

JOBGING PRINTING AND THE BIBLIOGRAPHER: NEW EVIDENCE FROM THE BOWYER LEDGERS*

WHAT HAS JOBBING PRINTING, which overflows our waste-paper baskets, to do with the bibliographer? W.W. Greg has taught us that the bibliographer's proper concern is with 'books as material objects'. The phrase, from 'Bibliography — an apologia'¹, is used by Philip Gaskell to begin his *New introduction to bibliography* (Oxford, 1972). It is splendid advice, so far as it goes, guiding and prompting modern advances in bibliographical knowledge. Think of Charlton Hinman's great study of *The printing and proof-reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare* (2 vols, Oxford, 1963). Yet our devotion to books, those objects that stand upright on our library shelves, and even to *the* book — witness Hinman — has begun to seem unduly narrow. I am thinking not of the new means of transmitting information that challenge bibliographers working in the twentieth century, but of what Gaskell labels the Hand-Press Period, 1500–1800. Even here we have been slow to recognise the full scope of the problem of textual transmission. You will see what I mean if I trace the evolution of perhaps the most salutary bibliographical concept of recent years. Some twenty-five years ago W.B. Todd insisted that 'in instances of concurrent printing the bibliographer must examine all the books so related before attempting the analysis of any'². Todd was saying that books forming part of the one productive process must be studied together if any one of them is to be fully understood. However, he took it for granted that books keep company during production only with other books. It was not until 1966 that we got a rigorous statement of the doctrine of concurrent printing: 'the organization of work on any one book is meaningful only in relation to the work of the printing house as a whole'. I quote from the preface of D.F. McKenzie's epoch-making study entitled *The Cambridge University Press 1696-1712* (2 vols, Cambridge, 1966). McKenzie recognised, where Todd did not, not only that concurrent printing is the normal method of printing-house production, but that what is thus produced is not to be thought of in terms of books alone. The bibliographer is thus called on to venture beyond his familiar and important books and seek out whatever things move together through the stages of printing-house production before issuing separately into the world.

But isn't this to play with words? Surely books are the main work of those who print them! Book printing is done by the book printer, and jobbing printing by the jobbing printer — with exceptions of course. This distinction however is of doubtful antiquity, and still by no means rigid. Early manuals of printing are silent on the subject of jobbing. Caleb Stower in 1808 gives only the plan of a Job-Book, which suggests that this class of work was seen as beginning to call for separate accounting procedures (*The printer's grammar*, p. 436). By 1841 William Savage, in his *Dictionary of the art of printing*, relating to the London trade, divides printing establishments into job and book houses, according to their chief line of business. The distinction is said to rest on the great variety of types held in the job house. This variety is an early nineteenth-century growth amazing in its rate of increase and extent, and marking an increasing specialisation in function and doubtless in clientele. But before

* A revised draft of papers read to members of the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand on 23 August 1976, and the Oxford Bibliographical Society on 30 October 1973.

this period the use of the same range of types for both book work and jobbing suggests on the contrary that Savage's distinction between job and book houses was very much less clear-cut, if indeed it was recognised at all.

If we go back to the cradle days of printing we find no such separation of function. Gutenberg's *Indulgences* of 1454–5 were necessarily printed and issued while his massive 42-line Bible was still slowly going through the press, not to be completed until 1456. His 30-line *Indulgence* (British Library 1A.53) is a slip of paper printed only on one side, measuring 6" by 9½". Its manuscript insertions state that it was issued to Henricus Mais and other members of his family on 29 April 1455 at Neuss. This small job may claim to be the earliest product of the Western printing-press. It has many of the characteristics of its kind, ensuring neglect by librarians and scholars. It has no author as books do. It is a legal form, produced for an insitutional customer, and serving an immediate social need. There is no point in keeping it once that need is satisfied. This example survives by mere chance. A mere quarter sheet, it is the more easily lost. Perhaps its size best identifies it as a job, defined by Savage in 1841 as 'any thing which printed does not exceed a sheet'. The first work printed in England is likewise an *Indulgence*, printed by William Caxton, and dated 13 December 1475, almost a year before the first of his books was completed. Again job and book probably overlapped in production; again book faces were used. In New Zealand it seems that the first printing was a hymn sheet produced in 1830 at Keri-Keri by the Reverend W. Yate.³ No copy is recorded. A book, at least a tiny Catechism, was going through the press at the same time, for Yate wrote to the Church Missionary Society, 'You will perceive, by the copy of a hymn forwarded, that we shall be able in a short time to manage it [i.e. the Catechism]'. (I shall say more below about hymn sheets.)

