soup in the Country	308
Outlines of a Plan for building District Chapels in London, and forming regular Congregations	231	Further Observations concerning Soup Shops	309
Proposal		Account of a Plan for a Village Shop, established at Mongwell in Oxfordshire	312
	8	Extract	

In 1786 Sarah Trimmer (1741–1810) opened a Sunday school near her home in Brentford which by 1788 had over 300 pupils. Trimmer used her experiences teaching her own children at home and produced entertaining (albeit evangelical) text books for her pupils.

“In 1787 she opened a weekday school of industry for girls. The Old Brentford charity school trained orphaned or otherwise distressed middle-class girls as teachers and working-class girls in domestic service or appropriate trades ... Her charity school work was well known; Queen Charlotte and the dowager Countess Spencer were among those who consulted Trimmer on founding similar institutions.” (*ODNB*).

In the present work Trimmer sets out guidelines for how to run a Sunday school or Charity school for poor children with an emphasis on “Ladies” being encouraged to “take an active part in educating the Children of the Poor.” The second part of the first volume includes numerous reports on the day-to-day running of schools in London, the rest of the country and, in one case, Halle in Saxony.

poverty, hunger and unrest

In the second volume Trimmer widens her account to discuss **the education of adults in poverty** (including household servants). Trimmer discusses the nutritional requirements of adults and the state of housing, she also covers measures required for “relieving Prisoners”. In the second part of the book she gives practical advice on how to provide comfort for the poor as well as real examples of how this can work in practice including a “Plan for a village Shop, established at Mongwell in Oxfordshire”, and rules to be observed for preventing infectious diseases.

Trimmer published a different (and much shorter work) titled *The oeconomy of Charity* (1787). In the advertisement to the present work she notes that she was encouraged to publish a new and revised edition of that work but that her work with Sunday and charity schools since then necessitated an entirely new work.

Provenance: Earl of Minto, 19th-century armorial bookplate to the front pastedown of each volume. Bought by Maggs October 1954.



poverty, hunger and unrest

32

RECENTLY ATTRIBUTED TO
THE AGRICULTURALIST ARTHUR YOUNG
(1741-1820)

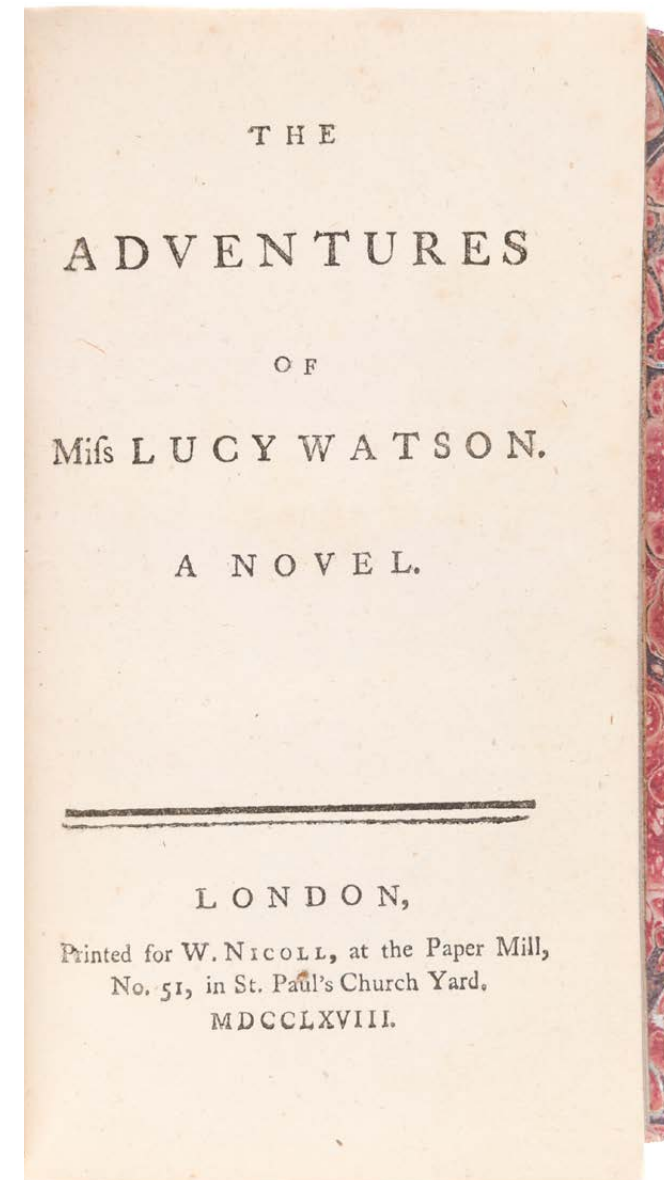
A Tragic Story of Male Domination and the Precarious Position
of Women in Society – Set Against the Possibility of Great
Wealth in the American Colonies

