The bookbinder and historical invisibility: bookbinding and the Staffordshire book trade 1750-1850

THE BOOKBINDER AND HISTORICAL INVISIBILITY: BOOKBINDING AND THE STAFFORDSHIRE BOOK TRADE 1750-1850

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Resubmission

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Abstract

Provincial bookbinding has been largely overlooked as a subject for study. The social history of bookbinding has been neglected in the historiography of the book trade, confining it in narrow bibliographical studies. This thesis investigates and challenges this situation, and the orthodox view of the dominance of the London book trade over the Staffordshire trade. It addresses the historical 'invisibility' of the bookbinders, and argues that Staffordshire's bookbinders made a significant contribution in the commerce between the county trade and London. There is little first-hand evidence of the lives lived by Staffordshire's binders. In the absence of such evidence my methodology relies on primary information from contemporary newspapers and books, and secondary data from regional scholars and published research, enabling the analysis of the activities and social context of Staffordshire's binders. It uses the greater availability of book history information in various databases. The thesis argues that the study of bookbinding should form an integral element of book trade history scholarship, in order to explore its place in the social, historical and cultural experience of the advancement of literacy and reading. It makes a significant new addition to knowledge of the contribution of Staffordshire's binders to regional and national printing culture, and also investigates the roles and value of its

women bookbinders, leading to a greater understanding of the cultural value of Staffordshire's binders.

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Thanks too to the staff at Staffordshire Record Office and Lichfield Cathedral Library, and to the late Mr Peter Giffard of Chillington Hall for access to his library. My love and grateful thanks go to my late father, H. R. Hanks BEM, for taking the photographs.

Abbreviations

SA	The Staffordshire Advertiser and the issue date, Eg. SA 4 March 1810.
Cen 41/14	Census 1841, with SRO microfilm reference.
CD18	Parson's and Bradshaw's *Staffordshire General and Commercial Directory* 1818.
SRO D593/K/1/1/6	Documents in the Staffordshire County Record Office.
BBS	Birmingham Bibliographical Society.
WP1/1	Working Papers of the above, Eg. Working Paper 1, p. 1.
PD35	Pigot's *National and Commercial Directory* 1835.
LJRO	Lichfield Joint Record Office (now closed).
LCL	Lichfield Cathedral Library.
WSL	William Salt Library, Stafford.
BBTI	The British Book Trade Index.
HDSDL	The Historical Directories Searchable Digital Library.
BNA	The British Newspaper Archive.

Introduction

Reasons for the Research - Why Staffordshire?

This study emerged from my professional work as a bookbinder and conservator in the 1990s, and a desire to investigate the place, history and activities of bookbinders in Staffordshire. Bookbinding and the Staffordshire book trade had a substantial regional presence within the UK publishing scene between 1750 and 1850. This is overlooked by current scholarship, and my thesis aims to put this contribution on the map.

The intellectual rationale driving this research comes from the consciousness that much previous and current book history scholarship is Londoncentric, and that the regions have been somewhat neglected. Bookbinding history, whether in London or the counties, has scarcely featured. Staffordshire offers the geographical and industrial diversity of a county in the crucible of the Industrial Revolution. Staffordshire was at the regional centre of the crucial technological developments brought about by James Watt, Matthew Boulton, Josiah Wedgwood and others (see Jenny Uglow, 2003). The county offers a rich variety of research sites such as the County Record Office, various country houses such as Chillington Hall; the municipal libraries, and the archives at Lichfield Cathedral.

The geographical and industrial diversity of Staffordshire gave a degree of variety which I thought would lead to a large demand across the county for different types of binding, and so it proved, critical in developing an understanding of the relationship of London to the regional trade. The regional book trade found different types of customer, from the many country houses building up their libraries, the various sorts of practical books and bindings required by the religious and business communities, to the demand for binding from the circulating and subscription libraries catering to the increase in literacy and reading.

The county was then and remains diverse both topographically and industrially: the north around Leek is hilly; agriculture is a major industry throughout, especially in the central belt. The south of the county was urbanised early in the mid- to late eighteenth-century as the rapid industrialisation gathered pace to take advantage of the technological changes taking place, such as the harnessing of steam power. It quickly became the 'Black Country' due to the concentration of chimneys spewing out smoke to discolour the buildings. The main towns were wide-ranging in their activities and industries: the pottery trade and coal mining in Stoke-on-Trent; brewing in Burton-on-Trent; footwear and salt in Stafford; the great cultural and ecclesiastical

centre of Lichfield and the multifarious metal trades in the Black Country towns. Coal and ironstone mining also took place in the southern towns (M. W. Greenslade and D. G. Stuart, 1984, p. 86). The increase in industrial activity led to a growing population in the county: between 1801 and 1901 it grew from 242,693 to 1,234,533; Stafford from 3,898 to 14,060 (1984, p. 102). Population data is used to give context to the general increase in literacy. This is from PD35, which derived its data from the Censuses of 1821 and 1831.

The date range covered by this thesis is explained in detail below. It begins in the reign of George II and ends in Victoria's. It is not my purpose here to go into the machinations of Tory and Whig party politics; there were important changes such as the Reform Act of 1832 and the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, especially important in Staffordshire with its heavy reliance on agriculture. The political landscape and machinery differed little from other counties: labour agitation was increasing, characterised by the Chartist movement at the end of my period, and in this Staffordshire differed little from other industrialising areas of the country. There was considerable civil unrest of different types throughout the period, covered by T. J. Pointon (1991).

The historical image of the book trade, and bookbinding in particular, has been centred on London, and has been created by older and current scholarship. In my view this originated in the undoubted domination of the national and regional trade by the London Stationers' Company from its foundation in 1557, as noted by Joseph Hill:

> To be worthy of the name, a book must bear the imprint of a London publisher, a tacit yet unfair admission of provincial weakness or inability. This was of course the direct and natural result of the great monopolies and privileges vested in the London Stationers' Company (1907, p. v).

I want to challenge this orthodoxy by presenting primary archival evidence to show that, while London's domination is clear, Staffordshire's trade produced many publications of both regional and national interest independently from London. The provinces were as much an integral part of the system as the metropolitan publishing centres. 'Feather underestimates the richness of provincial work' (Peter Isaac, 2001, p. 412). The word 'provincial', while simply meaning something 'of a province or the provinces', also carries connotations of 'inferiority and narrow-mindedness which is implicitly contrasted with the social and intellectual sophistication of metropolitan life' (John Feather, 2004, p. 1). For this reason I use the term 'regional' to avoid this parochial viewpoint, and to more

accurately reflect the regional geography of the book trade network. 'Regionality' is one of the key themes of *Print Culture, Agency, and Regionality in the Hand Press Period* (Rachel Stenner, Kaley Kramer and Adam James Smith, 2022), reflected in the evidence from Staffordshire.

Staffordshire produced high quality binding work in addition to more work-a-day items; well known public domain texts were reprinted and bound in the county. Regional scholars such as the Birmingham Bibliographical Society began the long process of giving the regional book trade its proper social and political place, which I advocate in the case of the bookbinders: '...we are slowly demonstrating the untruth of the unspoken belief that everything memorable in the book trade happens in the “golden triangle” of London, Oxford and Cambridge' (Isaac, 2001, p. 440).

The regional bookbinder has not had sufficient prominence in the traditional hierarchy of the book trade: 'Formerly bookbinding was not a separate trade, but it was united with that of the stationer...' (R. Phillips, 1815, p. 93). There has been too heavy a reliance on the history of the London trade. Too few scholars seem to have seen any necessity to look beyond London.

Research Questions

My thesis is concerned primarily with Staffordshire's bookbinders, their locations and activities, and with the relationship of the county's book trade to the dominant metropolitan centre, London. It addresses the lack of personal details of bookbinders' experiences and the historical invisibility resulting from this. It deals with the changes in bookbinding brought about by technological advances and their effects. I seek to answer these points via the following questions:

[i] What was the relationship of the Staffordshire book trade and its bookbinders to the London trade, and to what extent was the Staffordshire trade independent of London?

[ii] How does the relative historical invisibility of the bookbinders affect my research, and how does my original research provide new perspectives on bookbinding history and scholarship?

[iii] What aesthetic and economic motivations shaped bookbinding in Staffordshire?

Research Basis and Assumptions

The book trade is ubiquitous in society because it deals with paper and printed matter of all kinds, facilitating all our record-keeping and communications. This study is not primarily an investigation of the Staffordshire trade but it goes into it in detail because the

bookbinders are indivisible from the process.

There is the issue of demarcation, establishing what role the person performed. It is rarely possible to say with confidence whether the person was printer, stationer or bookbinder: they usually advertised a range of services. For this reason, this study includes anyone who described themselves in the Census of 1841, advertisements or commercial directories as a bookbinder, or as providing that service. The study will include comparative information from adjacent counties, and Birmingham, which was then in Warwickshire, because of its proximity and importance. There were large numbers of people identifying as bookbinders in the city, especially in Bull Street. Similarly the study will include information from other parts of the UK to verify customs and practises in the Staffordshire book trade and to demonstrate the ubiquity and homogeneity of the trade in the regions. It will deal with bookbinders' locations in relation to the booksellers and printers, their relationship to the book trade, and their status whether as apprentice, journeyman, 'small master' or larger entrepreneur with various portfolio business interests.

The few women who feature do so frequently as running their own business or as widows having taken over their husbands' businesses. The latter meant that they could be recognised in their

own right in the craft and be admitted to guilds and trade bodies. In this way they would appear in the many commercial directories and provide evidence of their existence and activities. My thesis addresses an interesting gender aspect to the world of publishing: women formed a very important, largely unseen, element in the book trade.

They are as historically invisible as any of the male bookbinders; their activities were not usually recorded separately from those of their husbands or employers unless they identified themselves as bookbinders. By inference it is clear that many were active in the book trade, normally segregated in lower status tasks, and the reasons for this and the context will be discussed. A lot of the craft work was done by women, especially in tasks requiring considerable manual dexterity and accuracy, such as the sewing of books prior to binding.

Few working class people in occupations like bookbinding kept diaries, and their business records would probably have been minimal. They may have lacked the required literacy, or sufficient knowledge of accounting to keep full and accurate records. Paper was expensive and this may itself have limited their record-keeping (James Raven, 2014, pp. 63-84). It is paradoxical but the men and women listed in appendix 1 prove the relative historical invisibility of the bookbinders, because much of the substantive information in this study concerns

the principal local entrepreneurs of the book trade. We cannot be certain that they themselves were primarily bookbinders: many are also listed as providing the usual range of book trade and ancillary services.

They usually offered bookbinding, but it is most likely that the work was performed by others. This means that there could be a group of bookbinders beyond those in appendix 1, completely unrecorded unless they are identified primarily or solely as a bookbinder, and the possible reasons for this will be examined. They may have worked for the people in appendix 1 as journeymen on their employer's premises, in their own homes, or in small groups in rented binderies, otherwise invisible. However, this detailed list helps to develop the picture of the book trade in Staffordshire and its bookbinders.

Date Range

This spans a period of cataclysmic change both here and internationally. Britain in 1750 was still primarily an agricultural nation with a strong import trade in a variety of goods, and exports mainly of textiles and wool (see Francis Pryor, 2006). By 1850 it was recognisable as the country we live in today. Mechanisation transformed the binding trade as much as any other: in 1750

bookbinding was a handcraft; by 1850 new materials and processes had been introduced which led to the democratisation of reading for ordinary people by making books cheaper. Cloth began to be used to cover books from the 1820s; the 'case' binding, where the book cover is made separately from the text block, greatly speeded the process up and reduced costs, introduced from about 1825. These innovations changed the materiality of books and led to developments in how books appeared and how they were marketed, read and used. This whole process of industrialisation was captured by the Great Exhibition of 1851.

This period saw revolutions in America and France, and the great fear induced in the Government here that similar events would take place in British society, leading to draconian laws and measures to prevent this. G. D. H. Cole summarised it as a fear quite disproportionate to the potential threat: 'The old governing class and the new lords of industry were alike dominated by the panic fear of a British Revolution. They mistook the tiny Radical organisations […] for the first rumblings of a national revolutionary movement' (1947, p. 4).

This affected the book trade especially, because of its ability and readiness to produce potentially inflammatory and seditious material, and its efficiency in distributing it. The Home Office was aware of this

threat. Working people were uniting in Trades Unions and Friendly Societies, which further disturbed the established order as the Government saw it, and were ruthlessly suppressed; literacy was increasing and people were thirsty for news and printed information. It proved impossible for the State to completely stem the tide. The second half of my period saw relative peace in Europe after Waterloo, and ordinary people were more demanding of their rights. This affected bookbinders and the book trade by increasing demand; my study examines some of these major societal and political forces: these accelerating forces had irreversible effects on the bookbinding and printing trades, as profound as the effects of the internet today.

Current Scholarship and my Contribution

Bookbinders have traditionally been of low status in the book trade and in scholarship: the London trade was dominant and the regions seen as subservient, a distribution network for the London publishers. This thesis challenges this view relating to Staffordshire's binders by demonstrating the range and quality of the bindings attributable to them. Bookbinders are historically relatively invisible compared to booksellers and printers, and this study addresses that gap in scholarship and the literature. David Pearson (2020) calls bookbinding a 'Cinderella' subject, and I discuss the literature and how

bookbinding is treated within it in my Literature Review.

My research builds on a wealth of local and regional research: the seminal work of Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England* (1985), and the painstaking work of local research groups such as the Birmingham Bibliographical Society (1975 to 1987), The History of the Book Trade in the North group (1965 on), the British Book Trade Index (1990s on) and the many seminar papers published in the Print Networks series. My work adds new knowledge to this work by systematically collating specific information about Staffordshire's binders, their locations and activities, and by analysing this in relation to the national book trade and the interchanges with London publishers. My study provides detailed primary evidence about the types of bindings produced in Staffordshire and this new knowledge contributes to a better understanding of bookbinding as a whole and the inter-relationship of the London and regional trades.

My methodology achieves this in three principal ways. Firstly, it uses information from primary sources including contemporary newspapers and directories; secondly the examination of extant books of the period, with photographs, gives direct evidence of the capabilities of Staffordshire's binders and the context of the work in

the national book trade. Thirdly, published research establishes historical context. My research began in the 1990s since when digital searching and databases have added dimensions. These tools have given wider access to published research and further enabled the cross-referencing and corroboration of details in appendix 1. This gives a greater focus on the primary evidence of contemporary newspapers and extant books, enabling a new perspective on the context of Staffordshire's bookbinders. Regional bookbinding has not been studied in this way, and my work points to a new way of uniting bibliographical studies with the social, cultural and historical context, from which bookbinding, as a vital part of the book production process, is indivisible.

Literature Review

Introduction

There is a sense in which this review is of a literature which does not exist: regional bookbinding is largely absent from the vast literature of the book and the book trade. Pearson confirms bookbinding scholarship as a 'Cinderella' subject: 'Bookbinding […] remains seriously under-represented in this landscape' (2020, p. 498). Since the 1950s research into the history of the book trade has evolved as a discipline, led by scholars such as Feather, Isaac, Pearson and Mirjam Foot. The same cannot be said of scholarship dealing with the bookbinders and their place in that history. My thesis identifies and addresses this gap in knowledge, building on regional scholarship such as the Working Papers of the Birmingham Bibliographical Society (1975 to 1987). It analyses the type and quality of bookbindings in Staffordshire, adding new knowledge to the history of the regional trade.

Review of Scholarship

Why is it difficult to study bookbinders? They have traditionally been of low status within the printing industry, and so perhaps of less interest to scholars. Foot sums up the historical attitude to bookbinding studies: 'Even among fellow-historians and

bibliographers, bookbinding is considered an eccentric subject, out on a limb, not part of the mainstream of cultural or socio-historical research, not even a particularly significant part of the history of the book trade' (1993, p. 1). This epitomises the scholarly neglect of bookbinding which my study addresses to give bookbinding its proper place in book trade history, as an essential element of the creation and marketing of a book.

This may be the result of the function of bookbinding as a servant of the printing and book-making process; bookbinders lacked status and agency in the trade when compared to its creative prime movers, the newspaper entrepreneurs, the printers and the publishers. They were not usually listed in the commercial directories, contributing to their invisibility which is at the heart of my thesis and to their relative absence from scholarship. This is not to discount in any way the many bibliographical studies of book structures, printing histories and bindings; my approach seeks to marry this to a repositioning of bookbinders as people with their own specific agency in the trade.

Few business records and diaries relating to bookbinders have survived whereas printers are usually identified on the title page; booksellers and stationers have identifiable premises. Pearson (2020) has issued a call for change, for the integration of bookbinding studies

more fully into the history of the book and the book trade. The analytical bibliographical and textual approach taken by many scholars has concentrated largely on early and prestigious bindings as structures to be investigated:[1] bookbinding should also be studied within its social, economic and political context.

Foot recounts the debates between bibliographers on both sides of the Atlantic which took place in the early twentieth-century, and the differing views of where bookbinding should feature, if at all. Fredson Bowers, for example, took a narrower approach to what he felt bibliography should be. Foot describes how some early views of the discipline saw it as narrowing to: 'a closely defined but unrealistically limited concept, followed by a renewed, but still inadequate widening out of the subject' (2006, p. 3). Others, such as Strickland Gibson, Graham Pollard and Michael Sadleir, took a wider view. Foot mentions Lucien Febvre, Henri-Jean Martin and Robert Darnton as taking a 'more modern approach' (p. 3). The purely bibliographical approach, concentrating mainly on the book, its printer, materials and structure, minimises or excludes as irrelevant discussion of the binders. This may have discouraged the inclusion of the social, cultural and political forces which I consider, such as finance, literacy and politics.

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[1] See Williams and Abbott, (2009).

Bookbinders were regarded as of lower status in the printing industry, and this is mirrored in scholarship: Foot quotes the American bibliographer George Watson Cole, who in 1916 thought that his job would be a lot easier if the binder was not involved at all:

> ...the only perfect book is the one caught on its way from the printer's office to the binder's […] before the binder's shears have shorn it of any of its original material, and before his craft has skillfully concealed the printer's irregularities...(2006, pp. 4-5).

Williams and Abbott point out that before about 1820 'the binding of books generally had little or no connection with their printing and publishing' (2009, p. 48). Books were sometimes ready-bound for purchase but often sent out across the country 'in sheets', unbound gatherings to be bound locally to the buyer's preference: 'The bindings […] do not constitute part of ideal copy' (p. 48). Almost a century after Cole the notion of the 'perfect' or 'ideal' book still had currency for bibliographers, that is, one that took little or no account of the binding or its binder because a binding necessarily obscures evidence of the printing process. When, from the 1820s, mechanisation gathered pace, more edition binding meant that the binding did become part of the ideal book (p. 48). The bindings and binders were already of little concern to bibliographers; it may be that the very standardisation of edition bindings, with greater use of cloth and paper on the covers, meant that they were of even less interest:

'...the connection between binding and sheets, even after the 1820s, can be tenuous' (p. 49).

Feather and F. W. Ratcliffe identify what may be the beginning of scholarly interest in the regional trade, when W. H. Allnutt, an Assistant at the Bodleian, gave a paper to the first meeting of the Library Association in 1879 on 'printers and printing in the provincial towns of England and Wales' (Feather, 1985, p. ix; Ratcliffe, 1990, p. 1). In the first half of the twentieth-century book trade scholarship gathered pace and a small selection of titles and subject areas gives an indication of different scholarly interests. For example, H. R. Plomer compiled *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (1922). Graham Pollard's and Howard Nixon's work on early bindings and the mediaeval book trade has contributed much valuable bibliographical knowledge (A. I. Doyle, 1990, p. 17; Foot, 2002; Pollard, 1956). Marjorie Plant contributed *The English Book Trade: an Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books* (1965) and Paul Morgan's work since the 1950s has been of lasting value (Ratcliffe, 1990, p. 1; p. 5). In the later twentieth-century the foundational work of Feather and Foot have provided direction in book history studies. Stenner, Kramer and Smith (2022) are building on and extending this by investigating themes of regionality and agency, editing the work of

current book history academics.

As book history began to mature as a discipline in its own right during the twentieth-century, the accumulation of facts began to be interpreted and placed within an historical context. The initial stimulus seems to have been provided by *L' Apparition du Livre*, by Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin (1958), translated as *The Coming of the Book,* issued in 1976. This derived from the holistic intellectual approach of the *annaliste* school of French historians, founded by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre in 1929. This book gives a detailed account of the development of the book from the thirteenth-century to the eighteenth, from the introduction of paper and the invention of printing, to the spread of printing culture throughout Europe and the world, and its effects on reading and readers.

Febvre and Martin reflect the differences between the French approach to the history of the book and the Anglo-American concentration on bibliography and the book as object by detailing the experiences of the journeymen printers and the publishers. They describe how entrepreneurs established printing houses, the most successful creating production and marketing centres across the Continent. There is a section on bookbinding which refers to how binders had to adapt their methods to cope with the increasing demand, a process examined elsewhere in this study (Febvre and

Martin, 2010, pp. 104-108). Binding had to become more streamlined, less individually bespoke, to produce more bindings in less time:

> ...the press began to turn out many more books, binders had to adapt their methods […] Work had to be done more rapidly, and serial production was necessary to make bindings of suitable but less ponderous quality to satisfy a larger and less wealthy clientele (p. 106).

Anton Koberger of Nuremberg was one of the most successful pan-European book trade entrepreneurs of the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-centuries, and 'His bindery, where his solid and standardised bindings were created, was a main feature of his organisation, and on the design side for some of his editions he had the benefit of his friend and compatriot, Dürer...' (2010, p. 124). The reference to standardisation hints at the methods employed by later binders in the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries to cope with much greater volumes of books.

In his 1980 article 'Cross-Channel Currents: historical bibliography and *l'histoire du livre',* Feather discusses the interface, or lack of it, between the Anglo-American bibliographical approach to the book and its history, and the more inclusive, sociological approach of the French, with discussion of literacy and how technical innovations enabled the spread of printing and the changes in readership. English and American bookbinding scholarship has tended towards the study

of the book as an object, its paper, printing history, typefaces and the decoration of its binding; little has been said about the binders themselves. This is partly due to the lack of day-to-day records, and to the dismissal of bookbinding as worthy of study. French scholars looked to the wider world and the socio-economic and political effects on the book, the trade and readers, of increasing education and literacy, and the effects of an increasingly consumer-led market. This dichotomy has perhaps held Anglo-American scholarship back, leading to the kind of gap in scholarship addressed by this study, and to what I call scholastic 'niches'.

Book trade records in France pre-date the Revolution;[2] France was as Feather puts it a 'police state' (1980, p. 4) with highly centralised control and record-keeping, enabling the wider analysis of the French, whereas '...even the documentary records for the history of the book in England are strikingly bibliocentric' (p. 5). In England this type of centralisation was not possible: the main records were kept by the Stationers' Company; 'After the late seventeenth century there is no central corpus of documents on which the historical study of the trade can be based' (p. 5). Feather called for an integrated way of looking at book trade history, recognising that the

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[2] See Davidson, (2017).

bibliographical and the historical are both vital: 'Books can only be understood as 'tangible' or 'material' objects in the context of the trade which produced and sold them' (p. 14); this sums up the main emphasis of my thesis. This article prefigured much of his 1985 book.

Book trade history has expanded exponentially both in the number of academics studying book and book trade history, and their output of books and articles. Wallace Kirsop refers to a number of attempts at an overview, including his own, following on from Febvre and Martin: 'Now, in the late 1990s, the case for devoting whole books to setting out the state of the discipline seems unanswerable' (1998, p. 284), but it was clear that this was no longer feasible. Scholars took the approach of dealing with specific, more manageable, subject areas for their analysis, the 'niche'. I use this term because for some decades scholars have specialised in different aspects of the history of the book and the book trade because it is now simply too large a subject for a single analysis. Kirsop sums up this approach: 'The almost bewildering multiplication of specific and sometimes narrow studies is one of the characteristics of the present boom in book history' (p. 297).

Kirsop deals admirably with much of the international scholarship of the later twentieth-century, especially that of the French, his subject area, relating to bookselling and the interaction

with readers, with *L'Apparition du livre* as the starting point. He makes little reference to English scholarship but he gives due credit to Feather's 1980 article and his 1985 book. He also credits the collaborative approach of Isaac and the History of the Book Trade in the North group with valuable work. Kirsop's focus is on scholarship on the 'Three principal aspects […] production, distribution, and reception or reading' (1998, p. 284) as is so much research to this day, and unfortunately bookbinding, although vital to the physical distribution and reading of books, is not mentioned.

The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England (Feather, 1985) is the foundational text of the development of the provincial book trade and its relationship to the dominant London trade. Feather does not set out to discuss binders; his objective is to discover how readers outside London obtained their books, and he does this definitively (p. x). He goes to the heart of why bookbinders have not been prominent in book trade history: 'printing, especially book printing […] is more exciting than bookselling...' (p. ix).

The book deals with the relationship of the London trade to the country booksellers, the legal aspects of copyright, the court cases it engendered and the problem of imported pirated editions.[3]

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[3] See Blaney, (2022).

It sets out how the regional trade grew from the early foundational establishment of local and regional newspapers in the early eighteenth-century, the itinerant pedlars and the movement into shop premises. The different market sectors for books are discussed: the educational market, books of a practical and instructional nature, the important religious sector and the leisure market, which led to about a thousand circulating libraries opening by 1801 (p. 41). He mentions bookbinding only in passing, and this gap in the literature emphasises how much remains to be done. My work adds new knowledge by using the above categories to analyse books produced in Staffordshire. Although Feather's book deals with the eighteenth-century, and my study straddles the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries, these categories are apposite because they enable an organised analysis of the books found during my archival research. These categories help to show how books produced in Staffordshire conformed to national trends in publishing, responding to the most popular types of reading. My work on Staffordshire reduces the gap in the literature relating to bookbinding by illuminating the work of local publishers within these categories, and discussing it in relation to the work of local bookbinders.

Feather's *A History of British Publishing* (2006) follows his regional analysis by addressing the development of publishing from

the fifteenth-century through to the twentieth, and sets out how the publisher came to sit at the apex of the book trade, controlling everything, usually from London. This book is Londoncentric, unsurprising given that the publishing trade was centred there, although Edinburgh and Dublin remained important into the nineteenth-century. He does mention the regional trade in a section entitled 'Beyond the metropolis' (pp. 61-64) in which he discusses the vital part played in book distribution by the circulating libraries, and by country booksellers acting as agents for London publishers. All this must have entailed a huge amount of local binding work, but of this Feather says little. He does refer briefly to the technical changes necessary to cope with the massive increase in demand created by the development of the book trade in the nineteenth-century: 'The process of bookbinding, however, remained a hand craft until almost the end of the nineteenth-century […] the traditional process […] was barely capable of mechanisation' (p. 91). This is too sweeping: some of its processes had been mechanised by the end of my period, enabling the craft to keep pace; Feather refers to the crucial innovation of case binding (p. 92); 'The printers and binders flourished as technical innovations made their industries more cost-effective' (p. 99). This was an inevitable process as bookbinding had to adapt with a reduced demand for bespoke leather bindings to a

greater need for standardised edition bindings to be produced much faster in greater numbers.

Bibliographical societies, often associated with universities, have been established all over the world, and there are many peer-reviewed journals devoted to the book and book trade history. University presses publish books on all aspects of the discipline, though rarely directly concerning bookbinding. Feather refers to the value of local studies conducted by librarians and amateur historians (1985, p. ix). Conferences and seminars have contributed to the literature: for example, the series of British Book Trade Seminars began in 1990, and the papers presented at these events have been published annually as the Print Networks series. These papers are generally presented by professional academics, and few refer to bookbinding. An example of an amateur scholar is Rupert Simms, who published his *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis* in 1894, which has been useful in this study, helping to corroborate basic data from other sources.

Bookbinding Scholarship – Different Approaches

Book trade history scholarship has reached a stage of maturity whereby it must surely be appropriate for bookbinding to be studied in greater depth. My methodology studies Staffordshire's binders in their particular social and cultural context, 'social' being the place they

occupied in the county's printing process, and 'cultural' the ways in which bindings were used to market books within different market sectors. Pearson (2020) discusses various bibliographical methodologies which have been used so far, such as identifying binders by the finishing tools they used, especially regarding fine, expensive bindings. This goes only so far because many tools can seem identical but have tiny but significant differences. We can never be certain who impressed the tool into the leather. Some journeymen moved around, a factor in their invisibility because of the paucity of record-keeping referred to, and because different people could use the tools in the same bindery (pp. 501-502).

Some regional booksellers, especially in more rural areas, kept some bookbinding tools and materials for use by itinerant binders, where their need for binding was intermittent, not justifying the full-time employment of a binder and the cost of a dedicated in-house bindery (Morgan, 1990, p. 34). This makes sense because a lot of binding equipment is too heavy and bulky to carry on foot; similarly the materials such as paper and leather are too vulnerable. The journeyman would have carried his hand tools and perhaps a small selection of finishing tools.

There is discussion of how books reached readers, whether they were in sheets ready to be bound to the buyer's specification, or

ready-bound. The terms 'trade' or 'retail' when applied to bindings have implicit connotations of simplicity and utility associated with cheaper, more standardised binding styles and the democratisation of reading for ordinary readers: '...it implies [...] that while we recognize that these bindings exist, we could not possibly be interested in anything so humdrum' (Pearson, 2020, p. 503). This relates to the notion of the perfect or ideal book referred to earlier. Pearson advocates dropping both the terms trade and retail because they are confusing: it can be difficult to decide into which category a particular book falls. It is precisely this area of the 'humdrum' bindings of local craftspeople where my study adds knowledge and context to current scholarship.

Another approach discussed by Pearson is Nicholas Pickwoad's 'inside-out' methodology (2004), where evidence is gathered about the binder from the internal structure of the book and specific binding techniques used (2020, pp. 506-507). The basic premise is that the binder would not change his methods once out of his apprenticeship, or move round much beyond his own area. Neither is necessarily true or reliable: this writer changed some of his working methods as he found better ones; French binders came here as refugees in the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-centuries (p. 510) leading to a transcultural cross-fertilisation of ideas. A journeyman need not

confine himself to his local area or his own country. Many would of course, but the clue is in the title: there was no intrinsic barrier to moving to seek work, and many had to do this, being discharged on completing their apprenticeship.

Scholastic Niches

Much book trade scholarship has been in what I have called the niche, a journal article or a chapter in a book, discussing in detail a very specific and often local aspect of the history: my own work is in such a niche. A random selection of Print Networks chapter titles gives a flavour of the specificity and locality of niches explored: The Welsh printing House from 1718 to 1818; Elham Parish Library; William Ford, Manchester Bookseller. There is little reference to bookbinding: 'There is no greater conversation killer than an admission to an overriding interest in the history of bookbinding' (Foot, 1993, p. 1). This remains true today. Her book is a collection of her articles mainly on the techniques and decorative styles of bindings, although she does write on the more philosophical aspects of bookbinding and the history of books, collectors and collections, and preserving the past. The individual books she discusses range from fifteenth-century examples to 'designer' bindings of the twentieth-century. The early bindings covered expensive, upmarket books, and were largely

produced for the church, royalty and prominent wealthy collectors for whom records exist; similarly exclusive are the modern bespoke designer bindings. Foot has identified many of the early binders, if only by a nickname, often derived from the finishing tools or decorative patterns used, such as the Crucifer binder of the sixteenth-century (1993, p. 129).

Judith Goldstein Marks' 'Bookbinding Practises of the Hering Family 1794-1844' is devoted to a bookbinder but although it addresses bookbinding from a metropolitan viewpoint, it offers potential parallels with the regional trade. The large country houses of the nobility were assembling their libraries, stocked in part with books brought back from the Grand Tours. Apparently, binders were unable to meet the resultant demand, and Goldstein Marks quotes John Henry Bohn, who set up as a binder in London in 1795: '...at this time bookbinding in this country had fallen to a low ebb' (1980, p. 44). We do not know whether this applied to the regional trade, but it is likely that the nobility and upper classes patronised local binders in addition to those in London.[4] No reason is given for this 'low ebb'. A group of German binders formed in London, of which Hering was the head. He took on some of the late Roger Payne's clients, the foremost English

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[4] See Ramsden, (1954, rep. 1987).

binder of the time, and was '...patronised principally by nobility and gentlemen' (p. 45). German binders were 'attracted by the lucrativeness of the binding trade in England' (p. 44). This contradicts the idea of the low ebb, even if it only applied to London, and Parisian publishers were impressed: '...the reputation of the English binders was sufficient to attract commissions from across the Channel' (p. 44). The Germans could not have carried out all the required work, so English binders' standards must have been sufficiently high; journeymen, though trained in London, may have taken their expertise into the regions, countering the putative low ebb. The influx of German binders highlights the transcultural nature of the book trade; Febvre and Martin (2010) discuss how printing technology spread across Europe as demand grew and orders were placed wherever the best technical ability and capacity was found. Politics too are transcultural: Darnton refers to many French publications being unable to be marketed legally there in the revolutionary period of the late eighteenth-century. Perhaps this led in part to the preference for English binders? (2005, p. 50). Feather too refers to the production at this time of such books, illegal in France, in England (1984, p. 411).

Stephen M. Colclough's article (2000) 'Procuring Books and Consuming Texts: The Reading Experience of a Sheffield Apprentice, 1798' typifies this kind of niche, using the diaries of a Sheffield apprentice recording his reading habits in the 1790s, to investigate a specific area of book history concerned with the reader and reading experience. It does not refer to bookbinding except to tell us that there was one bookbinder in Sheffield, which seems scarcely credible given the number of booksellers and libraries in Sheffield at that time (Gales and Martin, 1787, HDSDL).

New Perspectives on the History of Bookbinding beyond London

Recent research has begun to consider book trade history from different perspectives, to move the debate on from the earlier standpoints examined above, and to connect it with scholarship in other disciplines. Ideas of centres, peripheries and networks, regionality, agency, place and space have been utilised to help address book trade history, and will be reflected in this thesis.

John Hinks examines the early Leicester book trade in the light of the 1961 'centre and periphery' theory of sociologist Edward Shils (2012, Footnote 2, p. 101). Different centres and peripheries are identified with Europe as the centre, Britain its periphery. London is

the centre here, with the regions the perpihery, a relationship examined in this study in relation to Staffordshire. The centre and periphery model can relate to Birmingham as a regional centre, with Staffordshire and other adjacent counties the peripheries; Stafford and the Potteries can be seen as centres, with the smaller towns and villages their peripheries. We can see the initial attractiveness of this concept, and its limitations: it can be difficult to decide where to stop in identifying centres and peripheries; 'Do London's peripheries coincide or overlap with those of Dublin and Edinburgh?' (p. 119). The concept becomes less useful the more one considers the many possible links between European book production, London's centrality and its trade with Ireland, Scotland and Wales (pp. 119-121): the greater the complexity of interactions, the less helpful is the centre and periphery model. Hinks offers brief comments on network theory as an analytical tool (p. 125), and there are various networks observable in the Staffordshire trade and its nationwide interactions which will be examined later.

Some recent books are collections where editors bring together new research by different scholars, addressing multifarious aspects of book and book trade history. This is not new: the Print Networks series followed this pattern in collecting together papers given at Book

Trade Seminars from the early 1990s. Patrick Collier and James J. Connolly et al edit *Print Culture Histories beyond the Metropolis*, and in their introduction they also consider the centre and periphery model, but update it to shift the viewpoint: 'a provisional, local and multi-voiced telling of the history […] of modern print culture, not from the point of view of urban centres but from that of provincial locales and imperial peripheries' (2016, p. 5). This 'non-metropolitan' view (p. 6) places equal emphasis on the consumption of printed matter as on its production, as Michael Kwass (2022) brings out in his consideration of the development of consumption, which I will examine further in chapter 1 in relation to the development of the consumer society. Collier and Connolly bring together chapters by scholars in other disciplines such as library studies, communications, literature and history, 'to explore the ways in which residents of smaller cities, provincial districts, rural settings and colonial outposts engaged with print' (p. 5). This is the opposite of the centre and periphery model, 'against standardized, centifugal models of print culture history' (p. 23).

The summer 2020 edition of *Midland History* was devoted to articles on printing history and culture in the midlands, and I shall consider two of the contributions here. Caroline Archer-Parré writes

on the importance of place and space and the cross-fertilisation of ideas and processes between the Birmingham printing industry and others, using four case studies of individuals crucial to the development of trade and industry in the midlands, including John Baskerville and Josiah Wedgwood. She considers these concepts to be mostly overlooked. 'Place' is a 'physical entity' whereas 'space' is more abstract, 'the intellectual, cultural and experiential environment in which individuals or groups congregate and collaborate in order to create new things' (p. 147). This is important to my thesis when I consider Bull Street in Birmingham, with its congregation of book trade entrepreneurs and bookbinders, and the exchange of skills and processes between them. Archer-Parré considers that Birmingham was unlike other cities such as Sheffield, Manchester and Leeds because they were largely single-industry centres, whereas Birmingham was based on 'a diverse manufacturing base primarily built on a small-workshop tradition' (p. 148). In common with the book and printing trade all over Britain, Birmingham's entrepreneurs operated on the 'compound trading' principle [see chapter 1] whereby they provided many ancillary services under one roof: '...interactions between Birmingham's jobbing printers and other trades were taking

place at a grass-roots level' (p. 152). All Staffordshire's principal book and printing entrepreneurs presented their businesses in this way.

Hinks' article *The History of Printing and Print Culture: Contexts and Controversies* considers the piecemeal approach to book history and printing history and the gradual merging of these disciplines in the second half of the twentieth-century: '...studied […] from many different viewpoints, though at first not in a very systematic way, resulting in a patchwork quilt of studies...' (2020, p. 134). This could refer to the niches I identify above. He highlights an early controversy, that book history was over-emphasised at the expense of other 'non-book' items; we might include bookbinding in this, the scholarly neglect of which continues in the recent studies featured here. Hinks brings out the importance of jobbing printing to the trade, the production of all manner of official documents, records and ephemera, other than book production, and its place in printing and book history; this aspect is covered in great detail by Raven (2014), and I bring it out later concerning the trade relationship between London and Staffordshire's entrepreneurs. Another controversy is the dismissal of the role of women in the book and print trade, which I refer to in chapter 2. Finally, Hinks reflects on the way in which the

emphasis on London 'has tended to skew the history of British printing' (p. 142), and advocates more study in the regions, as I do in this thesis.

Stenner, Kramer and Smith edit *Print Culture, Agency, and Regionality in the Hand Press Period* (2022), a collection of essays bringing together work by academics and researchers on the concepts of regionality and agency. Sections deal with 'Circulation and Networks', 'Regions and Nations' and 'Technology', all of which are explored later in terms of Staffordshire and its entrepreneurs. The editors also admit the Londoncentric bias: 'scholarly attention to the capital's dominance had perpetuated a centre/periphery model' (p. 4). They refer to Hinks' rejection of this model in favour of network theory (p. 11). This collection is an effective riposte to the outdated concentration on London. This thesis deals with different types of network, between different book trade agents in a local area, between regional entrepreneurs with regional equivalents and the distribution of newspapers within a county, to other counties and to London. Three categories of agency are identified here: typographic or bibliographic, commercial and cultural (p. 14), all of which are observable in the activities of Staffordshire's entrepreneurs.

In their book *Comparative Practices Literature, Language, and*

Culture in Britain's Long Eighteenth Century (2022), Marcus Hartner and Nadine Böhm-Schnitker identify interdisciplinary research as an 'emerging field' (p. 9), and one of the contributors, Ralf Schneider, 'analyzes the social function of circulating libraries […] setting the scene for a great array of social comparisons, those of class in particular' (p. 17). In chapter 1, 1.3.4, 'Libraries and Literacy' we see this array, this class comparison, in the different types of library and sources of printed matter available in circulating libraries, subscription libraries, and the less formal book clubs and reading rooms.

Conclusions

Book history scholarship has a long way to go to give bookbinding its proper place in the literature, and part of that must be a change in attitude among academics. I regard bookbinders as integral to the book trade, and the evidence I produce of books made in Staffordshire gives them proper historical recognition. The majority of bibliographical work thus far has concentrated on the exclusive, finely bound book as object. Scholars have not investigated bookbinders unless they produced the prestigious bindings referred to. Binding has traditionally been seen as unimportant, the end of the process rather than its culmination. This is understandable given the prominence of

booksellers, publishers and stationers in scholarship, but this does not excuse it; it emphasises the need to redress the balance in relation to bookbinders. This situation has been recognised by academics such as Foot and Pearson, but little seems to have arisen from it.

L'Apparition du livre pointed the way over half a century ago, and the gap in socio-historical scholarship yawns almost as widely now. Feather and Pearson have written on the need to marry the bibliographical approach with the sociological and historical for a fully rounded methodology. Bookbinding must be studied systematically and placed within its cultural and political context, as an integral element of the book trade, rather than as a narrow technical bibliographical exercise in relation to the style of a binding, its decoration and its owner. My study is an important step in that direction, contributing new knowledge and context to an alteration of emphasis in binding studies by examining the work of Staffordshire's binders, locating them in their towns and villages, and in the social, political and cultural 'weather' of the time.

Methodology

Detailed daily records of the activities of bookbinders are scarce.[5] Accordingly, my approach is to focus on prominent members of the Staffordshire book trade providing that service, where there are extant records. We do not have empirical financial data such as sales figures, so they were selected by their apparent level of activity as principal entrepreneurs, indicated by the number, type and variety of the services they provided, drawn from interrogation of the data collated in appendix 1. For example, Joshua Drewry in Stafford was proprietor of *The Staffordshire Advertiser* and employer of both printers and bookbinders. Charles Chester, his relation in Newcastle-under-Lyme, supplied the core book trade services including bookbinding, and was a Steward of a local Building Society; he also became part-owner of Drewry's newspaper. Information in the *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis* (Simms, 1894) shows that the Lomax family

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[5] This was confirmed at the outset of my research in the 1990s by advice from key figures in book trade research: Paul Morgan, then at the Special Collections Department of Printed Books of the Bodleian Library, David Pearson, then of the British Library, Jane Rendall and Bernard Middleton. Their comments on my projected research were invaluable.

in Lichfield and John Tregortha in Burslem were prominent in the trade.

Appendix 1 is the foundation underpinning my thesis. It is organised alphabetically by town, and integrates data from primary sources such as *The Staffordshire Advertiser* and the 1841 Census with published secondary data in commercial directories and current and previous scholarship. The data on each person either working as a bookbinder or advertising it as a service was drawn together from these sources, and cross-referenced and corroborated between them. Detailed interrogation of the data allows an analysis, by numbers, activity and location, of bookbinding services in Staffordshire, in narrative form in chapter 2, section 2.1, and by percentage in the table at the end of Appendix 1. It both collates data from previous scholarship, and extends it by extracting and incorporating new data specific to bookbinding from primary records such as *The Staffordshire Advertiser* and the books examined.