What do we know of jobbing and its relation to book printing since Gutenberg and Caxton, in say the age of Shakespeare intensively explored by bibliographers? R.B. McKerrow, in his pioneering article on 'Edward Allde as a typical trade printer'⁴, attributes to Allde the impressive total of 368 works printed between 1584–1628. None of these is a job, although McKerrow does recognise that Allde 'may have done a good deal of printing that was not book printing at all. . . and of which only a minute proportion would survive.'

Hinman, in the work cited above, follows McKerrow by supposing that even 'well-established firms like Jaggard's, . . . which concerned themselves chiefly with the printing of big books, evidently valued job work' (vol. 1, p. 18). However, what Hinman finds and therefore considers is the 'other Jaggard books' that went through the press with the *Shakespeare First Folio* (vol. 1, p. 17). His only piece of related jobbing, and one brought late to his notice, is a *Heralds' Visitation Summons* printed about August 1623 with the same types as the *Folio*. Yet the Jaggards, father and son, both concerned with the *Folio*, were Printers to the City of London, authorised to print 'proclamations, acts of common council and other matters for the service of this city' (vol. 1, p. 17, accidentals modernised). Two such Acts for 1622 are reported in the revised *Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland 1475–1640* (vol. 2, 1976, nos. 16728.5 and 16728.7). It follows that Hinman's admirably detailed inquiry is limited by his inability to know or even guess the extent of interruption to work on the *First Folio*, while compositors and pressmen dealt with day-to-day jobbing.

Such knowledge for the centuries before the nineteenth might come from book

trade records, such as printers' and publishers' ledgers, but very few are known to survive. In a note on 'Two bills for printing, 1620-2'⁵, D.F. McKenzie suggested that 'many a neat bibliographical analysis might be upset if only we knew more about the jobbing work done by early printers and when they did it'. An opportunity came with McKenzie's work on the Cambridge University Press 1696-1712, based on minutely detailed records of work done and wages claimed at piece-work rates by individual workmen. However, the University laudably aimed to print 'some Classick Authors, and such Bookes of Learning as they shall find to be wanted', and therefore long suffered the economic disadvantage of 'not admitting low & trivial things of quick sale to be printed at its press. . . perhaps the most profitable branch of printing' (vol. 1, pp. 12, 154-5). Admittedly some jobbing was done, but solely for the University authorities - Assizes of Bread and Combination Papers for instance. McKenzie was perfectly justified therefore in concentrating on Cambridge *books*. Still, the total number of jobs he records is not inconsiderable. Of the 274 items printed between 1696 and 1712, setting aside 10 proposals, receipts, and specimens relating to books, no fewer than 120 are jobs, all less than one sheet. Of these, 36 were located by McKenzie, an amazingly high proportion were it not that a single institutional customer is concerned. In relation to the total number of sheets set at Cambridge, jobbing may appear insignificant, but so many interruptions to the flow of larger works through the press must be thought to have consequences of bibliographical and textual interest.

When we move to the eighteenth century we find for the first time a few surviving records of commercial printers working in London in the heart of the trade. The first to be published in full was *A ledger of Charles Ackers* (Oxford, 1968), edited by D.F. McKenzie and J.C. Ross. What is the proportion of jobbing to book-work in Ackers's shop? Not high I must admit. In 1733, the first full year of entry, there are two dozen small jobs compared with the twenty-two larger works (books). However, as the editors point out, Ackers must have had other records, and these I suggest would include a Day Book, in which all transactions, whether credit or cash, could be noted. No printer could afford to do without such an elementary first-entry account, which recorded as it happened each transaction relating to the business. I suppose too that jobbing transactions in particular would not always be charged up to a customer's running account, if he had one. Such jobbing as is recorded in Ackers's ledger comes in for little editorial treatment. 'Ephemera' are omitted from both alphabetical and chronological indexes 'unless a copy has been seen or some helpful note towards identification can be offered' (McKenzie and Ross, p. 31). The decision is no doubt sensible, but it tends to discourage further investigation. What more might be learned about jobbing printing through more prolonged scrutiny I hope to show by drawing on the abundant records of the Bowyers, father and son, who printed in London during most of the eighteenth century.

Their records are in the form of printing ledgers, kept for various purposes by the master or his deputies. There is also the pious printed memorial to the Bowyers, John Nichols's *Literary anecdotes of the eighteenth century*, published in nine volumes, 1812-16. But Nichols lists little other than a generous selection of the book work. I shall draw on the same sources as Nichols, but by concentrating on what he leaves out, I hope to show what place jobbing had in the work of the firm.