[YOUNG (Arthur)]. *The Adventures of Miss Lucy
Watson. A Novel.*

First Edition. 12mo (168 x 95mm). [4], 227, [1] pp., with the half-
title. Tiny hole through the title-page just touching the imprint,
some minor spotting and staining in places, fore-edges of C2-C11
carefully repaired (not touching the text), closed tear to the inner
margin of C7 touching (but not obscuring) a couple of lines of
text. Modern calf-backed marbled boards, red leather spine label.
London: for W. Nicoll, 1768 £8,500

Very Rare. ESTC records a single copy at the **British Library**. OCLC
and COPAC **add no further copies**. Rare Book Hub records a defective
copy “lacking pp. 147-162” at Bloomsbury Auctions in 2010 and a copy
sold as a mixed lot with ten other novels at Sotheby’s in 1968.

poverty, hunger and unrest



A shocking and tragic tale of deception and intrigue centring
around Lucy Watson, a wronged woman jettisoned by her rich
seducer and left in limbo with an illegitimate child. Watson suf-
fers ostracism from society, kidnap, attempted rape, forced separa-
tion from her child and a tragic descent into poverty.

This epistolary novel is played out against the backdrop of the American colonies and the opportunities there for amassing great wealth. Recently attributed to (and unmistakably by) the agricultural writer Arthur Young. One of only four novels written furtively by Young and later disavowed, the story borrows much from his views on agricultural policy and reflects many of his own theories and interests.

Lucy Watson comes from a wealthy family but her parents lose interest in her when they have a son and heir. Lucy becomes alienated from her family and meets Sir Edward Mansell, a wealthy man who she elopes with and has a child but Sir Edward becomes drawn to Lady Mary Sion, a charismatic society lady, who turns out to be a gambler who has amassed a large amount of debt and is looking to marry Sir Edward in order to pay it off.

Sir Edward struggles to decide between Lucy and Lady Mary and ultimately concedes he is unable to entirely relinquish his attachment to Lucy and her illegitimate daughter and suggests that his servant, the supercilious Mr Jefferson marry her with Sir Edward providing Jefferson with a stipend to keep her. Sir Edward cautions Jefferson:

“I have a great regard for her, and shall not marry her [to someone else] unless I am certain her husband will use her extremely well.” (p.52).

Sir Edward notes that Lucy has a powerful intensity and intellect which makes her seem, to him, less appealing as a partner than Lucy. Sir Edward says of Lucy:

“One does not naturally wish, in an idle hour of dissipation, for a Sir Isaac Newton to entertain ourselves with ...” (p.16).

Jefferson – who has no wish to marry Lucy and sees the situation as a convenient scheme to get rich – is meanwhile in communication with his confidant Mr Cary (who is also plotting to unsettle the relationship

poverty, hunger and unrest

between Sir Edward and Lady Mary). Cary repeatedly proposes various schemes for making great wealth in the American colonies to Jefferson:

“You must know, 1st, That exceedingly fertile land is to be purchased at a very low rate in the island of Tobago in the West Indies: secondly, That island naturally produces all the oriental spices which the Dutch East India company make so profitable a monopoly of, as to sell them from eight to nine and ten shillings a pound ...” (p.60).

“The present planters in tobago are all in the old humdrum walk, they raise nothing but sugar: they go on in the old road, so you would have no competitors ... You might easily manage the expence as follows. Slaves, twelve hundred pounds. Expenses of a voyage to the East Indies and bribing some of the Moluccayans, suppose four hundred. And sundries four more. Thus, two thousand pounds would lay the foundation of the greatest fortune in Europe.” (p.61–2).

“I have a little changed my mind, I have gained some curious information relative to our new province of Florida: a plantation in it would answer prodigiously ... Seven hundred pounds would suffice for a beginning, which I can demonstrate would increase it eight thousand pounds a year in nine years; by the cultivation of hemp and indigo. A negro yields twenty pounds a year, clear profit; a little multiplication will prove it to you.” (p.122–3).