This detailed use of different sources of similar information helped to identify and eliminate errors, as far as possible. The only real difficulty was ensuring accuracy while compiling each person's entry from the various sources; the only conflicts found were occasional variances in dates. Where trading and other dates are given, it was decided to use the widest range found for the person in

all the sources used. It must be remembered that these sources can only represent a 'snapshot' in time and may be corrected later if further information is found.

Unless we wish to repeat previous scholarship as if it had not occurred, we must trust to the diligence of those such as the regional scholars who compiled the Working Papers of the Birmingham Bibliographical Society (1975-1987). They used information from previous directories, and in its turn the British Book Trade Index used the BBS data among other sources.

Interrogation of the data in appendix 1 enables a detailed analysis of the binding trade in Staffordshire because it includes all the various activities participants were engaged in and from this we can appreciate where and how binding fitted into the county's book trade. 157 persons and their businesses were providing bookbinding in 1750 to 1850. Further interrogation of the data establishes that many of the participants advertised all three of the core services of printing (53%), bookselling (49%) and stationery sales (46%) in addition to bookbinding. Many also provided a variety of non-book trade services, discussed further in chapter 2.

The contexts of these data are established through discussion of the societal and political forces at work (chapter 1, section 1.3) and

their relevance to Staffordshire's book trade, including examination of the gendered roles of women proprietors and binders, and by detailed examination of extant books and their place in the regional and national trade. The invisibility of ordinary bookbinders is a key motivator of my thesis, and my methodology enables a careful assessment of their contribution to the development of the regional trade.

My methodology takes the scarcity of primary data into account by bringing together primary evidence with published research to contextualise Staffordshire's bindings and book trade within the regional and national trade. There are three distinct elements:

[a] Archival research to find and examine primary research materials on Staffordshire bookbinding and the book and printing trade, such as the extant books and the *Staffordshire Advertiser* featured in this thesis.

[b] Incorporation of previous regional book trade research in published secondary sources, such as BBS and BBTI.

[c] Analysis of published sources to place archival materials relating to Staffordshire within the historical narrative.

Primary Sources

Original copies of *The Staffordshire Advertiser* from the first

issue in 1795 were consulted, together with records of bookbinding transactions in Staffordshire County Record Office, and other contemporary records, such as Parson's and Bradshaw's *Staffordshire General and Commercial Directory* (1818), and Pigot's *National and Commercial Directory* (1835), in the William Salt Library. Manuscript records of work done by bookbinders in Lichfield Cathedral Library were consulted. I located and photographed books surviving from the study period, detailed in appendix 2, attributable to the businesses and workshops of the more prominent people featured in it, if not to specific binders. These pictures enabled an assessment of the range and quality of contemporary binding work produced in Staffordshire, and to place it in its context within the local and national book trade.

The Census of 1841 gave the occupation of a person for the first time, although the terminology can be unreliable. For example, many women in Stafford were noted as 'binders' which might be very important for this study were it not for the fact that most or all of them worked in the footwear trade, then very strong in the town. The person might be vague as to which job was paramount to them, as brought out by David Alexander: 'The census commissioners […] reported in 1841 that the 'hatter' would figure in the list as draper, grocer, bookseller, or shopkeeper, according as he might prefer

one name to the other' (1970, p. 91).

The extant books featured were selected during visits to the several public and private libraries consulted, and were chosen to represent a cross-section of the different binding styles used. This enabled an analysis of the varied types of binding required by the market, and where they fitted into the larger national publishing scene, in chapter 2. It was not the intention in this thesis to comment on the texts themselves, except as exemplars of nationally well known books, such as *Pilgrim's Progress*, to illustrate how Staffordshire's book trade was part of an homogenous whole, and how their bindings played a vital part in the transport, marketing and reading of these texts.

Secondary Sources

Substantial use is made of published research both directly concerned with the book trade, and in other relevant areas of social and economic history. A major source of secondary information are the Working Papers of the Birmingham Bibliographical Society (BBS). This is a set of seven papers produced by members of the Society 1975 to 1987, covering the period 1799 to 1840; they covered Herefordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire. Each paper lists members of the book trade alphabetically, and is a digest

of data from many sources, such as the directories referred to above. The data gives names, addresses, dates and the craft and business activities of each person. Another significant source is the British Book Trade Index (BBTI), instigated by Isaac, an online database of people working in the English and Welsh book trades to 1851. The data is similar to that of the BBS Working Papers, which are frequently cited as sources, together with information from numerous directories and notes from Morgan.

My methodology uses the three elements above to marry the primary evidence and secondary sources with published research to present as full an account as possible of the activities of Staffordshire's bookbinders and their part in the regional and national book trade, from the available data. My thesis is organised in two chapters. Chapter One sets out the historical background of the book trade, how the market and consumer tastes developed, and examines the societal and political forces I consider to be of crucial importance. Chapter Two is more specific to Staffordshire, with information on who and where the bookbinders were, an examination of the role of women and discussion of how the extant books fitted into the national book trade.

This enables wider discussion of the relationship between the binders and the rest of Staffordshire's printing and book trade. It

seeks to reposition bookbinders to better reflect their proper agency in the book trade. It demonstrates that bookbinding in Staffordshire played its part in an homogenous national trade. Furthermore, it demonstrates that Staffordshire's book trade was not completely dominated by London or the Stationers' Company but had a vibrancy and identity of its own.

Chapter One

1.1 Before 1750

This chapter gives background and context to the discussion of Staffordshire's book trade and the forces moulding the lives and practises of its bookbinders. The book trade did not start in 1750: there was a developed international trade in manuscripts as far back as the fourteenth-century, and it is important to note that bookbinders, who bound much of the scribes' work, predated printers by a considerable margin. Scribes had developed their trade sufficiently to have their own London guild (Feather, 2006, p. 9).

Francis Pryor provides further understanding of the cultural and commercial landscape in the Later Middle Ages, 1350 to 1550. While illuminated manuscripts were also being produced in Europe, those 'produced on the island of Britain were quite distinct […] just as good as, or even better...' (2006, p. 25). We are familiar with the richest of them with their fabulous illuminated pages such as the *Book of Kells*, c. 800. A similar book is the *St. Chad's Gospel*, c. 730, kept at Lichfield Cathedral in Staffordshire.

The book trade was maturing by the end of the fifteenth-century into the large and multi-faceted entity seen in this study. Fundamental changes to book production took place; the crucial advance was the invention of movable type. Printers superseded the

scribes, and the bookbinders had to adapt to binding printed gatherings. Books were premium products and the preserve of royalty, the aristocracy and the church, and were being imported from Europe in the late 1460s[6] (Feather, 2006, p. 13). Caxton was importing books in 1487 to 1488 which were illuminated and bound in his workshop in Westminster (Holly James Maddocks, 2021, pp. 294-295).

London dominated the book trade from the mid-sixteenth century. The London printers did this by forming the London Stationers' Company by Royal Charter in 1557. This enabled effective control over the whole of the printing trade in England by means of a monopoly of supply and various restrictive practises. The Charter was comprehensive: the Company governed itself through its Court of Assistants, elected from within the Liverymen; it controlled entry to the trades via apprenticeship and so restricted numbers. This was the only route to becoming a Liveryman. The State sought to control the press via the Stationers' Company, and the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission (Feather, 2006, pp. 29-31). It is in this Charter that we can see the origin of the relative invisibility of bookbinders: the printers began the Company, were superseded in authority by the

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[6] See Feather, (1984).

booksellers who in turn gave way to the publishers, who remain at the apex of the trade (pp. 40-41). The craft workers, bookbinders, compositors, engravers and others never had any real agency, political power or status in the trade. There are a number of reasons for this. There were many more booksellers and printers than bookbinders, and consequently the binders lacked the critical political mass to exercise any effective agency in the Stationers' Company in its earliest years, and subsequently as the book trade developed. They were servants of the trade rather than its prime movers, the printers and booksellers, only involved at the end of the book-making process.

Journeymen moved around, and it is easy to see how an individual bookbinder could become invisible when contemporary records were minimal, and how so few have come down to us. Bookbinders generally did not sign their work, whereas printers and booksellers are readily identifiable. P. J. M. Marks notes that: 'Some bookbinders from the later eighteenth century signed their work by means of a name stamp, tooled onto turn-ins or via an engraved or printed ticket' (2022, p. 5). I did not find such identification of binders in any of the books inspected for this study, nor in the many hundreds I handled in my book conservation practice; this may be because most of these books were everyday bindings rather than prestigious

ones where the binder may have been expected to sign the work.[7] The tickets usually named the bookseller or printer rather than the binder.

I noted in the Introduction how the 1841 Census cannot be relied on completely regarding nomenclature of occupations; perhaps a binder also did simple printing: it would be advantageous to be listed as 'printer' rather than 'bookbinder'. Even the names of the binders of early, prestigious books have often been lost, being identified only by specific finishing tools and patterns of decoration they used. The most important person in the making of such a book was the person paying for it; the binding was eye-catching, frequently embellished with exotic materials and jewels, but not sufficiently so to record the name of the binder. How much easier it was to lose the names of binders when later on books became cheaper and more plentiful, the humdrum bindings only serving their original purpose as a protective container for the text, with any embellishment there as a marketing feature, to attract the eye and the cash of the buyer, not to glorify its creator. The binding was subservient to the text. Only in the twentieth-century with the advent of the 'designer' binder, do we have records of who made the cover. These books are expensive

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[7] See Middleton, (1996, rep. 2008).

productions for the wealthy collector and the curators of libraries and museums, not for everyday use. They have this in common with their fifteenth-century equivalents, that the text is secondary to the binding; the cover design is suggested to the artist-binder by the text but the design and execution of the binding is the principal interest of the buyers of these exclusive books. The lavish books of the fifteenth-century, made to curry favour, and the equally beautiful twentieth-century designer bindings book-end the story of bookbinders. Between these extremes lie many ordinary bindings whose creators, if not a machine, are forgotten.

The age-old tension between State and printers continued; by the 1640s the statutory controls on the press were in some disarray (Feather, 2006, p. 44). Diane Purkiss refers to this: 'Parliament might be winning the war but the battle for hearts and minds was still in the balance […] The London printing trade, liberated by the absence of the Licensing Act, was mushrooming, fuelling hectic political discussion...' (2006, p. 408). Further legislation enabled this control, principally the Licensing of the Press Act 1662, operated via the Stationers' Company, which sought to systematise the means by which the Government had tried to control the press. It introduced controls on how many presses, printers and apprentices there could be and was originally to run for two years. The Company could even

enter a bookseller's premises to search for and seize unregistered books (Feather, 2006, p. 37). It lapsed in 1695 when Parliament refused to renew it; the Stationers had proved ineffective at controlling the press. Isaac put it this way, from the regional point of view: '...England was alone among the four nations of the United Kingdom in suffering for centuries from this over-concentration of publishing in one center [sic]' (2001, pp. 411-412).

The other key element in this system was to control who could print what. This was the ownership of the right, the 'copyright', to print and reprint a title. It was established legally by an entry in the Hall Book of the Stationers' Company. It was further strengthened by the Licensing Act 1710, effectively a copyright Act, brought about by the Company. Copyright was a valuable tradeable commodity. This was a central element of the protection by the Company of their considerable income from copyrights; they ensured that this remained in-house by only selling copyrights to each other in closed auction rings called 'congers' (Feather, 2006, p. 52). The question of perpetual copyright was settled by the House of Lords in 1774 in the case of *Donaldson v. Becket* (Feather, 2006, pp. 67-68; 133-34). This enabled the extensive and lucrative public domain reprint and uniform edition trades such as the well-known *Everyman* series in later years, relevant to my study in the many editions of well known texts such as

Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, also printed by one of the principal entrepreneurs in this study, John Tregortha of Burslem.

The London trade sought at first to prevent the development of a regional trade at all. This could not be absolute, however draconian the restrictions, and the regional trade developed initially through the establishment of printing facilities and local newspapers from the early eighteenth-century. The Staffordshire trade was always independent of London in terms of newspapers, magazines, local 'jobbing' printing and the publishing of books and pamphlets of local interest. This is confirmed by many entries in Simms (1894), where he lists publications by specific booksellers and printers, such as the Lomax family in Lichfield and Tregortha in Burslem. By 1730 there were twenty local newspapers across the country (Feather, 1985, p. 19), with their networks of agents and newsmen to distribute them locally, to other counties and to London: 'The *Wolverton and Staffordshire Advertiser* in August 1792 named agents in twenty-one Midlands towns and a London agent' (Jeremy Black, 1991, p. 165). 'It was this which laid the foundations for the remarkable growth of the provincial trade in the next fifty years' (Feather, 1985, p. 19). It is noticeable that the main business entrepreneurs in the book trade in each town were the newspaper proprietors, based on this early development.

The London trade realised that the growing regional trade could act as a very effective distribution system for their books, newspapers and magazines, and to import regional productions into the capital. It became clear that it was preferable to exercise oversight by using this network to further their own trade: collaboration rather than complete central control.

The transport and distribution network in Staffordshire was developing during the first half of the eighteenth-century, and by the middle of the nineteenth the road, river, canal and railway networks had taken on the shape and characteristics of today. This was critical to the development of the book trade in Staffordshire. The newspaper proprietors used teams of newsmen as distributors. Alexander refers to 'compound trading' (1970, p. 116), whereby one shop offered many products and services; this mode of trading was practised by many booksellers, and required the ability to order a huge range of goods to be delivered in a reasonable time and in saleable condition.

Regional publishers could produce books so long as they had a London distributor, as we shall see in the case of Joshua Drewry and the novel *Ned Bentley* (1808). Connections were created between London and country booksellers:

> In theory, any bookseller who could establish the soundness of his credit could order books on trade terms from the wholesaler. Indeed, imprints, advertisements, prospectuses, and lists of books in print all emphasise that customers could give their orders to any bookseller in London or the provinces. (Feather, 1985, p. 64)

Later in this study we see examples of the networks of agents and booksellers available to take orders in Staffordshire, routinely appended to advertisements. This is one of the key elements of the relationship of the Staffordshire book trade to that of London. The increasing number of books in print led to the need for guides and catalogues to make customers all over the country aware of what was available. John Pendred produced the printers' and booksellers' *Vade Mecum* in 1785 in London. It listed country booksellers able to handle local distribution; it gave the London trade information about local newspapers, their owners and their London agents, to facilitate advertising; the list of booksellers told the London trade where they could establish sales contacts in the absence of a local newspaper (Feather, 1985, p. 64; Corfield and Kelly, 1984, p. 24). There was one other important trade which allied itself with the book trade from an early date: patent medicines. These were produced mainly in London and it was quickly realised that the same advertising and sales networks that distributed printed matter could do the same for these products. Many booksellers sold these products in their shops.

(Feather, 1985, p. 84; Ian Jackson, 2005, p. 77; Giles Bergel, 2006, p. 152).

1.2 London and the Developing Consumer Market

The previous section dealt with the evolution of the book and printing trade from earliest times; now I wish to expand on the development of consumer demand, and how the Staffordshire book trade and its bookbinders contributed to it and benefited from it. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb's 1982 book *The Birth of a Consumer Society* became a foundational text in what had been a relatively neglected area of study. McKendrick highlights the way in which consumer goods, once the privilege of the rich, began to be available more widely: 'What men and women had once hoped to inherit […] they now expected to buy for themselves' (p. 1). A rich minority had always been able to acquire novel and luxurious goods beyond those required for daily living, but it was in the eighteenth-century that a wider range of goods became available to a greater number of people with the ability to buy them.

McKendrick explains his careful choice of 'birth' to describe the process taking place: previous historians had been 'chary in proclaiming a Consumer Revolution', concentrating mainly on production as the causal agent (p. 5). He called for discussion of why the supply side had been the centre of attention, with relatively little emphasis on the demand side. The forces of imitation and social emulation are seen as powerful: 'Spurred on by social emulation and

class competition, men and women surrendered eagerly to the pursuit of novelty, the hypnotic effects of fashion, and the enticements of persuasive commercial propaganda' (p. 11). Kwass (2022) revisits this book, challenging and updating aspects of it: he 'retains the expression consumer revolution because it conveys the transformative nature of consumption in the eighteenth century' (p. 8). He also brings out the point that not everyone lower in the social scale could participate in this revolution (p. 10).

Kwass places greater emphasis on consumption based on the growth in international trade, especially that generated by the plantation slavery system in America and the West Indies which brought commodities like sugar, tobacco, chocolate and coffee to Europe in larger quantities; tea came from China and cloth was exported from India (p. 55). He reviews criticism of McKendrick's 'social emulation' theory, based as it was on previous scholarship and Thorstein Veblen's theories of 'conspicuous consumption' and 'trickle-down'. Kwass notes that '...the emulation thesis has been widely criticized for failing to account for the complicated process by which consumer taste was formed in this period' (pp. 100-102). Kwass singles out the book as object as a 'special sort of consumer good', dealing with themes referred to in this thesis, of increasing book

production across Europe, more widespread literacy, and patterns of book ownership (pp. 134-145).

London was the driver of the economy as a whole, utilising the relationship with the regional trade to its own benefit, and that of the country trade. The vitality of the Staffordshire book trade would have required a great deal of the binding to be carried out locally, not transported to and from London or regional towns, adding heavily to the time factor and the final cost. Ramsden commented: 'there seems no reason to suppose that the local gentry were not well able […] to provide enough work for a local bookbinder..' (1954, rep. 1987, p. xi). The numbers and distribution of binders in Staffordshire, seen in appendix 1, indicate a high level of work required in the county, and that the local and regional transport systems were more than equal to moving printed matter around.

The difficulty of moving goods easily and quickly before the full development of the railways can be exaggerated, especially given the extensive road, river and canal network in the county. The book trade, especially in the time-critical case of newspapers, must have been able to rely on a sophisticated and reliable means of moving its products about, and the burgeoning requirement for timely news and business intelligence made it imperative. The county's booksellers conducted a thriving interchange with the London trade, as we see in

cases such as Joshua Drewry, proprietor of the *Staffordshire Advertiser*. Not all books brought into the county from the capital and other printing centres were ready-bound; many books arrived 'in sheets', with the gatherings temporarily sewn or not at all, to be bound locally in the preferred style of the buyer. This reduced the shipping weight and cost. Similarly not all those leaving the county were fully bound. This was true generally; for example, the Wigtown Subscription Library in Scotland ordered books in sheets, to be bound by the local binder James McBryde (Mark Towsey, 2009, p. 463).

The transitions taking place in society and innovations in book production increased the speed of production and reduced unit costs. Eventually book production would be fully mechanised, reducing cost still further and facilitating a more democratic access to printed matter for ordinary people by making books cheaper. McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb (1982) have shown the great extent to which Britain had become a sophisticated consumer society well before the period of accelerated industrialisation of about 1780 to 1840, a process which began in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries. Margaret Spufford shows that the itinerant trade carried on by chapmen was extensive, together with more formal timetabled services: '...a substantial increase in the number and regularity of carrying services out from London between 1637 and 1715, […]

suggests a considerable growth in home trade...' (1984, p. 5). For at least two hundred years to 1750 the chapmen were laying the foundations for the advanced consumer society to follow. This early creation of a regional readership, eager for the entertaining chapbooks, was critical to the development of the book trade.

People had more disposable cash income as industrialisation gathered pace, as opposed to payment in kind or by the 'truck' system which was used in the early nineteenth-century. This was a method of payment of workers in kind or by tokens, which could only be redeemed at a specific shop, usually one controlled by the employer. It reduced the employer's cash outlay in wages while also providing excess profits from exorbitant mark-ups on goods. These were often called 'tommy' shops: 'Goods at a tommy shop were sometimes 25 percent to 150 percent more expensive than […] elsewhere' (Christopher Frank, 2005, p. 80). The 1831 Truck Act, enacted to combat these abuses, banned truck payments and allowed such unfair contracts of employment to be declared null and void. It seems to have been widely disregarded.

McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb (1982) show how the process of increasingly sophisticated consumption took place against the background of the creation of the commercial and financial world recognisable today, and it was mainly in the latter half of the

eighteenth-century that the great country houses and collections, notably their libraries, were being built up, often with books brought back from the Continent when young aristocrats went on their Grand Tour.[8] 'England was already a commercialised society by 1800' (McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb, 1982, p. 94).

During the eighteenth-century some towns became leisure towns, dedicated in large part to the ever more sophisticated provision of upmarket goods and services to the increasing middle class. Jon Stobart goes into detail regarding Chester, the closest such town to my study area. It was quickly realised by the town fathers that facilities had to match consumers' increasing expectations: 'A growing leisure infrastructure of promenades, theatres, assembly rooms and so on was paralleled by the introduction or augmentation of amenities such as street lighting and paving...' (1998, p. 4).

Shopping streets in leisure towns became social spaces in which to see and be seen, and to consume, and these towns became social destinations where the leisured classes would gather, such as Bath and Tunbridge Wells. Chester had its booksellers and newsrooms where, from 1727, local and national newspapers could be read (Stobart, 1998, p. 8). In 1785 bookseller John Poole could boast a

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[8] See Hudson, (1993).

catalogue of 5,000 titles and 20,000 volumes (p. 12). Advertising, better transportation and the powerful forces of fashion and social emulation all worked to enhance and satisfy the consumer's desire to buy and be seen to buy; so much more was available than could be carried by the chapmen, whose trade was principally in portable textiles and small consumables such as pins, needles, ballads and chapbooks.

The consumption of printed matter of all kinds grew from the late seventeenth-century onwards, and especially from the middle of the eighteenth-century; increasing demand led to the need to accelerate supply: this applied to printed matter as to any other product, and the local binders would have had to react as quickly as anyone else in the production chain. All the principal Staffordshire towns and many smaller places had printers, stationers and binders, and the county produced many newspapers and journals, among which were *The Stafford County Herald*, *The Staffordshire Advertiser* and the *Lichfield Mercury*. Many were sectional in interest, and quite often short-lived, but their importance in creating, building and sustaining consumer demand was vital, as will be seen when we look at entrepreneurs such as Joshua Drewry of Stafford.

The book trade, particularly the publishing of newspapers and periodicals, thoroughly pervaded society, being ubiquitous in ways not

achieved by other trades and professions. The bookbinders had a very specific context which cannot be ignored, since their function completed a complex and sophisticated trade. This study includes as a bookbinder any person giving that as their trade, even if it is advertised as merely one service among others; the person may have been part binder, part stationer, part printer, creating the uncertainty of demarcation. This was more likely in smaller local binderies than in the much larger London trade binderies, where the volume of work allowed the separation of functions, with different departments carrying out the sewing of the text block, usually by women, with 'forwarding' (the attachment of endpapers, boards and covering material to the sewn text block), and 'finishing' (the decoration and embellishment of the binding, usually with gold leaf) being male preserves.

To define whether Joshua Drewry (1774 to 1841), proprietor of *The Staffordshire Advertiser*, and entrepreneurs like him were originally binders or printers (or neither) has depended on finding corroborative evidence, which is elusive. Questions of this type have remained unanswered in any definitive sense. Drewry was probably primarily a businessman offering a range of services in printing, stationery and binding, without being personally active himself. Such businesses offered a portfolio of services: this 'emporium' approach to

selling many different products and services from the same premises is a logical development of the trade of the chapmen, and was a common mode of business in the book trade. The chapmen 'came in from the cold' as market stalls and bookshops, and the economy as a whole, slowly developed and made their tramping life anachronistic and impractical. As the range and sophistication of goods available and the public's knowledge of and desire for them increased, shop premises would be the obvious means of catering for this demand, and would naturally encourage the wide-awake businessman to do all he could to satisfy it: 'The conversion of urban central areas into a more workable environment for buyers and sellers was one crucial feature of the changing setting in which distribution took place' (Alexander, 1970, p. 6).

Fairs were important venues from the earliest times until the early nineteenth-century for selling goods, especially livestock and farm produce: '...because fairs involved the coming together of people from a wider area than did a weekly market, they were convenient occasions for a range of business transactions' (Ian Mitchell, 2007, p. 550). These included settling accounts, placing orders, hiring workers and the collection of rents. The process of retailers moving to shop premises took place over a very long period, and the chapmen, the fairs and organised retail areas co-existed for much of this. 'Shops

had long been a feature of market towns, but the eighteenth-century saw growth both in number and sophistication' (p. 568). Only in the later nineteenth-century did fairs change from being meetings principally for commercial purposes to that of entertainment. Staffordshire still had 104 fairs in 30 locations in 1824, up from 20 in 62 places in 1756 (p. 548).

Those producing and selling printed matter would have been among the first to make the transition from an itinerant to a fixed mode of selling because of the nature of their products and activities. The production of books is a skilled trade requiring secure, dry space and bulky, heavy equipment; books are vulnerable to bad weather in an outdoor market, and so this stage was transitional, a natural progression between the chapmen and shop premises as business volumes increased. This would have applied to printers, binders and booksellers. For example, Alexander quotes Leicester Toll Committee Minutes of 6 May 1851, where a table of traders in the market shows no book trade involvement at all (1970, pp. 42-43). This situation is also alluded to by Michael J. Winstanley: 'Skilled or craft retailers involved in processing or producing the goods they sold, and substantial traders carrying expensive or bulky stock dominated many sectors of fixed premise retailing' (1983, p. 16).

1.3 Societal and Political Forces

1.3.1 Capital and Credit

I consider Staffordshire's bookbinders in their social and political context, and this section explores some of the most important influences on them and on society as a whole. It shows how potential entrepreneurs could raise capital to fund a business and how much they would need; it deals with the fragility of many businesses, caused mainly by that age-old problem, cash-flow.

Finance and the capital markets were as sophisticated in the sixteenth-century as they are now: for example, Thomas Gresham manipulated small variations in exchange rates to make a lot of money for himself and his patron, Elizabeth I. His business intelligence came from the notice board of the Antwerp Bourse, where he recorded the rates of exchange several times a day (John Guy, 2019, p. 25). The understanding of the ways in which finance was raised is important to developing a clearer picture of the influential interconnected Staffordshire book trade family networks, such as the Drewrys, Chesters and Morts.

Credit and the use of different types of paper exchange were in common use well before my study period; coinage was debased and frequently counterfeit, especially in the seventeenth-century, and this encouraged the widespread use of paper-based systems. Brewer has

shown that debt and credit were as integral to business then as they are today (McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb, 1982, pp. 203-204). The existence of a sophisticated and developed credit market is one of the themes explored in a collection of essays by Peter Mathias (1979, pp. 88-115) when he comments on London as a financial centre in the Industrial Revolution, different sources of capital and credit, the importance of familial networks, and the existence of financial markets across the country.

Spufford (1984) researched chapmens' wills and inventories of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries, revealing the complete normality of debt and credit for one-person and small businesses: their liquid assets were often small, whereas their debtors and creditors could be substantial. Mathias too comments on this use of debt and credit: 'The relative unimportance of access to ready cash […] explains the ability of the economy to tolerate complete confusion and inefficiency in the supply of regal silver and copper coin from the Mint during the eighteenth-century...' (1979, p. 95).

This applied to the book trade as to any other (Jan Fergus, 1984, p. 160). Cash-flow difficulties are not a modern phenomenon, and the normality of extended periods of credit caused the same problems then as now, leading to many bankruptcies. Drewry developed a distribution network to send out his newspapers quickly

and efficiently, but the cash did not come back so swiftly:

> The Proprietor of this paper respectfully acquaints his friends in the different districts of circulation, that they will be waited upon in a short time for the amount due for Advertisements and Papers of the past year.
> (SA, 4 January 1812)

Some bills could have been outstanding for a year. Small traders commonly experienced great difficulties in extracting payment, and it was normal for very long credit periods to be taken, but perhaps less usual for them to be formally granted. For some traders the greater expense of road transport was preferable since it gave a higher chance of prompt payment if the goods arrived on time. According to Aldcroft and Freeman 'the risk of incurring debt or debt interest was unthinkable. They waited on receipt of bills for goods sold before any further material could be purchased' (1983, p. 17).

This problem was not exclusive to Drewry: the credit period of thirty or sixty days, regarded as normal now, is a recent innovation. The upper and landed classes were famously disdainful of dealing with vulgar money, regarding paying their suppliers almost as an option. Their power as local landlords and patrons was effectively absolute, and some will have consciously used this and the deference they received quite shamelessly. By delaying payment to suppliers they had an important source of interest-free borrowing, and pushed the

cost of this credit further down the money-ladder, forcing those least capable to bear the extra costs of interest and bank charges, and the insidious dwindling of their profit margin caused by a long credit period. The granting – or taking – of credit had two important advantages for those able to benefit from it; an artificial enhancement of their spending power through delayed payment, and the social cachet attached to it: 'the amount of credit allowed and the ease with which it was obtained became status symbols in their own right […] Creditworthiness implied financial soundness and moral probity' (Winstanley, 1983, pp. 55-56).

Larger businesses could also experience difficulties. For example, 'Josiah Wedgwood [...] first sold goods to John Blease, a London upholsterer, in February 1808, and they continued to supply Blease over the next three years without once receiving any payment on account' (Alexander, 1970, p. 219). Raising capital to enter the printing, binding or bookselling businesses could be achieved by borrowing from friends, family and local business contacts. Well-known businesses began this way: 'Samuel Courtauld […] borrowed lump sums from a sister and female friend in the early days in Essex, and used his bride's marriage portion to support them both...' (Jane Rendall, 1990, pp. 50-51). There was movement of capital in the family network of the Drewrys, Chesters and Morts. Family legacies

gave Joshua Drewry £700 of capital to start his very successful newspaper business in Stafford (Albert Rotherham and Maurice Steele, 1975, p. 109). 'Borrowing was not difficult, as leasehold or personalty could act as collateral – a master might mortgage his tools, a printer his fonts of type...' (McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb, 1982, p. 204) Frequently advertisements appeared either giving notice of capital available, or asking for it:

> WANTED, either at Lady Day or Midsummer next, £1000, £1500 or £2500, on mortgage of ample freehold property. The punctual payment of the Interest half-yearly, will be further guaranteed out of rents of more than double the amount arising from other premises.
> (SA, 5 February 1814)

The legal limit on credit interest was five per cent between 1714 and 1832 (Mathias, 1979, p. 91). A journeyman might accumulate capital by saving from his wages, but this was impractical or impossible. He could borrow from kin or even from the small master whose service he was leaving; when Gibbs left Allbut in Hanley he may have received a loan or even a gift of money as part of his capital (SA, 23 October 1813; 30 October 1813). They need not have been deadly rivals, but could have seen co-operation as a better way. Allbut might have seen Gibbs as someone he knew very well, to whom he could sub-contract with confidence.

'In the book and stationery trade £500 was considered "a fair

capital" ' (Alexander, 1970, p. 207). It seems that £300 to £500 was regarded as adequate capital to set up in the book trade although many would have begun with much less. An advertisement from 1809 confirms this in general terms:

> TO PRINTERS
> ANY person desirous of embarking in the printing business, being a perfect master of his trade, having a capital of from £300 to £400 may be accommodated with an old established Office, and at the same time be supplied with Book-work sufficient for two full Presses under an engagement for 7 years – The work to be charged at the regular Booksellers price, and settled for Monthly – A larger capital may be employed to considerable advantage.

(SA, 27 May 1809)

This may have been the equivalent of modern franchising arrangements, or the owners wanted to engage a partner. The existence of regulated pricing structures both for work done and for the sale of books is interesting and was usual in the book trade. Feather refers to the discounts applied to the selling price for the publisher, wholesaler and bookseller to make reasonable profits:

> ...the publisher will charge 70% of the retail price to his immediate customer, whether wholesaler or bookseller. If a wholesaler was used, his profit came out of the bookseller's discount; generally, however, the country bookseller could expect between 17½% and 30%...(1985, p. 57)

The raising and use of capital and credit, and the complete ubiquity of paper-based systems of exchange are little different from today: only the media and speed of communications has changed. Staffordshire's

bookbinders experienced exactly the same problems encountered by modern business. We have seen the importance of family networks to business stability: 'the higher the risks the greater the premium on kinship links in business' (Mathias, 1979, p. 102). Insufficient capital, and uncertain cash-flow, caused frequently by extended credit terms, were the downfall of many.

1.3.2 Mechanisation

The most important change to affect the book trade, as one element of the utilisation of steam power in the late eighteenth-century, was the mechanisation of the production of paper.[9] The process of automating the binding of books naturally followed the mechanisation of paper-making and printing; Staffordshire's binders had to be able to keep up with changing methods and increased demand. The major advance of the machine process was to form the paper on a continuous wire so that the formation was much faster, regular in thickness and cheaper. It freed the process from the variabilities of papermaking by hand by a skilled human worker, who became a machine-minder. This deskilling was commented on at the time: '...on the automatic plan, skilled labour gets progressively superseded, and will, eventually, be replaced by mere overlookers of machines' (Andrew Ure, 1835, p. 67). Paper continued to be made by hand, indicated by the numbers and distribution of papermakers in pockets throughout the county, but the die was cast. This type of machine was crucial to the history of the book trade, especially the newspaper industry: demand for printed matter was increasing rapidly and the enhanced ability to satisfy it fuelled still greater demand. The supply

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[9] See Rotherham and Steele, (1975); Hunter, (1978).

of paper had to keep up, both with demand from readers and with advances in printing technology, which was undergoing a concomitant process of development.

The importance of paper as a commodity is evidenced by the level of taxation applied to it, the volatility of its price, and the special pleading from the trade in relation to it:

> The heavy Tax on Paper has almost ruined the printing and Bookselling Business of the Country, and transferred all the foreign trade to Germany and France, whence Books in all languages are exported to America & c. at one-third less charge than from England. The annual consumption of printing paper in Paris, which, for seven years before the Revolution, was averaged at 160,000 reams, was, at the close of last year, computed at 2,800,000.
> (SA, 21 October 1797)

> Paper has again risen an additional ten per cent, within the last fortnight, making nearly 35 per cent. within the last three months. (SA, 30 April 1808)

The nature of bookbinding was changing, and this process gathered pace towards the end of the study period. Bookbinding began to be sub-divided by types of book: ruled account books were regarded early on as a separate branch of the trade, and some firms specialised in this type of book, which had a large and ready market for all manner of record-keeping. In April 1815 John Rogers began in business in Greengate Street, Stafford, advertising: '...Books bound in neat, serviceable and elegant bindings, at a very moderate charge;

and tradesmen's account books made and neatly ruled to any pattern required' (SA, 8 April 1815). By 1817 Westley's in London had sub-divided the binding processes sufficiently to introduce a piece-work system of payment for general work. (Middleton, 1996, rep. 2008, p. 264).

Cloth was introduced as a covering material in about 1823 (p. 133). It was much cheaper than the traditional leather or vellum, and faster to produce. Ruari McLean records that a binder, Archibald Leighton, created the first cloth specifically for covering books, and that J. L. Wilson opened the first book cloth factory in Hoxton, London, in the early 1840s (1963, p. 7). Much greater speed and ease of preparation reduced costs, especially the costs of the most highly skilled binders, the gold finishers, and the use of expensive leather could be dispensed with for cheaper editions and day-to-day work. It remained in use for more deluxe, bespoke bindings. Books became progressively more democratically available to the working and middle classes, being produced in a variety of styles and editions based on price, related to size and the type and elegance of the printing and binding. These changes to the materiality of the books, how they were bound, what coverings were used and what they looked like had effects on the marketing of books, who bought them or borrowed them, and how they were read: this will be discussed further in

chapter 2.

These changes did not happen overnight; the processes of innovation and automation took most of the nineteenth-century to take full effect and were taken up only where a clear advantage over existing hand craft processes could be seen. Hybrid styles, used in England since the seventeenth-century, reduced costs while maintaining some degree of the perceived luxury and elegance of leather and gold leaf finishing; 'half-leather' where the spine and corners are of leather, the sides being covered with paper or cloth, and 'quarter-leather' where only the spine is of leather (Middleton, 1996, rep. 2008, pp. 160-162). These cost-reducing measures culminated in the modern paperback, the most accessible book form for the ordinary reader.

Binders sought many ways to reduce their costs by innovations and efficiency, such as reducing the amount of sewing holding the book together to the bare minimum, and sometimes beyond. Many heavy Victorian Bibles are sewn on three thin recessed cords only, and techniques were developed to eliminate the sewing stage completely. The inner strength of the binding was sacrificed to outward show. A new type of binding was patented in 1836 by William Hancock, and termed 'caoutchouc' or 'gutta-percha' after the adhesive (McLean, 1963, p. 8; Middleton, 1996, rep. 2008, p. 30). This

involved trimming the text-block into single sheets rather than sewing through the back-folds of the traditional gatherings, and gluing the spine-edge with a rubber solution as the sole means of holding the whole together. In time the glue dried out and the book fell apart. Binders have been criticised for the relentless simplifying, streamlining and debasement of their craft, but they were driven as hard as any other branch of the printing and book trades by the changing world around them, and had to adapt. The reading public was expanding greatly, becoming more discriminating, and the demand from libraries could not have been met if techniques suitable for automation, such as cloth case binding, had not been introduced. The price of books was driven down, and the opportunity to do fine or 'extra' work diminished. An example of the type of machine that was developed to automate previously hand-crafted binding operations was 'The Imperial Plough and Cutting Machine' invented and patented by Edward Roden, a printer in King Street, Wolverhampton. He was apprenticed to Joseph Bridgen, another prominent Wolverhampton printer (Simms, 1894, p. 380). A machine would have materially speeded up this operation. There was frequently controversy when a new machine was introduced: Maxine Berg quotes an anonymous pamphlet 'from the Journeymen Bookbinders' in dialogue form between employers and their binders, *On The Effect of*

a Machine Introduced to Supersede Manual Labour 1831:

Employers:

> The greatest blessing ever conferred upon bookbinders, as a body, was the introduction of this machine. Why? It has set at liberty a quantity of mere labour, without skill, to furnish wages to labourers with skill.

Bookbinders:

> It has *not* set at liberty a quantity of mere labour without skill, for it required skill; for proof, refer to any master bookbinder, who understands his business (even supposing him to be an advocate for the rolling machine), and he will tell you there is no part of our trade that requires more skill than the use of the hammer. (1979, pp. 87-88).

1.3.3 Political Activism

The book trade has always been highly politicised. At the end of the eighteenth-century political activism, increasing collective action by workers and fear in the establishment of a replication of the French Revolution had engendered a passionate, febrile and often violent political climate. The social world was being remade during the period of rapid industrial change when the ways and places in which ordinary people made their livings were moving from the fields to the towns and cities. Clive Emsley comments on the possible connection between economic and social change and the crime rate: theft and assault rose gradually in the second half of the eighteenth-century and more steeply in the 1820s. He links periods of agricultural and economic depression with political and popular disorder[10] (2005, pp. 21; 32; 36). There was a general and rising anxiety in the middle and upper classes of a loss of social control over the working class as more people crammed into the cities, created both by the sheer speed of the changes in society, and the political situation (p. 57).

William Cobbett was important in the politics of the Press in the first half of the nineteenth-century. Variously a soldier, autodidact, convict, employer, husband and father, gentleman farmer,

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[10] See also Pointon, (1991).

political prisoner, refugee, and radical journalist, he combined his political writings with all of these elements of his varied life. Initially he was in sympathy with his own class, local farmers and small landowners, the 'squirearchy', but over time he came to appreciate the nature of State control and the corrupt methods by which the ruling classes held on to power and distributed its largesse among themselves. He came to identify with, and to represent, the farm labourers, and the working class generally. His *Political Register* was 'founded as an anti-Jacobin organ in 1802, the most powerfully written political journal of the time. Reducing the price from a shilling to twopence, he addressed himself directly to the labourers and artisans...' (Cole, 1947, p. 10). The *Register* featured accounts of domestic turmoil and foreign political news: 'From the spring of 1816 onwards the newspapers - the *Register* among them – became full of accounts of 'risings', riots, burnings of property, and shooting and hanging of labourers, not in one part of the country, but everywhere' (p. 201). The *Register* was read widely across the whole country, enabling the working class to see a view, turbulent and polemical as it was, not generated by the State. Through this Cobbett exercised considerable agency in commenting on and publicising the political discourse. It was read in all those places where working people gathered, and was read out to those not able to read: it was highly

influential.

Religious Dissent and Non-Conformism were strong in many parts of the midlands and particularly in Staffordshire; political discussion and activism were part of the lives of small masters and artisans in the book trade as in other trades. Religion and politics pervaded the printing era: 'A religious or political dissident could reach a far larger audience when ideas could be circulated in print...' (Feather, 2008, p. 15). Prosecutions for sedition increased as the Government tried vainly to control the minds and opinions of the people by regulating what they could read and what they knew:

> Over two hundred prosecutions for sedition in England have been counted for the years 1792 to 1801. This was probably two hundred more than in the preceding decade and reflects the growth of Painite radicalism in England during the decade of the French Revolution (Emsley, 2005, p. 25).

Emsley does not specify what types of workers were arraigned, but given that printed sedition was easier to prove than verbal, it is reasonable to surmise that book trade workers made up a good portion of that number. Workers in different industries were reading and distributing potentially seditious literature, but the main risks were being run by the book trade. In March 1817 a bookbinder was among those arrested after a march from Manchester to London to present petitions (Thompson, 1963, rep. 1979, p. 709, footnote 1). William Hone, a bookseller, wrote satires and lampoons of the

Government, and in December 1817 underwent three farcical trials, successfully defending himself 'in some of the most hilarious legal proceedings on record' (Thompson, 1963, rep. 1979, p. 792). The jurors refused to convict him. Book trade workers, including the binders, were taking considerable personal risks in printing, binding and distributing Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* during this time. It was banned in 1794, and so these activities became illegal, therefore seditious and potentially treasonous. Habeas Corpus was sometimes suspended, and the Combination Act 1799 strengthened legislation against unions and similar workers' groups. The Six Acts of 1819, subsequent to the 'Peterloo' massacre of August that year, were aimed at curbing and restricting the activities of reformers, and considerably strengthened and speeded up legislation against seditious meetings and publications, libels, and training in arms. The sixth Act introduced a newspaper tax, another of the mechanisms open to the Government to restrict access to the press (Cole, 1947, pp. 237-240).

Richard Carlile began republishing Paine's works in London after the Napoleonic Wars, and was duly imprisoned for it (Thompson, 1963, rep. 1979, p. 197; p. 199). He and 'his shopmen served a total of more than 200 years imprisonment...' (p. 210). He published *The Republican*, and was a thoroughgoing thorn in the side of the

Government. Joel Weiner refers to Paine in a footnote, and gives us an idea of the dangerous and clandestine nature of the traffic in his works: 'A familiar title *underneath* the counter at that time [1825] was Tom Paine's *Age of Reason*, which could be obtained by any customer who was willing to buy some other book for three times the marked price' (1983, p. 253). Other types of publications, less politically controversial, were produced in Staffordshire. George Bell, a printer in Shelton, near Hanley, published *The Working Man's Journal and Free Enquirer* (Simms, 1894, p. 52). The working class, already thinking of itself and being identified as such, had many ephemeral and short-lived publications of a political, religious, didactic or educational nature aimed at it.