To begin with I study the output of a single year. I choose the year 1731, because it is the first full year of a decade for which there is a record of virtually every

piece passing through the press. This fullness of record is due largely to what I call ledger C, which was kept as a check on work done and prices charged by compositors and pressmen for almost every sheet or page composed and forme wrought at press. However, not even ledger C has everything in it. For one thing, it was written up from the workmen's vouchers, and occasionally items are overlooked. Moreover, work done by the apprentices is cursorily entered, no doubt because the main function of the ledger was to check wages paid at piece-rates. Fortunately, the several ledgers complement as well as repeat each other. The others are two customer account ledgers, A and B, which run consecutively, and a paper stock ledger, which I call P. The result is that for the years 1730–39 the record of production must be very nearly complete.

Let me first classify the total output for 1731. Bulking most largely, as you would expect, are the books and pamphlets printed for booksellers and private gentlemen. Then there are the almanacs and Psalms printed each year in large numbers for the Company of Stationers, but only a single sheet of each. What remains comprises 'non-books', pieces not usually held in academic libraries, and likely to escape the notice of bibliographers. I put these in three broad groups. First, proposals, receipts, specimens, extra titles 'for sticking', and imperfections all relate to larger works, whether printed by the Bowyers or others. Such pieces usually take up only part of a sheet, and so come within Savage's definition of a job. They have the same troublesome nature, for as Savage explains the compositor 'has generally to put up fresh cases, and has some additional trouble in getting the right letter, and in making up the furniture'. Secondly, there is Parliamentary work for the House of Commons, especially the *Votes*, but also Reports of committees, and Bills, public and private. Some of this material intended for the eye of Members was paid for by private persons; the same is true of appeal cases to be heard by the Lords. Thirdly, there is jobbing proper, much of it printed for a new range of customers, and affording oblique glimpses of unfamiliar areas of national life.

A crude idea of the relative importance of the various classes of work may be given by a numerical count of items, regardless of size. First the book work: during 1731 there are 63 books and pamphlets completed, while another 16 are still in the press. Another seven titles are printed for the Stationers' Company. This makes a total of 86 works of various sizes moving more or less concurrently through the press, at various speeds, some without pause, others more hesitantly, as when proofs have to be posted to an author in the country. The first jobbing category of proposals, receipts and the like contains pieces printed on 26 different distinct occasions, relating to nine books, four of them not printed by the Bowyers. In the Parliamentary category come the *Votes of the House of Commons*, 76 issues for almost every day of the session, extending over three and a half months. The *Votes* took precedence over other work, but in so far as they may have been printed partly at night they would interfere less with the routine of book and other production. But the same men did all: no fewer than ten compositors had a spell at setting the *Votes* out of seventeen employed for all or part of the year, and in the fortnightly wage reckonings each man is credited with a variety of other work. The eleven House of Commons Bills, six public, five private, were altered and reimpressed on 23 separate occasions. The six House of Lords appeal cases called for seven distinct printings. As appeal cases were generally printed only a few days before the scheduled date of hearing it is clear that they would have to take precedence over most other work. In March 1739 the compositor T. Watson was 'up all night' setting a case for Hamilton, earning 16s. instead of the

usual 10s. The type he used was the ubiquitous pica. Did the Bowyers keep separate cases especially for such jobs during the season? Very probably for the *Votes* at least. Finally the jobs proper amount to 30, plus four large orders of malt books for the Excise Office. The grand total is 86 books and pamphlets going through the press in 1731, in company with 61 jobs of various sizes, counting the *Votes* as one continued effort of production, and disregarding repeated impressions of basically the same setting of type. The amount and variety of non-book work, often pushed through urgently, would obviously complicate the patterns of concurrent production.

How extensive were the interruptions to book-work of these mostly small jobs? A kind of answer comes from an estimate of the relative amounts of paper used for the several classes of work during 1731. Book-work consumes some 1850 reams out of the total of about 2530 reams worked by the four or five presses constantly in use. Book work is thus about 75 per cent of the total output in sheets. Next, proposals, receipts, and so on take a mere seven or eight reams. Parliamentary work takes another 560 reams, including an estimated 240 reams for the *Votes*, 38 reams for the Bills, and 280 reams for the *Lists of the officers and their deputies, belonging to the several courts*, and for the *Additional lists of attornies and solicitors*, ordered to be printed for the use of members, but also sold publicly by Richard Williamson, like any book. By contrast, the Lords appeal cases, 600-700 copies of each, comprising one sheet, use up about eight reams. The 30 small jobs require only about 12 reams, and the four batches of malt books another 92 reams. By this reckoning, jobbing work of all kinds is seen to be a minor but sizeable part of the Bowyers' output. I note that paper was supplied by the printer for most of the small jobs done during 1731, whereas paper for books was normally sent in by the bookseller, in the eighteenth-century sense of undertaker as well as wholesaler and retailer. With a small stock of paper on hand for such purposes the printer could begin work at once. Jobs are usually wanted yesterday!