Jefferson attempts to force a marriage between himself and Lucy by kidnapping and – in a shocking scene – threatening to hang her child if she refuses to go through with the marriage ceremony. Lucy is forced into the sham marriage (Jefferson tries to rape her in order to consummate the marriage) but she manages to escape by heroically threatening a servant with a stolen sword and she flees towards the west of England where

poverty, hunger and unrest

A walk of a fine evening is mighty agreeable. When I am hunting, I often think how pleasant such a field and such a one would be for a walk with such an agreeable lady as you, miss.

That's impossible, Sir—When you are hunting you can have no such thoughts. It would not be characteristical; you—

Characteristical! Miss? Why, is it not as much so to think of you as any thing else. I protest I had rather think of you than the best hound in my pack.

There you are out again: nothing is easier than to detect people when they speak sentiments which are contrary to those peculiar traits of their characters which must have a strong influence on all their real opinions: attend to what I say, Sir—It will possibly save you some trouble.

Miss, I'll attend to nothing else.

We are all born with some distinguishing characteristics which are moulded by education and life into those originalities which really exist in every person—and to which all their actions, when proceeding from themselves alone, are perfectly consistent, and their sentiments the same: but when to serve particular purposes they act or speak contrary to such their natures, it is the business of people who make it their attention to separate truth from falsehood, to lay open the real character to the light. Rainville, whom I suppose you have read—

Can't say I ever heard of him before—

Explains

Explains this in a very sensible manner. Now as I was saying,—but you understand me—

'Pon my soul, miss, 'tis Greek and Hebrew to me: why I never heard such a harrang—but mayhap you have some more to say—

But little—fear not—in one word I know your character, I know what must be your sentiments—so speak truth to me, and say but little.

But little, miss?

Aye, but little, and let that little be characteristical.

Well then, the short and the long of it is this—

I—

You what?

Odds bods, I don't know how to say it.

What can the man mean?

I could speak before Mr. Pitt on the affairs of the state of the nation better by half.

On what? let me hear what you have to say.

Why I—

Proceed.

Odds bods, miss, I love you.

Oh! you are greatly mistaken—it is impossible. Your character contradicts it.

Character! See there again: Lord, miss, you confound me with character and ristics, and the devil knows what. I absolutely am in love with you—

The characteristical distinction of—

I long have liked you—

she is cast into poverty, loses her child in a workhouse and eventually, exhausted and starving, dies.

The Adventures of Miss Lucy Watson was first attributed to Arthur Young by Ruth Perry in her book *Novel Relations, The Transformation of Kinship in English Literature and Culture, 1748–1818* (Cambridge UP, 2004).

“Young wrote his novels as pot-boilers, to make a little money to exchange in trade with his bookseller for more books. Although his novels contain much of interest to the social historian and the literary critic, Young himself intended posterity to forget these works of fiction. They are no worse than most of the novels published at the time – but also no better. He intended his agricultural writings, on the other hand, to change national consciousness about the possibilities of agricultural production, to wake up the nation to the importance of improved agricultural techniques, and to put farming on a par with manufacturing as a source of wealth for the nation.” (Perry 290–1).

Young published four novels: *The History of Sir Charles Beaufort* (1766), *The Adventures of Emmera, or the Fair American* (1767), The present novel and *The History of Julia Benson* (1775). Perry notes that Young makes no mention of the novels in his own *Autobiography* (published in 1898 and edited from Young’s journals by M. Bentham-Edwards), they have been overlooked by his bibliographers and are entirely absent from Young’s entry in the *ODNB*.

“Women are powerful in all his novels; young’s heroines, too, are all extremely intelligent, cultivated and rational although their virtues pale somewhat next to the passionate virulence of his villainesses. The noisy, cursing, macho braggadocio of his male villains is also similar from text to text. **Moreover, all four novels display an interest in agriculture that is, in my experience, unique in the fiction of this period.**” (Perry p.299).

Much of the information supplied to Jefferson by Cary in fact pre-empts some of the information in Young’s later (non-fiction) work, *Observations on the present state of the waste lands of Great Britain. Published on occasion of the establishment of a new colony on the Ohio* (London, 1773; also published by Nicoll). In *Observations* Young strikes a similar

poverty, hunger and unrest

tone to that of Cary in the present novel. Young quotes, for example, in *Observations* a passage from John Mitchell’s *Present state of Great Britain and North America* (London 1767) about the viability of cultivating various plants which echoes the words of Mr Cary quoted above:

“Now a crop of indigo, hemp, and flax would be much more profitable than any thing that America produces, whether on the continent or the islands. Every labourer might cultivate two acres or more in hemp, and one or two in indigo, the produce of which would be worth from 30l. to 40l. a year. this would enable them to purchase negroes, and to enlarge the British plantations beyond what they are otherwise capable of.” (footnote *Observations* p. 22).