The book trade seems to have been more politically active than other sectors of commerce; perhaps it appears so because it was at the forefront of producing potentially illegal or seditious material, with easy access to the means of propagating their views. John Baskerville '...printed a serial edition of Wilkes' works, with subscriptions in seventeen different locations in the Midlands as well as in London' (McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb, 1982, p. 256). The authorities, aware that the book trade had access to paper, printing and binding materials, sought to control them. This took many forms over the years, notably through the 'stamp', which was required to appear on

'authorised' sheets of paper and had to be paid for. It added a significant amount to the cover price of publications, and was an attempt to price out as many producers and consumers of printed material as possible. It was also an attractive source of revenue for the Treasury, since 17,000,000 stamps were sold in 1793 (Richard Altick, 1957, rep. 1998, p. 48). It almost doubled the price of *The Staffordshire Advertiser*: it was originally sold at fourpence, of which twopence was Stamp Duty. Advertising was priced at five shillings per fifteen lines, of which three shillings was tax, regardless of the length of the advertisement. In 1797 the Duty was raised to threepence-halfpenny, making the cover price sixpence, enough to deter the lowest paid. They still had access to it via public readings in the taverns and book clubs, so the Government's measures did not succeed as well as they hoped (D. A. Johnson, 1970, p. 193).

The authorities were trying to limit access to information by means of a price barrier for purposes of political control. There was also a social element to this limitation, as will be seen below in 'Libraries and Literacy'. There were other means available to the Government, again of a financial nature. Government advertisements could be withheld from Radical publications, reducing their income; those who did not observe these regulations faced harsh sanctions. They were not always as well known as Carlile or as well supported by

friends and employees: 'Joseph Rock, a hawker, residing in this town,[11] was convicted of selling unstamped almanacs at Coven, in the Parish of Brewood [near Wolverhampton] and committed for one month to the house of correction' (SA, 25 November 1815).

It was the unstamped nature of the almanacs that had him sent down. Today his custodial sentence may seem too punitive, but this was a society in which burglary was a capital offence, among many others. Perhaps someone was protecting his local trade and the good income from sales of stamped almanacs? It showed the lengths to which the authorities would go to control the type and distribution of literature of any kind, however innocuous. It was 1815, a significant year, and Rock may have crossed a political line, probably without even realising it; he may not even have been able to read what he was selling. Almanacs had always been a staple of the printing trade, and sometimes a conduit for political discussion.

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[11] Town not specified.

Drewry set it out in his 'leader' [more of a digest than an editorial]:

> Unstamped almanacs - We are informed that a considerable number of this article are vending in various parts of this county, by hawkers, who, probably, are not aware of the penalty attached to so illegal a practice. By Act of Parliament, the vender may be committed to the house of correction for three months; the fine is ten pounds; any person to whom one of them is offered may take the seller before a justice of the peace, and be entitled to a reward of twenty shillings. (SA, 1 December 1821)

Almanacs were produced all over the country and bought in large numbers; the largely harmless entertainment value of these publications contrasts sharply with the huge fine, probably more than the hawker earned in a year, and emphasising again the draconian reaction of the authorities to the unregulated distribution of printed matter (Feather, 1985, p. 109).

The attitude of the Government was endorsed by some editors and proprietors; many agreed with it, deriving income from acting as Stamp Agents. It also had the effect of clamping down on their unstamped competitors. Piracy was an issue even then.[12] Feather refers to the activities of Thomas Luckman in Coventry, who in 1774 printed an edition of *Pilgrim's Progress*. The London trade considered that it was still under their copyright, therefore unauthorised, and the resulting case was settled out of court (1985, p. 6). John Tregortha

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[12] See Blaney, (2022).

of Burslem also printed a version of this text; he is one of the principal Staffordshire book trade entrepreneurs who will be examined in more detail later.

Industrial relations were troubled to say the least from the late eighteenth-century right through the nineteenth, and will have exacerbated the political difficulties inherent in the dissemination of potentially dangerous printed matter. Workers took many years to adapt to the massive societal changes brought about by the enclosures and the shift from a primarily agrarian economy to one based in small workshops and large factories in the towns and cities. They lost choice and control in their lives; loss of access to common land curtailed their ability to graze animals and gather fuel for heating and cooking. They had to work for one employer and be completely subservient to the terms and conditions offered, at least until collective action via trades unions brought some change later in the nineteenth-century.

From the outset the power dynamic remained biased firmly in favour of the industrial employers, and was class-based as on the land, controlled by local squires and aristocracy: '...employers in a wide range of trades and jurisdictions relied heavily upon nonpecuniary forms of compulsion, especially in the forms of statute law...' (Frank, 2005, p. 64). A double standard was operated through

the 'Master and Servant' legislation which had been created well before my study period and continued beyond it; workers were bound almost entirely to one employer, with heavy sanctions if they left their employment, did their work badly, or misbehaved. Employers could bring criminal actions against workers, whereas workers only had recourse to civil law, which was beyond their means unless they acted in concert. The 1823 Master and Servant Act, in a long line of such legislation, meant that a worker 'could be imprisoned for up to three months at hard labour or lose wages already earned' (Frank, 2005, p. 65). We can see this attitude reflected in Drewry's leader above, in his unequivocal support for the official position.

Frank goes into detail as to how local magistrates were in the front line of administering 'justice' under these laws, sometimes displaying blatant bias in favour of the employers. They were not always disinterested judges of the facts but an integral part of the local power structure controlling workers and their conduct. He refers to Thomas Rose, a magistrate in the Staffordshire Potteries, and how he dealt with cases brought before him: 'Let but one of them come before me, and I'll commit him' was Rose's motto, one which his victims and opponents and the *Potteries Examiner* learned to chant back at him, but he and his class did not have it all their own way. Workers were combining their funds and hiring solicitors and

barristers to fight these cases, often with favourable results. Barristers were often able to have cases referred out of the jurisdiction of the local magistrate to the Court of King's or Queen's Bench in London, and were frequently successful in overturning the magistrate's ruling, and in having costs borne personally by the unfortunate magistrate. We can surmise that workers in the book trade suffered in the same way as the miners and pottery workers who appeared before Thomas Rose.[13]

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[13] See Hay, (1998).

1.3.4 Libraries and Literacy

There is a dichotomy between those in the middle and upper classes educated to read for pleasure as much as for its utility, and with the leisure time to do so, and those in the working class who saw literacy principally as a means to advance themselves, financially and politically: reading as a tool rather than an accomplishment. These motives for reading are not mutually exclusive; the working class had a great desire to read and be educated, but they also sought entertainment as much as improvement. Among the earliest printed matter ordinary people encountered were the small, cheap, lurid and sensational chapbooks, pointing to 'a mass audience capable of reading it' (Feather, 1984, p. 417).

Books were expensive relative to weekly income, and only a privileged few had the disposable income to acquire them; Robert Hume's article on the economics of cultural pursuits is instructive: 'Most book buying had to have been done by the top 1 percent of families, and extensive book buying by the top 0.5 percent' (2014, p. 375). This put book-buying beyond most of the middle class, and definitely so for the working class, for whom a book's price could equate to several days' income. For this reason circulating libraries and reading rooms were ubiquitous throughout Staffordshire and the country; many different subjects were catered for, whether from a

thirst for education or merely for diversion. The working class was enthusiastic for self-education, which often went hand-in-hand with political thought and discussion. Thompson refers to self-education among hand-loom weavers, noted as autodidacts: 'My work was at the loom side, and when not winding my father taught me reading, writing and arithmetic' (1963, rep. 1979, pp. 321-322). Libraries enabled the numbers of people reading to increase greatly because they provided books for rent to people who could not buy them (Edward Jacobs, 2003, p. 18, note 1; Fergus, 1984, p. 166). By the time that advances in book production made much cheaper editions available to the working class buyer, the circulating libraries had created a willing and eager market for mass literature, only superseded in this democratisation of reading by the public library movement.

We can see a social stratification in the location and provision of library facilities along class lines reflected in the separation of the middle and upper class Literary and Philosophical Societies and the Conservative News Rooms from the Mechanics' Institutes. The circulating libraries, frequently based in booksellers' shops, were a 'neutral ground' where the classes could mix more easily. Schneider characterises the circulating libraries as places where class relationships could be formed and codified, associated with: 'the

performance of a new class identity' (2022, p. 46), and '...the creation of polite sociability...' (p. 53). This did not include the working class for many of which the subscription to any library was unaffordable. Reading for the middle and upper classes, especially novel reading, was primarily a leisure activity and can be another class signifier: 'possessing books could be a signal that just *enough* leisure was available to be associated with the “better” sort of people' (p. 55). The circulating library served two functions: '...as a book-distribution institution and a place of class performance...' (p. 56).

The book and printing trade is inherently political, and libraries were not divorced from this. Colclough details the reading and buying strategies and habits of users of the libraries and bookshops in Sheffield in the 1790s, taken from the contemporary diaries of an apprentice, Joseph Hunter. Hunter used the Surrey Street Library among other sources; during the agitation and fear caused by the French revolution and the Napoleonic wars, the library's committee began to reconsider its buying plans, replacing the *Analytical Review* with the *Anti-Jacobin* (2000, pp. 33-34).

It seems unlikely that this process of selection, of self-censorship, took place only in Sheffield. The Government always had its eye on libraries and reading rooms because they disseminated literature to the working class. On 4 March 1817 Habeas Corpus was

suspended: 'All public reading rooms, lecture halls and places of assembly were placed under the superintendence of the magistrates, and needed licenses from them' (Cole, 1947, p. 216). We have seen how magistrates could be biased towards the interests of the State. This suspension of Habeas Corpus forced Cobbett to flee to America, rather than be imprisoned for the views he expressed in his *Political Register*; he left on 27 March 1817, and by 12 July the *Register* had resumed publication, with Cobbett as usual writing most of the copy and editing by 'remote control' (p. 217).

Some booksellers were also publishers, if only on a small scale, and the London trade was predominant here as in other aspects of the book trade. They were seen as a distinct subset among publishers in the late eighteenth-century (Jacobs, 2003, p. 3). At this time many women were writing novels, often anonymously ['By A Lady'] owing to the social stigma attached to writing as an occupation for women. It was one of the few ways in which women could earn a living which fitted in with the other demands of family life.

Libraries were operated on a commercial basis such as the circulating libraries operated by booksellers and stationers or collectively and subscription-financed as in the Mechanics' Institutes and book clubs. Subscription libraries were run by committees of local worthies – businessmen, clergy, the middle and upper classes, local

aristocracy, and were a local community hub. The local establishment class could exercise some degree of social control and standard-setting, as in Wigtown:

> Such men founded and supported the Wigtown Subscription Library not purely for the reading opportunities it provided (indeed, in some cases, they clearly had very little interest in the Library's books), but also because it would be an outlet for their cultural leadership of the local community. (Towsey, 2009, p. 479)

The circulating libraries had a rather downmarket image at this time, based on a reputation for poor workmanship and what we might now call 'mass-market' products. Librarians looked to refine their stock towards more serious, educational and improving works but they could not exclude novel readers completely: they would have had few customers. These libraries were a ready market for female writers (Jacobs 2003, p. 8).

The authorities largely disapproved of the working classes reading at all, outside the confines of the Bible and religious works, a prejudice that goes back centuries. Those in power nationally and locally well understood how the availability of political and polemical texts, potentially seditious, combined with the desire to read and discuss them, could lead to challenges to their positions and privileges: 'Since the power of the press had been so dramatically revealed during the Puritan regime, one vital way of ensuring the

nation's stability was to keep the masses ignorant of their letters' (Altick, 1957, rep. 1998, p. 31). Working people were aware of this desire on the part of the State, and of the importance of education: it was not seen only as a good thing. 'It was increasingly crucial because under the condition of industrial life the ability to read was acquiring an importance it had never had before' (p. 4).

Literacy was not universal: for example, there is no absolute need to be able to read to sew a book up. A diagonal line was often drawn across the back of the loose gatherings of the book, which had already been put into the correct order, probably by the literate printer. The person sewing, usually a woman, simply had to achieve a straight, unbroken line as each gathering was added to ensure they were in the correct order.

Novels were well down the hierarchy of subject matter in libraries; this advertisement illustrates the weight of convention and social expectation governing reading, and which librarians had to be keenly aware of:

PUBLIC LIBRARY

S. BROUGHAM, BOOKSELLER, BURSLEM, begs leave to inform the inhabitants of the Pottery and Neighbourhood, that he has established a library...

The terms were 15 shillings for a year, 8 shillings for six months, 5 shillings for three months; occasional readers paid sixpence for a

quarto volume, threepence for an octavo and twopence per week for a 'lesser' volume. He divided novels and plays from more serious works 'as a number of persons do not approve of the indiscriminate reading of Novels and Plays'. The two libraries comprised about 1,400 books, valued by Brougham at £400 (SA, 18 April 1818).

Joseph Bridgen in Wolverhampton (Population 1821: 36,838; 1831: 48,080, PD35, p. 481; HDSDL) gave details of local libraries in his Directories: the Mechanics' Institute was established in 1830, and the average membership for 1837 was two hundred. They paid 10 shillings per annum, and had access to the library, reading room and lectures from 7 am to 10 pm. The Literary and Philosophical Society of the type formed in many towns and cities at this time met every alternate Tuesday from September to April; the News Room in Queen Street opened from 8 am to 10 pm, and the Conservative News Room in Darlington Street opened its doors at 8 am (summer), 8.30 am (winter) until 10 pm (Bridgen, 1838, p. 97).

Hanley (Population 1821: 5,622; 1831: 7,121, PD35, p. 426; HDSDL) had a News Room, open from 8 am till 10 pm. There were penalties for swearing, for the use of indecent language and for drunkenness. Each evening the London papers were to be 'publicly read'. This is interesting because it confirms that ordinary people were eager to know what was going on in the world outside, and would be

available to hear it; the London press carried extensive reports of Parliamentary business and foreign affairs, especially during the Napoleonic wars. Thompson makes it clear that the various types of clubs and societies operated by the working class took pains to be orderly in their conduct of business and their own behaviour, with varying degrees of success (1963, rep. 1979, p. 788). This may have been from the insidious influence of social emulation, and to prove to the higher classes that they were not the ignorant mass they thought them to be, and not to give the authorities any excuse to close them down or to further circumscribe their activities.

The fact that the London papers were read out attests to the wide distribution and agency of metropolitan and regional newspapers, to varying degrees of literacy and the wish of those not so accomplished to be informed of events and news, especially foreign news. This also took place in taverns, in homes, and in other informal gatherings: 'Very few of the working people can read well enough to read a newspaper; although papers are taken (and read aloud) at the blacksmith's, the barber's and several public houses' (Thompson, 1963, rep. 1979, p. 447: he quotes from Joseph Lawson's reminicences of life in the West Riding in the 1820s).

I have examined the means used by the authorities to try to control the production and distribution of reading matter and the ways

in which the working classes circumvented them. In the steady spread of literacy this tension is always there, whether overtly in the form of legislation and regulations imposed by the State and pervasively and unavoidably in the form of the Stamp Duty on paper. There has always been keen debate about levels of literacy, and while it cannot be examined in detail here, it is key because if the ability to read and write had not been steadily increasing the book trade could not have flourished as it did. Different elements of the working class placed greater emphasis on it, as noted in the case of the weavers, and Thompson refers to the wide differentials in accomplishment:

> The 'industrious classes' touched, at one pole, the million or more who were illiterate, or whose literacy amounted to little more than the ability to spell out a few words or write their names. At the other pole there were men of considerable intellectual attainment. (1963, rep. 1979, p. 782)

Robert Roberts discusses this, referring to his early life in Salford in the first quarter of the twentieth-century. He comments on levels of literacy during my period, and it illuminates how slow the increase was: 'The degree of education enjoyed by the poor in the early Victorian era may be gauged from official prison statistics: 'Of 252,544 offenders (1836-45) 229,300, or more than 90 per cent, were illiterate...' (1971, rep. 1980, p. 130).

Circulating libraries provided the largest percentage of books on loan: almost all booksellers maintained one. Plumb comments on the

number of differing libraries in Tamworth (Population 1821: 3,904; 1831: 3,917, PD35, p. 450; HDSDL), and both he and Thompson (1963) confirm the avidity with which the working class read whatever they could: 'As well as circulating libraries, there were private subscription book clubs' (McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb, 1982, p. 270). These book clubs frequently gathered in taverns, where the buoyant demand for literature, personal and political intelligence and development could be combined with beer, warmth in winter and fellowship:

> ...A shoemaker, who had been taught his letters in the Old Testament, would labour through 'The Age of Reason'; a schoolmaster, whose education had taken him a little further than worthy religious homilies, would attempt Voltaire, Gibbon, Ricardo; here and there local Radical leaders, weavers, booksellers, tailors, would amass shelves of Radical periodicals […] illiterate labourers would […] go each week to a pub where Cobbett's editorial letter was read aloud and discussed. (Thompson, 1963, rep. 1979, pp. 781-782)

A local writer refers to a *permanent* library in Tamworth '...which, in a few years contained upwards of two thousand volumes...' (Palmer, 1845, p. 154). Tamworth indeed seems to have generated a considerable market for books and periodicals.

An advertisement in *The Staffordshire Advertiser* of 26 March 1796 was headed 'CHESTER & MORT, printers, Booksellers, Bookbinders and Stationers.' It included the notification that they were successors to Mr John Straphan and had purchased his stock-in-

trade, part of which was a circulating library of a thousand volumes. Straphan was reported a bankrupt in *The Staffordshire Advertiser* (SA, 28 May 1796; BBTI). He was prosecuted for sedition in 1792, having published an edition of Paine's *Rights of Man* (Pointon, 1991, p. 159). By 1798 Chester was advertising the library on his own account, with subscription rates as follows:

> 12/- per year
> 3/6 per quarter year
> 2/- per month
>
> (SA, 27 October 1798; Simms, 1894, p. 438)

The Chesters, Morts and Drewrys were among the larger concerns in the county's book trade; their familial and business inter-relations will be examined in greater detail later. Chester and Drewry especially co-operated in the operation of their respective circulating libraries in Stafford and Newcastle-under-Lyme: they advertised as follows in 1803:

CHESTER AND DREWRY begs leave most respectfully to inform the subscribers and public in general, that they have ready for delivery a complete Catalogue of the Library, with an addition of several hundred Volumes of New Novels, interesting Histories & c. & c. New Publications of merit will be regularly added.

	s	d
Yearly subscribers at	12	0
Half yearly at	8	0
Quarterly at	4	6

(SA, 30 July 1803)

Drewry's own rates for 1795 (below) were close to Chester's; the reference to the library in the singular is indicative, and this raises the possibility of three sets of rates: Drewry's, Chester's and a combined set. In turn this points to a sophisticated understanding of the local market and selective pricing; perhaps Drewry's charges applied in Stafford, Chester's in Newcastle and the combination in the rural areas and smaller northern and southern towns, Chester to the north, Drewry to the south?

one year	10/6
half year	6/-
quarter year	3/6
one month	1/6
Non-subscribers	2d per vol.

(SA, 12 September 1795)

By 1796 Drewry's rates had increased markedly, testament that the lively local market would stand the extra:

Terms of Reading

Subn. for one month	2/-
" " 3 "	5/-
" " One Year	16/-

Non-subscribers pay 2d per vol. for books of the value of 3/- above 3/- and not exceeding 5/- 3d per vol. and so on in proportion to the value of the book.

(SA, 17 December 1796)

So there was scope for variations in pricing between towns; I doubt that Drewry was aiming just for market share because such a price

rise would have allowed all the other circulating libraries to offer better rates. It may be that he was dominant locally and did not need to consider this to any extent; it may indicate that he was appealing to the middle and upper classes.

In 1813 Miss Drewry was advertising 'A NEW CIRCULATING LIBRARY'. Presumably she was a relative of Joshua. BBS (1975 to 1987, WP7/14) gives Ann and Susan Drewry as booksellers in Gaolgate Street, Stafford, in 1834. Miss Drewry first advertised her library in *The Staffordshire Advertiser*. It would begin with about a thousand volumes, and 'will not consist entirely of Novels, as such institutions commonly do...' (SA, 2 January 1813). This reflects the social hierarchy of reading in Drewry's pricing strategy above, that some appealed mainly to novel readers, whereas others pretended to a more discerning audience. The subscription for a year was £1; for half a year 10s 6d; a quarter 6s and a month 2s 6d. As soon as the following week these had risen to 12s for the half-year and 7s 6d the quarter. Details are given of special arrangements for rural customers to borrow more books and the means of transport, reflecting the importance of the rural, village and small town market (SA, 2 January 1813). The rural market was important in Staffordshire, and some farmers might only go to market in the town once a month or even

less: a library that came to them would capture their custom. Was Joshua advising her? He may also have financed the venture; it did her little good however, since she had to sell up just over a year later.

Chapter Two

2.1 Who, What and Where

Introduction

Here I discuss the people providing bookbinding in Staffordshire, how and where they worked, and bring in the effects of the 'societal and political forces' set out in chapter 1. I also highlight how the information helps to answer my Research Questions. 'Historical invisibility' describes the lack of detailed information regarding the activities of the ordinary binders: apprentices, journeymen and small masters. Many historians have encountered this difficulty: 'Such shadowy outlines are familiar to many historians of the poor, who face the problem of uncovering sufficient documentation for their tasks' (Joel Weiner, 1983, p. 7). It is not surprising that their lives have gone largely unrecorded: they would have seen bookbinding simply as a job of work; many would not have been literate enough to make a record of their daily lives, nor would they have seen any necessity for it.

Staffordshire had a flourishing book and newspaper publishing trade by the late eighteenth-century (Feather, 1985, p. 19), stimulated by the exponential growth in literacy and demand for books and magazines seen by 1800, and by the intensity and diversity of its industries: '...there is little that Staffordshire does not produce' (Greenslade and Stuart, 1965, p. 46). The book trade

was county-wide: each principal town had its satellite villages, often with an active and varied concentration of book trade activity serving the town and the wider agricultural market via the circulating libraries. Ramsden refers to the need for local bookbinding and the extra costs and trouble involved if it all had to be sent to London (1954, rep. 1987, p. xi). My research has revealed a network of binders across the county which would have made this unnecessary, relating directly to my first Research Question, on the relationship of the Staffordshire trade to that of London. It shows that Staffordshire provided all the resources and services required by the printers, bookbinders, stationers and booksellers: papermakers, leather dealers, typefounders, ink makers and engravers. The latter were found in the Potteries and in the Black Country towns, and would have worked across different industries, providing images for the ceramic ware, for the newspapers and printers, and in the jewellery and small metal trades.

Appendix 1 contains details of 157 people in Staffordshire either identifying as bookbinders or providing that service during the study period. The three core activities split as follows: 53% identified as printers; 49% as booksellers, and 46% as stationers. Most businesses provided all these services. In comparison, 201 are recorded in Birmingham, so that the Staffordshire trade was of a broadly

comparable size by numbers; the greater concentration was in Birmingham because of its urban nature compared to the more rural Staffordshire. Population figures for the towns are given for 1821, and for comparison 1831, taken from PD35, which in its turn took them from the Censuses of those years. In almost every case they show increases in numbers between 1821 and 1831, most notably in the manufacturing towns of the Potteries and the Black Country.

The book trade was led by the principal entrepreneurs who operated from shop premises and provided the three core services of stationery, bookselling and printing; these entrepreneurs usually built their businesses initially as newspaper proprietors in the mid- to late eighteenth-century, such as Joshua Drewry in Stafford and Charles Chester in Newcastle-under-Lyme. They used the portfolio or compound method of business; their supply chain worked at a single activity such as binding, papermaking or engraving, either directly employed or self-employed on the jobbing basis. Those who maintained trade premises would frequently offer a bewildering array of products and services, far too many to have been knowledgeable in all of them.

Some of these services would have been contracted out, and others bought in to be provided on the premises. Complete circulating

libraries could be purchased in this way, and some of the county's booksellers and stationers maintained one. The demand for printed matter and books in the towns, villages and the local farming community made it well worth their while. These libraries and the literacy that drove them were part of the societal and political forces set out in chapter 1; the chapmen began both to create and to satisfy the need for printed entertainment, and increased literacy followed from this. Children were taught their letters by parents, and workmates were teaching each other, well before the establishment of formal education. This and the creation of libraries would have led to a considerable demand for binding skills all over the county, because new bindings, repairs and rebindings would have been necessary to maintain the condition and extend the life of the valuable stock, and some books were bought in sheets to be bound locally.

The changes in the types of printed material available led to alterations in the materiality of books, and to how they were used. The chapbook covers would have been of paper, with the title and a generic woodcut illustration to attract the eye, not really a binding at all, and were ephemeral. The technical advances in printing and those in binding – the case binding and the introduction of cloth as a covering material in the 1820s – meant that books became more permanent, to be kept for their own sake as special objects and for

future re-reading. The chapbooks were seen mainly as entertainment, whereas bound books became sources of information as well as diversion. Publishers began to use the possibilities offered by the new materiality in bindings to attract buyers, with illustrations and eye-catching typefaces. Different styles of binding in paper, board, and various combinations of leather and cloth or paper were introduced to enable the same book to be sold at differing prices to appeal to different sectors of the market. Price reductions made books available to the working class, to be rented from the libraries or bought outright, whole or in part numbers. By the end of my study period it was not only the wealthy who could build up treasured personal libraries. The materiality of books became a more important factor, the type and colour of the binding, the elegance of gold tooling and the increasingly elaborate engravings: all these led to the book becoming in itself an object of desire, a 'special sort of consumer good' (Kwass, 2022, p. 134). This had always been the case with the early prestigious bindings of royalty and the nobility, and is true today with artistic 'designer' bindings. The idea of the book as a special object spread down the social scale to working class families; many poorer households would only have one book, the Bible, cherished and frequently used as a record of births, deaths and family events.

Analysis of Appendix 1 – *see also the Data Table in Appendix 1.*

We must be careful when interpreting data such as this. It should be remembered that the data represents 'snap-shots' of a specific time. We do not have 'perfect knowledge'. The Census used covered 1841; the occasional unreliablity and some variability in terminology used has been noted. None of the various annual commercial directories can be regarded as a full record in themselves. The directories and newspaper advertisements represent those who wished to advertise, in whatever manner and with such emphasis as they chose to promote themselves, and so some traders may not be included at all if, for example, they had enough business through word of mouth or direct patronage locally. For these reasons we should be wary of identifying trends or patterns too rigidly. This study never set out to investigate the whole of the book trade in Staffordshire; the people in appendix 1 all provided binding as a service. Those persons and businesses which did not list binding among their services were not included.

John Jones of Whitchurch is the earliest Staffordshire binder recorded during the study period, trading from 1760 to 1766. Some traded for relatively short periods, such as Jones, others for longer. William Jackson in Lichfield traded for thirty years, 1811 to 1841. There does not seem to be a pattern to the lengths people traded for,

nor perhaps should we expect one because many unrecorded business-related factors such as varying demand, uncertain cash-flow and changing fashions and requirements would have affected it, as would personal and family influences such as illness or inheritance. However, the preponderance of traders is in the second half of my period, the nineteenth-century. This may simply be because record-keeping may have improved as business methods became more systematic and records more accurate. It may also reflect increasing demand for these services as urbanisation and population increased and literacy and reading advanced.

Staffordshire's binders made up a substantial part of a large industry, reflecting the importance and ubiquity of printing, bookselling and stationery in the county. Printing, books and stationery supplies sit very naturally together, and so it is not surprising that entrepreneurs found it necessary and desirable to provide all these core services in one place; customers may have expected it. We cannot tell from the data which service predominated in each business, or which was the initial trade of the proprietor. Many provided extra services, book trade-related and others unrelated. These were many and various: selling patent medicines and acting as a pharmacist/druggist, being insurance agents, auctioneers, Stamp agents, timber dealers, papermakers, leather dealers, engravers,

librarians, publishers, music sellers, print sellers, paper hangers, inkmakers and so on. In the Black Country these ancillary activities were often related to the metal trades, such as pressmakers, and toolcutters.

To look more closely at how the different activities operated within each town, we can examine a few examples. The Stoke-on-Trent area population included twelve townships, totalling 29,223 in 1821; by 1831 this was 37,220 (PD35, p. 435, HDSDL). Burslem was the largest individual town (10,176 in 1821, 12,714 by 1831, p. 426), and was well provided with binders: of twelve persons or businesses, only four identified as printers, three as booksellers and three as stationers; three provided other services and one sold patent medicines. This cluster of binders will have serviced customers in the other towns. Hanley (1821: 5,622, 1831: 7,121, p. 426) had seven binders, four printers, three booksellers, three stationers and two circulating libraries. Lane End/Longton (1821: 7,100, 1831: 9,608, p. 427) had six; two printers, four booksellers and five stationers. There were two circulating libraries. There were ten such libraries recorded in Staffordshire in the study period, testament to a healthy level of demand from readers, and a concomitant requirement for timely and efficient binding services.

Remember that this study does not include the many

participants in the printing and book trades who did not advertise binding among their services. They also maintained circulating libraries and would have generated demand for binding, doubtless sent out to one of the providers identified in appendix 1. Additionally, the other libraries, club-based, subscription-based, those in the Mechanics' Institutes, churches and chapels and the local 'Big Houses' would have also fed their local binders.

The term *circulating* library implies that they travelled around, but there is little evidence for this. In Staffordshire only Miss Drewry's short-lived library in Stafford is advertising the times and places to which it circulated in the rural areas; there would have been a vibrant market in the countryside. Most libraries seem to be operating on the opposite principle, in that borrowers came to the books.

Binding provision was well distributed throughout the county, so that one did not have to go far to have a book bound or repaired; there was no necessity to send work out of county or to London unless by choice. Lichfield (1821: 6,075, 1831: 6,499, p. 415) had nine binders, reflecting the business that would be generated by the Cathedral and the ecclesiastical community. Newcastle-under-Lyme (1821: 7,031, 1831: 8,192, p. 420) provided thirteen, led by one of the principal entrepreneurs, Charles Chester, who is discussed more fully later in this chapter. The stand-out centre was Wolverhampton

(1821: 36,838, 1831: 48,080, p. 481), with twenty-eight businesses providing binding; there were eighteen printers, fifteen booksellers, sixteen printers and three circulating libraries. This may reflect both the considerable increase in population and a 'Black Country and Birmingham effect' where this area provided a greater concentration of demand.

Bookbinders clustered together as did many trades; if we regard a cluster as five or more bookbinders in one town or village, then fifteen clusters are noted in appendix 1. Different factors could affect this, such as geography, access to transport links, relationships with larger book trade businesses and local demand. As might be expected, the larger clusters are in the bigger towns. A group of binders worked in Rugeley (1821: 2,677, 1831: 3,165, p. 438) between Stafford and Lichfield, within easy reach of both these important county book trade centres, the kind of factor affecting location noted above. Three of the binders found were apprentices, which points to a healthy local trade in the village and the two towns: businesses never did expend money on training unless there was a need for it. This cohort of binders might be more than required in Rugeley itself, pointing to them servicing the trade in Stafford and Lichfield. The oldest was journeyman Henry Clark of Marl Pits, born 1771. He may have worked with or for William Easthope of Queen

Street, who was aged thirty, and not listed as a journeyman which may indicate that he worked for himself. The third adult was James Leonard who operated a business in Market Place. He offered the services of printer, bookseller, stationer, bookbinder, seller of musical instruments, agent for the Commercial Hall Wine Company, as a lottery agent for the Royal Exchange Company and owner of a circulating library. He seemed to dominate the local market, and Easthope and Clark may have worked for him. The trainees were Stephen Astbury (15), Samuel Cheshire (15) and Henry Tolley (14) (Cen 41/1; CD18; BBS, 1975 to 1987, WP5/13; WP6/23).

This study cannot ignore the proximity and regional importance of the book trade in Birmingham. Bull Street is of interest because it is a microcosm of the book trade, owing to the concentration of the various trades in the Birmingham and Black Country areas leading to a greater level of demand, rather than being spread out in the more rural Staffordshire. Bull Street is located in the centre of Birmingham; the traders conformed to the compound pattern of business and most aspects and requirements of the book trade could be found there: papermaking and warehousing, toolmaking, engraving, bookselling, printing of all kinds (stereotype, lithographic, copperplate and letterpress), stationery, several circulating libraries and of course bookbinding. There was even a 'financial broker', probably simply a

moneylender, Thomas Wood.

It is interesting that only two account bookbinders are noted in Staffordshire in the study period, in Lichfield and Wolverhampton. We might expect many more, given the ubiquitous use of these spring-back ledgers in business. However, this type of binding was patented in 1799, and would have taken some time to come into common use, probably not until towards the end of my period (Middleton, 1996, rep. 2008, p. 114). Large parts of Staffordshire are rural and there would probably be less demand for them, more ordinary books being used for record-keeping. The account bookbinder in Wolverhampton may have had more of a ready market in the Black Country towns and Birmingham.

Staffordshire produced all types of printed matter from advertising material to newspapers and books; it follows that the county's binders would have had to be sufficiently skilled and experienced to deal with the different formats required and the changes in the materiality of books. The driver of these changes was economic, the need to produce ever more books at cheaper prices, relating to my third Research Question about the aesthetic and economic motivations shaping bookbinding. The introduction of cloth as a cheaper and more versatile covering material in about 1823 (Middleton, 1996, rep. 2008, p. 133; McLean, 1963, p. 7), and the

case binding in about 1825 to 1830 (Middleton, 1996, rep. 2008, p. 74), gave binders the opportunity to play with the materiality of the book while reducing unit cost and improving profit. These two innovations were crucial to the book trade as the nineteenth-century progressed, enabling it to service the ever increasing demand created by improving literacy and more systematic education; the school market for primers and text books was huge.

Many of Staffordshire's booksellers, stationers and printers were also small-scale publishers of various kinds of ephemera, books and pamphlets of local interest. Simms describes in detail the many and varied types of printed matter produced when he lists information about a printer, bookseller or stationer. An example is the extensive entry for Alfred Charles Lomax, the original printer of Simms' *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis* in Lichfield (1894, pp. 288-289). The inter-relation of the Staffordshire book trade and London can also be observed in James Amphlett. He was born near Stafford in 1775 and was a printer in Hanley 1817 to 1828; he turned into a 'serial' editor, rivalling the changes of editors of modern newspapers. Simms (p. 15) gives the following list of publications he was involved with, and it gives an indication of the diversity of newspapers and periodicals of the time:

'Staffordshire Advertiser'
'The Rifleman Newspaper'
'North Staffordshire Mercury, and Pottery and Newcastle Advertiser' 1812
'The Pottery Gazette' (it *died* [sic] in consequence of having incurred some prosecution for libel)
'Lichfield Mercury' 1834
'Shrewsbury Journal' c. 1845-54

He also owned and edited *The Staffordshire Mercury*, established in 1824, which was carried on by W. Allbut and (?) Kennedy until it 'died' [sic] in 1844 (Simms, 1894, p. 432). This is probably not a complete list. Hill adds the following:

> In January 1821, the Birmingham Mercury and Warwickshire and Staffordshire Advertiser commenced in New Street [Birmingham] by Mr James Amphlett, of the Lichfield Mercury, with the support of Thomas Attwood and Joshua Scholefield and a committee of gentlemen; it had however but a brief existence. (1907, p. 126)

Amphlett seems to have been good at establishing newspapers, but lamentably poor at maintaining them, a trait not unknown today, but when he instigated a new paper or magazine, he certainly made a flourish:

PROSPECTUS

On Saturday, January 4th, 1812, will be published, Price 6d
(with a Sunday's Edition, containing Saturday's Gazette, and the latest news)
A NEW LONDON WEEKLY PAPER
ENTITLED
THE RIFLEMAN
(TO BE CONDUCTED BY MR AMPHLETT)

A long description of the proposed content and political and

philosophical stance of the newspaper followed, taking up several column inches (SA, 7 December 1811). Amphlett's connection with Drewry in Stafford shows us how intimately the Staffordshire book trade co-operated with the London trade and with adjacent counties. Drewry printed Amphlett's novel *Ned Bentley* in 1808, but the publishers were Longman, Rees, Hurst and Orme, London-based, as almost all were at this time.

The term 'publisher' was starting to be used in the book trade, although the full development of the publisher as a separate element of the book trade, set above the others, was a twentieth-century trend (Feather, 2006). However, neither the term nor the concept were unknown: John Tregortha (Burslem) was an active publisher of well known texts and described himself as such. Amphlett would probably have sold the copyright outright to the publishers as was customary at the time; Drewry was the printer and the local network below distributed it to London and three midland counties, emphasising how well organised it was, and evidencing the ability of the transport network to facilitate it. The book was advertised as follows:

MR AMPHLETT'S NOVEL

_____

On Wednesday, Oct. 19, will be published
IN THREE VOLS. PRICE 15s
Dedicated with permission to the Right Hon.
R. B. SHERIDAN
A NOVEL
BY MR AMPHLETT

Stafford: printed by J Drewry; published by Longman, Rees, Hurst and Orme, London; sold by Morgan, and Dawson, Stafford; Chester, and Smith, Newcastle; Lowe, Leek; Barnes, Cheadle; Gower and Smart, Wolverhampton; Morgan, Lichfield; Sylvester, Newport; Dean, Congleton; and all other Booksellers. (SA, 15 October 1808)

This novel helps to answer the first of my Research Questions, the relationship of the Staffordshire book trade to that of London. The sale of the copyright gave the power to the London publisher. It is unlikely that the book would have been financially viable without this connection, and the distribution by an established metropolitan publishing house such as Longman's, in addition to the regional sales network. It had to be seen to be 'approved' by London, and to be marketed and sold there. This book also evidences a marketing feature common at this time, concerning the materiality of the book, in that it was sold as a three-volume set, the 'three-decker' format. It was bound in half-leather and marbled paper, a standard hybrid format which enabled the seller to reduce costs by using a lot of paper on the covers rather than leather, and by minimising the gold tooling on the spine, while presenting an elegant binding to attract the buyer

and to justify the cost. The price of fifteen shillings shows that the age of mass purchase of this kind of literature was a long way off, since it exceeded the weekly wage of many types of worker. The weekly wage of a Bradford worsted weaver was only ten shillings in 1835 (Thompson, 1963, rep. 1979, p. 317). This is far too large a gap for a discretionary purchase and explains the popularity of circulating libraries and book clubs where members would club together to buy books and periodicals.

Binding was not regarded as part of the production process until about 1820 with the innovations of cloth and case-binding (Williams and Abbott, 2009, pp. 48-49); books were largely bound at the point of sale and so it is likely that Drewry or someone employed by him, directly or contracted-out locally, would have bound the volumes. It could not have made economic sense to print them in Stafford, transport them to London for binding, then bring them back at higher cost because they were then heavier and bulkier, and redistribute them. It would have adversely affected the viability of the book: the extra shipping costs would have eaten into the profit margin, which was already split several ways between owner, printer, wholesaler and booksellers, made up of percentage discounts off the full retail price at each level. Similarly, the publishers may have had preferential arrangements with a London binder, with some copies sent to London

as unsewn sheets or 'in boards' for binding there, being lighter and so cheaper to ship in this state. 'In boards' refers to the practise of putting a light board cover and paper spine on the sewn volume for protection during storage and transportation; an example of such a book is Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, (see appendix 2, photographs 40-42). The text block was not usually trimmed at this stage, nor the page edges 'cut'. The temporary covers would have been discarded at the destination, the book resewn and trimmed, and bound in the preferred style of the buyer. It was common for aristocratic buyers to have a special brass finishing tool engraved, often of their family crest, and this would have been held by their preferred binder, used to decorate the front board, in a house style to match other bindings in their library, although examples have survived in their original temporary boards.

There was considerable trade between London and the counties; in 1839 the Lichfield Cathedral Library accounts recorded a purchase of books from Messrs. Rivington:

> 24 August To Messrs. Rivington for
> 8 Chapter Memorials
> Cloth boards @ 4/6 1 – 16 -

This was the well known firm of F. C. & J. Rivington of 62 St. Paul's Churchyard, London (LCL, MS 55).

Printers and booksellers would seize eagerly on any sensational

event to produce a book, pamphlet or broadsheet in order to capitalise on it. In 1814 Drewry advertised as follows:

THIS DAY IS PUBLISHED
PRICE THREEPENCE
A SUMMARY OF THE PROPHETIC ORIGIN
and HISTORY of
JOANNA SOUTHCOTT
THE PRETEND PROPHET
(SA, 10 September 1814)

Southcott led the most successful and enduring of the many prophetic cults active at the end of the eighteenth-century, when the combination of the American and French Revolutions, Jacobinism, and the increasing political activism of the working class gave the more credulous to expect the Second Coming, the world to change rather more than it did, and the likes of Southcott to usher in the new world. 'The first frenzy of the cult was in 1801-4; but it achieved a second climax in 1814 when the aging Joanna had an hysterical pregnancy and promised to give birth to 'Shiloh', the Son of God' (Thompson, 1963, rep. 1979, pp. 52-55; p. 425).

This and her death that year must have been a commercial gift to Drewry and entrepreneurs like him. The journalistic tradition of pandering to the lowest common denominator was established early, and practiced enthusiastically by newspapermen like Drewry. Public executions at Stafford Prison provided all the raw material necessary:

This day is Published
PRICE ONE SHILLING
THE TRIAL OF
GEORGE ALLEN
OF UPPER MAYFIELD
who dreadfully wounded, with intent
to Murder his Wife!
AND WHO ACTUALLY
MURDERED HIS THREE CHILDREN!!!
By cutting off their Heads, and tearing
their Bowels out!!!
WITH AN ACCOUNT OF
HIS EXECUTION AT STAFFORD
On Easter Monday

The usual list of agents and outlets was appended. The printers and binders would have had to work quickly to produce this kind of product in order that it be on sale before the short shelf-life of this kind of lurid literature expired.[14]

Another type of publishing pioneered at the time, still in occasional use in the twenty-first century to sell model kits, was part-publishing in weekly or monthly parts. Novels were commonly issued this way at first, from the 1830s, particularly by Dickens, before publication in volume form. It was a way of extending the available market for a publication since the cost was spread over time, and different types of publication used this mode, not only fictional works, and not all were cheap. One of Kelly's Bibles (a publisher who began in Paternoster Row in London in 1809) was issued in 173 numbers,

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[14] See Ford-Smith, (2005), and Linebaugh, (1991).

and cost in total £5 15s (Altick, 1957, rep. 1998, pp. 264-265).