Jobbing also apparently differed from book work in respect of the workmen's charges at piece-rates. Jobs are 'paid extra to the compositor', says Savage in 1841, 'because there is no return of furniture or letter'. I have not so far been able to relate prices charged for composing jobs at the Bowyer Press to those charged for book-work. The main reason is that each job tends to be *sui generis*, its rate no doubt determined as much by 'inspection' as by 'custom' — the terms are Samuel Richardson's (quoted by I.G. Philip, *William Blackstone and the reform of the Oxford University Press in the eighteenth-century*, Oxford, 1957, p. 41). Without precise information as to the size of type and the amount set it becomes impossible to determine how a particular price was arrived at. Press-rates are almost as hard to make precise sense of. However, I shall mention one example for the light thrown on rate of production, earnings and output being closely related. In the week ending 21 August 1731, press no. 1 is credited with printing 23¼ reams of malt books, and nothing else. Malt books were ledgers ruled in red for the collection of the tax on malt. The two pressmen each earned £1.16.10d, about twice the amount for an average crew in an average week, handling the usual variety of work. If one assumes a six day week and twelve hours per day, then the average rate of production per hour works out at the surprisingly high figure of 322 impressions. If this figure is hard to credit, I offer another still higher. The week ending 28 September 1734 sees a total production of 84,033 impressions from six men working at three presses and one man at half press; they handle a total of 46 formes. Again assuming a 72 hour week, without allowance

for make-ready and washing-up — and no *Votes* or Appeal cases possibly involving night work are in question — the three full presses each average 347 impressions an hour. I am inclined to believe these figures. Their explanation lies in the larger than usual runs: 20,000 copies of sheet A of the almanac *Poor Robin*, and 2 000 of Tillotson's *Sermons*. Moxon's figure of 250 impressions an hour may well be seen as a norm for the runs of 500 and 750 common in book-work. At Cambridge McKenzie found 250 impressions an hour a 'maximum production not often attained in practice' (vol. 1, p.138), but the pace of provincial life was no doubt a little easier. In London at the Bowyer Press a rate considerably higher than 250 was sometimes achieved by skilled men engaged in long runs, and 'going for the doctor' as they say. However, I would agree with McKenzie that the frequent interruptions common in all printing, and especially in commercial jobbing, would make 250 impressions an hour hard to keep up for long. Before postulating a normal rate of production, one must have a close knowledge of the attendant circumstances. There can be no single universal norm.

I shall now turn to ask who are the Bowyers' chief customers for jobbing, and what kind of jobs they order. I shall range beyond 1731 in order to trace emerging patterns. If I give many examples it is because I want to illustrate the unpredictable diversity of jobbing. Occasionally I shall pursue an instance in greater detail to show what might be made of it.

It is no surprise to find that the majority of customers for jobbing, especially in the early years from 1710, are booksellers. Their orders usually relate to their business of selling books, but often reflect wider interests. Sometimes they pass on orders for clients of their own. It is the bookseller and his book-work that provide the printer's main source of income. The following instances, mostly from 1731, not only illustrate this point, but introduce the tangled evidence itself, threads sometimes neatly unwinding, sometimes snapping off short. The bookseller Henry Lintot is charged on 16 October 1731 for 1400 copies, 1/8 sheet, of advertisements for Daubichon. This may relate to a school-book by one J. Daubichon. Thomas Woodward, another bookseller, is debited on 30 March 1731 for 200 copies of Bills for a house to be let — these are probably hand-bills or bills for posting, but the ledgers are usually vague on such points. Fletcher Gyles is billed on 16 January 1731 for 100 copies of a Catalogue of books, half sheet in folio. The format and small quantity printed suggest that this may be not the usual advertisement of books for sale, to be placed at the back of volumes sold by Gyles, but a catalogue for a trade sale of copyrights. If so, it is one not listed in Terry Belanger's 'Booksellers' Trade Sales, 1718–1768'⁶. Gyles also commissions the printing of many larger catalogues for book auction sales, and some of these still elude me, for instance a Catalogue of Mr Tooke's books, 5¼ sheets, charged on 26 April 1732. John Whiston is debited with a Catalogue for the country, 500 copies, 3¼ sheets, on 29 May 1739. 500 copies were presumably sufficient to cover the whole country, since, as Graham Pollard notes in his edition of *Hodson's Booksellers, Publishers and Stationers Directory*, 1855 (Oxford, 1972, p. vii), between five and six hundred country booksellers are named in Pendred's *Directory* of 1785. Whiston as wholesaler may here be seen as cultivating an extensive country connection, a line of business about which little is known for this period. Henry Plowman, listed by Plomer as a stationer, receives 1 000 copies, 1/8 sheet, of a Summons to the Master Printers at the Salutation [tavern], entered 11 February 1738, and marked gratis — John Nichols in the *Literary Anecdotes* (vol. 2, pp. 74–9) explains the reference. I suppose this to be a formal invitation with blanks for use on repeated annual occasions. How

else to explain the large number printed, since Negus in 1724 lists only 74 master printers in London?