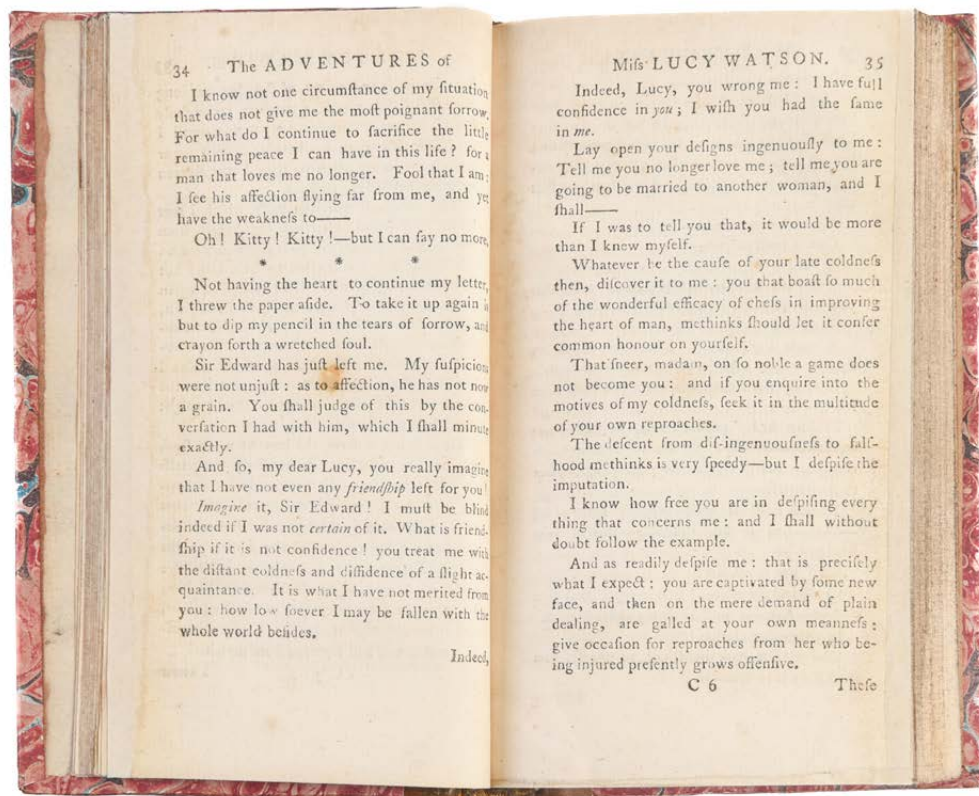
“There is an ambiguous character in *The Adventures of Miss Lucy Watson* who, in some respects is **reminiscent of Arthur Young himself.** Mr Cary is always thinking up just the kind of profitable agricultural schemes that appealed to Young and, like, him, is always calculating initial outlay and potential profit ... **Mr Cary nevertheless turns out to be a villain. It is noteworthy that Young created this morally ambiguous character to embody his own interest, a darker version of the calculating dreamer that he was himself.**” (p.332).

One unmistakable clue to Young’s authorship is the repeated references to chess in the novel. Young was a keen chess player and the game appears repeatedly in *The Adventures of Miss Lucy Watson*. Lucy and her love rival are compared by Sir Edward in regards to their opinions of chess – Lucy learns the game and shows some aptitude for it (much to Sir Edward’s delight) while Lady Mary refers to the game scornfully and remarks:

“He is chess mad. I declare. I believe he loves a check mate better than a kiss of the finest woman in England.” (p.9).

Sir Edward commends Lucy for taking up the game of chess (“she begins to play tolerably” p.17), as opposed to Mary who ridicules it, and states: “There is no other game, amusement, or scarce an employment, that fathoms the inmost soul of man more than this of chess.” (p.17).

poverty, hunger and unrest



Advertised as first published February 17th 1768 priced at “6d, sewed, or 3s. bound.” The advert also notes that Young’s *The Adventures of Emmera*; or, *The Fair American* can also be had at the same address.

This highly unusual novel, only recently attributed to Young deserves more scholarly attention: the themes of diminished female power, male domination and physical and sexual violence are all powerfully magnified and distorted by the recent knowledge that these views are ventriloquised by a (concealed) male author through his female characters. The backdrop of the British colonies – and the slave-like way in which Lucy is kept and brokered by Sir Edward – and the connections between Arthur Young’s non-fiction work all deserve reassessment.

poverty, hunger and unrest



THE WIDOW.



THE