Nicholas and Sarah Boden were operating in the second half of the eighteenth-century as printers, booksellers and stationers in Birmingham and Stafford. An advertisement in *The Staffordshire Advertiser* evidences that they were also working as bookbinders, although they may have over-extended themselves:

> Sarah and Nicholas BODEN late of Stafford printers, Booksellers, Stationers, Copartners assign all goods etc to James Yates in trust for creditors...
> (SA, 17 January 1795)

The various goods detailed in the notice included 'Sheep-leather[15] and sundry other articles in the printing and Bookbinding business.' Nicholas Boden's main location was in Birmingham in the 1760s; BBS (1975 to 1987) places him at 30 Great Charles Street in 1769 (WP1/6). He printed a Bible in numbers in 1770, with Orion Adams. Hill (1907, pp. 72-73) gives details of their association, and that with a much more notable person. During the 1760s Boden and Adams, of 83 High Street (BBS, 1975 to 1987, WP1/5) had been publishing *The Complete Family Bible* in parts; in addition to this large undertaking they were publishers of *The Birmingham and Wolverhampton*

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[15] Sheepskin leather, sometimes called 'basil', was commonly used for cheaper bindings.

Chronicle which appeared in March 1769. In publishing their Bible they were competing with John Baskerville, the typographer, type-founder and printer. Hill (p. 80) reproduces two advertisements, one above the other, which may have come from *The Warwickshire Weekly Journal.* Baskerville's Bible had reached number XIV*,* while Boden and Adams had produced their number XL. Boden's partnership with Adams was dissolved around this time and Boden disappears from the record: the Stafford bankruptcy may have been the end of a long decline.

Different types of market sector and patron can be observed. There were many libraries, both circulating and private subscription-based, and these tended to reflect the class structure in the type of customer they catered for. The landed classes were a source of work for the county's binders, as were those who were important in society and dependent on them. In a letter to the Rev. George Plaxton at Trentham Hall, near the Potteries, Michael Johnson, Samuel's father, said: 'I have sent you my Lord Gowers Colliery History to Divert you now and then and will send Mr Williams's...I pray (?) my Humble Service also if I can get it bound' (SRO D593/K/1/1/6). The patronage of this type of person was crucial to the book trade, since they could spend relatively large sums, as can be seen in a bill sent by Michael

Johnson to Lord Gower:

To the Righ Hon.ble the Lord Gower

July 26				
1722	1 Salmons Review of the Kings of England	5	6	
	1 Mr Hutchinsons [illegible]	1	6	
	1 Leybourns Memoirs	1	0	
	1 Mosseys Sermon	0	6	
	1 History of Parliament	1	0	
	1 [illegible]	2	0	
	1 Camdens Britannia	3	10	0
	1 Philosoph Transactions	2	5	0
		6	6	0

Oct 4 1722

The Books above named were all seen and approved by my Lord Gower

Witness my hand Jeffrey (?) Williams

(SRO D593/K/1/1/6)

In September 1737 the Lichfield Cathedral library paid Robert Shaw £3-12-8 'for Lettering the books in the library as by bill'. No indication is given of the number or complexity of the lettering (LCL, MS 55).

Conclusions

Bookbinding as an integral part of the Staffordshire printing and book trade was established early in my study period, the earliest recorded binder being John Jones in 1760. Numbers increased during the nineteenth-century, driven by increasing population in the towns and rising literacy and demand for printed matter. Mechanisation began to take effect to boost the numbers of books produced. 157 persons and

businesses providing binding services is a substantial element of the industry, well distributed across the county. By 1850 Staffordshire's printing and book trade was as sophisticated and wide-ranging as that of any county. Trade was carried out between London and other regional counties, founded on the publication of newspapers from the early eighteenth-century.

We have seen that Staffordshire's industries were diverse, leading to the need for different types of binding, and it follows that its binders could accommodate this. The extant books selected evidence this, and are described and illustrated fully in appendix 2. The binders were as indispensable to the printing and book trade as any of its components, papermaking, ink making and engraving. They fitted well into the compound trading model practised by many printing and book trade entrepreneurs, whether as part of a business or working independently as contractors to them.

2.2 Women Bookbinders

Women played important roles in the Staffordshire book trade, as librarians, papermakers, booksellers and stationers; only a few identified solely as bookbinders. Some were probably continuing the businesses of deceased husbands; they may have worked in their husband's bindery, doing the preparatory tasks such as paper repairs, folding and sewing, and may not have been identified in this way in the Census. Women were not normally formally apprenticed but these distinctions may not have operated so precisely in the smaller regional binderies. It is possible that some women were trained fully but informally as binders to give greater capacity and flexibility in a small bindery.

Women were not usually admitted into trades to which entry was controlled by male-dominated guilds or trades unions but it was possible. One way for a woman to gain respect and credibility as a bookbinder was to inherit her husband's business and so gain entry to the guild by that means. 'Married women would most frequently share the labour of their husband's trade or shop; if widowed they were likely to inherit his work and admission to his craft, perhaps then managing a substantial concern or retail business' (Rendall, 1990, p. 27). Another means of entry was to be brought into the craft by a family member already in it. The trend for women in these trades to

work at a lower status, less well paid level was established very early on, perhaps as these trades began to identify themselves as such in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries: 'The structure of apprenticeship and admission to trades through craft organisations was theoretically controlled by the Statute of Artificers of 1563' (Rendall, 1990, p. 26). This Statute was only repealed in 1814. Under Section 31 of Elizabeth I's statute relating to artificers, labourers, servants of husbandry and apprentices, it was not lawful for anyone to set up in business in any craft, to which he had not been apprenticed for at least seven years.[16] The place of women in the binding trade was thus set early, and *The Book of Trades'* section on bookbinding notes: '...the first operation is to fold the sheets […] this is usually the work of women...' (Phillips, 1815, p. 88).

There are several examples of female proprietors providing bookbinding in Staffordshire. Mary, Stephen and William Brougham operated in Market Place, Burslem, as booksellers, stationers, stamp agents and vendors of musical instruments; Mary is listed as a bookbinder in the *Post Office Directory of Birmingham, Staffordshire and Worcestershire* (1850, p. 541), and Stephen is noted as a librarian. Mary was forty-five in 1841; we do not know the family

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[16] See also Emsley, (2005).

relationship between her, Stephen and William, but they clearly operated a comprehensive book trade business. No mention has been discovered of a Mr Brougham of an age with Mary. She is one of the few women recorded specifically as a bookbinder in Staffordshire, although we can be fairly certain that many more were informally involved in the trade to one extent or another, shrouded now in historical invisibility.[17]

Mary Thomas was a binder in Dock Lane, Dudley, aged twenty in 1841 (Cen 41/26). Her father was a brass tap founder, so she must have been taught by someone else; there is no way to tell whether she worked by herself at home or in an established bindery. Two others were located in Wolverhampton. BBS (1975 to 1987) notes Charlotte Clare in Dudley Street as a printer, stationer, bookseller, bookbinder and owner of a circulating and subscription library: again impossible to say which of these roles she fulfilled, but most likely as the proprietor (WP7/10; BBTI). Elizabeth Burton (?) was listed as a binder living in Brick Kiln Croft. (Cen 41/19). She was twenty. She is noted as being born outside the county; this is all that is known about her at present. The Norris family, Ann, Jane and Thomas, traded in the Market Place in Uttoxeter as printers, stationers, booksellers and

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[17] See Wright, (1989).

bookbinders, where Michael Johnson, Samuel's father, traded as a bookseller and where Samuel famously stood bare-headed in the rain to expiate his guilt at not better assisting him (Simms, 1894, p. 332; BBS, WP7/36; Martin, 2008, pp. 51-52). Ann was born in 1779, and Thomas in 1810. Jane's age is not certain, the Census is not clear at this point; again we do not know the nature of any familial relationships. There is no mention of a Mr Norris (Cen 41/15).

The reasons for the secondary position of women in bookbinding and other trades are a complex combination of patriarchy and andrarchy: government by males and the exercise of male social and political power; the perception of male and female roles being strongly gender-biased and the age-old notions of what was suitable work for a woman and what was not:

> A skilled craftsman may be no more than a worker in relation to capital, but seen from within the working class he has been a king among men and lord of his household. As a high earner he preferred to see himself as the sole breadwinner, supporter of wife and children. As artisan he defined the unskilled workman as someone of inferior status (Cynthia Cockburn, 1981, p. 41).

This encapsulates the patriarchal dynamic of working class lives as they were shaped by the industrial revolution, the men generally performing the more skilled, higher status roles and women the less skilled and lower paid supporting roles. It shows too the emergence of the separation of the spheres of home and workplace, although there

is nothing inherent in industrialisation to cause this. This refers to my third Research Question because it illuminates an aspect of the economic pressures on bookbinding: the more work that could be done by women at a lower pay rate the better for the profit margin. Rendall refers to this segregation and the consequent devaluation of the work of female bookbinders:

> They did […] have a certain acknowledged role in bookbinding, as the folders and sewers of paper: this was skilled work, earning good money for women, but still did not entitle them to admittance to the union. This meant that they had no means of resisting the dilution of their own trade, as their apprenticeship structure broke down from the 1780s. (1990, p. 30)

This reference to an apprenticeship for women is interesting: Rendall may mean that wives and daughters of binders could be admitted to the trade and that as family of a guild or union member they could be formally trained in the craft. Women often had to work full time to ensure that the family's income was sufficient and had also to carry out the domestic work of childcare, cooking and cleaning, often with little or no help from the man. This arrangement of gendered work and life roles became the norm; the forces of patriarchy and andrarchy operated as the remote workplace became the primary place in which to earn wages. Women had fewer opportunities to combine wage earning with childcare if they had to leave the home to work. Married women were circumscribed by their

legal status: once a woman married she became effectively a chattel of her husband. Any property she had passed to her husband, she could not sue or be sued and had 'no civil legal personality in her own right' (Rendall, 1990, p. 35). Much nineteenth-century fiction, notably that of Anthony Trollope, featured this situation as a plot device. Single working class women could rarely support a household of their own and would have been stigmatised for doing so, and so the majority married, losing their legal independence. For working class women there was no realistic alternative other than life as a spinster in service; their families could no longer support them.

Anthea Callen's article on the Arts and Crafts Movement, while concentrating on the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries, is illuminating regarding the status of women in bookbinding in relation to the two modes of life which developed. It became '...difficult for women to combine the roles of mother and productive worker and simultaneously separated home and workplace into distinct spheres' (1985, p. 1). This division became the normal pattern, with women's wages seen as supplementary to those of the husband (p. 4); housework then was much more labour intensive than now and took much longer so that it was effectively impossible for working class women to develop a career rather than simply to have a job. This should not be seen as a conscious plot on the part of all men to

undermine and restrict women; most men and women of all classes would have accepted this as the natural relationship between the sexes, and would not have given it much thought. This is highlighted by Stacey and Price :

> It should not be thought that there was some sort of conspiracy at work. Ideologies which legitimate action are promulgated and perpetuated much more subtly than that. Notions of the 'proper place' and 'proper behaviour' are deeply ingrained, such that acute discomfort is felt when the norms are violated. (1980, p. 34)

Some men were uncomfortable with the subservient status of women in the workplace, and took action. An example is the support of journeymen bookbinders in London and Westminster, who petitioned the employers on behalf of their female colleagues: '...who “often have not the power to plead their own cause in such matters” and were in fact excluded from the Bookbinders Union' (Rendall, 1990, p. 70).

Callen refers to the position of women in binderies as secondary and subservient to the men: '...in the bookbinding trade they rarely advanced beyond sewing bindings, the *traditional* task allotted to women; the more technical and creative aspects of the job were reserved for men' (p. 4 – my emphasis). It should be noted that the traditional devaluation of the sewing of a book to an unskilled task is false: it is a skilled and complex function of binding a book, vital to its

correct opening: the sewing is the 'engine-room' of the book.

I have noted that the lower status of women in bookbinding was established as early as the sixteenth-century; Middleton comments on the London bookbinding trade in about 1800, on the division of labour: 'The finest work is reserved for the master and most skilled men […] Sewing, folding and piercing [making the sewing holes] is done entirely by women, who are paid much less than the men' (1996, rep. 2008, p. 251). Large metropolitan binderies were organised as production lines with each department and person having a specific role with little or no crossover, enforced by the male-dominated unions. Zaehnsdorf's, one of the most famous London trade binderies, only appointed a woman, Romilly Saumarez-Smith, to its forwarding department as late as 1978. Middleton notes that even then she was ostracised by her male colleagues and that there was resistance from women sewers and union officials (p. 306). The kind of efficiency available to the larger binderies, with the greater demand for their work, would have been difficult to achieve in smaller regional binderies, and I have referred to the probability of much more equal, less gendered role allocations where flexible teamwork in small binderies, often between husband and wife, would have been the only feasible way to approach the work flow.

The situation of women bookbinders may have been little better

in the United States. A Senate Report notes that: 'Harriet Martineau in 1836 mentioned eight occupations as open to women […] - typesetting, bookbinding' (1910, p. 17) but does not specify what roles the women performed. Further on, the Report details that: 'In Philadelphia in 1835 wages ranged from $1 to $3.60 per week...' The master bookbinders seem to have supported the women in that they recognised the ten-hour system and a minimum wage of $3: 'Nevertheless, the women had gone on strike, declaring the wages insufficient for their support' (p. 210). There also seems to have been outright misogynistic exploitation of the lower status of women in the craft:

> A regular apprenticeship to book folding and stitching appears to have been customary […] girls were engaged as apprentices and told they must work 6 weeks for nothing, and then at the end of the 6 weeks were discharged to make room for new apprentices (p. 211).

There was also militancy among women bookbinders in New York: 'The women bookbinders of New York formed a union and went on strike in June 1835' (Andrews and Bliss, 1911, rep. 1974, p. 40).

We have seen how women were prevented from gaining any accredited position in the craft. The men were as aware of this as the women, and many took advantage of it to maintain wage differentials, as noted by Callen: 'The sexual division of labor [sic] in bookbinding had a clear economic basis as a result of the devaluation of women's

work. Certain tasks were given to women only to avoid bringing them into direct competition with men' (1985, p. 4). Competition there would have been, because there is no operation in bookbinding which a woman cannot complete as well as a man. This refers to my third Research Question on the economics of bookbinding, where women could be employed at lower pay to boost the profit margin. It is at least a possibility that in some small regional binderies a woman would have been informally trained in all the functions of the craft, including gold finishing, to be better able to assist in the bindery. It seems reasonable to conclude that a tremendous amount of the work of the county's book trade was done by women, as wives, sisters, mothers or employees.

2.3 Staffordshire's Principal Entrepreneurs

This section sets out in more detail some of the major figures leading Staffordshire's book trade and providing bookbinding as a service, and is a representative selection from across the county. The individual entries are organised north to south. I want to show further how the societal and political forces described in chapter 1 operated, and the nature of the relationship with the London trade relating to my first Research Question. This section will demonstrate that Staffordshire's binding services were of good quality, obviating the need for books to be sent to London or out of county unless by choice. It will provide information relating to my third Research Question, the aesthetic and economic factors affecting bookbinding.

My second Research Question deals with the invisibility of bookbinders and its effect on my thesis. There is no doubt that more data on the ordinary craft workers would be very helpful but we must accept that it is not available. 'Historians of the provincial book trade face the shared problem of a glaring lack of evidence for the activities of journeymen' (Hinks, 2002, p. 10). So far it has not been possible to positively attribute a particular binding to a named binder; however, by means of booksellers' tickets pasted into books and local proximity, we can reasonably attribute books to a specific business. By 'local proximity' I mean that given the number and distribution of people

providing binding services in the county that the majority of this work must have been carried out locally. It is neither probable nor credible that most of the binding work went to London or out of county. This would have had too great an effect on the retail price of the books if the regional trade had to absorb the extra carriage costs. Bookseller's tickets are useful but not an infallible guide: they could be pasted into books brought ready-bound into the county to enhance the local bookseller's profile. Again we must consider the probability: this practice will have occurred but it is unlikely in a majority of cases.

There are no women among the main entrepreneurs, for the reasons set out above; Hinks comments on the invisibility of women in his study of the Leicester book trade: 'Although their married status historically renders them similarly 'invisible', there is a little evidence that some women (perhaps many) were active participants in family businesses' (2002, p. 10). I have made this point above in relation to women's involvement in the Staffordshire trade, and their legal status; again we can look to probability in that it is more likely that women were involved in numbers than not. Hinks' comment also strengthens my view of the homogeneity of the trade in the regions.

The book trade was founded on newspapers and magazines, and it is no accident that the leaders of the trade in Staffordshire featured here were almost all newspaper proprietors. This was true across the

country, as was the compound style of trading. Hinks mentions John Gregory, who arrived in Leicester in 1752: 'Although there is ample evidence that John Gregory ran a wide-ranging book-trade business, the weekly publication of the [Leicester] *Journal* seems always to have been its backbone' (2002, pp. 148-149). This gave the regional trade independence from London because these papers were printed and distributed locally, as well as being sent to other counties and London. Printers and binders in the counties were also independent of London for local jobbing work, selling second-hand books and through the publications they produced of local and regional interest. It was only in terms of books printed locally but needing a national sales profile that London was dominant, and in supplying books originating there, ordered by country booksellers.

This section will show the importance of familial relationships in the book trade, and that some regional families established inter-county networks and established London bases. Co-operation between businesses was important, with a trader frequently having worked and trained with another before branching out himself. Finance was always critical as expressed in chapter 1, and we see this reflected here. Religion too was critical: it underpinned the daily lives of those in the trade and formed an important element in the demand from readers and so in the books and pamphlets produced. The local market was

crucial, contributing to the independence of the Staffordshire trade.

Newcastle-under-Lyme

Charles Chester

Chester (1764 to 1841) was a leading book trade entrepreneur in the Potteries. He was a printer, bookseller, newspaper proprietor, bookbinder and owner of a circulating library, at 47 High Street, Newcastle-under-Lyme (BBS, 1975 to 1987, WP2/2). He was also a Steward of the Newcastle-under-Lyme Independent Building Society, a large figure in the local commercial and cultural scene (SA, 25 September 1819). The business began in 1787; BBS records that they had moved the business to Hanley by 1795 (WP3/3) but this seems only to relate to this section of Chester's activities since his newspaper advertisements still place him in Newcastle after this time, and in 1820 the retail stationery part moved to 44 High Street. At this time Chester purchased the 'Marquis of Stafford', a town house, in which Peter Gillworth had set up the first printing press in this part of the county in about 1680 (Rotherham and Steele, 1975, pp. 27-29). By 1820 Chester had enough binding work to advertise it as a specific service in his advertisements:

BOOKBINDING

In this department, he can assure gentlemen who may wish to have their libraries regulated, and Books bound or uniformly ornamented, that he has in his employ a superior hand.

(SA, 1 January 1820)

Chester is clearly aiming at the upper end of the market: 'gentleman' was a distinct rank in society at this time, and was recorded as an occupation in the Census. The clinical way of referring to employees as 'hands' was also notable of the time. The description of the binder as 'superior' implies that he could provide the better kind of leather gold-tooled binding required in a gentleman's library; 'uniformly ornamented' hints at edition or multi-volume binding and finishing. It was at about this time that binding began to be separated from printing and to be seen and advertised as a distinct part of a book trade concern such as Chester's; many London businesses had established separate binding departments, having a more concentrated level of demand, but in the country it would have occurred only where there was sufficient demand, mainly in the larger towns.

There were strong connections between the families of Chester, John Mort, a bookseller and binder in Hanley, and Drewry, Charles and Joshua being cousins (Rotherham and Steele, 1975, p. 29; Simms, 1894, p. 431). A lot of business was carried out by and between these

families; BBS (1975 to 1987) states that Chester was the proprietor of *The Staffordshire Advertiser* (WP5/4). It seems most likely that he was the main 'business angel' who rescued the newspaper after Drewry's 1819 bankruptcy; Mort was Chester's brother-in-law, and the father of John Drewry Mort, born 1799, who was printing in the High Street, Newcastle-under-Lyme, 1838 to 1858. Simms gives him as part-proprietor of the *Staffordshire Advertiser*, so it seems that the refinancing of the newspaper after Drewry's bankruptcy was a family affair, although this involvement could have been later (Rotherham and Steele, 1975, p. 30; Simms, 1894, p. 316). By the 1830s John Drewry Mort and Charles Chester Mort are given as proprietors on the masthead, following Chester's retirement.

Bookbinding must have played a significant part in the joint activities of the three families, and circulating libraries were run by Chester and Drewry. In 1803 they were printing a 'complete Catalogue of the Library, with an addition of several hundred Volumes of new Novels, interesting Histories & c. & c. New Publications of merit will be regularly added' (SA, 30 July 1803). This would have been printed and bound in-house. Chester retired in 1822 after thirty-two years; this would give a commencement date of 1790, a little later than given by Rotherham and Steele (1975). Similarly, they give his retirement as March 1830, whereas his own advertisement was

printed in 1822:

CHARLES CHESTER
RETURNS grateful thanks to his friends and the public,
for the kind and continued support which they have afforded
him in his business as Bookseller & c. during the period
of thirty-two years – He now begs to inform them that he
has relinquished that business in favor of his Nephew
JOHN MORT, on whose behalf he solicits a continuance
of their patronage, in confidence that attention will not
be wanting.
(SA, 16 March 1822)

He made a considerable success of the business; in his will of 19 February 1839 he left to 'John Drewry the Elder of Derby [Joshua's uncle] Derby Newspaper Proprietor £1000. To Mary Drewry 'spinster daughter of Joshua Drewry of Lincoln bookseller' he left an annuity of £15. We do not know whether Stafford's Joshua moved east late in life, or if this was another Joshua, but it confirms the family trading in three counties. The most intriguing bequest was 'to Sarah wife of John Rogers stationer [Stafford] £1000'. This was revoked in a codicil of 8 August 1840; no further detail is available. John Rogers operated as a bookseller, letterpress printer and stationer in Greengate Street, Stafford. Perhaps a previously close personal or a business relationship had gone wrong, or there was family intervention? (LJRO Fol. XXXV p. 499; BBS, 1975 to 1987, WP7/42). The Drewry family had a business network and connections across the midlands, with businesses in Stafford, Derby and Lincoln.

Hanley

Thomas Allbut

Allbut was prominent in Hanley, being a printer, bookseller, stationer, bookbinder and druggist. He was born in Ross, Herefordshire, on 31 March 1777 and succeeded his father John who bought the business of John Mort in about 1796 (afterwards Mort and Drewry). He was agent for the London Genuine Tea Co., and with a Mr Kennedy was proprietor and printer of *The North Staffordshire Mercury and Pottery Gazette* (CD18; Simms, 1894, pp. 7-8; BBS, 1975 to 1987, WP3/1; WP6/1; WP7/1). He was active in the provision of library services, as Librarian of the Pottery Subscription Library and no doubt supplier, binder and repairer of much of its stock:

> Pottery Subscription Library
>
> The Annual Meeting of the Subscribers to the
> POTTERY SUBSCRIPTION LIBRARY will be held
> at the Swan Inn in Hanley, on Thursday the
> 29th April at eleven o'clock in the morning...
> (SA, 24 April 1802)

Allbut printed and published various kinds of material, and kept himself aware of London trends. On 28 June 1806 he advertised 'A Catalogue of a large Collection of Books […] which are now on sale from ten to twenty per cent below the London Prices'. We do not know to what extent the Staffordshire public took account of the comparative prices, but the middle and upper classes who visited

London might be expected to have an idea. Allbut could also be using the reference to London for its perceived cosmopolitan and sophisticated connotations.

Like John Tregortha in Burslem, Allbut was very active in local Methodism, being a Trustee of the Bethesda Chapel in Hanley. This was built in about 1799 and still stands today. He was made a Trustee in 1798, paying a subscription of £5. Methodism continued to cost him a small fortune, and the Chapel's debts in 1824 amounted to £7,900 (Smith and Beard, 1899, p. 26). The Trustees paid this debt over the years: Allbut's subscription in 1829 was £23-5-0, (p. 27), and other similar payments are recorded. It may have been worthwhile: the Chapel's library numbered some 1,700 volumes (p. 30). Allbut had a close connection with George Gibbs, who worked for him during 1811 to 1813 and afterwards on his own account in Tontine Street, Hanley. Gibbs was a bookseller, stationer, druggist and agent to the Phoenix Fire Office in 1818; in 1834 he was a Poor Rate Collector and bookbinder in Piccadilly, Hanley (Simms, 1894, p. 8; CD18). He would probably have trained with Allbut, informally rather than through an apprentice-master relationship, since he was his business partner. He may have arrived partly trained, since he was with Allbut only two years, and may have seen him as a stepping stone. The dissolution of their partnership occurred in 1813, and their rival advertisements give

a vivid picture of the inter-relation between the up-and-coming man, and the threat he seemed to pose to the mature business:

G. GIBBS
Bookseller, Stationer and Druggist

HANLEY, Staffordshire Potteries

TAKES the earliest opportunity of returning his thanks, for the favors he received during his partnership with Mr Allbut and begs leave to announce to his friends and the public in general, his having taken a house opposite the Tontine [a pub] in Hanley, which he purposes opening in the above businesses, on the 4th November next, and trusts that by unremitting attention, and the terms on which he shall be able to serve them, to merit their favors.

N.B. An Apprentice wanted; apply as above.

(SA, 23 October 1813)

He was soon advertising 'Books bound in plain or extra bindings...'

(SA, 20 November 1813)

T. ALLBUT

printer, Bookseller, and Stationer Hanley
GRATEFUL to his friends and the public, for the liberal favors he has received during the last 14 years, respectfully informs them that the partnership subsisting between himself and Mr Gibbs having been dissolved on the 9th instant the business in future will be carried on by him, on his own account, and he begs leave to assure them, that every exertion will be made in the execution of their orders, to merit a continuance of their encouragement.

(SA, 30 October 1813)

Allbut may have felt constrained to reply to his rival's advertisement, but it is likely that there was as much co-operation as competition, and Gibbs' thanks to his ex-partner hints at an amicable relationship. This is supported by the fact that Allbut's son Edwin joined Gibbs in 1838. Allbut retired on 31 December 1852 (Rotherham and Steele, 1975, p. 47). Gibbs had an important potential customer on his doorstep in Tontine Street, the Mechanics' Institute, which maintained a library (PD35).

Burslem

John Tregortha

Tregortha was a major figure in the book trade of the Pottery towns, based in Burslem. He began in premises in St. John's Square in 1796 and subsequently in Market Street. He provided printing and binding services. His origins were in Cornwall, where he was a Non-Conformist minister, and he would have fitted easily into the local religious community. He printed about eighty-one books and pamphlets, many of a religious nature. 'Until well into the nineteenth century, religious works of all kinds were among the principal items of sale for the provincial bookseller and printer...' (Isaac, 2001, p. 428). He had an apprentice, Theophilus Lessey, afterwards a Wesleyan Methodist minister (Rotherham and Steele, 1975, p. 68; BBS, 1975 to 1987

WP4/11; Simms, 1894, pp. 463-465).

Tregortha died in 1821, succeeded by Richard Timmis, who was born in Smallthorne, Stoke-on-Trent, in 1794. Tregortha's son, Charles Gorst Tregortha, continued to trade as John Tregortha in Swan Square and later Waterloo Road, presumably to benefit from his father's high local profile. Timmis was a jobbing printer, also providing binding services, until his death in 1862, when his wife Sarah succeeded him. (Simms, 1894, p. 457; SA, 28 September 1822; 21 March 1835; BBS, 1975 to 1987, WP6/38; WP7/49).

Stafford

Joshua Drewry

Drewry was born in 1774, and was the printer, publisher and editor of *The Staffordshire Advertiser and Political, Philanthropic and Commercial Gazette.* This kind of long-winded inclusivity in newspaper titles was typical of the time; the paper became *The Staffordshire Advertiser* in 1809. He served his apprenticeship with his uncle John Drewry and great-uncle Samuel Drewry at their works in Derby. This gave him the necessary technical and business grounding, probably in printing, to begin his successful venture in Stafford in 1795 at the early age of twenty-one. He clearly had the backing of established family concerns in two counties. Stafford's population in 1821 was

6,048, 7,272 by 1831 (PD35, p. 443).

The initial capital of £700 came from family legacies, and he began behind the 'George' public house in the Market Square in Stafford. He was well funded, and was able to use new Caslon type and a wooden printing press which served the newspaper until 1829 (Rotherham and Steele, 1975, p. 109; BBS, 1975 to 1987, WP5/6; Greenslade, 1970, pp. 186–208; Simms, 1894, p. 146). The first issue appeared on 3 January 1795 and soon became the primary newspaper in the county. A handbill was circulated late in 1794, stating:

> It is the wish of the editor, that every reader should feel an interest and a confidence in the Staffordshire Advertiser...Several Thousands of the first impression will be delivered GRATIS.

There was an impressive list of local agents, plus a promise that it would be 'sent (free of postage) to any part of the kingdom' (SA, 3 January 1795). Drewry showed marketing enterprise and good sense in making it easy for people to acquire the first issue, and the reference to national distribution refers to the way that London and regional newspapers were sent all over the country. However, there were technical problems: 'We are sorry to be under the necessity of apologizing for several deficiencies in our first paper...' (SA, 10 January 1795). The front page was taken up mainly with local advertisements for auctions of timber, property and livestock, held in

nearby public houses; headlines and news on the front page came much later. Other advertisements for products from London were prominent, highlighting the vital part played by regional newspapers in creating the national demand for goods and services so necessary to the consumer revolution.

Drewry's decision to give the first issue away confirms his adequate capital, and was a simple yet dynamic marketing strategy which finds modern parallels in the launch campaigns of newspapers. Inside the paper came reports culled from the London papers, including *The London Gazette*, giving detailed reports of Parliamentary proceedings and lists of bankruptcies covering the whole country. During the first two decades of the nineteenth-century reports of military engagements with the French were prominent, with other international news. Lurid accounts of crimes both local and national were given, especially those involving executions. This wholesale lifting of material from other publications was a common practise.

McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb (1982, pp. 216-217) commented on the reasons why local newspapers carried detailed accounts from overseas as well as local news, which on the face of it would form a more natural stock-in-trade. Newspapers made business information more accessible, but its value had been key for centuries, as in the example of Thomas Gresham. Then as now the chimerical factor of

confidence governed much of the financial system, and so business and political information was vital to decision-making and stability. Conforming with the established pattern, Drewry offered a range of services in addition to printing and publishing his newspaper: general printing, bookbinding, bookselling and stationery. He was agent for a Militia Society, which provided substitutes for those balloted to serve, the subscription being 5/6d. There were library services in conjunction with his cousin Charles Chester. Drewry printed and bound whatever was required: his opening advertisement in the first issue of *The Staffordshire Advertiser* mentions 'Catalogues, Club Articles Bills Cards & c. & c.' (SA, 3 January 1795). This kind of local jobbing printing was always a mainstay of their turnover, regardless of whatever other services they offered. By 1808 he was printing and binding books such as Amphlett's novel *Ned Bentley,* showing that he had established London connections (WSL, S.24/1-3). He built up a respectable circulation, aided by a well organised distribution network, as shown by another in-house advertisement:

> ...By means of newsmen and cross mails from 1,200 to 1,400 of the Staffordshire Advertiser are distributed in the different neighbouring market-towns by 10 o'clock every Saturday; and in the course of the day, its distribution is completed to the extent of 50 miles in every direction. (SA, 7 January 1809)

Each of these copies would have been read aloud in the taverns, reading rooms and clubs: this is a significant sphere of influence and

agency, and testifies to the insatiable thirst for news among ordinary people as much as the businessmen. Drewry had a good deal of binding work early in his career judging by advertisements for workers: 'Two Journeymen Bookbinders. Apply to the PRINTER of this PAPER. No letter answered unless post paid' (SA, 28 May 1796), and 'An Apprentice to the Bookbinding business is wanted by the printer of this paper. No premium required' (SA, 1 October 1796). This points to a growing in-house bindery, and he was clearly able to fund training; the modern successor to this newspaper, the *Staffordshire Newsletter*, still had a bindery in the 1970s.

In 1819 Drewry went bankrupt, something which happened with monotonous regularity in the book trade of the time, but which did not always seem to be fatal either financially or for business credibility. For example, Michael Heavisides in Darlington went bankrupt in 1802, selling:

> … "all his printing and Bookbinding materials" but not (significantly) his stock of books. By 1805 he was back in business both as a librarian and printer in Darlington and worked there until he again went bankrupt "about 1811" (Jacobs, 2003, pp. 3-4).

Heavisides traded as a librarian until at least 1821. It must have been galling for Drewry to have to announce his failure in the Bankruptcies column of what had been his own newspaper. (SA, 20 November 1819). He remained however, as editor; his name appeared

on the masthead as usual, but from 30 October 1819 printed in small type at the foot of the last page was 'printed (for the Proprietor) by JOSHUA DREWRY' (SA, 30 October 1819). This new proprietor was probably Charles Chester, since he already had a financial interest. The Mort family may also have had a shareholding; they certainly had day-to-day involvement later on, discussed above. We saw in chapter 1 that, as now, businesses grew by acquisition, when Charles Chester and John Mort bought up the business of the bankrupt John Straphan, together with its circulating library (SA, 26 March 1796).

Drewry died on 13 June 1841. Chester handed the daily management to his nephew Charles Chester Mort, and on Chester's death ownership of the paper passed to Charles Chester Mort and another nephew John Drewry Mort (Rotherham and Steele, 1975, p. 111).

Lichfield

Thomas George Lomax

The Lomax family was the principal book trade family in Lichfield in the study period; Thomas was born in 1784. He traded in Bird Street and Dam Street as a printer, bookseller, stationer, bookbinder and druggist, 1810 to 1817. He and his successors undertook a lot of work for the Cathedral; this was the principal client in the town, of high

religious, cultural and social status, and the ecclesiastical focus of the region. Their first entry in the Cathedral accounts occurs in 1826, when Lomax is paid £1-0-6; the last in 1901 when 'Lomax Successors' are mentioned (CD18; Simms, 1894, p. 289; LCL MS 55; BBS, 1975 to 1987, WP5/4). The bookbinding branch was added in 1813:

T. G. LOMAX

BOOKSELLER, LICHFIELD

HAS great pleasure in informing the Nobility and Gentry
of Staffordshire, and his friends in general, that in consequence
of some recent engagements, he is enabled to execute the
branch of Bookbinding, equal to any house in the country,
and on terms as reasonable

(SA, 4 September 1813)

Wolverhampton

Joseph Smart

Smart was an important member of the Wolverhampton book trade in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries, and traded at 18 High Street (Simms, 1894, p. 409; BBS, 1975 to 1987, WP1 Addenda). His father was George Smart, a printer, born in 1728 (Simms, 1894, p. 408). No birth date has been found for Joseph, but he died in 1831; he had been in partnership with William Parke since 1828 (Simms, 1894, p. 346). Roper gives his address as 37 High

Green (1969, – details given from 1802 Rate Book). He was a newspaper proprietor, publishing *The Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Advertiser* from 1811; he was also a bookbinder, printer, stationer and bookseller. He ran the newspaper with a business partner, George Gower, a printer, stationer, bookbinder and vendor of patent medicines in Kidderminster, Worcestershire, c. 1792 to 1807 (CD18; BBS, 1975 to 1987, WP3/5; WP4/4; SA, 24 November 1810). Smart was bankrupted in 1802, and musical instruments were among his stock in addition to 'valuable prints'. The advertisement of his selling up included:

> THE STOCK comprises a general and good
> collection of books in neat and elegant bindings,
> several works in quires & c...
> THE PRINTING AND BINDING MATERIALS
> contain every article for carrying on an
> extensive trade, are from the first founders
> and makers and many are nearly new.
> (SA, 14 August 1802)

This was not his first bankruptcy: he went out of business also in 1792. As noted earlier, this kind of setback was not necessarily final, and he seems to have been a resilient businessman if nothing else (Simms, 1894, p. 409). Smart published a Directory of Wolverhampton in 1827. A noticeable feature of the content is the lack of details of other printers, booksellers and stationers; they were there, so we can only surmise that Smart suppressed these for commercial advantage. He allocated himself a full page, giving details

of the types of binding on offer, attractively set out using different typefaces, styles and point sizes as was common at this time:

BOOKBINDING

In calf, Russia or Morocco
either plain or costly
STATIONERY
A general Assortment of Ledgers, Day Books, & c. -
Books to any particular Pattern ruled by Machine, and
finished in a substantial and superior style, either in Half
Binding, Calf, Vellum, or Russia,[18] with or without Spring Backs
and Bands, - Writing, Drawing, and all other Papers, of the
best or inferior Quality.

This advertisement is the most detailed yet in terms of binding services; he offers all the available covering materials including vellum which would have carried a premium price. He also offers machine ruling and Spring Back ledgers, both of which were separate functions, and binding businesses were set up to specialise in them; they were a large element of the binding trade catering to the business community. Spring Backs were heavy, durable books made with a thick, rigid rounded spine acting as a lever mechanism,

---

[18] ' "Russia" leather [...] Originally made from calfskin, and later from cowhide...Almost invariably it is diced [the pattern was impressed into the surface] […] This leather was much used in England during the second half of the eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth, but is now seldom used. The early

genuine russia leather was a durable material, but later imitations have proved to be very inferior...' (Middleton, 1984, p. 37).

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enabling the book to spring open completely flat to allow writing right into the inner margins. They were used as accounts and day books well into the twentieth-century, made to take a lot of daily use over many years.

William Parke

Parke was apprenticed to Smart from 1812, and was his partner 1828 to 1831 (Simms, 1894, p. 346; BBS, 1975 to 1987, WP6/27). Parke was born in Brewood, Staffordshire, a village near Wolverhampton, on 23 March 1797, and was with Smart until the latter's death. He continued to publish the newspaper, the *The Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Advertiser,* with George Robinson until 1833, and was then in business on his own account in the High Street until his death on 10 June 1876 (Simms, 1894, p. 346). Bindings attributable to Parke or his business are in the library at Chillington Hall, near Brewood, and kind permission was granted by the late Mr Peter Giffard to examine and photograph them for this study. Notable among them is *Cary's Atlas*, detailed in appendix 2.

2.4 The Books

I referred in chapter 1 'Societal and Political Forces' to important factors influencing the development of the book trade, and in this section I will continue to show how they affected the trade. Staffordshire's book trade, and its binding services, were as well established as any bar the London trade. Here I will examine how the books published in Staffordshire conformed to market forces and the influential factors referred to.

Literacy was the key driving factor, because without a widespread and increasing ability to read the book and newspaper trades could not have thrived as they did. We have seen how uneven was the development of reading; the demands of the new factories and the move away from an agrarian economy made a basic ability to read more important. Many more were read to than could read themselves. From the earliest times there was great reluctance in the establishment to widen education and strong opposition to the lower classes reading at all, especially in the political atmosphere after the shock of the French Revolution in the 1790s: '…the 1790's [sic] had proved that a pair of opened eyes could read 'seditious' and 'atheistic' propaganda quite as easily as Scripture...' (Altick, 1957, rep. 1998, p. 144).

A huge barrier to reading was the cost of books: my copy of

Boswell's *The Life of Samuel Johnson LLD* of 1819 (photographs 40-42) is in temporary boards, priced in that state at a guinea: binding will have been extra. This factor limited book-buying to a very small wealthy minority. From this came the trend for people to club together to buy newspapers and periodicals and for these to be read aloud to groups in homes, taverns and village halls. The poorest people relied on the cheapest chapbooks and 'sensational' literature. However, 'As the forties drew to a close, the reformers' cry for truly cheap *wholesome* literature grew ever more urgent…' (Altick, 1957, rep. 1998, p. 287).

These reformers, prominent among them Hannah More and her series of *Cheap Repository Tracts*, tried to provide an alternative, moral and uplifting reading at prices competing with the sensational press. Hundreds of thousands were distributed from the 1790s, and were very popular and influential. Similarly Henry Brougham's Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge with its utilitarian emphasis on serious, improving subjects: both made a fundamental error. Some working people after a fourteen-hour shift did not want to be improved, but to be entertained, and saw through the efforts of their 'betters': 'Had they recognised the deep-seated desire for imaginative and emotional release which disposes ordinary people to read […] their efforts would have borne far healthier fruit' (Altick,

1957, rep. 1998, p. 97).

Feather provides useful categories for the types of books stocked by booksellers: educational, practical, religious and leisure, and I will use these to examine the Staffordshire books (1985, pp. 32-43). Staffordshire's booksellers printed and bound a huge range of material and many were publishers, if only on a small and local scale. Booksellers' advertisements for their circulating libraries maintained a distinct hierarchy of books. Religion and educational subjects such as political and natural history, travel writing and geography came top; practical and instructive books next with the leisure element, poetry, plays and novels last. They all pretended to despise novels but none could avoid stocking them: entertainment came high among readers' priorities whether or not it was outwardly socially unacceptable.

Educational

This was a very important market sector: 'The largest category of books in Ellen Feepound's shop in Stafford in 1776 was “about 140 Books for Scholars in English and Latin” ' (Feather, 1985, p. 34). Thomas Lomax in Lichfield published *A Short Account of the Ancient and Modern State of the City and Close of Lichfield* in 1819 (photographs 3-6). This book was distributed in London by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, further evidence of the normality of

business connections between London and Staffordshire.

One of the books inspected at Chillington Hall, *Cary's Atlas*, (photographs 33–35) is a large format production printed in London 1801 to 1809 (Ian Maxted, 2005, p. 124). It has William Parke's advertising ticket in the top corner of the front board, indicating that it was at least purchased locally, rather than on a visit to London by the Giffard family. It was published in numbers, so they may have had it delivered to them and bound by Parke's firm in Wolverhampton. *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1833 by John Burke (photographs 38-39) also has Parke's ticket on the front board. Published in London, it may have been imported in sheets or temporary boards, and again we cannot know definitively whether it was bound by Parke, but it gives further evidence of the traffic in books between Staffordshire and the capital. Parke too was a publisher: in 1869 he produced '*The Amateur*. A Magazine of Prose, Poetry, Pictures, Fact, Fiction and Fun', appearing every alternate month (Simms, 1894, p. 346). This indicates a local market for entertaining and diverting literature, probably aimed at the middle classes upwards in the 1860s. It was illustrated, so Parke would have been using engravings rather than the older less detailed woodcut; illustrations were always a key selling point. Simms lists other Parke publications of local interest.

Practical

We might now call the books in this section 'self-help' books. John Tregortha of Burslem published an edition of William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine or the Family Physician* in 1807 (photographs 13-15). This was a very well known guide to diseases, treatment and medication; first published in 1769 in Edinburgh by Balfour, Auld and Smellie and thereafter in London by William Strahan and Thomas Cadell, 'it averaged a new authorized edition every two years, all but the first in London [...] with large print runs of two to six thousand'. It was translated into European languages, printed also in Dublin and America, and unauthorised editions were common (Sher, 1999, p. 45).