Authors order a succession of small jobs directly from the printer, especially in the 1730s when subscription editions are the rage. One example must suffice, since I have discussed printing for the author elsewhere.⁷ Proposals for Mr Cholmley's Poems, 250 copies, half sheet, were brought to account on 10 November 1728. I have not seen the proposals, and doubt that an edition was printed.

The younger Bowyer, who finally took over from his father in 1737, having worked with him since 1722, was from time to time appointed as printer to several learned societies, including the Royal Society, and the short-lived Society for the Encouragement of Learning. These connections brought their measure of jobbing. The Society of Antiquaries orders some fifty small jobs between 1736 and 1763, most of which I have seen. Lists of members are printed from 5 April 1739, usually shortly before the Annual General Meeting held on or near St George's Day, but annual lists were apparently not produced before 1753. The first entry in the ledgers, simply given as List of the subscribers, 500 copies, half sheet, can be identified as *A list of the Society of Antiquaries, according to the order of their admission*, London, 1739 – copy seen in the Society's library. I have not seen the Summons for non-payment of arrears, 500 copies with 'Sir', 50 with 'My Lord', printed about March 1755, and recalling familiar difficulties in collecting subscriptions. The younger Bowyer was appointed Printer to the Society of Antiquaries in May 1736, so Nichols tells us, and member on the following 7 July, so that other pieces of Society printing not recorded in the extant ledgers, but which I have found, are no doubt his work too.

The range of customers from outside the profession of letters and the 'trade' exposes other and indeed larger areas of national life than those directly concerned with the writing and selling of books. This is one of the absorbing and challenging interests of jobbing records and jobbing printing.

The work of central government is represented chiefly by the printing of the *Votes of the House of Commons* from January 1730, but again I have already published on this topic.⁸ For the next year or two the younger Bowyer shared with Richardson the printing of public bills for the House of Commons. Thereafter Bowyer from time to time printed private bills and some other matter intended for the perusal of members, but Richardson acquired a near monopoly of Commons work. However, I have seen no remains of the continued paper bombardment of members during the passage of the Bill for Paddington New Road, first read 5 March 1756 (*Commons Journal*, vol. 27, p. 498). On a dozen different occasions within two months Bowyer printed for Frederick of the Temple a total of 3 800 copies of Messages to members in batches of several hundred a time, enough for the members. Parliamentary printing was a lucrative and privileged line of business which provided for a lucky few repeated work of a specialised nature, more or less independent of the booksellers.

The House of Lords in its judicial function as the highest court of appeal called into being not merely the six cases noted for 1731, printed for the same Hamilton, but about 200 in all, printed during forty or so years and for a score of customers. These make up a considerable and profitable part of the Bowyers' jobbing, and a sizeable proportion of the total number of cases heard, judging from the large collections I have seen in the British Library, the House of Lords Record Office, and the Bodleian Library. The contending parties were responsible for having their cases printed, generally as a single pair, one for appellant, the other for respondent. The ledger

entries nearly always make it clear which of the two was printed by the Bowyers, for they very seldom do both. Sometimes a protracted appeal produces a series of twin cases. A means of discrimination is provided by the date of entry in the ledgers, denoting the completion of printing, usually just a few days before the scheduled date of a particular hearing, printed or written on the outside of the copies I have seen. A score of cases printed in 1720 and 1721 relates to the work of the Commissioners and trustees for forfeited estates in Scotland, aftermath of the rebellion of 1715. Most of the cases recorded in the ledgers relate to Scottish appeals, which flooded in after the Act of Union of 1707. No lawyer specialising in Lords appeals could afford to ignore the Scottish connection. The Bowyers' most important customer for cases, Alexander Hamilton of Lincoln's Inn, solicitor in both Chancery and the Exchequer, had a considerable share of this trade. Between 1718 and 1755 Hamilton commissioned about 175 items, mostly cases, but including abstracts of cases, acts, bills, clauses, memorials, and reasons. He was presumably connected with William Hamilton, one of the usual signatories to many of the Lords appeal cases printed by the Bowyers as well as to cases printed by others. A few appeal cases printed by the Bowyers illustrate one of William Hamilton's functions as London agent to the Convention of Royal Boroughs in Scotland. I know even less about several other men who ordered cases. One touches here an unsuspected network of specialised legal activity.

Lesser courts supply only a few items, which I'll instance from the Transportation warrants, 300 copies, apparently printed late in 1752, for Mr Madox next to the premises of the Royal Society.

Under the broad heading of law come Petitions for coroner. From May 1752 to December 1753 Bowyer printed 34,600 of these, evidently all for Umfreville. It is hard to be certain, because the second of the customer account ledgers was badly kept during these years and has suffered from fire and the binder's knife. However, I have no doubt that the customer named is Edward Umfreville, who explains in the preface to his *Lex coronatoria, of the office and duty of coroners*, 2 vols, 1761, that he had been elected into the office of one of the coroners for the county of Middlesex in January 1754. By 1761 Umfreville was senior coroner, much concerned to raise the standards of his profession. In a letter of 10 April 1763 he begs to be excused from attendance after a fall from his horse, which makes only 'my fifth request in 9 years'⁹. Umfreville died in 1785 or 1786. Because of the date of printing and because the petitions are produced in batches of a thousand or two at a time, it is possible that they form part of Umfreville's election campaign. If so, it is good to see that Umfreville continued such a methodical approach into his professional career as coroner.

Much jobbing was done, through outside agents, for several government departments: the Post Office, the Customs House, and above all the Excise Office. From 1740-2 Thomas Trye, the bookseller, ordered such jobs as Directions to the post-masters from Chester to Exeter, 1 000 copies, charged on 14 March 1740. In 1735-6 Mrs Dawks, presumably the pamphlet seller, ordered a number of pieces for Customs, at that time separate from Excise. From 1737 to 1739 it was Vincent's turn to order for Customs such items as one ream of Tide surveyors bills for rummaging (7 October 1737); Instructions to the surveyors of His Majesty's Customs, 10 quires, 150 copies (9 March 1738); Customs House sale, 17½ sheets, 1 006 copies (25 September 1738).

The longest tale however is made up of Vincent's work for the Excise. From 1722 to 1749 Vincent orders about 130 jobs for the Excise: abstracts, bills for low

wine, certificates for having taken the oaths, commissions for seizing the goods of tallow-chandlers that refuse paying the excise, diaries for brewer's surveyors, diaries for London Brewery, brewers discharges, candle and soap entries in great quantities from 19 March 1739, informations against officers of excise, malt books, receipts for paying excise, summons for persons in general that refuse paying the excise — 8 000 of these on 10 November 1722. The most frequent entry is for malt books, which between 1729 and 1738 required a total of 797 reams, but over the years Vincent orders much other work, such as we have seen, amounting to some 250 items in all. He thus ranks before Hamilton as the Bowyers' best customer for jobbing. Vincent can be identified as the son of the Robert Vincent listed by Plomer as book-seller in Clifford's Inn Lane, Fleet Street from 1691–1713. In 1713 the father subscribed to relieve the elder Bowyer after the fire of 30 January 1713. The son is not mentioned by Plomer (in his *Dictionary of the printers from 1668 to 1725*), and some biographical details may be worth giving.

In 1723 Robert Vincent junior, as he is for the first time fully named in the ledgers, is charged for the printing of *The life of general Monk*, edited by William Webster, the imprint reading, 'W. Bowyer for the editor', 1723. The imprint may indicate that Webster was the real undertaker and Vincent junior merely his agent. This is the only book Bowyer printed for Vincent. However, between 1716 and 1733 paper is sent in by Mr Vincent for nineteen other books printed for a dozen different publishers, and ledger entries naming him cease only in 1749. Almost certainly all these entries refer to Robert Vincent junior. The Stationers' Company Calendar of apprentices shows Robert Vincent, the father, binding apprentices from 1690 until 2 March 1713, as we shall soon be able to see from D.F. McKenzie's list of eighteenth-century apprentices. On 6 December 1708 he binds 'Robt his son', who was due to come out of his time on 6 December 1715. On 3 February 1717–18 Robert Vincent junior binds William Washington, having presumably set up for himself or perhaps succeeded his father. On 4 May 1719, when he binds Henry Plowman, his address is given as 'fleetstreet Staconer'. Vincent junior is described as a stationer in an Excise Board Minute of 8 May 1729¹⁰. The Minute implies that Vincent and Edward Castle have been supplying stationery (including printed forms) to the Excise Office and will continue to do so. Robert Vincent Stationer is listed in Kent's *Directory* for 1745 as living in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street.