Strahan and Cadell circumvented the Copyright Act of 1710 by issuing new, substantially revised editions, arguing that they were new and thereby extending their copyright. It was a clever strategy given the number of authorised new editions that were issued over a long period: eighteen during Buchan's life (p. 45). Buchan died in 1805 so Tregortha's version may have been pirated, a common occurrence given the book's popularity; Strahan and Cadell's copyright must still have been valid in 1807 for whichever edition was current at that time. However, Tregortha's title page gives no indication of which edition he is reprinting; it could have been an early

edition which may have been out of copyright. There is no reference on the title page to Strahan and Cadell to indicate any relationship with them so presumably Tregortha felt that he was within his rights to issue his edition, and his strong Christian faith may have inhibited him from infringing a copyright.

In common with Lomax, Tregortha also published many books and pamphlets, mainly on religious themes, such as *Death: A Vision; or, The Solemn Departure of Saints and Sinners, represented under the Similitude of a Dream* by John Macgowan, 1810. He was not above issuing more popular works, such as *The Universal Gleaner; or Amusing Companion* by Emilius Montague, 1809 (Simms, 1894, p. 463). Tregortha reprinted many well known texts as did many booksellers and printers across the country: he published an edition of *Culpeper's Complete Herbal and English Physician* in 1813, first published in 1652 (photographs 20-21). This book indicates that Tregortha had sophisticated printing and engraving facilities at hand: there are many hand-coloured plates in the book, annexed at the end in a section called *The British Florist*. There is also a full-page image of Culpeper as the frontispiece. As with the Buchan above, there is no reference on the title page to any relationship with a London publisher.

Many national and local commercial directories appeared in the

nineteenth-century as the consumer market developed and people moved around more. Joseph Smart produced his Wolverhampton Directory in 1827 (photographs 28-32). It listed prominent people and local businesses and trades, with a fold-out map of the town and an historical account. It also contained information on local transport networks. It is simply and elegantly bound, probably by Gower, who Smart took into partnership in 1802 (Simms, 1894, p. 409). Local businesses advertised in it, notably Cartwright and Langston, General Factors. There is a very detailed and attractive engraving of their premises with fold-out 'wings', increasing the print area. As with Tregortha, Smart must have had access to skilled engravers; these artists could work across both the book trade and the many small metal trades in the area, and with the pottery trade in Stoke-on-Trent: 'The majority of engravers of plates used for printing were also engravers of silver and metal comestibles' (Raven, 2014, p. 59).

Religion

Non-Conformist, evangelical religion was strong in the midlands: Tregortha's entry in the *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis* is lengthy, detailing the many religious publications he produced (Simms, 1894, pp. 463-465) and we can examine two of them here. *A Selection of Hymns intended as a companion for Sunday Scholars* (photographs 16-18) of

1814 is a good example. It seems likely that Tregortha wrote, or 'compiled' to use his word, many of these publications: it is by 'A Sunday School Teacher', noted on the title page. This is a practical, working book, small enough for the pocket with a sturdy binding. The title page advises that it can be bought at other booksellers, including Brougham in Burslem and Allbut in Hanley.

The Book of Common Prayer is one of the most consistently and widely reprinted books since its appearance in 1549 and as a bestseller unofficial versions appeared: Tregortha's 1812 version,[19] reprinted twice, may be one of these (Simms, 1894, p. 464). This volume is notable for the bottle-oven colophon on the title page, proudly denoting Burslem as the place of origin.

Leisure

We should remember that all the books featured here were aimed at the lower middle class and above; working people could rarely afford to buy books. Many could not even afford the modest fee of the local circulating library. They were dependent on the second-hand market, on clubbing together to buy books and newspapers, and on the plentiful supply of cheap chapbooks. John Tregortha blended his

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[19] See Griffiths, (2004).

religious publications with his own editions of those novels guaranteed to sell well, and interestingly the last entry of his section in Simms refers to him also publishing chapbooks: *Cock Robin, Jack the Giant Killer, Jack and the Beanstalk, Mother Hubbard* and many others, so that he was covering both the working class and middle class fiction markets (p. 465).

The stock of most libraries was predominantly non-fiction, but they could never ignore the leisure market; even the better-educated classes wanted entertainment and diversion as relief from the heavy diet of religious and serious improving works. The London trade had books printed in the counties and distributed from there, and *Ned Bentley* (1808) by James Amphlett is a perfect example (photograph 2). Joshua Drewry printed it in Stafford in 1808 in the traditional three-volume format; it was bound, probably by Drewry's firm, in half-leather and marbled paper. The title page of volume one sets out the contractual arrangement: printed by Drewry, published by Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme in London. They were likely to have owned the copyright because it was usual at that time for authors to sell it outright to the publisher. They were a prominent firm, also distributing Lomax's *A Short Account of the Ancient and Modern State of the City and Close of Lichfield*.

Tregortha published works which could fit into both the religious

and leisure categories, such as *News from the Invisible World or Interesting Anecdotes of the Dead* (photographs 7-8). This contained extracts from 'the writing of the best authors' including John Wesley and may have been aimed at the market for spiritualist works engendered by the fervour of the time (Simms, 1894, p. 464). The title page does not give a publication date but Simms' listing is organised by date which puts it at about 1815; the elaborately-engraved frontispiece shows a sword-wielding martial figure bathed in rays from heaven, a foot on what may be a globe, indicating international dominance, looking down on a decapitated foe. The description reads 'Thanks be to God which giveth us the Victory through our Lord Jesus Christ' which could refer to Waterloo.

The Porch of Wisdom or a Choice Selection of Moral Tales from the Best Authors, 1817 (photographs 9-11), another 'compiled' by Tregortha, one of many works intended to be improving and uplifting by means of moral precepts dressed up as entertainment: the title page tells us it is 'designed to amuse and instruct; and from the pictures of real life, to promote truth and virtue.' Those seeking diversion would have seen through this. This volume, in common with the Culpeper above, again demonstrates Tregortha's ability to print complex and attractive engraved images. The frontispiece may show Moses receiving the word of God; the title page uses different

typefaces and sizes with an attractive image of two gentlemen in a rural landscape, one reclining on the ground.

The case of *Donaldson v. Beckett* of 1774 ended perpetual copyright and initiated the trade in reprints of standard works which continues to this day. Tregortha was both a man of faith and a sharp businessman, and he published his own editions of well known novels to help satisfy the increasing demand for such literature. Examples are *The Vicar of Wakefield,* 1819 (photograph 12), and *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded* (photograph 23). The latter is undated but Simms puts it at 1813 (1894, p. 464). Interestingly, Richardson is not mentioned on the title page. This book too shows that Tregortha knew the value of illustration, with elaborate and detailed engravings on the frontispiece and title page. He published editions of other perennial bestsellers such as *Pilgrim's Progress,* 1811 (photograph 26) and *Robinson Crusoe*, 1800. These books show no contractual relationships on their title pages, indicating that Tregortha was the sole initiator and beneficiary.

Conclusions

The Staffordshire Book Trade: General Conclusions

'Much about the book trade is unknown and may be unknowable' (Feather, 2006, p. 51). This encapsulates the historical invisibility of bookbinders. Nonetheless, this study has built up a detailed picture of the place and agency of the bookbinders in Staffordshire's book trade, and an analysis of the people, their activities and locations has been developed. Books from the period and other primary records provide evidence that bookbinders in Staffordshire were capable and skilled, and were an integral element of the trade, enabling the elegant presentation of the texts produced. Appendix 1 contains those at the heart of the Staffordshire binding trade, who sewed, covered and decorated the books, but about whom we know the least.

There are tentative conclusions regarding location and activity to be drawn from this list: they can only be tentative because the numbers of bookbinders will have varied across the study period as older ones were superseded by younger journeymen. The Census of 1841 and the various secondary sources used can only give a 'snapshot'. We might expect demand to be centred on the larger towns, but binding may have been contracted out from there to more rural binderies nearby, creating a demand greater than could be expected to be generated in that local area.

For example, only four binders are recorded in Stafford, yet the evidence of the activities of Drewry and others infers that a lot of binding work was required there, probably much more than two could deal with. Lane End, in the Potteries (PD35, 1821: 7,100; 1831: 9,608, p.427, HDSDL) had twice that number – perhaps fuelled by demand from Newcastle-under-Lyme and the Potteries. Lichfield, an important book trade centre given the presence of the clerical community associated with the Cathedral, also seems to have too few. Uttoxeter, a small market town (1821: 4,658; 1831: 4,864, p. 457), seems to have too many, but the exchange and contracting-out of binding between principal entrepreneurs and smaller concerns might account for many of these apparent discrepancies. Another factor should be borne in mind: the possibility of an invisible group of possibly itinerant bookbinders concealed in the unreliable occupational nomenclature used in the Census referred to in the Introduction in relation to those in appendix 1, and in the stance of this study, including anyone giving 'bookbinder' as the service or part of the services they provided. Drewry had an in-house bindery but we do not know the names of the binders. We noted the term 'binder' applied to women in Stafford in the Census, probably relating to the footwear trade in that town; it is quite possible that female bookbinders are hidden in that term.

Colclough (2000, p. 23) provides an out-of-county example which hints at invisibility: Sheffield in the mid-1790s with a population of about 29,000 apparently had only one binder to serve a subscription library, three circulating libraries, eight booksellers and three printers – surely not enough, given that libraries frequently ordered books in sheets to be bound locally as in the Wigtown example quoted earlier. He may have been a small master employing several journeymen. It may have been John Smith, recorded in the Sheffield Directory for 1787 as a bookseller and binder in Angel Street (Gales and Martin, 1787, p. 76; HDSDL). Historical invisibility obscures the full picture and there may be bookbinders not recorded in the 1841 Census as noted above; perhaps they were journeymen away from home, were not recorded as binders, were not at home, or simply did not open the door to the Enumerator. The trade directories consulted by Ramsden (1954, rep. 1987), BBS (1975 to 1987), BBTI and the writer are not full records, but commercial documents issued to boost trade, with the possibility of the suppression of local competition that we saw in Wolverhampton, and we must bear this in mind. We must accept Feather's statement.

There is continuity over time: Ellen Feepound in Stafford in the 1770s operated in much the same way as the successors of Joshua Drewry in the 1850s and later (Feather, 1985, p. 26). It remains true:

today's *Staffordshire Newsletter* is a distant successor of Drewry's *Staffordshire Advertiser*. It still appears weekly, and is funded by the cover price and advertising, as in 1795. In 1974 I was a trainee accountant at the Newsletter; it was owned and published then by a printing firm, R. W. Hourd and Son in Mill Street, Stafford. The paper was printed elsewhere, Hourds did not operate newspaper presses. They used the four-colour off-set lithographic printing process, mainly on older Heidelberg rotary presses and a new Roland 'Parva' press, much larger than the Heidelbergs, running at tens of thousands of impressions per hour. They produced the lithographic plates in-house and early computer typesetting was in use. They printed all manner of commercial catalogues, advertising brochures and booklets; Drewry would have called them 'jobbing printers'.[20] Had he walked in at that time, he would have seen the similarities: there were printers and compositors, and there was still a bindery. The binder was John Cregg, long since gone to his historical invisibility, leaving probably not much more record than his predecessors in appendix 1.

The book trade in the study period was remarkably homogeneous; booksellers and printers operated in much the same way in Staffordshire as in other counties. They offered a selection of

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[20] See Rotherham and Steele, (1975).

the wide range of printed matter and book products and services, using the compound trading model we have observed, and were inter-dependent; there was as much co-operation as competition. We have seen how families spread their business networks into other counties and to London. The trade was very sophisticated, and Drewry and the other entrepreneurs used advertising in ways as sophisticated and manipulative as it is used today; only the medium is different. They were the prime movers in the book trade, basing their power and influence on their newspapers, like the news conglomerates of today. They knew their markets and their customers as thoroughly as does Google, and slanted their offerings accordingly. They pitched and altered their pricing structures frequently and knowledgably, as we have seen in the circulating library businesses of Drewry and Chester. They added other products and services to their core printing, stationery and bookselling businesses, such as patent medicines and various agency services such as insurance, to enable the customer to buy as much as possible in one place, and so increase choice and turnover.

The book trade was ubiquitous: it pervaded every other activity and business because records were kept on paper and in books. No other industry did this in the same way. This was not the ubiquity of the baker selling everyone their bread, it was the basis of

record-keeping, education, religion and culture. It was the transmission of ideas, art and entertainment in robust and convenient containers, from chapbooks to the three-volume novel. It was internationally and transculturally ubiquitous: books crossed international borders from the early fifteenth-century, transmitting ideas and views, sometimes dangerously unorthodox. Craftspeople, including bookbinders, travelled from the Continent to England to work in the printing trade, often fleeing religious persecution. Books illegal in one country were printed in another and imported.

People wanted news and intelligence, from abroad as much as from home, and the newspapers and magazines provided this. They appeared regularly and mostly reliably, and were found in homes, taverns, libraries and reading rooms all over the county and beyond. Each copy had an eager and wide readership; those who could not read were read to, and so the book and printing trade enhanced and informed their lives and exercised a profound social and political influence. The bookbinders developed innovations in making, covering and embellishing books which allowed the trade to produce them more cheaply, democratising and enabling the burgeoning reading culture.

I have discussed how the materiality of books changed, stimulated by increased demand and by the technical innovations

bookbinders developed to feed this need. Our whole perception of a book derives from its binding: we see this first, sometimes it attracts us regardless of the text, and we handle and appreciate this before we open the book. The binding serves multiple functions as a convenient and durable protective container for the paper on which the text is printed – consider how difficult it would be to store and transport paper texts without a strong binding – and as an aesthetic experience when different materials, styles of decoration and colour are used to beautify the cover. The binding gives a book specialness and permanence and leads to the idea of a collection of books, a library, neatly arranged and labelled for easy access; it creates the love of books in their own right as objects of desire as much as for their utility. The binders had agency here in the placing and inclusion of engravings, advertisements and other extra-textual matter.

The Effects of Societal and Political Forces

My study is of the social and cultural position of bookbinders in the book trade and in Staffordshire, and so I examined what I see as the most fundamental forces operating in society, to assess their influence on Staffordshire's bookbinding. Finance and credit were as key then as now, and some binders like Drewry were well financed with the backing of established family networks, while others traded much

more precariously. Credit and debt formed the structure of the finances of the book trade, with cash-flow or the lack of it a crucial factor. There were many bankruptcies, and in some cases they were not fatal to a business; some traders regrouped and began again; Drewry was rescued by the Chester and Mort families but lost overall control of his newspaper.

The bookbinders often gathered in clusters and there was co-operation as well as competition, as we see in Archer-Parré's article (2020) relating to the place of the book trade in Birmingham and the transfer of skills and ideas between entrepreneurs. This is observed in the relationship of Allbut in Hanley to his partner Gibbs; a journeyman would train with a small master before branching out on his own. Bull Street in Birmingham offers evidence of the book trade concentrating in an area, with the primary service providers supported by their supply chain. Religion thoroughly permeated society, and Methodism, Non-Conformism and Dissent were prevalent in Staffordshire. We see this in Allbut in Hanley and Tregortha in Burslem, how their lives, business activities and publications were underpinned by their faith. The effect of this force should never be underestimated.

Mechanisation was the second force I considered: from the invention of movable type in the fifteenth-century to advances in paper production and innovations in bookbinding methods in the early

nineteenth-century, these changes were critical to the development of a discerning reading, book-owning society. The materiality of books changed radically with the introduction of cloth as a covering medium; it reduced costs, speeded up the process and enabled books to be offered much more cheaply. The appearance of books changed, from the use of earlier, traditional hybrid styles such as half-leather to paper and board coverings, and allowed them to be marketed more attractively with greater use of colour and beautiful engravings. The case binding, where the cover is made separately from the text-block, again made production more efficient and cheaper and became the standard utilitarian format.

The political is indivisible from the book trade, the third force considered. Each newspaper proprietor took a stance as they do today; domestic and foreign news, Parliamentary reporting, news of battles and royalty were as important then as now: continuity. We have seen how printers and bookbinders were persecuted by the Government in its Canute-like attempts to control access to print and thus the political discourse, going to prison for printing and distributing texts like Paine's *Rights of Man*, (1791-1792). Even lowly chapmen went to prison for their pains. This book and publications like it had a wide underground circulation and so the book trade exercised its own political agency. Radical, independent journalists like

William Cobbett regularly blasted the Government in his polemical weekly *Political Register*, which had a national circulation; it was read in taverns, workplaces and clubs. He too had to flee as Paine did, in his case to America (Cole, 1947, p. 76). Governmental persecution of this kind went back well before the study period: Henry Oven (1600 to 1624) was gaoled for printing Catholic books in London, and 'it was alleged that he broke prison and fled to Staffordshire where he was printing till Wrench and Warren [colleagues?] were descried by Sir Edward Lyttleton...' (BBS, 1975 to 1987, WP1/13).

We have the itinerant chapmen to thank for the initial large scale spread of printed matter from the fifteenth-century, helping to create the market and the need for literacy, laying the foundations of the sophisticated consumer market examined in chapter 1. The regional and metropolitan newspapers were emerging from about the 1720s, and those entrepreneurs who owned them continued to lead the book and printing trade, based on this technical capability and their marketing reach. This is why I say 'regional' rather than simply 'provincial' because their newspapers were always distributed to other counties and to London, creating in turn the sales and marketing networks which would be vital to the national book trade, exploited so well by London publishers.

The circulating libraries were established from the mid-

seventeenth-century to meet a clear need. Many booksellers maintained one, and they could be purchased whole; the most successful were those who could afford to regularly renew the stock, particularly considering the level of local competition. Feather wonders whether the largely out-of-date nature of Ellen Feepound's book stock in Stafford may have contributed to her 1776 bankruptcy: 'The bulk of the theological works appear to have come from a library of seventeenth-century books...' (1985, p. 79; pp. 125-129). The availability of books to rent helped to satisfy the increasing demand for literature and education; it would be the twentieth-century before book-buying became possible on a large scale for the working class. An underlying factor in this was the antipathy in the ruling classes to ordinary workers being able to read at all, lest it lead to them questioning the social and political structure.

Research Questions: Conclusions

[i] What was the relationship of the Staffordshire book trade and its bookbinders to the London trade, and to what extent was the Staffordshire trade independent of London?

The early establishment of the Stationers' Company in London effectively founded their control of the printing and publishing trades and thus of bookbinding. This was achieved through draconian

measures limiting membership of the Company and the numbers of printers and presses. However, the counties were never wholly dependent on trade from London: the number and wide regional and national circulation of their newspapers and magazines, their circulating libraries and jobbing printing, remained the core of their business and finances, independent of London. London remained dominant in the publishing and distribution of most new books; Drewry published the novel *Ned Bentley* in 1808 via the London publishers Longman, Rees, Hurst, Orme and Brown; Lomax published and printed *A Short Account of the Ancient and Modern State of the City and Close of Lichfield* in 1819 with Longmans acting as distributors. Regional publishers needed the London connection to enable their books to be marketed there and nationally, and this was the case well into the twentieth-century. However, books could still be published independently of London: Tregortha in Burslem published well known public domain texts such as *Pilgrim's Progress* and *The Vicar of Wakefield* without any overt connection to a London publisher.

London found it expedient to work with the county trade rather than to try to suppress it. These booksellers and wholesalers offered London an unrivalled network of local knowledge, advertising, agency and distribution. The transport networks were equal to the task, especially once the roads began to be improved on a systematic

basis; the water-based network in Staffordshire was critical before the development of the railways.

ii] How does the relative historical invisibility of the bookbinders affect the research, and how does my original research provide new perspectives on bookbinding history and scholarship?

The ability to positively attribute a specific binding to a named binder would have added greatly to my thesis, but it was clear at the outset that this was unlikely. I have relied on bookseller's tickets pasted into books, to local proximity such as that of Parke in Wolverhampton providing services to nearby Chillington Hall, and to probability; some books would have gone to London to be bound but it is logical to conclude that most binding was local, given the number and distribution of binders. None of these factors is completely reliable but again it seems highly unlikely that those in Staffordshire advertising bookbinding services would have sent it all to London. The extra costs involved, and the unfeasible workload for London's binders militate against this, for if Staffordshire sent all its binding to London, then all other counties would have done so given the homogeneity of the book trade. Most binding took place near to the point of sale.

My methodology concentrated on amassing details of Staffordshire's bookbinders from various sources, primary and

secondary, and this has resulted in a detailed picture of bookbinding availability. My study features everyday humdrum bindings rather than the high-end, prestigious work selected by some bibliographers. The commissioners of these local, 'working' bindings would not have concerned themselves with the individual at the bench, and the employer may not have recorded which binder worked on which book. The binder may have found the idea of 'signing' his or her work extraordinary. My study has acknowledged the invisibility of the craftspeople, a common experience of historians concerned with the lives of ordinary working people, and has added new knowledge specific to Staffordshire to the work of previous local and national historians.

[iii] What aesthetic and economic motivations shaped bookbinding in Staffordshire?

The rapid industrialisation of about 1780 to 1840 affected bookbinding as much as any other craft and profession, and I have examined some of the forces it exerted on the craft and its place in the book trade. Literacy increased over a long period, fuelling demand for printed material of all kinds, entertaining, religious and educational, and technical changes were introduced to cater for it. These innovations affected the materiality of the books, both reducing cost and enabling

bindings and texts to be much more varied, colourful and attractive. The reading public increased and costs had to be cut if books could be produced within the disposable income of the greatest number of people; book covers and illustrations had to be more varied and sophisticated than the old chapbooks with their crude and over-used generic woodcuts. Bookbinders played their part in this democratisation of reading and book possession in the methods they created to make books more quickly and ever more cheaply: this was as true in Staffordshire as anywhere. These aesthetic and economic motivations operated almost as one force as they do today.

Final Conclusions

This study has demonstrated the range and quality of binding work available in Staffordshire and its relation to the London trade. It has not rescued the majority of Staffordshire's bookbinders of our period from their historical invisibility, nor could it hope to. Attributing a particular book to a named binder has not been possible so far, but this does not detract from the fact that all the evidence produced in this study confirms the existence in Staffordshire of a large and comprehensive binding trade. Theirs is a marginal trade now, paper put into a machine at one end and books emerging at the other. The modern Society of Bookbinders has only about a thousand members,

many of these amateurs. Very few apprenticeships exist now. The printers superseded the scribes, and technology has largely done for the bookbinder. However, we can see that their trade flourished in Staffordshire as in other places, and that they produced a lot of very fine work, and made a significant contribution to the development of the book trade, and of the history of the book.

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Appendix 1

List of Bookbinders

This appendix lists bookbinders and those providing it as a service so far discovered, alphabetically by town; those mentioned in the text are not included in detail here. Trading dates follow each name; dates in brackets are either birth and death dates or location dates. Sources are given with each entry, abbreviated as follows:

R	Ramsden, C. (1954, rep. 1987) and page ref.
H	Hill, J. (1907) and page ref.
S	Simms, R. (1894) and page ref.
M	Miller, (1891) and page ref.
R and S	Rotherham, A., and Steele, M. (1975) with page ref.
WP	Working Papers of the Birmingham Bibliographical Society (1975 to 1987) with vol. and page ref., Eg. WP1/1.
BBTI	British Book Trade Index database with access date Eg. BBTI 9 July 2021.
Cen 41/7	Census 1841 and Staffordshire Record Office microfilm ref.
CD18	County Directory 1818.
SA	Staffordshire Advertiser with date.
SGCS	Staffordshire Gazette and County Standard with date.
BNA	British Newspaper Archive with publication and date.

Part 1 - Staffordshire

Bilston

Bassford, Timothy, Church St., 1832 to 1833 printer, Bookseller, Stationer, Librarian/owner of circulating library, Bookbinder, pharmacist/druggist/chemist/patent medicine seller. WP7/4; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Nokes, Francis, 1828 to 1850 Oxford Rd. (1828 to 1829); Lichfield St. (to 1832); Church St. (1833 to 1838); Swan Bank (1838); Owen St., Tipton (1838 to 1839) Bookseller, Printer, Stationer, Bookbinder, Librarian/owner of circulating library, Reading society/institute (circulating), Book club (circulating) insurance agent. WP7/36; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Hackett, William, 1818 to 1850 Church St. (1832 to 1838) Printer, Bookseller, Bookbinder, Stationer. BBTI 6 June 2023; WP7/21.

Price, George 1834 to 1841 Oxford St. Bookseller, Printer, Stationer, Bookbinder. WP7/40; SA 3 August 1839; BBTI 22 June 2023; Cen 41/12.

Seliman/Sellman, Samuel, 1850 High St. and Millfield (1837 to 1838). Bookbinder, Bookseller, Printer, Stationer, Timber dealer, Librarian BBTI 6 June 2023; WP7/44.

Blithfield

Hodgetts, William, 1824 Printer, Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023; WP6/19.

Brierley Hill

Ford, George 1806 to 1845? (1838 to 1845) High St. Bookseller, Printer, Stationer, Music seller, Publisher, Paper-hanger, Auctioneer, Bookbinder. Publisher of *Brierley Hill Advertiser* (founded 1853). Firm later known as Ford and Addison. *Possibly same as George Gervase Ford in Stourbridge*. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Burslem

Brougham, Mary, Stephen, William – *see Chapter Two.*

Chatfield, George, 1817 to 1818 Waterloo Rd. Bookbinder. CD18; WP5/4; BBTI 9 July 2021; CD18; WP5/4.

Cubley, William, (1810 to 1841) Commercial St. Bookbinder. Cen 41/7; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Dodd, Lawrence, 1818 to 1829 Swan Sq. Bookbinder. WP6/10; R 14/64; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Johnson, William, (Apprentice), (1826 to 1841?) Navigation Rd. Bookbinder. Cen 41/7; BBTI 9 July 2021.

McCreery, James, 1834 to 1842 Navigation Rd. Bookbinder, Printer (copperplate), machine ruler. WP7/32; Cen 41/7; R 14/112; BBTI 6 June 2023.

Peover, Edward, (Journeyman) 1817 St. John's Sq. Bookbinder. CD18; WP5/17; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Prior, Goodman Joseph (?), (1801? to 1841) Hanover Sq. Bookbinder. Cen 41/7; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Roberts, Daniel, (Journeyman) (1811 to 1841) Moorlands Rd., Sneyd Green. Bookbinder. Cen 41/7; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Scott, Daniel, 1821 to 1822 Church St. Bookbinder. WP6/32; R 13/146; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Timmis, Richard, 1821 to 1842 Market Place. Bookseller, Copperplate Printer, Stationer, Bookbinder. *Succeeded Tregortha, John – see chapter 2.* BBTI 6 June 2023; WP7/49; SA, 21 March 1835.

Burton-on-Trent

Angell, William, (b. 1811) 1811 to 1841 Horninglow St. Bookbinder, Printer. Cen 41/2; BBTI 20 July 2021.

Bellamy, R. R. Bookbinder. R14; BBTI 20 July 2021.

Lightfoot, Thomas, 1817 High St. Bookbinder. WP5/13; CD18; BBTI 20 July 2021.

Wayte, Thomas, 1810 to 1834 High St. Printer, Bookseller, Stationer, Bookbinder, Pharmacist, Patent Medicine seller, Mathematical Instrument Maker, Norwich Union Fire agent. *Possibly related to Henry Wayte of Newcastle under Lyme.* WP5/25; BBTI 20 July 2021; CD18.

Cheadle

Horn, Sarah and Son, 1817 to 1834 Market Place. Bookseller, Stationer, Bookbinder, Music seller, Printer, Phoenix Fire Insurance agent, musical instrument seller, perfumers. *Succeeded Horn and Pritchard, active c. 1810.* CD18; WP5/11; BBTI 20 July 2021.

Horer, Thomas, (b. 1801) North Side, Market Sq. Bookbinder. Cen 41/14.

Thompson, James, 1850. High St. (1850) Bookbinder, Bookseller, Printer, Stationer. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Darlaston

Slater, James, 1817 to 1850 New St. Bookseller, Printer, Stationer, Bookbinder, Insurance agent Birmingham District Fire Office, Stamp agent, wine and spirit merchant. BBTI 20 July 2021; WP7/45.

Slater, Thomas, 1817 to 1833 New St. Bookseller, Printer, Stationer, Bookbinder, Schoolmaster, pharmacist, patent medicine seller. WP5/20, 6/34, 7/45; R 16/150; BBTI 20 July 2021.

Dudley

Burton, Elizabeth – *see Chapter Two.*

Danks, Thomas, 1834 to 1872 High St. (1834 to 1842); Market Place (1839) Bookseller, Stationer, Bookbinder, Printer (copperplate), Auctioneer. S*ee Samuel Danks, Bewdley – possibly related.* WP7/12; BBTI 20 July 2021.

Higgins, Thomas, (b. 1811) 1839 to 1845 New St. Stationer, Bookbinder, Bookseller, Printer. Cen 41/26; BBTI 20 July 2021.

Thomas, Mary *see Chapter Two.*

Walters, George, 1817 to 1850 High St. Bookseller, Printer, Stationer, Bookbinder, Newsagent, Music seller, Insurance agent Western Fire and Life, musical instrument seller. WP7/51; BBTI 20 July 2021.

Walton, John, 1834 to 1835 Flood St. Bookbinder. WP7/52; R 16/168; BBTI 20 July 2021.

Eccleshall

Gallimore, Ambrose, 1834 High St., and Market Place, Stone. Bookbinder, Printer, Bookseller, Stationer, Stamp agent. R 16/25/77; WP7/19; BBTI 21 July 2021.

Hanchurch

Boulton, John, (b. 1816) 1841 Hanchurch Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023; Cen 41/8.

Handsacre

Worrall, John, 1833 Marsh Barn. Bookbinder, schoolmaster. WP7/56; BBTI 21 July 2021.

Hanley

Allbut, Thomas - *see Chapter Two.*

Fletcher, Sampson, 1817 Church St., High St. Bookbinder. CD18; WP5/7; BBTI 21 July 2021.

Gibbs, George - *see Chapter Two.*

Harleston, Bookbinder. R 18.

Moore, William, 1837 Bookbinder. SA, 18 February 1837.

Smith, William, 1837 Market Sq. (and various addresses in Shropshire and Birmingham) Bookbinder, Printer. *Listed as appearing in Court for Relief of Insolvent Debtors* SA via BNA, 11 March 1837.

Westbrook, J. C., 1838 Market Sq. Bookseller, Bookbinder, Stationer, Printer (letterpress) SA via BNA, 8 December 1838.

<u>Lane End/Longton</u>

Forrester, Samuel, 1817 to 1822 Market St. Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer, Postmaster. WP5/7; WP6/13; CD18; R 74; BBTI 21 July 2021.

Forrister/Forrester (?), Elizabeth, (1842 to 1850) Market St. (1834) Bookseller, Bookbinder, Printer, Stationer, Librarian. BBTI 6 June 2023; WP7/18; SA via BNA, 15 September 1838. *Possibly related to Samuel.*

Moss, John, 1828 to 1829 Cornhill. Bookbinder. WP6/26; R 120; BBTI 21 July 2021.

Orton, T., 1797 Stationer, Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Orton, William, 1799 to 1801 High St., Lane End. Printer, Stationer, Bookbinder. WP4/8; BBTI 21 July 2021.

Watts, Charles, 1834 to 1835 Great Charles St., Lane End. Bookseller, Librarian/owner of circulating library, Printer, Stationer, Bookbinder. WP7/53; PD35; R 170; BBTI 21 July 2021.

Leek

Hilliard, William Francis, 1780 to 1821 Corner of Derby St. and Market Place (1780 to 1798); Scolding Bank or Schoolhouse Bank (1817). Printer, Bookbinder, Paper-hanger, Bill Poster, Parish Clerk. M 239; CD18; R and S 99; S 226; WP2/4; WP 5/10; SA 3 January 1795; BBTI 23 January 2023.

Hope, William, 1813 to 1821 Derby St., (1813 to 1815) Custard St., (1817 to 1821) Bookseller, Stationer, Bookbinder. S 232; WP5/11; CD18; BBTI 21 July 2021.

Moore, George, 1797 to 1798. Bookbinder. WP3/10; R 19/120; BBTI 21 July 2021.

Nall, George, 1834 Sheep Market. Bookseller, Stationer, Bookbinder, Stamp distibutor. BBTI 22 June 2023; SA via BNA 29 April 1837; WP7/35.

Nugent, James, (b. 1801?) 1841 Derby St. Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Warren/Warner?, Edward, Mary, William – *see Chapter Two.*

Lichfield

Caunter, John Searle, 1841 to 1850 St. John St. Bookseller, Bookbinder (inc. Spring-back ledgers) and edge-gilding, Stationer, Music seller, Printer. BBTI 6 June 2023; SA via BNA 21 October 1837.

Eggington, Francis Jnr., 1844. Bird St. (1834) Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer, Music seller, Copperplate Printer. BBTI 6 June 2023; WP7/16.

Jackson, William, (b. 1811), 1811 to 1841. Leamonsley. Bookbinder. Cen 41/15; BBTI 21 July 2021.

Lomax, Thomas – *see Chapter Two*

Meacham, James, 1841 to 1850 St. John St. (1841 to 1850) Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer, Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Meacham, John, 1850. Market Place (1850) Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer Insurance (Engineers', Architects' and Builders' Fire Office Agent) Religious Tract and Bible Society Agent. BBTI 6 June 2023 – *possibly the same person as above*.

Morgan, William, 1800? to 1829. Market Place. Printer, Bookseller, Stationer, Bookbinder, Music seller, Engraver/etcher (copperplate), Paper-hanging maker/dealer, Librarian/owner of circulating library, musical instrument seller/dealer, Pharmacy, patent medicine seller. WP5/15; BBTI 21 July 2021; CD18.

Tibbitts, Nicholas, 1817 to 1818. Gresley Row. Bookbinder. CD18; WP5/23; BBTI 21 July 2021.

Walker, Robert, (Apprentice, b. 1828). St. John St. Bookbinder. Cen 41/25.

Newcastle-under-Lyme

Astbury, John, 1835 to 1841 6 Bow St. Bookbinder. WP7/2; R 22/30; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Bayley, John, 1801 to 1850; (1841 to 1850); 35 Ironmarket (1834 to 1838). Printer, Stationer, Bookseller, Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023; WP7/4.

Bucknall, Walter Bagnall, (b. 1811), 1835 to 1841. 67 Fletcher St. (1835 to 1836); Merrial St. (1841). Bookbinder. WP7/8; R 22/46; BBTI 22 July 2021; Cen 41/16.

Carey, William, (1823 to 1841?), 1841 Pepper St. Apprentice Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Chester, Charles - *see Chapter Two.*

Griffith, George, 1841, George St. Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Horton, John, (1826 to 1841?), 1841 Hassall St. Apprentice Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Hulse, James, 1832 to 1841 (1771 to 1841?) Ironmarket (1838); George St. (1841). Printer, Bookseller, Stationer, Bookbinder, Engraver. SGCS via BNA 20 February 1839; WP7/27; Cen 41/16; BBTI 28 June 2023.

Hyde, Edwin, 1834 to 1840?, 169 Lower St.; Holborn Mills. Papermaker, Bookbinder. *Partner of Lamb, John, papermaker/merchant. Hyde died 21 August 1846.* R 22/95; BBTI 22 July 2021; WP7/28.

Machin, Thomas, 1835 to 1836, 2 York St. Bookbinder. WP7/32; R 22/112; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Pye, William, 1821 to 1846, Penkhull St., (1822); 61 Ironmarket (1834 to 1838); Bagnall St. (1846). Bookseller, Printer, Stationer, Bookbinder, Food and drink victualler. WP6/30; WP6/35; R 22/136; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Smith, William, 1817 to 1822, Ironmarket. Printer, Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer. WP6/35; R 22/152; CD18; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Williams, John, 1821 to 1822, Ireland? Bookbinder. WP6/41; R 22; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Oldbury

Fawdrey, George, 1834-42, Birmingham St.; High St. West Bromwich Bookbinder, Printer, Stationer. WP7/17; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Rugeley

Astbury, Stephen; Cheshire, Samuel; Clark, Henry; Easthope, William; Leonard, James; Tolley, Henry – *see Chapter Two.*

Walters, John Thomas, 1842 to 1843 Market Place. Printer, Bookseller, Bookbinder, Stationer, Publisher of *Staffordshire Gazette and County Standard.* SGCS via BNA 25 May 1839.

Stafford

Dawson, Edward, 1805 to 1833, Market Place; Gaolgate St. (1818). Bookseller, Bookbinder, Printer, Stationer. SA 14 September 1805; CD18; WP5/6; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Drewry, Joshua – *see Chapter Two.*

Drewry, John and William, 1846 to 1850 Eastgate St. (1846 to 1850) Printer, Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023. *Ramsden (p. 66) gives John Drewry also as a printer at the Mercury Newspaper office, Irongate, Derby. Perhaps a different John?*

Shirley, John, 1817. Broad Eye; Mount Pleasant. Bookbinder. CD18; WP5/20; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Stoke-on-Trent

Dean, William, 1840 to 1861 High St. Bookseller, Stationer, Printer, Bookbinder, Librarian/owner of circulating library, Lithographer, Printer (copperplate), Stereotyper/stereotype founder, Newsagent, Stamp agent, Pharmacy, patent medicine seller, insurance agent (Star Life; Salop Fire Office, Secretary, Athenaeum Library and News Rooms, Town Hall, Stoke (1850 to 1851). R and S 35; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Gibbs, George, 1834 Piccadilly, Brunswick St., Shelton. Bookbinder. WP7/19; BBTI 22 July 2021 – *see Chapter 2*.

Thompson, John, 1850. Old Market Place (1850) Bookseller, Bookbinder, Letterpress Printer, Stationer, Newsagent. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Tomkinson, (Richard Cyples?); also Tomkinson, R. C. snr. 1817 to 1835 Newcastle St.; Church St. Bookseller, Printer, stationer, circ. library, Bookbinder. SA 16 August 1817; WP7/49; BBTI 22 July 2021. *Traded with Dean (above) from 13 February 1836.* BNA, SA 13 February 1836 6 June 2023.

Turner, George, 1850 35 to 36 Liverpool Rd. Bookbinder, Bookseller, Printer, Stationer, Newsagent. R and S 35; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Stone

Gallimore, Ambrose, Eccleshall – see above.

Tomlinson, Henry, 1821 Market Place. Bookbinder, Bookseller, dealer in music and instruments, Printer, Stationer, Music seller, Librarian/owner of circulating library, Postmaster. SA 2 August 1817; WP6/37; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Tamworth

Beard, Charles, 1844 to 1854 Market St. Printer, Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer, Letter-press maker. BBTI 22 July 2021.

Beard, Joseph, 1817 to 1835 Market St. (1817 to 1822); Aldergate St. (1821 to 1828). Bookbinder, Press maker, Printer, Auctioneer. *Possibly related to Charles Beard.* WP5/2; WP6/4; R 25/35; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Clarke, William, 1817 to 1818 Gungate St. Bookbinder. WP5/5; CD18; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Cotton, Richard, 1810 to 1835 Church St. Bookbinder, Auctioneer, Bookseller, Printer, Stationer. WP6/9; WP7/11; R 25/55; BBTI 22 July 2021; CD18.

Lakin, William, 1844 to 1850 Market St. (1844 to 1850) Stationer, Bookseller, Bookbinder, Printer. BBTI 6 June 2023.

<u>Tipton</u>

Blake, John, 1838 to 1850 Great Bridge (1847); New Road (1850) Printer, Stationer, Bookbinder, Bookseller. WP7/6; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Danks, Thomas, 1828 to 1850 Owen St. Bookseller, Printer, Stationer, Auctioneer, Bookbinder, Publisher, Appraisal/valuation, Hatter, Stamp agent. WP7/12; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Higgins, Thomas, (b. 1806) 1838 to 1839 Dudley Rd. Bookbinder, Printer, Paper-hanger. WP7/25; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Taylor, George, 1806 to 1841? Upper Green Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023; Cen 41/5.

Tunstall

Adams, Samuel, 1850. Piccadilly (1850) Bookbinder, Bookseller, Printer, Stationer. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Seckerson, James, 1842 Market Place. Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer, Music seller. R 26/146; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Stevens, William, 1842 High St. Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer, Printer. R 26/156; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Warburton, John, (1826 to 1841?) John St. Bookbinder (apprentice). Cen 41/8; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Uttoxeter

Bac(s)on (?), Jeremiah (?) and Wil(l)der (?) 1817. Market Place. Bookseller, Printer, Stationer, Bookbinder, dealers in paper, paper-hangers, patent medicines, stamp agents, circulating library. *Also at Cheadle.* CD18; S 34; WP5/2; WP6/2; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Bakewell and Adams, 1834. Market Place. Bookseller, Bookbinder, Stationer, Printer (letterpress). SA via BNA 30 September 1837; WP7/3; BBTI 22 June 2023.

Brown, Andrew, (1801 to 1841). Pinfold Lane. Bookbinder. Cen 41/5; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Dunn, Charles, (b. 1801) 1828 to 1829. Carter St. Bookbinder. R 26/66; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Mycock, H. Bookseller, Bookbinder. 1792 to 1798. WP3/10; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Norris, Ann, Jane and Thomas, 1834 to 1850. Market Place. Bookbinder, Bookseller, Printer, Stamp agent, Stationer. *Trading as Norris and Son (1834 to 1842).* R 26/124; Simms, R. p. 332; WP7/36; BBTI 22 July 2021; Cen 41/15.

Tomkinson, Joseph, 1827 to 1881. Market Place. Bookbinder. WP6/37; R 164; BBTI 22 July 2021.

<u>Walsall</u>

Cooper, Mary Elizabeth, 1845 Bookseller, Bookbinder, Publisher, Stationer. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Griffin, William, 1838 to 1850 Park St. Printer, Stationer, Bookseller, Bookbinder. WP7/20; BBTI 6 June 2023.

Martin, J., 1780 to 1820 Rushall St., Digbeth. Bookbinder, Stationer. R 26/114; WP6/24; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Pendrell, John Alexander, 1817 to 1825 Digbeth. Printer (copperplate), Bookbinder. *Also at Birmingham.* CD18; WP5/17; WP6/24; R 26/129; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Perry, William, c.1792 Bookseller, Bookbinder. WP3/12; BBTI 22 July 2021.

Robinson, John Russell, 1845 to 1850 Digbeth (1845 to 1850) Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer, Printer. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Valentine and Throsby, 1810 to 1845. High St. Publisher, Bookseller, Stationer, Printer, Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023; WP5/24.

Wilkes, Elizabeth, (1838 to 1845) High St. Bookseller, Printer, Stationer, Bookbinder. WP7/55; BBTI 6 June 2023.