Local government of various descriptions provides a small amount of work. Ten jobs relating to Common Council elections in London were printed between 11 and 27 December 1723, all for Vincent, such as a 'job for Common Council Men beginning "Whereas a printed paper has been distributed"', 2000 copies, ¼ sheet. Licences for ale-houses, 250 copies, are charged to Crew on 20 May 1743; a Notice to repair nuisance in the roads, ¼ sheet, is charged to Thomas esq. on 13 January 1736; Certificates for burying, 500 copies, are debited to St Andrew's Parish in August 1749; Blank receipts for the muster of Mary [le] bone, 500 copies, half sheet, for Elliot, are charged on 2 October 1736. London livery companies sometimes order jobs, among them the Coopers, Fishmongers, Haberdashers, Mercers, Plumbers, and not the least the Stationers. A list of the apothecaries livery, 400 copies, one sheet, is charged to Dutch on 16 September 1735. Dutch is charged on 18 March 1734 for Improvement of the physick garden at Chelsea, 1000 copies, one sheet. Each of these clues to civic life invites one to take hold and follow.

Ecclesiastical authorities are represented by a score of Articles of inquiry and

visitation, some ordered through a bookseller, some not. I have found none of these, although late seventeenth-century examples are not uncommon; but then I have not looked in the obvious places, among the archives of the authority concerned. The Brief granted by George I in 1716 to permit the raising of a subscription 'for the relief of the poor episcopal reformed churches' in Poland and Transylvania touched off a salvo of circular letters from the archbishops and bishops, jointly and severally, totalling 14,000 copies. I have found six of these, including the one from the bishop of Exeter, Ofspring Blackall, quoted in the previous sentence — this was entered on 10 September 1716. The archdeacon of St Albans, Philip Stubbs, orders several jobs, including Citations, both clergymen's and churchwarden's, 250 and 500 copies respectively, each ¼ sheet, entered 19 March 1737. Receipts for tithes, 1 000 copies, are charged to Emerson on 14 December 1739. Petitions for a living, no fewer than 3 500 copies, printed at three separate times, are charged to Disney on 31 December 1731.

The printing of hymn-sheets between 1710 and 1757 recalls the impressive public performances by massed choirs of children from London charity schools. These are said to have begun in 1704, in the parish church of St Andrew's, Holbourn, not far from Bowyer's printing-house in White-friars. Many contemporaries testify to the overwhelming effect of such singing, Handel for one. Later in the century William Blake records an occasion in St Paul's on Holy Thursday, probably in 1784, and his response.

'Twas on a Holy Thursday, their innocent faces clean,
The children walking two & two, in red & blue & green,
Grey-headed beadles walk'd before, with wands as white as snow,
Till into the high dome of Paul's they like Thames' waters flow.

.....

Now like a mighty wind they raise to heaven the voice of song,
Or like harmonious thunderings the seats of heaven among,
Beneath them sit the aged men, wise guardians of the poor;
Then cherish pity, lest you drive an angel from your door.

No fewer than 104 hymn-sheets are recorded in the Bowyer ledgers between 1710 and 1757, although most fall within a score of years from the late 1720s during which the ledgers are most complete. It would be unwise to assume from the paucity of evidence thereafter that the younger Bowyer lost his share of what was probably an expanding trade. All but a few relate to three churches and their associated charity schools in the Bowyers' own city ward of Faringdon Ward Without. 29 were printed for St Andrew's, Holbourn, from 1735; 20 were printed for St Dunstan's in the West; 40 hymn-sheets, variously referred to as Hymns for St George's Chapel/ St George's hymns/ Dr Marshall's hymns, relate to the parish church of St George the Martyr in Queen Square/ Ormond Street, Holbourn. The church had been built in 1706 as a chapel of ease to St Andrew's, Holbourn, and consecrated in 1723 as St George the Martyr. Dr Marshall, named as customer between 31 March 1721 and 21 April 1730, is the rector John Marshall, who died suddenly 3 October 1730. Accordingly the entry in the customer account ledger for 1 May 1731 names no client, but in ledger C the compositor claims as usual for Dr Marshall's hymns. Perhaps he was right to do so, for Marshall may have written some or all the hymns sung during his term of office, thus forming a repertoire