Wednesbury

Booth, Sarah, 1845 Market Place Bookseller, Bookbinder, Printer, Publisher, Stationer Pharmacy/medicine; Patent medicine seller. BBTI 6 June 2023. *Possibly related to Joshua Booth; see WP7/6.*

Southern, Thomas 1845 to 1850 Bridge St (1845); High St. (1850) Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer, Printer. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Whitchurch

Jones, John, 1760 to 1766. Bookbinder, Bookseller. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Wolverhampton

Avison, James?, Great Bury St. Bookbinder. Cen 41/19.

Beddow(s), John, 1845 to 1850 Worcester St. Bookseller, Bookbinder, Publisher, Stationer, Newsagent. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Bevan, (?) North St. Bookbinder. Cen 41/19.

Bridgen, Joseph, 1832 to 1850 Darlington St. Printer, (copperplate, lithographic, letterpress), printers' supplier, Bookseller, Bookbinder, Stationer, Engraver/etcher, Machine-ruler, Publisher, Stationer (manufacturing), Newsagent/vendor, Draughtsman (lithographic) *printed Wolverhampton Directories 1833 to 1838. Possibly partner Josiah Allen.* R 27/43; BBTI 23 July 2021; WP7/7.

Burton (?), Elizabeth, (b. c.1820) Brick Kiln Croft. Bookbinder. Cen 41/19.

Caldicott, Alfred Jolly 1832 to 1850 Dudley St. Bookseller, Stationer, Engraver/etcher, Printer (copperplate), Bookbinder, Publisher, Newsagent, Machine-ruler, Account-book manufacturer/maker, Lithographer. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Clare, Charlotte – *see Chapter Two*

Clowes, James Aaron, 1841 to 1842 Townwell Fold. Bookbinder, Printer. R 27/52; BBTI 23 July 2021.

Cluett, William, 1832 to 1838 Queen St. (1832 to 1834); Horseley Fields (1837); Dudley St. (1838). Printer, Bookseller, Auctioneer, Stationer, Bookbinder, Appraisal/valuation. WP7/10; BBTI 23 July 2021.

Denman, Philip, 44 High St. (1821 to 1826); Market Place (1828 to 1829); Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer, Medicine Vendor, Printer, agent to Sun Fire and Life Office. WP6/10; CD18.

Fownes, Henry, 1832 to 1835 St. Peter's Sq. Bookbinder, Bookseller, Paper merchant (wholesale), Printer, Machine-ruler. S 176; WP7/18; R 27/75; BBTI 23 July 2021.

Fullwood, James, 1841 to 1842 Cleveland Place. Bookbinder. *Related to Birmingham Fullwoods?* R 27/76; BBTI 23 July 2021.

Garland, William, (b. 1816) Bookbinder. Cen 41/19.

Hildreth, James, 1831 to 1850 Darlington St. (1838); Cock St. (1845 to 1847); St. John's St. (1849 to 1850). Printer, Bookseller, Stationer, Bookbinder, Librarian/owner of circulating library. *Printed 'Selections in Poetry for the Instruction & Amusement of Youth' (1831).* WP7/25; BBTI 23 July 2021.

Hinde, Alfred, 1850. Snow Hill (1850) Bookbinder, Bookseller, Printer, Stationer. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Large, John, 1826 to 1827 Stafford St. Bookbinder, Printer. Smart's Directory 1827 p.23; WP6/22; R 27/105; BBTI 23 July 2021.

Marshall, George Lillington, 1834 to 1835 Salop St. Printer (copperplate), Bookbinder. WP7/33; R 27/114; BBTI 23 July 2021.

Matheson, James, (b. 1806) Bookbinder. Cen 41/19.

Parke, William, - *see Chapter Two.*

Richards, John, 1847 to 1850 Bookseller, Bookbinder, Stationer, Librarian. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Roden, Edward, 1849 to 1850 Bookbinder, Printer. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Ryley, William, Dudley St. 1815 to 1818 (1815); Bell St. (1817); Bell Inn (1818) Bookbinder, Printer, Bookseller, Music seller, Stationer. R 27/144; CD18; BBTI 23 July 2021.

Simpson, Thomas, 1807 to 1850 High Green (1807 to 1838); 20 High St. (1817); Market Place (1837 to 1839); High St. (1841 to 1842); Market Place (1845 to 1850); High Green (1849). Bookbinder, Printer, Stationer, Bookseller, Publisher, Music seller, pharmacist, patent medicine seller. R 27/149; WP5/20; BBTI 23 July 2021.

Smart, Joseph - *see Chapter Two.*

Smith, W., 1838 16 Temple St. Bookbinder, Printer, Stationer. WP5/26; R 176; BBTI 23 July 2021.

St. Ledger, Barry, North St. Bookbinder. Cen 41/19.

Williams, George, 1849 to 1850. Bookbinder, Bookseller, Lithographer, Engraver/etcher, Stationer, Printer (copperplate, letterpress, lithographic). BBTI 6 June 2023.

Wilton/Wilson (?) J., 1815 Snow Hill. Bookbinder, Stationer. WP5/26; R 176; BBTI 23 July 2021.

Part 2 - Birmingham

Allday, Joseph, 1830 to 1861 38 Upper Temple St. (1832); Union St. (1837 to 1861) Publisher, Printer, Stationer, Bookbinder, ironmonger, Editor of 'Argus'. *Imprisoned for libel 1831; reformer.* WP7/1; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Al(l)dritt, William, 1811 to 1857; (1811? to 1863) Dean St. (1811); 16 Bromsgrove St. (1814 to 1817); Worcester St. (1818 on); 23-24 Union St. (1841 to 1849); 131 Bromsgrove St. (1843); 10 Great Colmore St. (1845 to 1847); 103 Suffolk St. (1847 to 1849) Bookbinder, Librarian/owner of circulating library, Bookseller, Stationer, Publisher. WP5/1; R 13/28; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Allen, Joseph, 1828 to 1850 6 Court, Moor St. (1832 and 1834); Bennett's Hill (1834-38); 89 Bartholomew St. (1834); 11 Cannon St. and 215 Deritend (1837 on). Printer (copperplate, letter), Publisher, Bookbinder, Engraver/etcher, Stationer, Bookseller, Paper merchant, Account-book manufacturer. WP6/1; WP7/1; R13/29; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Baldwin, Richard, 1691 to 1777 Bookseller, Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Batkin, William and Son, 1802 to 1820 19 Freeman St. (1810 to 1817) Copperplate Printer, Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023; WP5/2.

Beilby, Thomas 1812 to 1839 (left firm 30 June 1828); Knott, John Morgan and Beilby, James Henry, London and Birmingham Aris's Gazette Office, 95-99 High St. Printer (newspaper), Bookseller, Paper merchant, Papermaker, Bookbinder. WP6/4; R 13/36; BBTI 9 July 2021; see Uglow, J., 2007.

Belcher, James, (1770 to 1809); 1793 to 1809 51 Edgbaston St. (1775); 5 High St, Deritend (to 1792); Spiceal St., Bull Ring (1793 to 1800); Corn Market (1804) Printer, Bookseller, Stationer, Librarian/owner of circulating library, Bookbinder *Indicted for selling seditious materials – a Protestant Dissenter.* WP3/1; R 13/36; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Belcher, James, 1805 to 1849 Edgbaston St. (1805? to 1809?); Bull Ring (1805? to 1809?); 6 High St. (1806); 5 High St. (1808-49); 64 New St. Printer, Bookseller, Librarian/owner of circulating library, Bookbinder, Stationer. *Relation of above?* WP4/1; R 13/36; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Bishop, Thomas, 1799 to 1807 Fancy Warehouse opp. Bisset's Museum, New St.; (1800) Union St. (1802); Bull St., (1807) Bookseller, Stationer, Bookbinder. Bankrupt 1802. WP4/1; R 13/39; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Bloomer, Theophilus, (1796 to 1827); 1817 to 1827 38 Snow Hill (1817); 133 Digbeth (1817 to 1818); 53 Edgaston St. *Succeeded by Sarah Bloomer 1827.* Bookbinder, Stationer, Engraver/etcher, Printer (copperplate, newspaper), Bookseller (ballad). WP6/5; R 13/39; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Bolton, John, 1831 to 1855 85 to 88 Weaman St.; 72 to 73 Steelhouse Lane (1839 to 1843); 3 Brittle St.; Snow Hill (1845 to 1850); 50 Baggott St.; Beer house at 178 Tenant St. Bookbinder, Stationer, Bookseller, Engraver/etcher, Printer (copperplate, letter), Beer House Keeper WP7/6; R 13/40; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Bowen, Richard, 1834 to 1850 on; 42 to 45 Constitution Hill Bookbinder, Librarian/owner of circulating library, Stationer, Machine-ruler, Account-book manufacturer. WP7/6; R 13/41; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Brettell, John, 1807 to 1808 Mount St. Bookbinder. WP4/2; R 13/43; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Bridgwater, Benjamin, 1850? Suffolk St. (1850) Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Brierl(e)y, Joshua Leonard, 1825 to 1850 43 Colmore St. (1827 to 1828); 63 Holloway Head (1828 to 1829); Swan Inn (Hotel) Yard (1829); Worcester St. (1832); 5 Smallbrook St. (1834 to 1838); 40 George St. (1838); 1 to 2 New St. and 104 Dale End (1843 to 1850); Swan Yard, High St. (1846 to 1847); Court 93, High St. (1849). Bookbinder (vellum), Music seller, printers' supplier, Stationer, (manufacturing), Machine-ruler, Account-book manufacturer, Papermaker, Paper merchant, Bookseller, Printer (letter), hosier, Music (music-case maker). WP6/6; WP7/7; R 13/43; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Brooke, Samuel Jun., (d. 1806), 1795 to 1806 12 Bull Ring, Bookbinder, Stationer. H 93; WP2/2.

Bushell, Edward, 1845 to 1850 23 Unett St.; 2 Cannon St.; 2 Court, 23 Cannon St. (1845 to 1847); 23½ Cannon St. (1846 to 1849); 23 Unett St. (1850); *Private address: 23 Unnett St. (1849)*. Bookbinder, Stationer. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Bushell, William, 1849 93 Heneage St. (1850) 20 Thorp St. Bookseller, Stationer, Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Carvell (Carvill?), John, 1827 to 1830 24 Masshouse Lane (1827); 11 Freeman St. (1828 to 1829) Bookseller, Stationer, Bookbinder. WP6/8; R 13/50; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Chapman, Thomas, 1774 to 1818 (d. 1819) 16 Ann St. or Mount Pleasant (1776 to 1780); 76 Bull St. (1784 to 1800) Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer, Auctioneer, Printer (copperplate), Librarian/owner of circulating library*;* pattern-card maker, box-maker. *Relation of Thomas Chapman? (1811 to 1845).* WP4/2; WP5/4; R 13/51; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Chapman, Thomas, 1811 to 1845 Despatch Office, 75 High St. Printer (copperplate), Newspaper proprietor, Bookbinder *son of above?* BBTI 9 July 2021.

Chapman, William, 1802 to 1811. 105 Snow Hill (1802 to 1807); Copperplate/letterpress printer, Pattern Card Manufacturer Auctioneer, Bookbinder, Stationer. BBTI 6 June 2023; WP4/2.

Chinery, James, 1815 to 1824 Ann St. (1815 to 1824); 49 Queen St. (1822); 3 King St. (1820 to 1824). Bookbinder, Bookbinder's supplier, Engraver/etcher, Bookbinder's toolcutter/toolmaker, Typographer/Letter-cutter. WP6/8; R 13/51; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Clarke, William, 11 Park St (1821 to 1833); 11 Rea St. (1828 to 1829); 7 Court, Little Charles St. (1843) 206 Livery St. (1845 to 1846); 8 Woodcock St. (1846 to 1849); 80 Woodcock St. (1850) Bookbinder. WP6/8; R 13/51.

Coburn, Charles, 1838 9 Ann St. Bookbinder, Printer, Bookseller, Engraver/etcher, Account book manufacturer. BBTI 6 June 2023; WP7/10.

Cole, William, 1802 Birchole St. Bookbinder. WP4/3; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Coley, William, 1834 to 1835 61 Allison St. Bookbinder, bookseller. WP7/11; R 13/53; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Cooper, C. and Co, 1821 to 1829 107 to 108 Corporation St. Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023; R 13/54; WP6/9.

Cooper, John, 1821 to 1850 4 Court, 87 Bull St; (1821 to 1834); 4 Coachyard, Bull St. (1834) 15 Coach Yard, 21 Bull St. (1845). Bookbinder, Engraver/etcher, Printer, Stationer (manufacturing), Machine-ruler; *Partner S. T. Barr diss. 1842.* WP6/9; R 13/55; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Cooper, William, (d. 1847) 1820 to 1847 33 Union St. Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer, Printer, Newsagent, Librarian/owner of circulating library. WP6/9; R 13; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Cooper and Co. Ltd. 107 to 108 Corporation St. *Assoc. with above?* WP6/9; R 55.

Cornish, William, 1845 to 1863 37 New St. (1845 to 1849); 108 New St., opp. Cannon St. (1850) Bookseller, Printer, Bookbinder, Librarian/owner of circulating library. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Corns, Edward George, 1841 to 1850 268 Great Colmore Street Bookbinder, Stationer, Printer, Machine ruler, Bookseller. BBTI 9 July 2021.

Corns, George, 1841 to 1850 9 Ann St.; (1841 to 1843); 71½ High St. (1845 to 1850) Bookbinder, Printer, Stationer, Machine-ruler, Bookseller. R 55; *Assoc. with above?* BBTI 9 July 2021.

Corns and Rideout, 1845 4 Ludgate Hill Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Dark(e), William, 1807 to 1812 (bankrupt) Colmore St. Bookbinder, Stationer. WP4/3; WP5/5; R 13/59; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Dee, George H., 1827 to 1830 Broad St. Engraver/etcher, Printer (copperplate), Bookbinder. WP6/10; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Devonshire, Henry, 1830 to 1850 6 Prospect Row (1832 to 1838) Bookbinder, Engraver/etcher, Printer (copperplate), Bookseller (periodical), Newsgent. WP7/14; BBTI 6 June 2023.

Dewson, James, 1834 to 1835 (1834 to 1855) 22 Lower Temple St. (1834 to 1839); 107 New St. (1832 to 1855) Bookseller, Stationer, Printer, Bookbinder, Librarian/owner of circulating library. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Dewson, Thomas, 1810 to 1840 (1810 to 1834) 38 Bull St.; Navigation St. (1814 to 1815) *in partnership with Richard Peart 1810 to 1812;* 22 Lower Temple St. (1817 to 1829). Stationer (wholesale), Bookbinder, Printer, Paper merchant, Librarian/owner of circulating library, printer (copperplate), Machine-ruler, pattern-card maker. WP5/6; WP6/10; R 13/62; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Dewson and Son, 1832 to 1850 107 New St. Stationer (wholesale), Bookbinder, Paper merchant, Librarian/owner of circulating library, Printer (copperplate), Machine-ruler. WP7/14; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Drake, Elizabeth, 1845 to 1847 52 New St., Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer (law), Printer, Publisher, Insurance agent Phoenix Fire Office BBTI 9 July 2021. *Possibly related to James Drake.*

Drake, James, 1814 to 1847 Temple Row (1814); 123 New St.; 52 New St. (1839 to 1847) Bookseller (law), Printer (copperplate), Engraver/etcher (copperplate), Music seller, Bookbinder, print seller, Stationer (law) button pattern-card maker, Commissioner for special bail *Partner R. Wrighton 1814-17. Succeeded by J. P. Haswell (1842) see below.* WP6/11; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Dunn, Charles, 1807 to 1835 29-33 Digbeth; 15 Constitution Hill Bookbinder, Stationer, Bookseller, pattern-card maker. WP4/3; WP5/6; R 13/66; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Edwards, Edward Richard, 1835 to 1837 33½ New St. Bookbinder. WP7/15; R 13/68; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Edwards, Edward Robert, 1825 to 1850 14 King Edward's Place; 134 Islington Broad St. 33½ New St.; 61 Hill St. (1838 to 1841); 134 and/or 189 Broad St. (1830 to 1832; 1843 to 1849); listed as 189 Islington in 1846; printer (copperplate), Engraver/etcher, Stationer, Bookseller, Bookbinder. *Home: 5 Wheeley's Rd (1844).* WP7/15; R 13; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Edwards, William, and and Co. 1820 to 1837 19-21 Bull St. (1820 to 1824); 27 Newton St. (1828 to 1830); 27½ Bull St. (1834 to 1837). Bookbinder, Printer (copperplate), Engraver/etcher, Papermaker, Stationer. *As paper dealer at Newton St. Trading as William Edwards and Co. (1835 to 1837).* WP6/11; WP7/16; R13/68; BBTI 11 July 2021.

Evans, Hannah, 1841 to 1845 Hampstead Rd. Librarian/owner of circulating library, Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer; Textiles and clothing (haberdasher). BBTI 6 June 2023.

Evans, Thomas, 1838 to 1851 30 Colmore Row (1838) Bookseller, Printer (copperplate), Stationer, Librarian/owner of circulating library, Bookbinder, Engraver/etcher. BBTI 6 June 2023; WP7/16.

Faulkner, Julius, 1834 to 1843 Stafford St. (1834); 74 Dale End (1834 to 1843) Bookbinder, Stationer, Printer, Newsagent, Bookseller (periodical). WP7/17; BBTI 11 July 2021.

Fentham, Samuel, 1849? to 1850 Court 6, High St. *Home: Phillips Street, Aston Brook (1849)* Bookbinder, Stationer, Machine ruler. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Fisher and Son, 1845 9 Moat Row Bookbinder, Bookseller, Publisher, Stationer. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Fisher, Samuel, 1815 to 1839; Hurst St. (1815 to 1821); 56 Inge St. (1822 to 1828); 233 Cheapside (1828 to 1829); 59 Inge St. (1829 on); 26 Balsall St. (1834 to 1833); 26 Walsall St. (1827 and 1835). Bookbinder, bookseller. WP5/7; WP6/13; R 13/72; BBTI 11 July 2021.

Floyd, Thomas, 1822 to 1823 Court 1, Cherry St. Printer, Bookbinder, Engraver/etcher. WP6/13; BBTI 11 July 2021.

Footerape, John, 1850? 84½ Edmund St. Bookbinder, Engraver/etcher, printer (copperplate). BBTI 6 June 2023.

Forbes, William, 1849? to 1850 York Passage, High St. 169 Broad St. 22 High St. *Private address: 169 Broad Street, Islington*. Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Fraser, John, 1839 Stationer, Bookbinder, Machine ruler. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Fullarton and Co., 1841 to 1850 120 Snow Hill (1841); 56 Frederick St.; Newhall St. (1850); 79 Bath St. (1845 to 1850) Publisher, Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Fullwood, James, 1814 to 1839 1 Wharf St.; 67 Hill St. (1822); 124 Lionel St. (1822 to 1829); 29 Ann St. (with R. Watt and J. Fraser; diss. 1839). Engraver/etcher, Printer (copperplate), Bookbinder, Stationer, Machine-ruler. WP6/14; R 13/76; BBTI 11 July 2021. *See below.*

Fullwood, Watt R. and Fraser, J., 1832 to 1839 29 Ann St. Stationer, Bookbinder, Machine-ruler. *See Watt, Robert (Birmingham) Partnership diss. 1839.* WP7/19; R 13/77; BBTI 11 July 2021.

Gee, John, 1772 to 1775 99 Bull St. Bookbinder. WP1/9; BBTI 11 July 2021.

Giles, William, 1849 18 Grant St. Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Grafton, Charles, 1796 to 1838 and Reddell, Edward, 1796 to 1839 10 High St.; 53 New St. (1802 to 1815); Peck Lane (1815 to 1830); Aston Mills. Bookbinder, Printer, Bookseller. *Trading as Grafton and Reddell and Co.; Wilks, Grafton and Reddell; Mole and Barron; Baker and Briggs; Grafton and Co. with T. Martin granted patent for fine light black ink 24 October 1822.* WP3/5; R 13/80; BBTI 11 July 2021.

Guest, James, (1803 to 1881), 1830 to 1879 91 Steelhouse Lane; 93 Steelhouse Lane (1841); 51-52 Bull St. (1843 to 1850). Bookseller (periodical), Newsagent, Printer (stereotype, copperplate, letter), Publisher, Bookbinder, Stationer, Music seller, Engraver/etcher, music instrument seller; *originally a brassfounder.* WP7/21; R 13/82; BBTI 11 July 2021.

Hale, Nathaniel, 1845 17 High St. and Ravenhurst St. Camp Hill (1834 on) Bookseller, Bookbinder, Publisher, Stationer, Printer (copperplate), Engraver. BBTI 6 June 2023; WP7/21.

Hall, Benjamin, 1839 to 1879 71 High St.; 93 High St. (1841); 95 High St. (1841 to 1847); 71 High St. (1849 to 1850). *House: 24 Wellington Rd. (1849)* Stationer, Bookseller, Printer (letterpress), Bookbinder, Account book manufacturer, Paper maker and marbler, Paper merchant (wholesale), Publisher. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Hammond, Charles, (1799 to 1888) 1820 to 1847 Union St. (1820 to 1821); 4 Minories, Bull St. (1821 to 1847); Engraver/etcher, Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer, Printer (copperplate,lithographic), Paper merchant*; Trading as Hammond and Son (1845 to 1847); Home: Islington (1820 to 1829); 8 Cannon St. (1831 to 1837).* WP6/16; R 13/83; BBTI 11 July 2021.

Hanson, Sarah, 1834 to 1845 76 St Martin's St. (1834 to 1845). Print seller, Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer. WP7/22; BBTI 14 July 2021.

Harley, Ann, 1841 to 1850 Market Hall (1841 to 1845); Old Market Hall and 7 Union Passage (1849); *House: 74 Ashted Row (1849)*. Bookseller (antiquarian), Bookbinder, Stationer. *Possibly related to Robert Henry.* BBTI 6 June 2023.

Harley, Robert Henry, 1841 to 1849 6 Hen's Walk, Dale End (1834 to 1838); 3 Union Passage (1845 to 1847); 115 New St. and 3 Union Passage (1849). Bookseller, Stationer, Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023; WP7/22.

Harlow, Isaac and Co., 1824 to 1850 King St. (1824); 186 Livery St. (1827 to 1847); 187 Livery St. (1846 to 1850); *House: 75 Hockley Street (1849).* Engraver/etcher, Bookbinder's supplier, toolcutter/toolmaker, Bookbinder, Engraver/etcher (copperplate), Typographer/Letter-cutter. WP6/16; R 13/84; BBTI 11 July 2021.

Harris, William, 1819 to 1864 179 High St.; 179 or 197 High St., Deritend (1828 to 1829) Bookbinder, Printer (ballad), Newsagent, Bookseller, Bookseller (periodical) pattern-card maker *Previously in partnership with Whitehouse, John, diss. 24 December 1819.* WP6/17; R 13/84; BBTI 11 July 2021.

Haswell, John Partis, 1842 to 1854 52 New St. Printer, Engraver/etcher (copperplate), Music seller, Bookbinder, Stationer (law), Bookseller (law), Repository for the British and Foreign Bible Society. *Successor to James Drake.* BBTI 9 July 2021.

Hawke (?), 1838? Gazette Office, 95 High St. Bookbinder, Bookseller, Engraver/etcher, Printer, Stationer, Account book manufacturer. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Haywood, William, 1832 3c Colmore St. Bookbinder. WP7/24; BBTI 11 July 2021.

Hill, Charlotte, 1835 to 1850 3 Lower Priory Librarian/owner of circulating library, Bookseller, Bookbinder, Stationer. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Hodgetts, Alfred, 1849 to 1850 22 Cannon St (1849-50). Printer (copperplate, lithographic), Paper merchant, Stationer, Engraver/etcher, Account-book manufacturer. BBTI 11 July 2021.

Hodgetts, William, (1791 to 1874), 1817-74 3 Edgbaston St. (1817 to 1821); 16 Spiceal St. (1822 to 1843); 22 Cannon St. (1840 to 1874) Printer (newspaper), Bookseller, Stationer, Bookbinder, Publisher, *Birmingham Journal* (Saturday); *Birmingham Advertiser* (Thursday). Engraver/etcher. *Possibly related to Alfred Hodgetts.* WP7/25; BBTI 11 July 2021.

Hodgkins, Joseph, 1834 to 1839 Aston Rd. Bookbinder, Stationer. WP7/25; R 13/90; BBTI 11 July 2021.

Hudson, Benjamin, (1797 to 1875], 1810 to 1875 18 Bull St. (1821 to 1875) Bookseller, Printer (newspaper), Stationer, Music seller, Bookbinder, Publisher *Midland Chronicle and Beacon*, Paper merchant, Account-book manufacturer. *Apprenticed to Nathaniel Merridew, Coventry (1810); trading as Hudson and Son (1851).* WP7/26; R 13/94; BBTI 11 July 2021.

Hunt, Benjamin snr., (1775 to 1838), 20 Navigation St. (1807 to 1814); Bartholomew St.; 86 High St. (1815 to 1817); 75 High St. (1820 to 1835). Bookbinder, Stationer, Bookseller, Printer, Paper merchant, Pattern card maker. WP4/5; WP5/11; WP7/27; R 13/94/95; BBTI 11 July 2021.

Hunt, Benjamin jnr., 1835 to 1860 Court 75, High St.; 75½ High St.; *House: 138 Bath Row (1847).* Stationer, Bookbinder, Printer, Paper merchant. *Partner of father Ben. snr. and bro. William Edwin trading as Benjamin Hunt and Sons.* BBTI 11 July 2021; WP7/27; R 13.

Hunt, Henry, 1845 to 1847 8 Suffolk St. Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Hunt, William Edwin, *see above.* 1835 to 1860 Court 75, High St.; Stationer, Bookbinder, Printer, Paper merchant, pattern card maker *House: Eastwood Cottage, Bristol Rd. (1849).* BBTI 11 July 2021; WP7/27; R 13.

Hunt, William, 1815 to 1830 45 to 46 Paradise St. Paper merchant, Papermaker, Bookbinder, Stationer, button-card maker, pattern-card maker, corn dealer, hay dealer. WP6/20; R 13; BBTI 11 July 2021.

Hutton, William, (30 September 1723 to 20 September 1815) 1749 to 1796 6 Bull St (1750 to 1751); 90 High St. (1766 to 1769); Paper Warehouse, 25 High St. (1776 to 1769) Bookseller, Stationer, Papermaker, Paper merchant, Librarian/owner of circulating library. *First set up in business at Southwell in Nottinghamshire 1749 as bookbinder and seller. Moved to Birmingham 1750. Opened first circulating library in Birmingham 1751 and first paper warehouse in 1756. Succeeded by Thomas Hutton (1796); retired to Bennets Hill, Washwood Heath. Trading as Hutton and Son(s) (1782). Possibly the same as or related to William Hutton who attempted to establish Handsworth Mill c. 1759 to 1761.* H 53-56; BBTI 14 July 2021; WP1/10.

Jago, John D., 1850? 12 Ann St. Bookbinder, Stationer, Machine-ruler. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Jenkins, William or M., 1807 to 1837 22 Phillip St. (1807 to 1837?); Bunney's Court, High St. (1817); 3 Court, High St. (1817 to 1834). Bookbinder, Stationer. WP4/6; WP5/12; WP7/28; R 13/97; BBTI 14 July 2021.

Jennings, Joseph, 1845? to 1850 75 Coleshill St. (1845 to 1850) Librarian/owner of circulating library, Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Joesbury, William, 1838 to 1919 6 Aston St. (1839) 4 Aston St. (1843 to 1847); 3 Aston St. (1846 to 1847); Eagle Press, 1 Aston St. (1849). 1 Aston St. (1850) Printer (copperplate, letterpress), Stationer, Bookbinder, Engraver/etcher, Librarian/owner of circulating library. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Jones, Daniel, 1828 to 1841 10 Caroline St. (1828 to 1839); 53 Edgbaston St. (1828 to 1841]. Printer (copperplate), Stereotyper/stereotype founder, Engraver/etcher, Stationer, Paper merchant, Bookbinder, Librarian/owner of circulating library, Bookseller. *Trading as Jones and Co. Succeeded by Charles Lebas.* WP7/29; R 13/99; BBTI 14 July 2021.

Jones, Edward, 1781 to 1831 (1751 to 1831) 23 Bull St. Printer, Bookseller, Bookbinder, Stationer, Pharmacist/druggist, Patent Medicine Seller, Stamp agent. *Part. Myles Swinney. Part. E. Piercy (see below) 1781 to 1786; part business insured for £1300 with Sun.* WP3/8; R 13/99; BBTI 14 July 2021.

Joseph, William, 1820 to 1822 Edgbaston St. Bookbinder, Stationer, Ink maker, Bookseller (antiquarian), Toyman. WP6/22; R 13/100; BBTI 14 July 2021.

Kelsall, George, 1845 32 Canal St. (1845) Bookbinder, Bookseller, Librarian/owner of circulating library. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Langbridge, Henry Charles, 1825? to 1849 11 Bull St. (1828 to 1829) Bookseller, Stationer, printer, Publisher, owner of circulating library. WP6/22; BBTI 6 June 2023.

Larkin, John, 1834 to 1839 Holt St. Bookbinder, Bookseller. WP7/31; R 13/103; BBTI 14 July 2021.

Lomax, Rothwell, 1786 to 1788 62 Bull St. Bookbinder. WP2/6; BBTI 14 July 2021. *Related to Lomax family of Lichfield?*

Luckman, Thomas, (1744 to 1784), 1769 to 1771 8 New St. (1768 to 1770) Printer (newspaper), Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer, Newspaper proprietor, Auctioneer. *Bankrupt 1771: Hill (1907) mentions binding equipment in auction. Probably Luckman and Lesson; traded mainly in Coventry.* H 84/85; WP1/11; WP2/6; BBTI 14 July 2021.

Lyon, Joseph, 1843 to 1845 20 Bennett's Hill (1843 to 1845) Bookseller, Printer, Stationer, paper merchant, Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Maguire, G. W., 1838 to 1839 29 Cannon St. Bookbinder, Stationer. WP7/32; BBTI 14 July 2021.

Male, Thomas, 1834 to 1835 Duke St. Bookbinder. WP7/33; R 13/113; BBTI 15 July 2021.

Male, William Thomas, 1845 to 1850 132 to 133 Great Charles St. (1845 to 1847); Tay's Yard, 20 Great Charles St. (1849 to 1850) Bookbinder, Machine-ruler. *Home: Sherborne St. (1849). Possibly same as or related to above?* BBTI 15 July 2021.

Martin, Robert, 1757 to 1796 10 Ann St., Mount Pleasant. Printer, Stationer, Auctioneer, Bookbinder, Typefounder, print seller, Bookseller *Apprentice, journeyman and foreman of John Baskerville. Successor to Sarah Baskerville. Succeeded by widow Susannah Martin.* WP7/33; BBTI 15 July 2021; H 62/83.

Martin, Susannah, 1734 to 1810 (1734 to 1810), 10 Ann St. (1800 to 1807); Mount Pleasant; 10 Hay Market (1808, with Thomas Martin) Printer, Stationer, Bookbinder, Bookseller, Ink maker. *Wife of Robert Martin.* BBTI 15 July 2021; H 83/84; WP4/7; R 114.

Martin, Thomas, 1814 to 1840 (1781 to 1840), Bartholomew Row (1814); Alliston St. (1817) Duke St., (1828 to 1829); 39 Oxford St. (1832); 57 to 58 Oxford St. (1834 to 1838). Ink maker, Bookbinder, lamp-black maker. *Nephew of Robert Martin. Succeeded by Sarah Martin. Trading as Martin and Co. Home: Bradford St.* WP6/24; WP7/33; R 13/115; BBTI 15 July 2021.

Martin, Thomas, (b. 25 July 1775), 1797 to 1807 10 Ann St., Mount Pleasant. Printer, Stationer, Bookbinder, Typefounder. *Son of Robert and Susannah Martin.* BBTI 15 July 2021; H 83.

Mattinson/Matthison?, Richard 1838 to 1850 Bookbinder. 70 to 71 Edgbaston St. (1838 to 1850); 41 Edgbaston St. (1846 to 1847) Bookseller, Bookbinder, Printer (copperplate), Stationer, Engraver/etcher (copperplate). *Trading as Matthison and Co (1838).* R 13; WP7/33; BBTI 15 July 2021.

Maurice, Isaac Wilks, 1826 to 1830 57 Snow Hill; 57 Constitution Hill Printer, Bookbinder, Stationer. *Possibly same as or related to below; Part. Joseph Harper (diss. 1826).* BBTI 15 July 2021.

Maurice, J. W., 1828 to 1829 57 Snow Hill. Printer, Bookbinder, Stationer. WP6/24; R 13/115; BBTI 15 July 2021.

Mawby, Robert, 1849 81 Grosvenor St. West. Bookbinder, Paper hanger. BBTI 6 June 2023.

McLeod, James, 1766 Bull St. Bookseller, Stationer, Bookbinder. WP1/12; BBTI 15 July 2021.

Meek, James, 1831? to 1832 39 Snow Hill (1831 to 1832); 41 Horsefair (1832) Bookbinder, Bookseller, Printer, Stationer, Paper merchant. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Mills, Benjamin, 1807 to 1837 Bartholomew Row (1807 to 1811 and 1822 to 1830); Bartholomew Sq., (1815 to 1821). Bookbinder, Stationer. WP4/7; WP5/15; R 13/117; BBTI 15 July 2021.

Mole, William F., 1846 to 1847 132 Gt. Charles St. (1846 1o 1847) Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Murgatroyd, Joseph, 1807 to 1810 Bradford St. (1807 to 1810). Bookbinder. WP4/7; WP5/16; R 13/121; BBTI 15 July 2021.

Neal, Mary, 1845 47 Gt. Hampton St. (1845) Bookseller, Bookbinder, Librarian/owner of circulating library, Stationer. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Nevill, John Palmer, 1828 to 1834 Lombard St.; (1828 to 1832); Darwin St. (1834); Lombard St. (1834). Bookbinder, Engraver/etcher, Printer. WP6/26; BBTI 15 July 2021.

Newman, Henry, 1843 to 1847 25 Bull St. (1843); 14 Bull St. (1845 to 1847); *House: 3 Crescent*. Bookseller, Stationer, Paper merchant, Bookbinder, Printer (copperplate). BBTI 6 June 2023.

Nichols, Richard, 1845 to 1847 1 New St. (1845 to 1847) Bookbinder, Bookseller, Engraver/etcher, Printer, Stationer. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Nicholls, Edward, 1845? to 1850 60 Broad St. (1845 to 1850) Bookseller (periodical), Stationer, Newsagent, Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Norton, James Lansdowne, 1838 to 1847 52 High St., Deritend (1838) print seller, Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer. BBTI 6 June 2023; WP7/36.

Osborne, Edward Corn (1811 to 1882), 1834 to 1882 14 Temple Row (1834 to 1837); 29-30 Bennett's Hill (1837 to 1850); *House: Vicarage Rd. (1847 to 1849).* Bookseller, Stationer, Publisher, Bookbinder, Paper merchant, Engraver/etcher, Printer (copperplate) *Part. Marmaduke William Osborne (1837 to 1840); W. Osborne (1837). Firm still in existence in 1970.* WP7/37; R 13/125; BBTI 15 July 2021.

Osborne, George, 1845 79 Hospital St. (1845) Bookseller, Bookbinder, Stationer. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Parkes, Pryne, 1754 to 1784 88 High St. Bookseller, Bookbinder, Stationer. *Succeeded Francis Wollerton/Wollaston? Probably moved to Llangollen by 1780.* WP1/13; BBTI 15 July 2021; H 27/47/48.

Pearcy and Wood, 1850? 23 Holloway Head (1850) Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Pearson, Thomas Aris 1783 to 1801; (1762 to 1801), 99 High St. Printer (newspaper), Stationer, Bookseller, print seller, Bookbinder, pharmacist/druggist, patent medicine seller, Stamp agent *Nephew and successor to Samuel Aris. Part.? Richard Pearson. Succeeded by Knott and Lloyd.* WP3/11; BBTI 15 July 2021; H 96/107.

Peart, Richard, 1793 to 1812 (d. 1812). Temple St. (1799 to 1807); Top of Spiceal St. (1801 to 1808); 38 Bull St. (1810 to 1811). Printer, Bookseller, Librarian/owner of circulating library, Bookbinder, Machine-ruler. *Part. Thomas Dewson (1810). Trading as Peart and Co; succeeded by Peart and Son.* WP4/8; WP5/16; R 13/129; BBTI 15 July 2021; H 103.

Peart, Richard 1814? to 1845? (1794? to 1845), Temple St. (1799 to 1807); Top of Spiceal St. (1801 to 1808); 38 Bull St.; 28 Graham St. Printer, Bookseller, Stationer, Bookbinder, Papermaker, Paper merchant, Librarian/owner of circulating library; machine ruler. *Successors to Peart and Co. Trading as R. Peart and Son (1841 to 1842).* BBTI 15 July 2021; R 13/129.

Pickard, Thomas Morris, 1824 to 1850 92 Lichfield St. (1824 to 1830); 75 Bull St. (1835) Engraver/etcher, Printer (copperplate), Bookbinder's supplier, Bookbinder's toolcutter/toolmaker; die-sinker; ironmonger, hardwareman (1842). R 13/131; BBTI 15 July 2021.

Piercy, Edward, 1781 to 1815 Dale End (1782); 96 Bull St. (1784 to 1787?); near the Welsh Cross (1800 to 1809?); Calthorpe St. (1810 to 1814). Printer, Bookseller, Bookbinder, Stationer, pharmacist/patent medicine seller; *Part. Edward Jones (1781 to 1786) trading as Piercy and Jones. Possibly part. Christopher Wright (1807).* WP4/8; WP5/17; R 13/131; BBTI 15 July 2021; H 99/107.

Phillips, John 1799 to c. 1835, Bull St. (1799); Square (1811); Lichfield St. Sq., Bull St., Lichfield St. and the Sq. Aston Brook Mill. Press maker, Bookbinder's supplier; manufacturing: (turner and saddler), timber merchant; Bookbinder and copperplate printing press maker. WP4/8; R 13/130; BBTI 15 July 2021.

Phillips, Thomas, 1846 to 1847 Cannon St. (1846-47) Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Picken, Thomas, 1845? to 1850 98 Digbeth St. and 221 Bristol St. Stationer (wholesale), Paper merchant (wholesale), Bookbinder, Stationer, Machine ruler. BBTI 6 June 2023

Plampin, Major, 1841 to 1849 72 Newhall St. (1841 to 1847); 61½ Newhall St. (1845 to 1849)*; House: Tenby St. (1849).* Bookbinder, Machine-ruler, Stationer. R 13/131; BBTI 15 July 2021.

Plastans, Joseph, 1828 to 1850 132 Digbeth. Stationer, Bookseller, Account book manufacturer. BBTI 15 July 2021.

Plastans, William, 1828 to 1850 55 Dale End. Bookbinder, Bookseller, Stationer, Newsagent, Publisher, Bookseller (periodical), Printer (letterpress). *Possibly related to above.* WP6/29; WP7/39; BBTI 15 July 2021.

Pomeroy, Thomas, 1800 to 1821 7 Lower Temple St. (1800 to 1814); Little Colmore St. (1815 to 1821). Bookbinder. WP4/9; WP5/17; WP6/29; R 13/132; BBTI 15 July 2021.

Pratt, William, 1840? to 1860 82 Digbeth printer (ballads), Stationer, Bookseller (peridical), Bookbinder, Newsagent. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Price, Joseph? and Watson, 1837 to 1849 4 Peck Lane (1837); 38 Cherry St. (1841 to 1843 or 1845?). Engraver/etcher, Printer (copperplate), Stationer (wholesale), Paper merchant (wholesale), Engraver/etcher (wood), Account-book manufacturer. *House: Fairford Place, Bristol Road (1849). Late Price and Watson (1845). Manufacturer of ledger and day books (1849).* WP7/40; R 13/135; BBTI 15 July 2021.

Radclyffe, William 1814 to 1850 (1796 to 1855) and Thomas, (1814 to 1860) George St., Edgbaston (William) (1828 to 1829); 18 Edmund St. and 34 New St. (1820 to 1829) Engravers, copperplate printers, bookbinders, print sellers, fancy stationers. *Trading as W and T Radcliffe (1817 to 1829); Radcliffe and Co (1832 to 1834). Possibly the same as William Ratcliffe. Partner of Thomas Radcliffe 1814 and William Hakes Smith 1832.* WP6/30; R 13; BBTI 15 July 2021.

Ragg, Thomas, 1841 to 1859 90 High St (1843 to 1859); 16 Spiceal St. (1841 to 1847). *House: Terrace Cottage, Spring St., Edgbaston (1847 to 1849)* Printer, Bookseller, Newspaper publisher, Stationer, Bookbinder, Paper merchant. *Published Birmingham Advertiser 1845. Publisher of the Birmingham Advertiser and Midland Guardian.* BBTI 6 June 2023.

Ralph, Barnaby, 1766 to 1784 Coach and Horses, 10 Bell St. Bookbinder, Publican. *Succeeded by Elizabeth Ralph from 1784.* WP1/14; R 13/137; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Ralph, Elizabeth, 1784 to 1786 10 Bell St.; New Meeting St. (1791) Printer (copperplate), Bookbinder, Food and drink (victualler). *Successor of Barnaby Ralph. A victualler only by 1790. Succeeded by William Ralph (1786).* BBTI 15 July 2021; WP2/8.

Reynolds, William Heywood, 1846 to 1850 Swann Yard, High St. (1846 to 1847); 19 Dale End (1849 to1850) Stationer, Bookbinder, Machine ruler. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Russell, Joseph, 1811 to 1840 Philip St. (1811); 21/22 Moor St. (1814); 24 Moor St. (1814 to 1817); 6 Court, Moor St. Bookbinder, Printer (ballad; chapbook), Stationer, Bookseller. *Imprisoned (1819 to 1820). Succeeded by Samuel Russell, nephew. Trading as Russell and Whiting (1832).* WP5/19; R 13/144; BBTI 15 July 2021.

Scott, George, 1828 to 1832 39 Snow Hill. printer, Bookseller, Stationer, Bookbinder, Paper merchant. *Part. James Melk (1831 to 1832); possibly in Burton-upon-Trent, (1817 to 1821).* WP6/32; BBTI 15 July 2021.

Selkirk, R., 1814 Dale End. Bookbinder, Stationer, Pocket-book maker *Possibly the same as R. Selkirk at Leopard Tavern, 87 Weaman St. (1828) Three other Selkirks listed on BBTI in Birmingham, as bookbinders' suppliers among other trades.* WP5/20; R 13/146; BBTI 15 July 2021.

Sheldon, John, 1839 15 Moor St.; 138 Digbeth (1838). Stationer, Bookbinder. WP7/44; R 13/148; BBTI 15 July 2021.

Sheldon, John, 1841 to 1847 Moor St. (1841); 145 Moor St. (1843 to 1847); 154 Moor St. (1846) Stationer, Bookbinder, Account-book manufacturer. *Possibly same as above.* BBTI 15 July 2021.

Sheldon, John, jnr., 1828 to 1850 28 Moor St. (1828); 15 Moor St. (1832 to 1839); 138 Digbeth (1838); 131 Snow Hill (1850); 150 Moor St. (1849 to 1850). Bookbinder, Stationer, Newsagent, Account-book manufacturer, Stationer (retail, wholesale), Bookseller (periodical). BBTI 15 July 2021; WP6/33.

Showell, John Whitehouse, 1828? to 1856 4 New St.; 46 to 48 New St. (1829 to 1850); 8 Cannon St. (1831); 26 Temple St.; 26 Upper Temple St. (1843 to 1856); *House: 4 Goldsmith's Buildings (1849).* Stationer, Printer (copperplate, letter), Bookseller, Bookbinder, print seller, Engraver/etcher, religious tract depot. WP7/45; BBTI 17 July 2021.

Simpson, Isaac, 1770 Apprentice Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Smith, George Milward, 1837 19 Ann St. Bookbinder. WP7/46; R 13/151; BBTI 17 July 2021.

Smith, Michael, 1835 to 1839 2 St. Peter's Place; Broad St. Printer, bookbinder. WP7/46; R 13/151; BBTI 17 July 2021.

Solomon, George, 1841 to 1850 68 Constitution Hill (1841); 61 Constitution Hill (1845 to 1849); 61 Court, Constitution Hill (1850) Stationer (wholesale), Bookbinder, Copperplate maker, Printer (copperplate, letterpress), Engraver/etcher, Account book manufacturer, Paper merchant. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Stephenson, Frederick, 1846 to 1847 37 High St. (1846 to 1847) Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Stone, Edward James, 1849 9 Cottage Row (1849) Bookbinder, Engraver/etcher, Printer. BBI 6 June 2023.

Stone, Richard Peach, 1827 to 1839 17 Moat Lane, Smithfield (1827); 5 Cherry St. (1827 to 1829); 36 Bull St. (1834 to 1838). Printer, (copperplate), Lithographer, Bookbinder, Stationer, Bookseller; Registered two presses 24 April 1827. WP6/36; R 13/156; BBTI 17 July 2021.

Stone, William, 1839 to 1850 36 Bull St. (1839 to 1845); 73 Bath St. (1845 to 1847); 10 Little Cannon St. (1849 to 1850) printer, Bookseller, Bookbinder, Stationer, Printer (copperplate, letterpress) Engraver/etcher. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Suffield, William 1811 to 1847 (1776 to 1847), 98 Bull St.; (1820 to 1821); 107 Bull St. (1822 to 1827); 42 Ann St. (1828 to 1829); Temple Row W. (1834); 14 Parade (1834); 107 Park St. (1825). Librarian of Birmingham New Subscription Library (circulating library); Bookseller, Stationer, Paper merchant, Printer, Bookbinder, Paper-hanger. WP6/36; R 13/158; BBTI 17 July 2021.

Summers, Ann, 1784 to 1785 6 Worcester St. Bookbinder. WP2/9; R 13/158; BBTI 17 July 2021.

Swinney, Myles, 1738 to 1812 (1770 to 1812) 75/76 High St.; 21 New St. Printer (copperplate), Publisher (newspaper), Bookseller, Bookbinder, Stationer, Typefounder (possibly with John Baskerville), pharmacist, patent medicine seller, Stamp agent. *Publisher of Birmingham Chronicle and Warwickshire Journal with Samuel Aris, Thomas Appleby, James Sketchley. Partnership diss. 9 August 1773; Stafford Chronicle; Swinney's Directory; Universal Register; bankrupt June 1779. From 1779 Swinney and Evetts.* H 63-107; BBTI 17 July 2021; WP1/15.

Taylor, Edward, 1815 to 1875 112 Moor St., 16 Bell St., 3 Monmouth St. Court 3, Exeter Row; 79 Lichfield St.; 10 Upper Priory (1832 to 1838). Bookbinder, Printer (lithographic), Engraver/etcher, Newsagent. *Succeeded by Ford, T. at Bell St.* WP7/48; R 13/160; BBTI 17 July 2021.

Taylor, Glover and Co., 1849 to 1850 31 Union Street (1849). 31 Union Street and 75 and 76 Worcester St (1850) Newsagent, Stationer, Bookseller (periodical), Librarian/owner of circulating library, Printer (letterpress), Bookbinder, Newsroom/reading room. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Thom(p)son, Lewis, 1807 to 1824 73 New St.; (1807 to 1812); 37 Temple Row (1815 to 1824). Printer, Bookseller, Bookbinder (law), Stationer (law), Paper merchant (wholesale), Newsagent. *Part. Wrightson, Robert, (1807 to 1812 – see below).* WP4/11; R 13/163; BBTI 17 July 2021; H 104/5.

Tilsley, James, 1807 to 1811 1 Loveday St. (1810); Digbeth (1811) Newsagent, Bookbinder, Bookseller (periodical). WP5/23; BBTI 17 July 2021.

Todd, Edward, 1779 to 1818 19 Stafford St. (1779); Edgbaston St. (1788); 15 New Meeting St. (1810 to 1817). Bookbinder. *Succeeded by Thomas Todd.* WP1/15; WP5/23; R 13/163/164; BBTI 17 July 2021.

Todd, Thomas, 1817 to 1821 19 Stafford St.; 15 New Meeting St. Bookbinder. WP6/37; BBTI 17 July 2021; R 13/164.

Tomkinson, Joseph, 1833 to 1881 39 Snow Hill (1833 to 1838) Stationer (wholesale), Printer, Bookbinder, Engraver, Paper merchant, Papermaker, Rag merchant, BBTI 6 June 2023; WP7/49.

Tonks, John, 1843 to 1868 60-61 Hill St. (1845 to 1849); 61 Hill St. and 65 Constitution Hill (1846 to 1847); *House: 83 Parade (1849);* 85 New St. 22 Congreve St. 61 Hill St and 83 Parade (1850). Printer (lithographic, copperplate, letterpress), Engraver/etcher, Stationer, Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Turner, Frederick, 1832? to 1850 3 Snow Hill (1832 to 1838) Printer, Bookseller, Music seller, Bookbinder, Stationer. *Part. Julius Turner. Possibly son of Thomas Turner. Possibly related to Sarah Turner.* WP7/50; BBTI 6 June 2023.

Wadsworth, Joseph, 1849? to 1850 25 Coleshill St (1849-50) Bookseller, Stationer, Engraver/etcher, Printer (copperplate), Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Walker, Elizabeth, 1832 to 1845 27 or 28 Bull St. Stationer (fancy), Librarian/owner of circulating library, Bookbinder, print seller, Bookseller. WP7/51; BBTI 9 July 2021; H 99.

Wall, Robert, 1845 34 Parade, Summer Row (1845) Bookbinder, Stationer. BBT 6 June 2023.

Walton, John, 1838 to 1843 42 Upper Gough St. Bookbinder. WP7/52; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Want, Edward, 1822 to 1850 15 Court, High St; (1822 to 1830); 74 High St. (1830 to 1841); 15 Court, High St. (1843); 6 Court, Moor St. (1845 to 1850) Bookbinder, Stationer, Account-book manufacturer, machine ruler by 1829. WP6/39; R 13/168; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Ward, Horatio Frederick, 1828? to 1833 27 Cannon St. Bookbinder. WP6/39; R 13/168; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Warren, Thomas I., 1727 to 1767 (d. 27 September 1767) Mercer's or Spiceall St. (1727); against Swan Tavern (1731); Swan Passage (1732); 1 Corn Cheaping (1742); Chapel Yard (1766); 66 Dale End Bookseller, Bookbinder, Printer (*The Birmingham Journal from 1732*), Auctioneer. *Bankrupt 1742.* H 39-41; BBTI 5.4.22; WP1/16.

Watt, Robert, 1839 to 1850 25½ Ann St. (1841 to 1850) *Home?: 34 Parade, Summer Row (1845 to 1849).* Stationer, Bookbinder, Printer (copperplate, lithographic), Machine-ruler, Pocket-book maker, Account-book manufacturer, cabinet maker, leather-case maker. *With J. Fullwood and J. Fraser as J. Fullwood and Co. (diss. 1839) see above.* R 170; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Watton, William, (1832 to 1880) 87 New St. 27 Temple Row; 87 New St. (1832 to 1834); 25 Church St. (1834 to 1837); Easy Row (1843); 90 Hill St. (1845 to 1849). Bookbinder, Printer. *Part. Aston, Sampson (1832 to 1835); Hodgetts, William (1835 to 1837); Price, F. (1838).* WP7/53; R 170; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Watts, James, 1846 to 1847 179 Livery St. (1834) Bookbinder, Stationer, Publisher. BBTI 6 June 2023; WP7/53.

Watts, Thomas, 1834 to 1850 179 Livery St. (1834); 14 Snow Hill (1838 to 1849); 20 High St. (1840 to 1850); 111 New St. (1850); 14 Snow Hill and 111 New St. (1850). Printer (copperplate, letterpress), Bookbinder, Bookseller (periodical), Newsagent, Stationer (wholesale). WP7/53; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Webster, John, Jnr. 1817 to 1832 Cannon St. (1817 to 1831); 18 King Edward Pl. (1831); Court 1, Jamaica Row (1831); 2 Worcester St. (1828 to 1831); Bookseller, Newsagent, Stationer, Papermaker, Printer (copperplate), Newsroom/reading room, button card maker. R 171; WP5/25; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Webster, John, 1841 to 1843 104 Bromsgrove St. Bookbinder. BBTI 9 July 2021.

Webster, John, 1845 3 Lower Hurst St. (1845). Bookbinder, Bookseller (periodical), Stationer. *These Websters could be the same person.* BBTI 9 July 2021.

White and Pike, 1849 to 1850 14 Bull St (1849 to 1850) Bookseller, Stationer, Printer, Bookbinder, Machine-ruler. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Whitehead, Charles, 1845 to 1847 82 Gt. Charles St. (1845 to 1847) Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Whitehouse, John, 1819 to 1864 58 Little Charles St. (1839); 18 Fleet St. (1841 to 1845). Printer (copperplate, letter), Bookbinder, Stationer, Engraver/etcher, pattern-card maker. *Partner Harris, William: diss. 24 December 1819.* R 172; BBTI 9 July 2021; WP7/54.

Wilkes, Joseph, 1845 Bull St. (1830) Bookseller, Stationer, Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023; WP7/55.

Williams, Mary, 1815 to 1817 Fleet St. Bookbinder. WP5/26; R 175; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Winnall, Henry, 1846 to 1850 78 High St. (1846 to 1850) Bookseller, Stationer, Printer, Bookbinder. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Wood, Benjamin, 1811 to 1832 46 to 47 Bull St. Stationer, Bookseller, Bookbinder. WP5/26; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Wood, George, 1822 to 1830 103 Great Hampton St., (1822 to 1823); 32 Dale End (1827 to 1829). Bookbinder, Stationer, Paper merchant (wholesale, retail). *Part. Wade, John diss. 10 December 1825: notice 'London Gazette' 21 March 1826.* WP6/42; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Wood, John, 1821 to 1849 14 Great Charles St. (1821); 132 Great Charles St. (1822 to 1824); 22 Holloway Head (1828 to 1829) also 2 Court, Bull St.; 6 Court, Moor St.; Back of 69 Bull St.; 27 Whittall St. (1830 to 1838) Bookbinder, Stationer, Engraver/etcher, Typographer/Letter-cutter; Bookbinder, Bookseller, Publisher, Machine-ruler. *Possibly related to Wood, Benjamin (1811 to 1832).* WP6/42; WP7/55; R 177; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Wood, Joseph, 1841 to 1850 17 New Meeting St. (1841 to 1850); House: 116 Bloomsbury Place (1849). Bookbinder, Printer (letter, copperplate), Stationer, Engraver/etcher. *Possibly related to Thomas and William Wood.* BBTI 9 July 2021.

Wood, Thomas, jnr? 1820 to 1850 78 High St. (1824 to 1827); Bull St. (1830); 19 New Meeting St. (1830 to 1838); Steelhouse Lane. Bookseller, Stationer, Printer (copperplate), Bookbinder*;* pharmacist, patent medicine seller, Financial services (broker). *Successor to Thomas Wood snr. Part. William Wood (1824 to 1827); possibly related to Joseph Wood.* WP6/42; R178; BBTI 9 July 2021; H 77/100-107.

Wood, Thomas snr., 1790 to 1824 33 to 78 High St.; 9 New Meeting St. Printer (copperplate), Bookseller, Bookbinder, Engraver/etcher, Stationer, Pharmacy, patent medicine seller, Stamp agent. *Succeeded by Thomas Wood jnr. and William Wood (1824).* BBTI 9 July 2021; WP6/42; H 77/100-107.

Wood, William, 1824 to 1847 9 New Meeting St.; 78 High St. (1828 to 1847) Bookseller, Printer, Stationer, Bookbinder, Pharmacy, patent medicine seller, wholesale agent. BBTI 9 July 2021; WP6/42.

Wood, William Henry, 1845 32 Marshall St. Stationer, Bookbinder, Bookseller. BBTI 9 July 2021.

Woodhall, George, 1828 to 1829 28 Bradford St. Bookbinder. WP6/42; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Wright, R. and W., 1846 Bookbinder, Bookseller, Printer, print seller, Stationer. BBTI 6 June 2023.

Wright, Thomas Barber, 1834 to 1878 (1809 to 1878) Union Passage New St., (1834 to 1839); New St. (1839 to 1872); 11 Union St. (1839 to 1872). Newspaper proprietor, Publisher, Bookbinder, Printer (copperplate). *Edited and partly owned Midland Counties Herald with Joseph Dain. Master J. T. Bunse (1842 to 1849).* WP7/56; R 179; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Wrightson, Robert, 1807 to 1850 The Athenaeum, 8 New St. (1830); 73 New St.; 7 to 8 New St. Bookseller, Bookbinder, Account book manufacturers, Stationer, Paper merchant (wholesale), Newsagent, Printer (copperplate), Music seller, Lithographer, Publisher. *Home address: 2 Crescent and at Highgate. Part. Lewis Thompson (1807 to 1812) – see above; J. Drake (1814 to 1820); Joseph or I. Webb (1820 to 1847).* WP7/57; R 13/180; BBTI 17 February 2021; H 104/5.

Yarrow (?), 1792 to 1798? Colmore St. Bookbinder. WP3/17; R 180; BBTI 9 July 2021.

Appendix 1 Data Table

The total column represents the numbers of book trade entrepreneurs recorded in each town in Staffordshire 1750 to 1850. The other columns set out the percentage of participants in each town identifying as printer, bookseller or as one supplying several services, as was the common pattern. No percentage is given for bookbinding because all the participants provided it; this table deliniates the other core book trade services and non-book trade activities.

Key

Pr – Printer

BS – Bookseller

St – Stationer

A – Account book binder/manufacturer

CL – librarian/owner of a circulating library

PM – seller of patent medicines/druggist/pharmacist

Other – this includes the many and various non-book trade activities such as paper-hanging, Stamp Agents, various agency insurance services and so on, far too many to categorise separately. Full details are available in the entries above for each individual.

Town	Total	Pr	BS	St	A	CL	PM	Other
Bilston	5	100	100	100		60	20	20
Blithfield	1	100						
Brierley Hill	1	100		100				100
Burslem	11	18	9	9				9
Burton on Trent	4	25	25	25			25	25
Cheadle	3	33	33	33				33
Darlaston	2	100	100	100			50	50
Dudley	6	50	50	50				33
Eccleshall	1	100	100	100				100
Handsacre	1							100
Hanley	7	57	43	43		29		29
Lane End/Longton	6	33	66	80		33		17
Leek	6	33	50	50				50
Lichfield	9	44	55	55	11	11	11	55
Newcastle under Lyme	13	39	39			8		31
Oldbury	1	100		100				
Rugeley	7	15	15	15				15
Stafford	5	60	40	40		20		20
Stoke on Trent	5	100	100	100		40	20	80
Stone	1	100	100	100		100		100
Tamworth	5	80	60	60				60
Tipton	4	75	50	50				50
Tunstall	4	50	75	75				25
Uttoxeter	7	43	43	43		15	15	29
Walsall	8	62	62	62				12
Wednesbury	2	100	100	100			50	50
Whitchurch	1		100					
Wolverhampton	28	65	54	57	4	12	16	40
Total	157	53	49	46	2	11	7	34
Birmingham	201	50	50	67	7	12	3	60

Appendix 2

Photographs of Books and Descriptions

Photograph 1

This shows an engraved brass finishing tool used to decorate and embellish leather bindings. The tool would be heated and impressed into gold leaf, which had been applied to the leather. The skill lies in applying the tool in the right place, at the correct heat, for just the right length of time, at the correct pressure.

Photograph 2

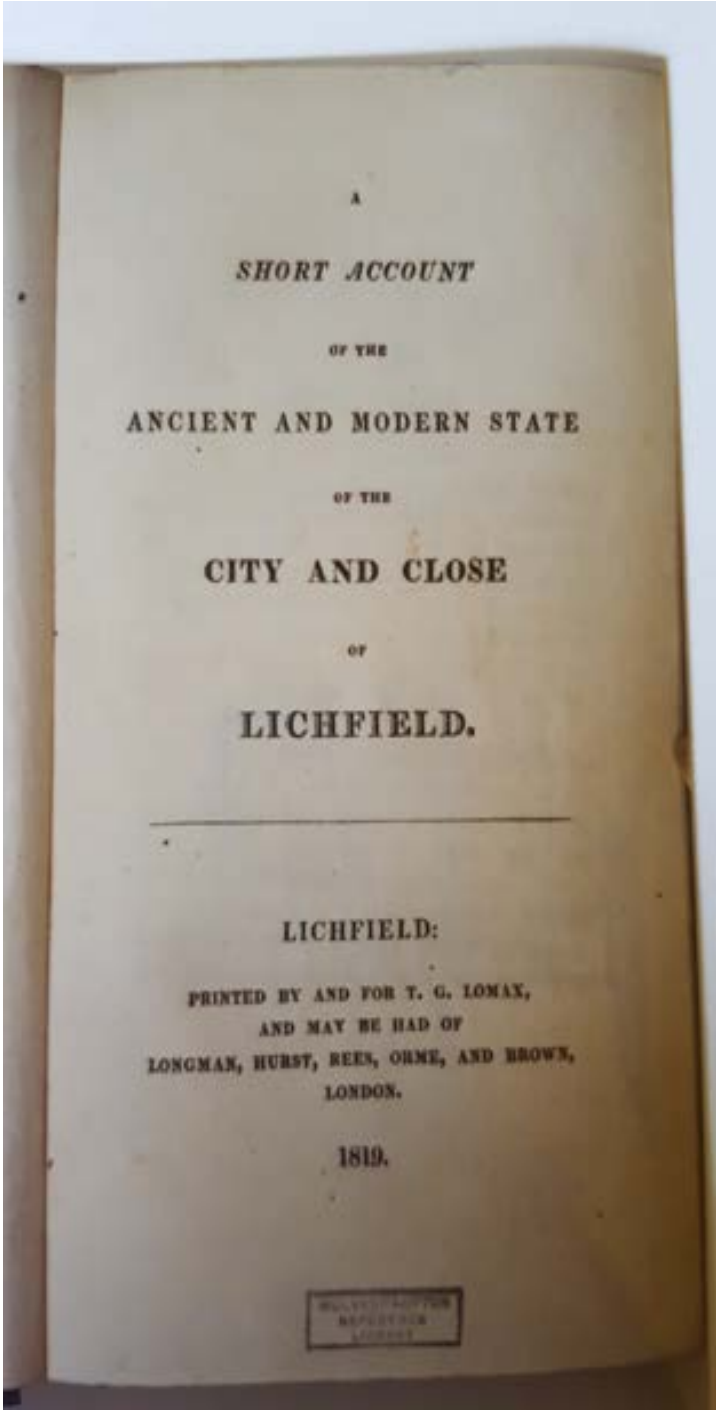
This shows the frontispiece and title page of James Amphlett's novel *Ned Bentley*, (1808), printed by Drewry on behalf of its London publishers. We do not know if the plate for the illustration was engraved in London and sent to Drewry, or cut locally; there were many engravers working in Staffordshire. It may have been a 'stock' image.

Photograph 3

A Short Account of the Ancient and Modern State of the City and Close of Lichfield printed 'by and for' T. G. Lomax in 1819. The 'for' indicates that Lomax was also the publisher and copyright owner, and in this case Longman, Rees, Hurst, Orme and Brown the London distributors. We do not know whether Lomax also wrote the book. This is a good illustration of the inter-dependence and co-operation between the London and regional book trade. This book, appearing in London, would have promoted visits to Lichfield, and perhaps the fame of Samuel Johnson and his connection with the town encouraged London sales. The book is bound in half-leather and marbled paper, a standard style, and would probably have been bound by Lomax's in-house binder. The spine shows the six panels, divided by the raised bands, under which are the cords around which the internal sewing passes. Each panel has an elaborate floral design, and the title-panel lettering is neatly done. This arrangement of the spine into six panels was also standard.


LICHFIELD
CITY, CLOSE
AND
CATHEDRAL

Photograph 4



A

SHORT ACCOUNT

OF THE

ANCIENT AND MODERN STATE

OF THE

CITY AND CLOSE

OF

LICHFIELD.

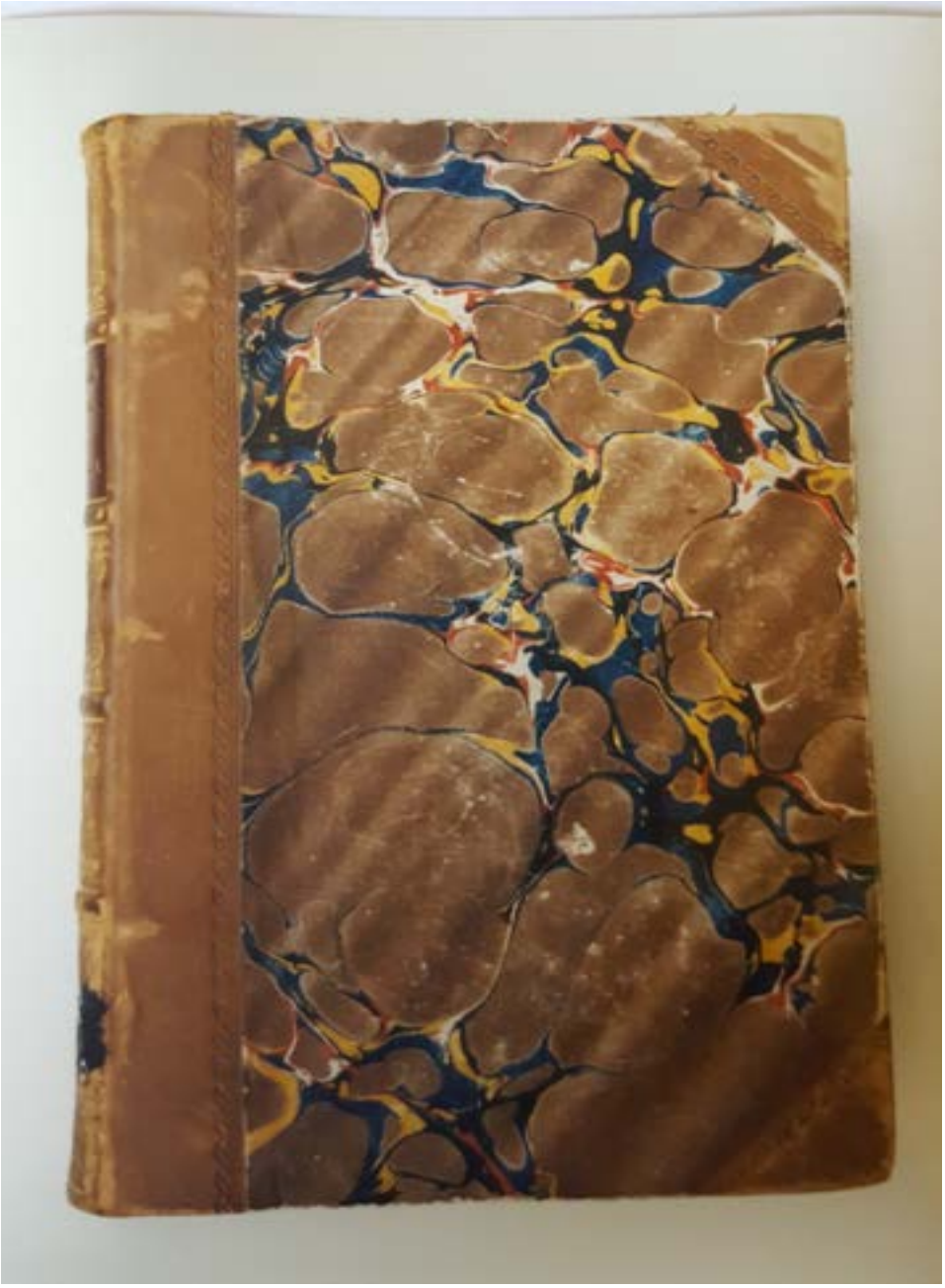
LICHFIELD:

PRINTED BY AND FOR T. G. LOMAX,
AND MAY BE HAD OF
LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,
LONDON.

1819.

This is the title page of the above, simple and unadorned.

Photograph 5



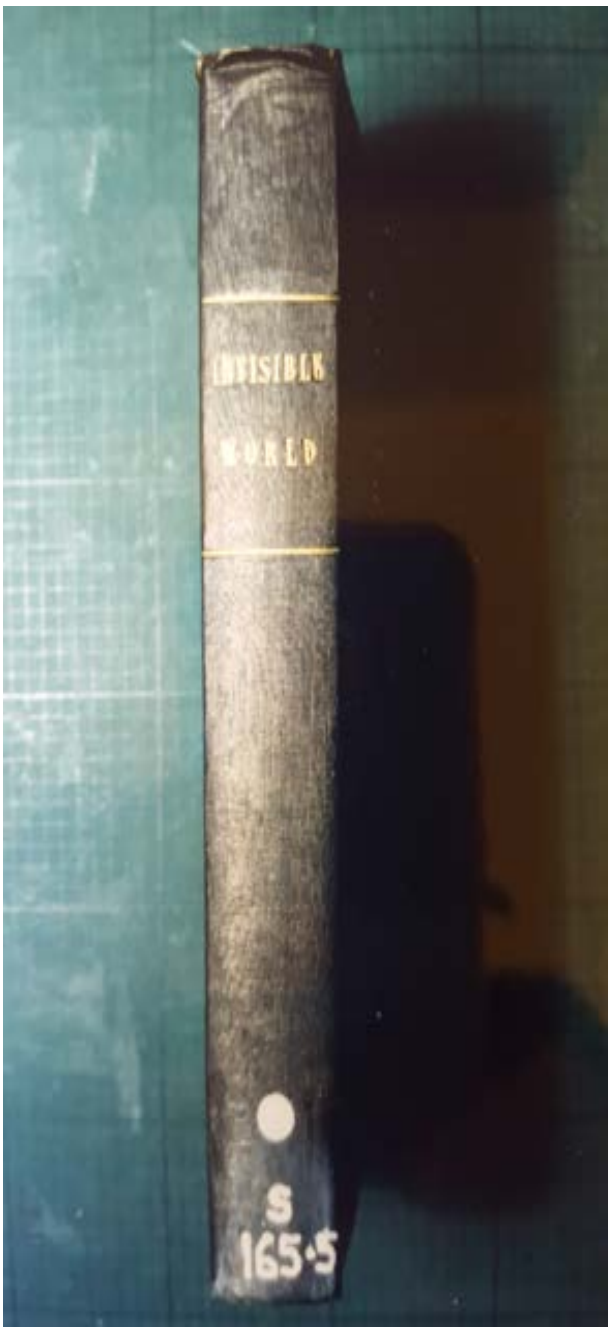
The front board of the above.

Photograph 6

The fore-edge of the above, showing edge-marbling to match the endpapers, a standard style.

Photograph 7

News from the Invisible World or Interesting Anecdotes of the Dead in a Number of Well Attested Facts etc by John Tregortha. Date unknown. This is a simple binding of quarter-cloth and paper; the photo shows the spine. It is very plain, with the title blocked in gold foil, using a heated mechanical blocking press. Foil was used on cloth because its surface was unsuitable for gold leaf; the pressure required to make an impression was greater than a finisher could apply; also it was much cheaper. This type of book was a common genre; there was great interest in the life to come, the occult and spiritualism. It may have been engendered partly by the fervour generated by Joanna Southcott and others at the turn of the century. This was a cheap edition, with a minimal use of cloth and no decoration.


INVISIBLE
WORLD
S
165·5

Photograph 8

Title page and frontispiece of the above, showing acidic off-setting.

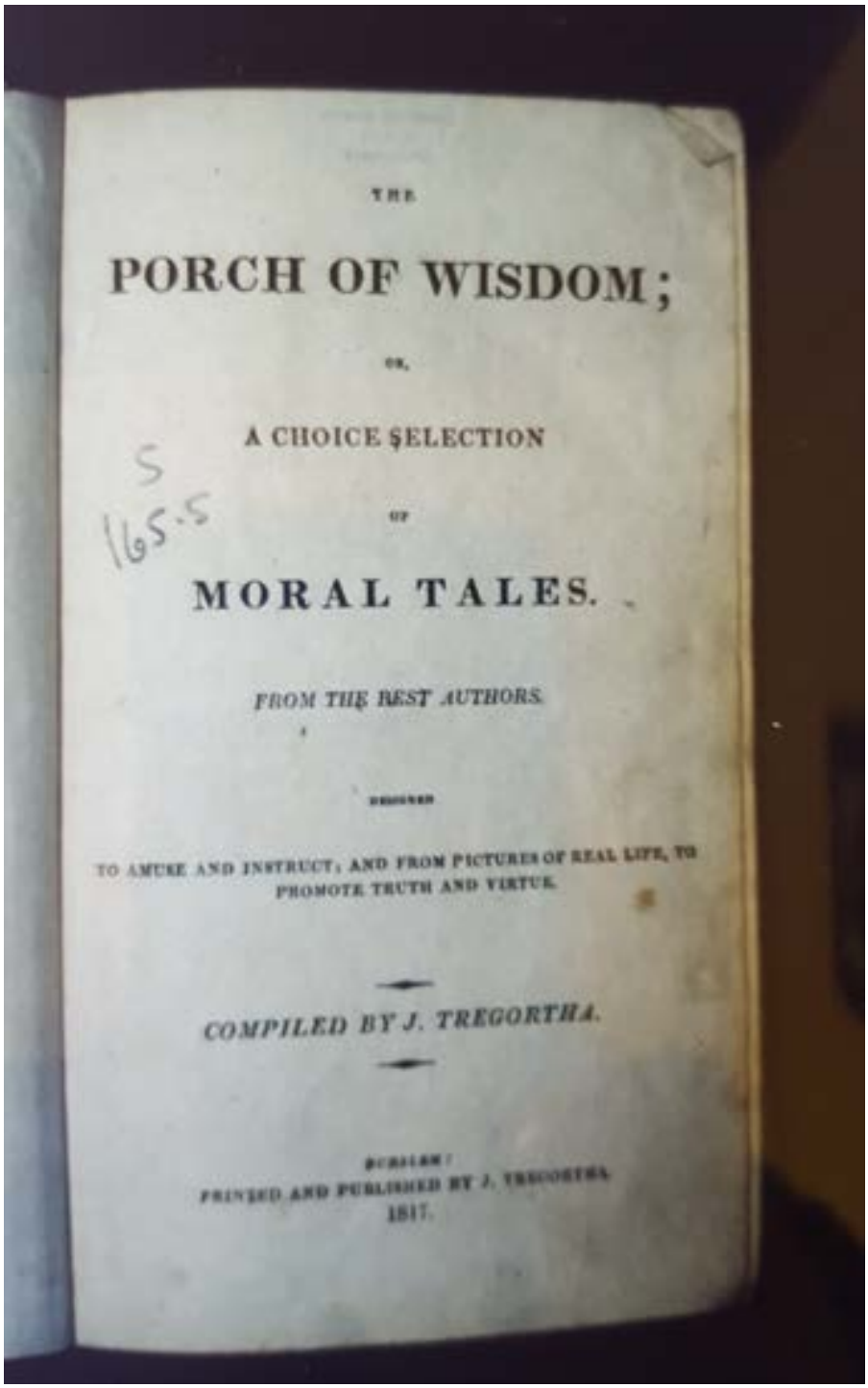
Photograph 9

The Porch of Wisdom or a Choice Selection of Moral Tales from the Best Authors 1817, printed and published by John Tregortha. This is bound in full calf leather; the spine is arranged as usual into the six panels, tooled with crosslines and a centre-piece. It is lettered directly into the spine rather than into a separate onlaid title-piece.

Photograph 10

Tregortha took some trouble here, using a detailed frontispiece and different typefaces in the elaborate arrangement of text on the title page, with another illustration. As with Photograph 2 above, Amphlett's *Ned Bentley*, we do not know whether the images were cut locally or were stock images from a specialist engraver, selected for their general relevance to the subject: possibly the latter.

Photograph 11



THE

PORCH OF WISDOM;

OR,

A CHOICE SELECTION

OF

MORAL TALES.

FROM THE BEST AUTHORS.

DESIGNED

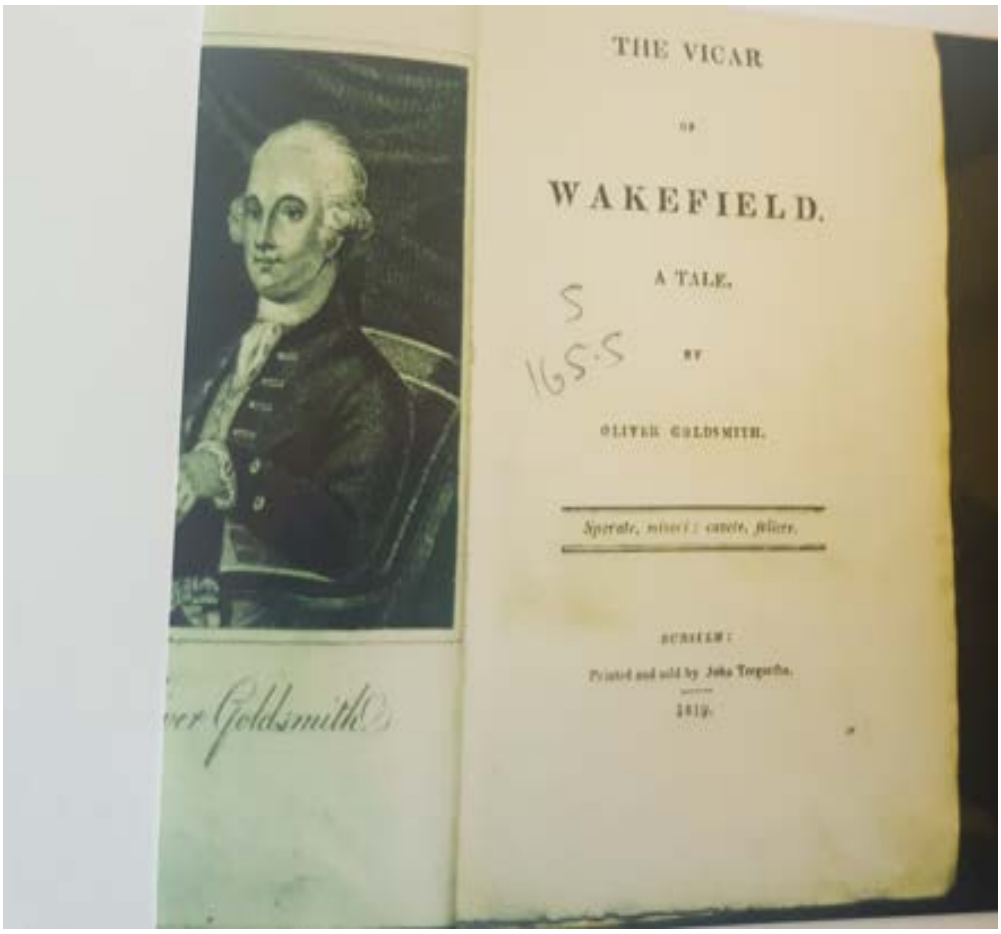
TO AMUSE AND INSTRUCT; AND FROM PICTURES OF REAL LIFE, TO PROMOTE TRUTH AND VIRTUE.

COMPILED BY J. TREGORTHA.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY J. TREGORTHA.
1817.

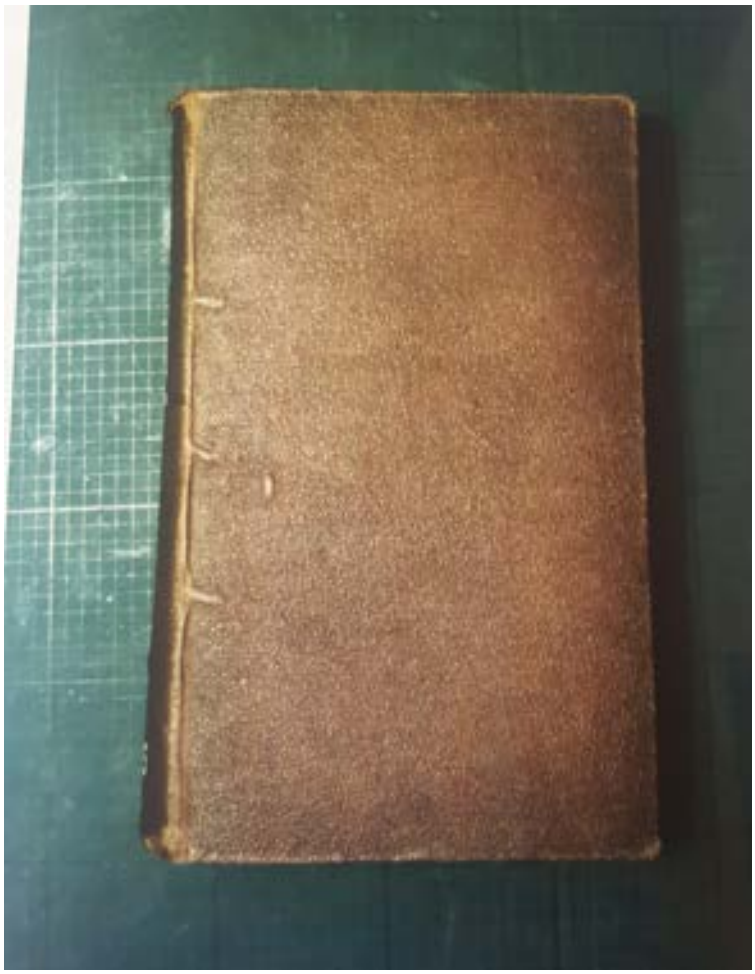
The half-title page of the above.

Photograph 12



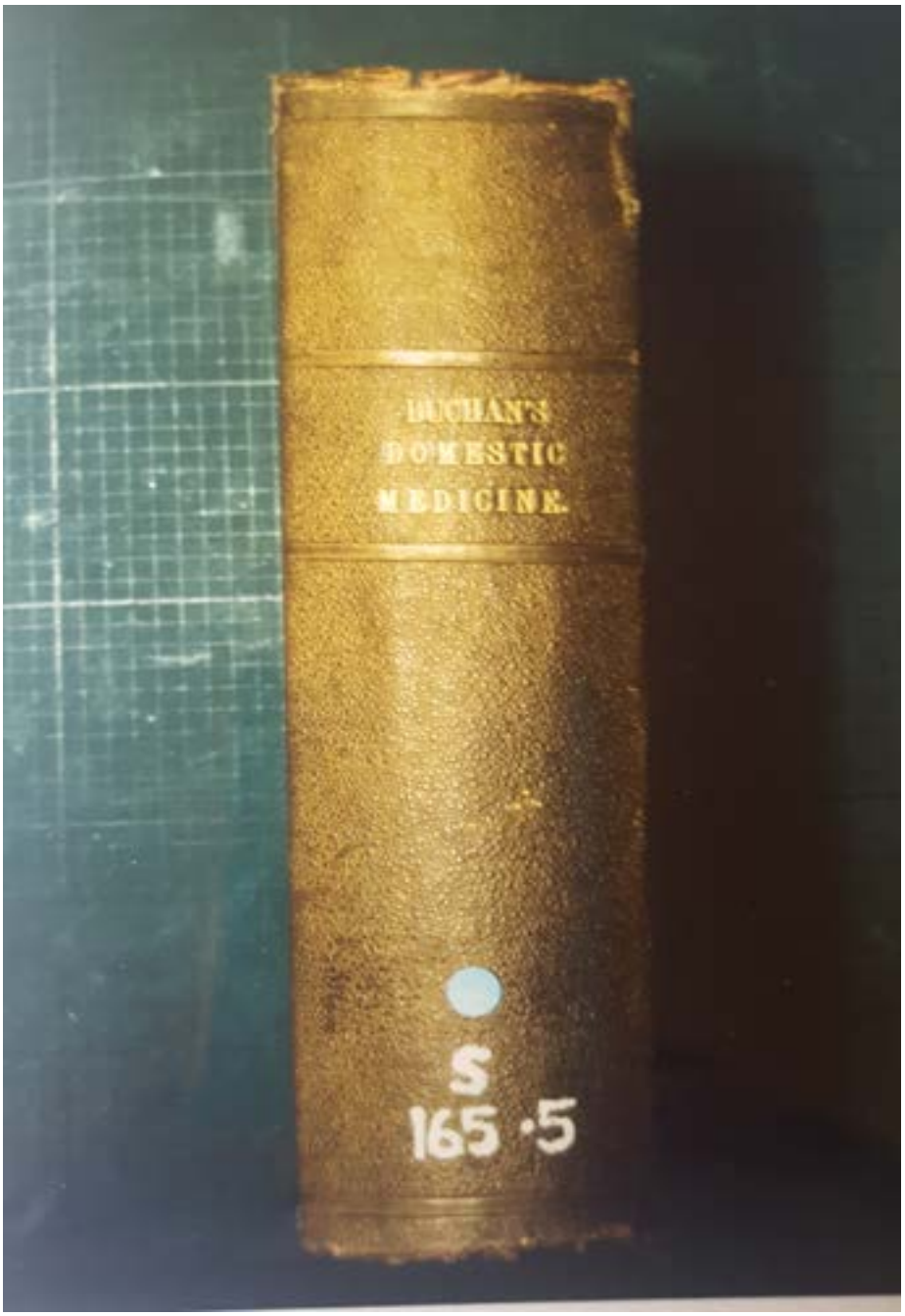
The Vicar of Wakefield 1819. Tregortha reprinted well known public-domain texts. This binding is very plain, quarter-paper and paper sides, with printed lettering on the spine. The frontispiece and title page are seen here; the comments above regarding stock images may be strengthened here because the picture of Oliver Goldsmith is nothing like the portrait of about 1770 by Sir Joshua Reynolds, reproduced by Peter Martin (2008, plates at p. 250).

Photograph 13



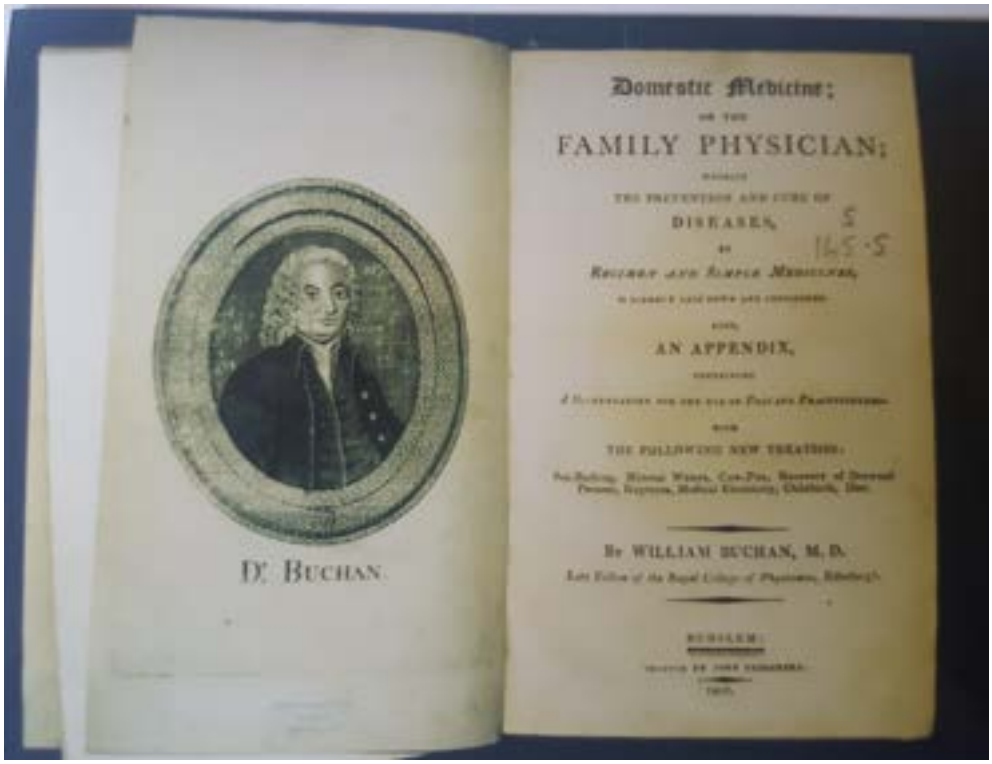
Domestic Medicine or the Family Physician by William Buchan, MD 1807, printed by John Tregortha. This is bound fully in cloth, sewn on three recessed cords which can be seen laced into the boards, the overlaying cloth having worn away somewhat at these points. The date is sixteen years before the earliest known use of cloth in about 1823, so this may be a rebinding, or the sheets may simply have been stored for some years before being bound and sold.

Photograph 14



The spine of the above, which is very plain, blocked with foil.

Photograph 15

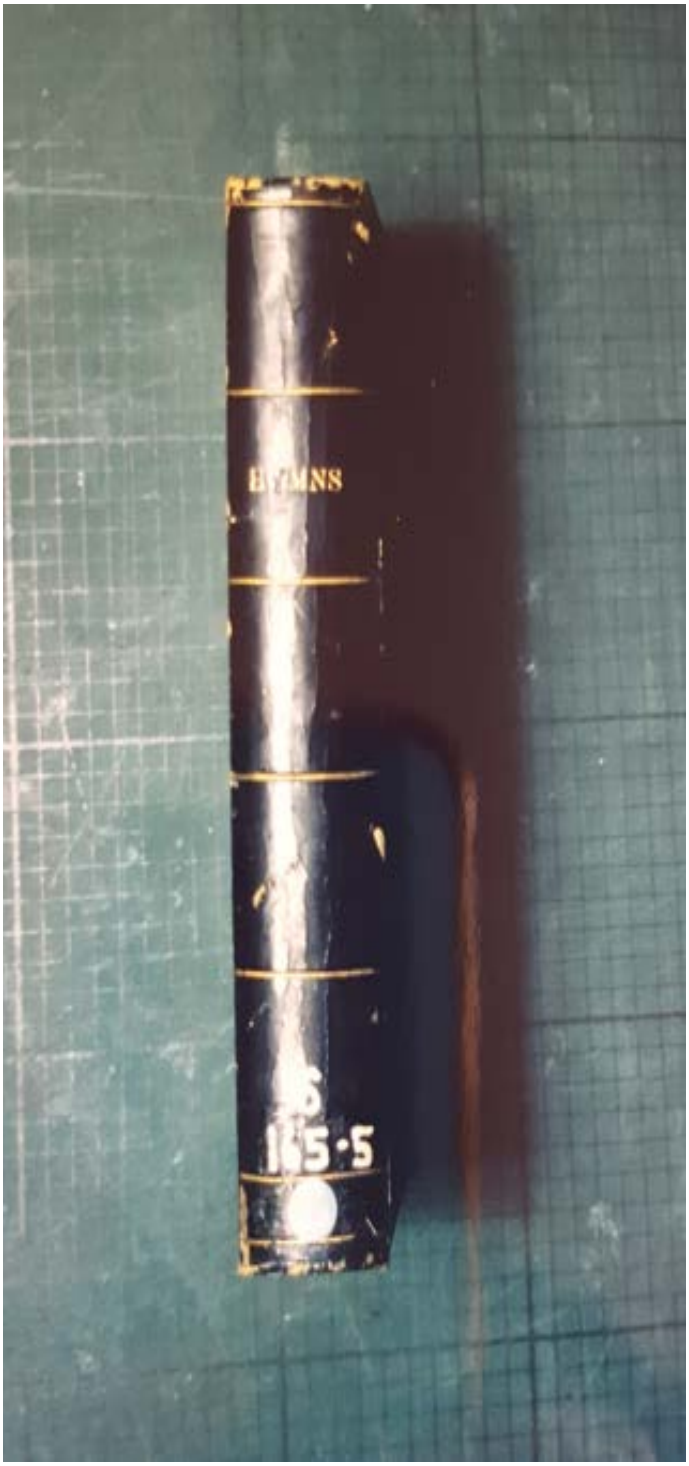


The title page: whether Dr. Buchan looked like this is unknown; this may be a 'stock' image rather than Dr Buchan himself. This type of text was a well-established genre, given that access to medical help was limited at the time, and had to be paid for.

Photograph 16

A Selection of Hymns intended as a companion for Sunday Scholars etc. 1814, printed by Tregortha. This is a small volume in full leather, small enough to be taken to church in a pocket. The boards may be moulded from papier-maché (Middleton, 1996, rep. 2008, pp. 138-139; 164). This type of binding enabled the publisher to offer a more interesting embossed cover at little extra cost.

Photograph 17



The spine of the above.

Photograph 18

The title page of the above; the Sunday School teacher may have been Tregortha.

Note: *From this point the books produced by Tregortha have all been rebound and so no comment is made about the bindings.*

A

SELECTION OF

HYMNS;

INTENDED AS A COMPANION FOR

SUNDAY SCHOLARS,

AND A HELP IN

PRAYER MEETINGS;

WITH A LARGE VARIETY

For Anniversary Sermons,

INVITATIONS,

ODES, PIECES, &c.

BY A

SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHER.

BURSLEM:

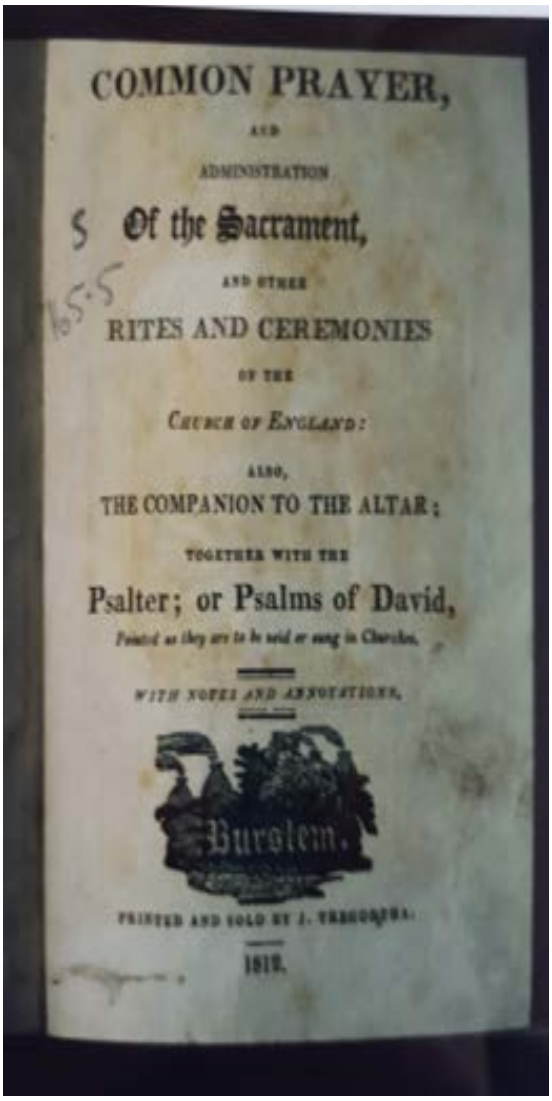
PRINTED AND SOLD BY J. TREGORTHA,

sold also by

S. BROUGHAM, BURSLEM; CHESTER, NEWCASTLE;
ALLBUT, HANLEY; AND ALL OTHER
BOOKSELLERS.

1814

Photograph 19



COMMON PRAYER,

AND

ADMINISTRATION

Of the Sacrament,

AND OTHER

RITES AND CEREMONIES

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND:

ALSO,

THE COMPANION TO THE ALTAR;

TOGETHER WITH THE

Psalter; or Psalms of David,

Printed as they are to be said or sung in Churches.

WITH NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS.

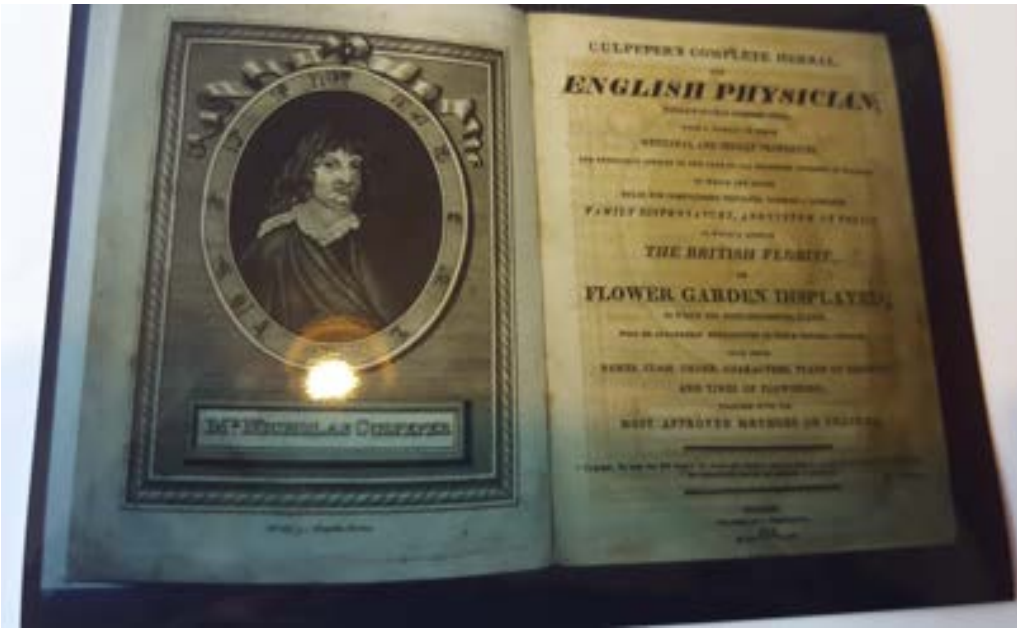
Burslem.

PRINTED AND SOLD BY J. TREGORTHA.

1812.

Book of Common Prayer 1812. Tregortha published and printed many biblical texts: New Testaments, Books of Common Prayer, and various discursive or didactic texts such as *The Porch of Wisdom* above. This shows Tregortha's distinctive and interesting 'pot-bank' (bottle-oven) colophon, an early use of a corporate logo, which can be seen in other Tregortha publications.

Photograph 20

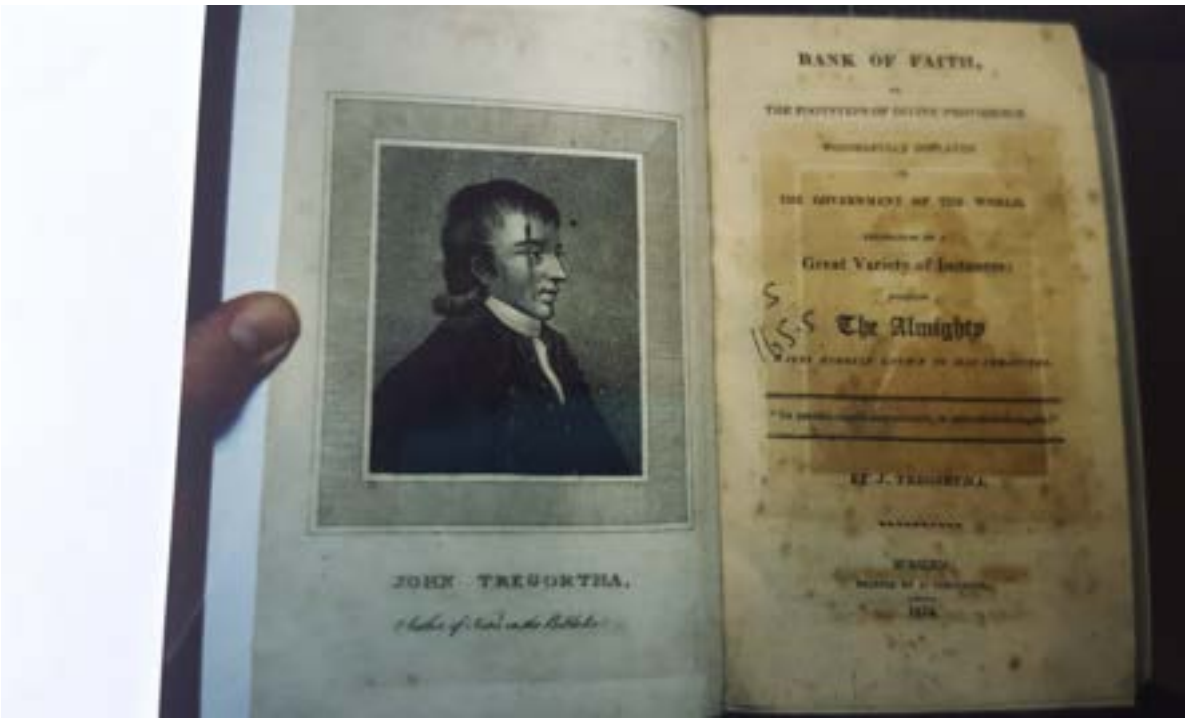


Culpeper's Complete Herbal and English Physician etc. 1813. This was another well-known standard text, first published in 1652, that Tregortha published, and is a handsome and expensive production with hand-coloured plates.

Photograph 21

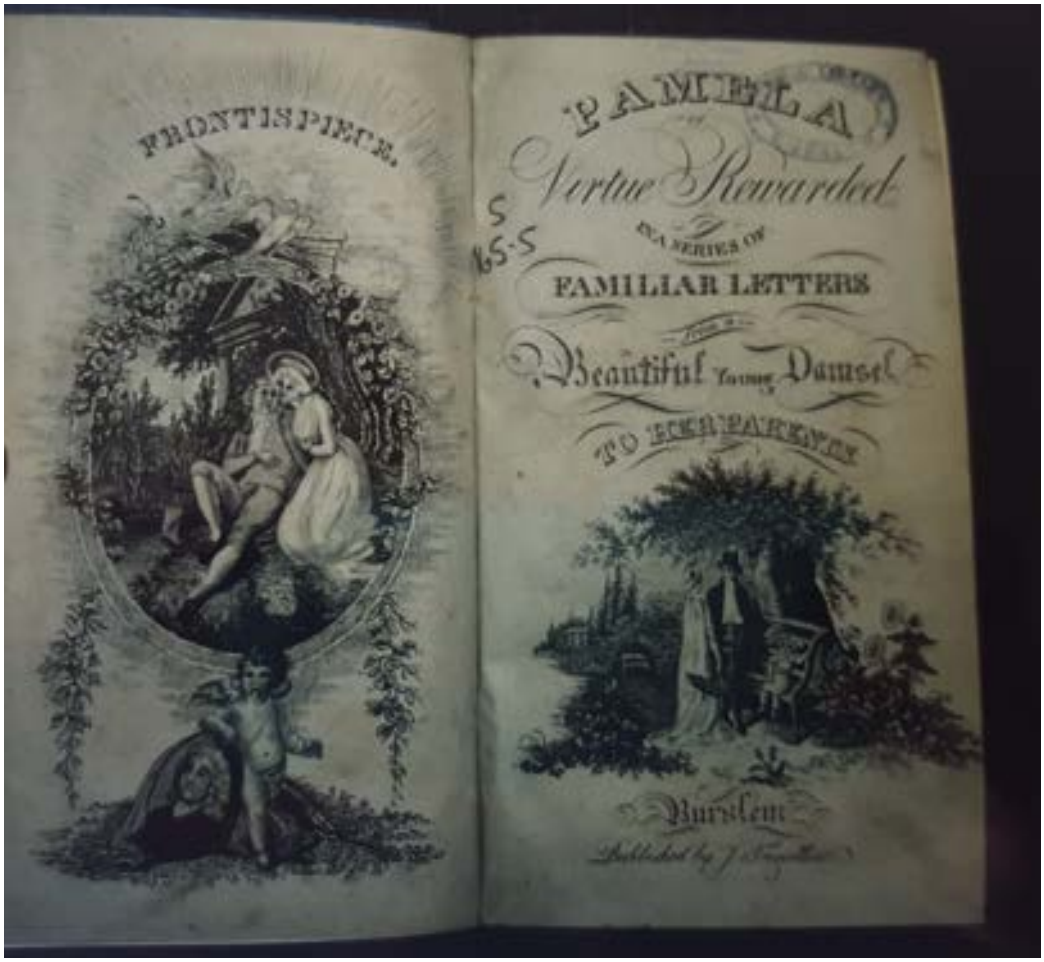
This is the Index page of the above; there is an instruction to the binder at the foot of the page: 'The binder is desired to take out the plates before he beats the Book; and place them at the end of the Work.' Notes of this kind are often found in books having such plates. This rather alarming-sounding procedure, carried out with a hammer, was to reduce the 'swell' in a book after sewing, prior to binding. Swell is the difference between the thickness of the spine edge and the fore-edge, the spine being thicker due to the introduction of the sewing thread. Too much or too little swell makes the book more difficult to bind, and might prevent it opening smoothly, and so beating can be an important operation. The expensive hand-coloured plates would suffer, hence the instruction.

Photograph 22



Bank of Faith or the Footsteps of Divine Providence, (1816) printed and bound by Tregortha; the image is likely to be Tregortha given that this is a local edition.

Photograph 23



The elegant title page and frontispiece of *Pamela or Virtue Rewarded* by Samuel Richardson, published by Tregortha, no date given. This is one of the public domain texts issued by him; there is no indication of a relationship with a London distributor, and nor is Richardson mentioned.

Photograph 24

This and the following two books illustrate the range of religious texts Tregortha issued, such as *A Paraphrase Exposition and Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament*. Commentaries of this kind were common, intended to guide and assist Bible study. This was the fifth edition, a steady seller. Booksellers depended on worthy religious books of this kind which sold well over a number of years, not much affected by changing fashions or the religious outlook of the people, at least not until much later with the decline of religion and Bible study generally.

A PARAPHRASE,

EXPOSITION AND COMMENTARY,

ON THE

Holy Scriptures

OF THE

NEW TESTAMENT,

CAREFULLY AND DISTINCTLY PRINTED,

AND

EXPLAINED,

WITH PRACTICAL REMARKS

AND OBSERVATIONS,

DOCTRINAL, CRITICAL, HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, THEOLOGICAL, MORAL,
EXPERIMENTAL, ADMONITORY, AND DIVINE.

Wherein seeming contradictions are reconciled—former errors rectified—difficult passages rendered clear and obvious—the doctrines of original sin, the deity and atonement of CHRIST, justification by faith, sanctification, and eternal life, displayed in the fullest and clearest manner.

TO WHICH WILL BE ADDED

A General Index and Concordance,

With the Meaning of the Principal Names mentioned in the Holy Scriptures.

THE WHOLE

CONTRIBUTED FOR THE SUBSTANCE OF FIFTEEN CONTRIBUTORS, PARTICULARLY

POOLE, HENRY, WESLEY, AND COKE,

By J. TREGORTHA.

THE FIFTH EDITION, REVISED AND CORRECTED.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY J. CHARLTON.

1815.

Photograph 25

A History of the Holy Bible, one of many religious titles in Tregortha's list, with the elegant printing and reproductions seen in many of his titles.

Photograph 26

The Pilgrim's Progress by John Bunyan. This is the most important religious allegorical text that Tregortha published; it was a key text for the emerging working class and would be found in many homes. It was a sure-fire seller: '...it is in Bunyan that we find the slumbering Radicalism which was preserved through the eighteenth century and which breaks out again in the nineteenth. *Pilgrim's Progess* is, with *Rights of Man*, one of the two foundation texts of the English working-class movement' (Thompson, 1963, rep. 1979, p. 34). Many printers and booksellers issued versions of this key text. Tregortha felt able to revise, correct and improve it!

THE

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS,

FROM THIS WORLD,

TO THAT WHICH IS TO COME.

Delivered under the Similitude of a Dream.

WITH

COPIOUS EXPLANATORY NOTES.

ALSO,

GRACE ABOUNDING

TO THE

CHIEF OF SINNERS

AND

A RACE FOR ETERNAL LIFE.

BY JOHN BUNYAN,
Late Minister of the Gospel at Bedford.

"I HAVE USED SIMILITUDES."—*Hos.* xii. 10.

A NEW EDITION,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND IMPROVED.

BURSLEM:

PRINTED BY J. TREGORTHA.

1811.

Photograph 27

This is Thomas Allbut's ticket, typical of the small advertisements pasted by booksellers into the front or back covers of the books they sold.

Photograph 28

This is the title page of Smart's *Directory of Wolverhampton* 1827. In addition to details of traders and professions in the town, in common with many such directories it offered a history of the town, and importantly details of the running of the mail and stage coaches, and the 'land and water conveyances'. It is a small book, designed for the pocket, 16 cm head to tail. Note the rolled line of gold tooling on the inside edge of the board, immediately adjacent to the ruler. This was applied to all three inner edges.

DIRECTORY

OF

WOLVERHAMPTON,

COMBINING AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE INHABITANTS, AND A CLASSIFICATION OF TRADES,

A Map,

AND AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE TOWN;

THE ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE

OF

THE MAILS AND STAGE COACHES,

AND THE VARIOUS

LAND AND WATER CONVEYANCES FOR GOODS AND MERCHANDISE.

ALSO,

A LIST OF THE INHABITANTS AND TRADES

OF

BILSTON,

WILLENHALL, AND WEDNESFIELD,

ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED.

WOLVERHAMPTON:

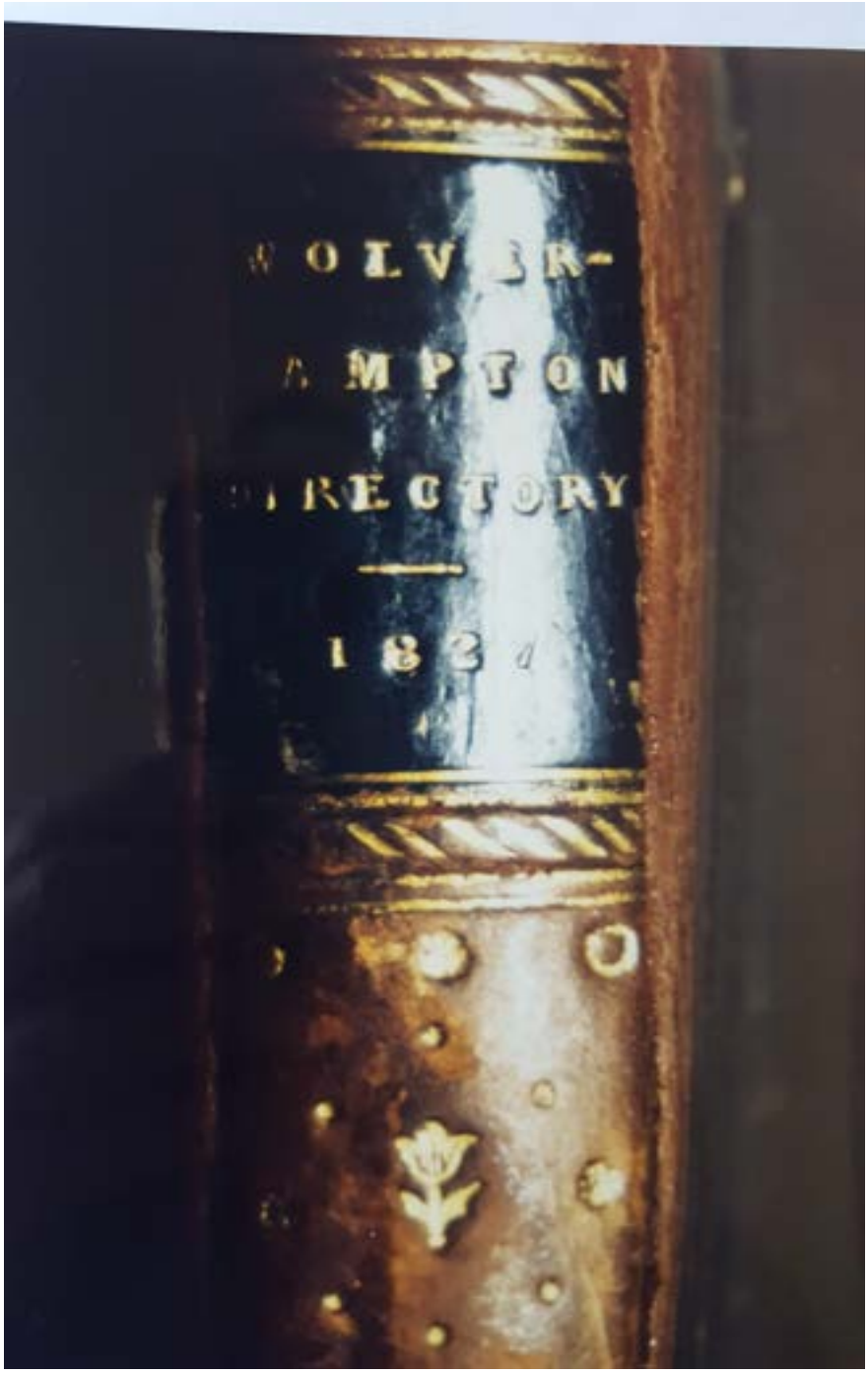
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY J. SMART, CHRONICLE-OFFICE, HIGH-STREET

1837.

Photograph 29

This is the spine of the above, with attractive tooling achieved with a few tools.

Photograph 30



A close-up of the label of Smart's Directory, showing neat and accurate lettering.

Photograph 31

This is the front board of Smart's Directory, with minimal yet elegant decoration.

Photograph 32

These directories were partly financed by advertising; this is the advertisement of Cartwright and Langston, General Factors, and is a fold-out page with 'wings' to increase the available area. Its centre-piece is a very attractive engraving, probably cut locally, and may show their real premises, rather than a stock image, because it would have been familiar to local people. The book also contained a map of the town, again as a fold-out. Note again the tooled gold line inside the board, and a glimpse of the marbled endpapers, a standard feature at this time.

Photograph 33

William Parke's advertising ticket; these rarely, if ever, mentioned bookbinding.

Photograph 34

One of the more important books inspected at Chillington Hall, probably bound by Parke's business, was an edition of *John Cary's Atlas*; it is one of the edition printed in London between 1801 and 1809 and published by numbers. In 1812 John Wallis and his son Edward were publishing maps and panoramas at 42 Skinner Street, by John Cary and others (Maxted, 2005, p. 124). The engravings are finely detailed and beautifully hand-coloured (Hodgkiss, 1988, p. 60). It is more likely that the maps were brought into Staffordshire and bound in Parke's bindery; it has his ticket inside the front board. It is a large book, what we might now call a coffee table book, bound in half-leather and marbled paper, with six raised bands. It has seven panels rather than the more usual six because it was so large – two feet/61 cm head to tail. The binding was in a poor state, and the tooling was worn, but elegant and restrained. This kind of book was a premium item in a gentleman's library, forming a focal point for after-dinner conversation and discussion.


CA
AT

Photograph 35

A new spine was inserted into the book, with the original spine panels replaced over it.

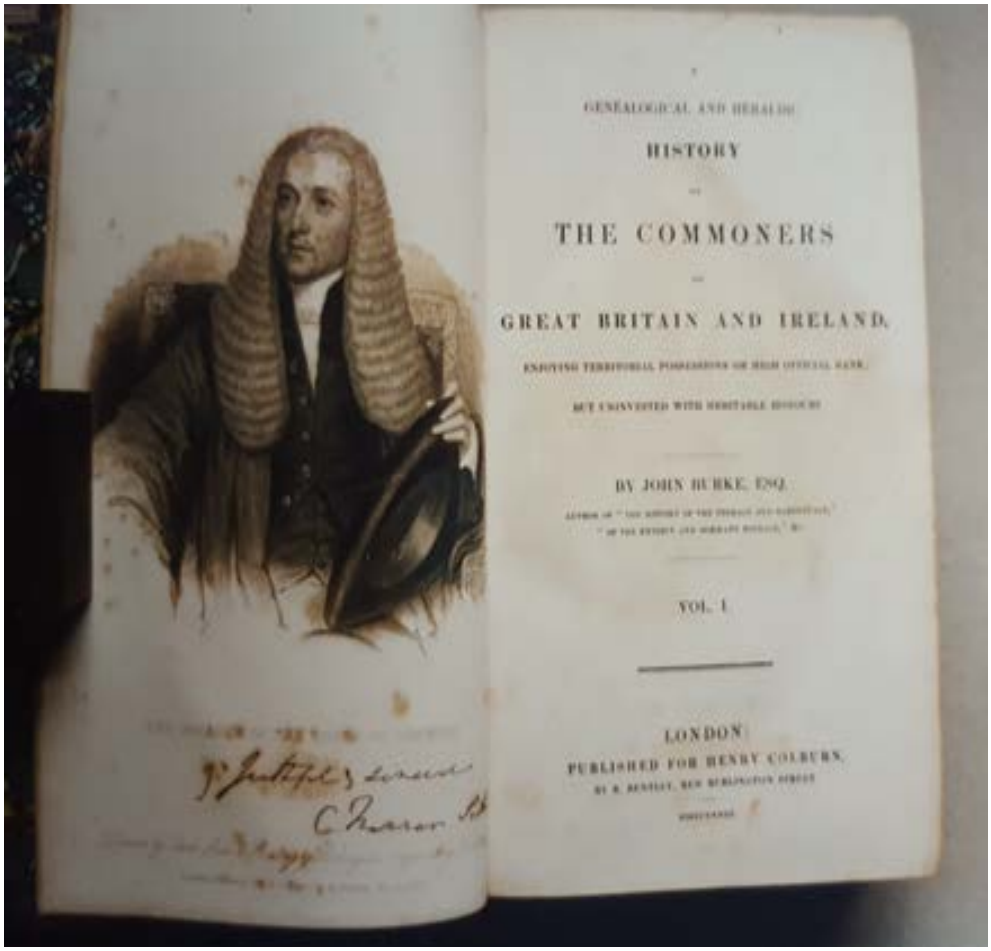
Photograph 36

Parke's binder(s) produced some unusual work, as seen here, again from the library at Chillington Hall. This is the spine of a volume bound in vellum, a binding of a twelfth-century manuscript. Tooling into vellum is more difficult than into leather because the surface is much harder; the design here is well executed.

Photograph 37

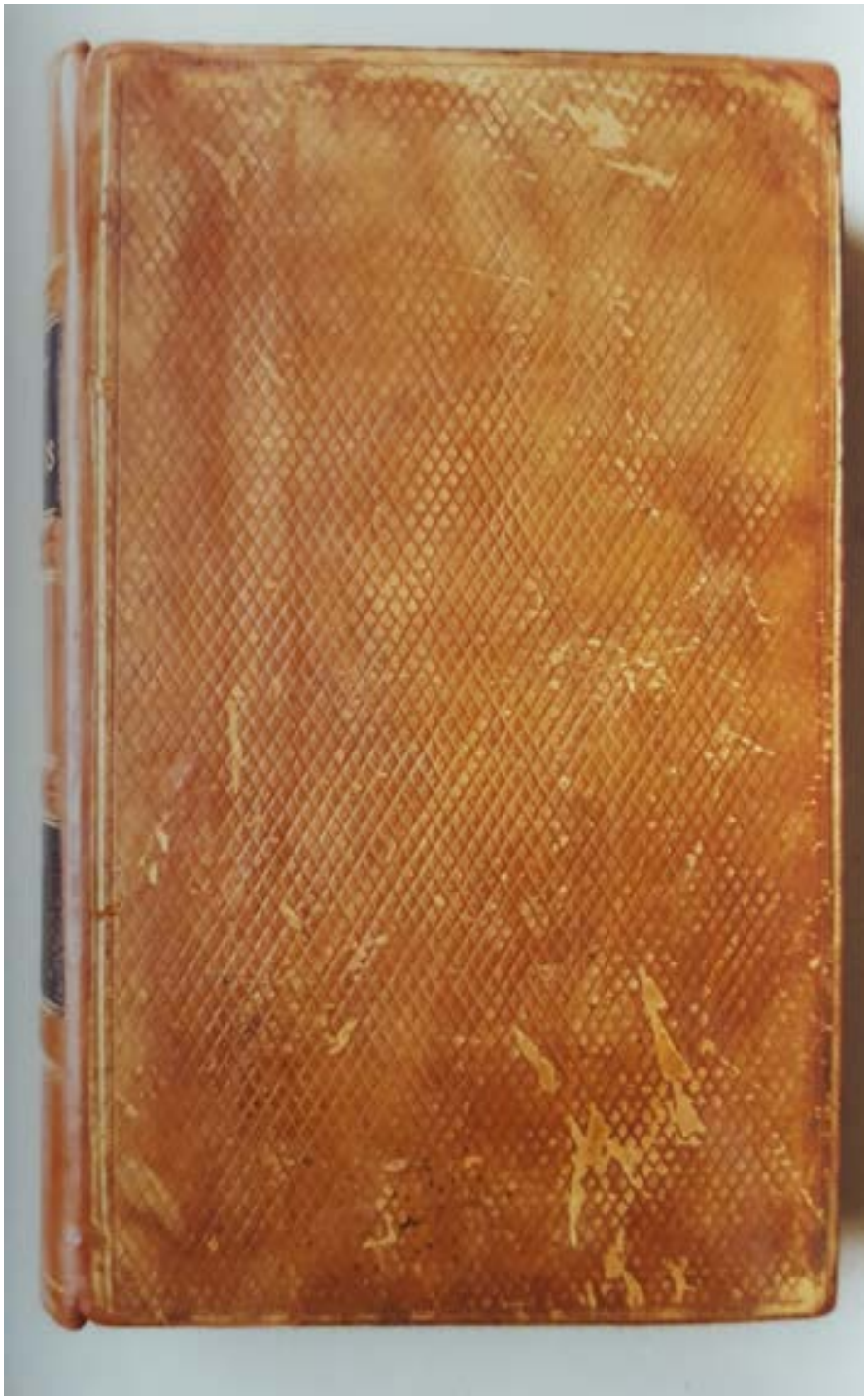
The front board of the above.

Photograph 38



A London publication, sold and possibly bound by Parke in Wolverhampton, evidencing the normality of trade between the capital and the regions. Parke's ticket is just visible at top right, pasted to the front boardpaper.

Photograph 39



The front board of the above, showing the diced pattern of 'russia' leather.

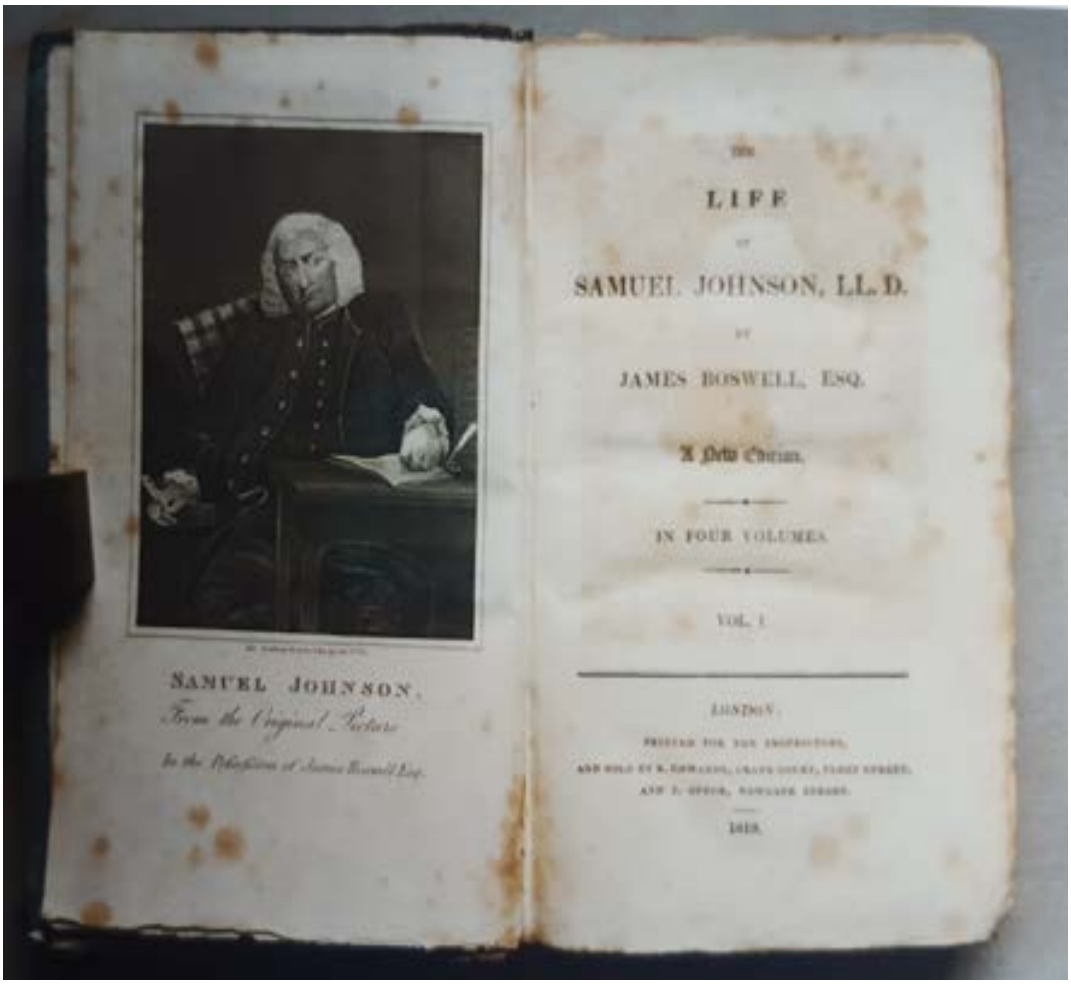
Photograph 40

This is volume III of a four-volume set of *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* by James Boswell (1819 edition). It shows the way books were transported in boards as an interim binding. The spine is covered in thin paper with a temporary paper label which shows the price of £1 1s Boards ie. in this state before final binding.

Photograph 41

The front board of the above; such bindings were meant to be removed when the book was rebound to the requirements of the buyer.

Photograph 42



The title page and frontispiece, with an engraving from Sir Joshua Reynolds' portrait of 1756.

Appendix 3

Faculty of Arts, Business and Social Sciences Ethics Committee

Form 3
10/02/2022
Ethics Approval Application 2021/22
Researcher – Peter Hanks
Level of Research – Category zero **Director of Studies** Prof Sebastian Groes
Title of Research - The Bookbinder and Historical Invisibility: Bookbinding and the Staffordshire Book Trade 1750 – 1850
Decision (delete as necessary)

Your ethics application has been approved

Dear Peter,
The Faculty Ethics Committee has approved your application
Please ensure that you are conversant with the latest guidelines on recruiting research participants and data security. See the Ethics Guidance web pages
https://www.wlv.ac.uk/research/research-policies-procedures--guidelines/ethics-guidance/
If you make any substantial changes to your research, you will have to complete a new request for ethical approval.

This letter only relates to ethical issues and has no bearing on other aspects of your research, such as methodology and theoretical framework.
Please do not hesitate to contact the relevant representative for your subject on Faculty Ethics Committee if you have any questions.

We wish you the very best with your research.

Yours Sincerely

Jason Jawando
Jason Jawando, Research Support Administrator, on behalf of the Faculty Ethics

Committee

Appendix 4


Customize a County Boundary Map Online
Derbyshire
Staffordshire
Shropshire
West Midlands
Congleton
Sandbach
Crewe
Alsager
Nantwich
Biddulph
Leek
Kidsgrove
Newcastle-Under-Lyme
Stoke-on-Trent
Whitchurch
Market Drayton
Stone
Uttoxeter
Stafford
Newport
Burton Upon Trent
Rugeley
Cannock
Lichfield
Tamworth
Rowley Regis
Kidderminster
Aldridge
Wednesbury
Willenhall
Walsall
Wolverhampton
Bilston
Darlaston
Bridgnorth
Much Wenlock
Stourbridge
Halesowen
Blackheath
Birmingham
Sutton Coldfield
Bakewell
Chesterfield
Matlock
Wirksworth
Ashbourne
Belper
Heanor
Ripley
Derby
Ashby-De-La-Zouch
Coalville
Atherstone
Hinckley
Nuneaton
Bedworth
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