for future use. The new rector, Dr Samuel Green, is not named in the ledgers until April 1735. No doubt he is responsible for the Proposals for Dr Green's Select anthems, printed for Gyles in March 1742. I have not found a copy of the anthems, and they may not have been printed. All save the three earliest of the entries for St George's hymns form a regular twice-yearly sequence from January 1724 to January 1744, apart from gaps in 1725–6 and January 1727, perhaps book-keeping lapses. The entries, in late January/early February and in late April/early May no doubt anticipate religious festivals at the beginning of Lent and on Ascension Day (Holy Thursday), but one cannot be quite sure just from the date of printing. However, thanks to D.F. Foxon, who found a copy for me, the first ledger entry for 23 December 1710, which records the printing of Hymns for the charity boys of St George's Chapel, and charges them to Robert Nelson, can confidently be identified. It refers to the *Hymn to be sung by the charity-boys of St George's Chapel in Ormond-Street, upon the fourth Sunday in Advent; being Christmas-Eve, 1710*, a copy of which is in the Halliwell-Phillipps collection, Chetham's Library, Manchester. It is a half sheet, as were all the hymns printed by the Bowyers. It is printed on one side, and contains only one hymn, perhaps written for the occasion, for I have found no other record of it. Were the other 103 examples like this one? And was its author perhaps Robert Nelson, the celebrated nonjuror, who some months earlier had moved to Ormond Street, and at the close of his life associated himself with St George's? I wonder how many of the hymns were original compositions, words and music, and how many found their way into later hymnaries?

The list of hospitals named in a dozen other jobs reads almost like a contemporary directory: Bridewell and Bethle[he]m, Christ's, otherwise referred to as the Blue-coat hospital, Guy's (founded 1722), St Bartholomew's, and the Westminster Infirmary (instituted by public subscription 1722). One example must suffice. On 7 February 1728 one Cradock is debited with a List of the governors of Guy's hospital, 250 copies, half sheet. This is closely followed by his Petitions to be chosen surgeon of Guy's hospital, 100 copies, half sheet, charged 17 February 1728; 100 copies, ¼ sheet, charged 26 February 1728; and 1 000 copies, 1/8 sheet, charged 8 March 1728. Nowadays the practice of canvassing for election to professional posts is a curiosity, even in Oxford.

Schools are not much in evidence. One might find curious reading in the Rules for school-masters and mistresses, 500 copies, charged on 11 July 1730 to Edward Harley, presumably a school governor, otherwise auditor of the Imprest Account. Tickets for the Felstead School annual feast, 150 copies, ¼ sheet, are charged to Wyat on 15 June 1733, and reappear in the accounts about the same date in other years. Charities may be represented by the *Orders made by the trustees of Dr Busby's charity* (copy in Bodley, Browne Willis MSS. 100 fo.88), charged on 9 April 1737 to Mr Owen Davies, Little Cloysters, Westminster Abbey, 1000 copies, ¼ sheet. Richard Busby, d. 1695, was the famous head of Westminster School, remembered for his severity, brilliant pupils, and charitable bequests. There is also Gilbertson's gift, no customer named, 120 copies charged on 4 January 1735 – has anyone heard of this?

Three large public bodies take about forty-five jobs of varying sizes. The Bedford Level Corporation from 1726 to 1766 calls for some twenty items, notably a series of accounts for the several Levels of the fens, for instance *The account of Edward Partheriche, esq; receiver and expenditor general for. . . [the Middle and South Levels] pro anno 1727*, 200 copies, 12 sheets in folio, entered to Plaxton on 28 June 1728

(copy in Bodley, Gough Camb. 104). W. Plaxton was then Registrar of the Corporation. The New River Water Company is concerned in nine pieces printed between 1723 and 1742, all save the last debited to Vincent. On 30 January 1742 Bills for the Company are charged instead to the Clerk of the Amicable Society for Perpetual Assurance, a body which is concerned in another fifteen jobs between 1730 and 1742, reminding us that English insurance grew up during the eighteenth century. Chances of finding New River Company material for this period would appear to have been greatly reduced by a fire in the Company's office 'in the Bridewell precinct 24th December 1769, which consumed all the offices, books, accounts'¹.

The great range of commercial activity reflected in the ledgers may be illustrated merely by quoting a few entries. You may well imagine that these instances too would on further inquiry open vistas of eighteenth-century life. Advertisement of a sale of timber by candle, 300 copies, charged 2 August 1724 to Sam. Billingsley; Bills for Bateman's Spirits of scurvy grass, 6 000 copies, charged 3 April 1734 to Mrs Hills, who shows herself to be active in this class of work; Bills relating to the Shadwell Water Works, charged 8 January 1739; Ealing coach bills, 50 copies, charged presumably to a Mr Reay 1 April 1738; Shop bills for nets, fishing tackle, &c., 1 000 copies, 1/8 sheet, charged 26 August 1738 to Knight; Labels for ointment pots, charged 3 May 1746 to Astly in Watling Street; Lottery tickets, charged 16 January 1722 to Vincent; Notice of hogs and pigs to be sold, 1 000 copies, ¼ sheet, charged 1 November 1733 to J. Thompson — one of ten such sales recorded between 1723 and 1752, several held at the Bear and Ragged Staff. Tantalisingly vague is the entry Bills for a play, 100 copies, ¼ sheet, and Tickets for ditto, 300 copies, 1/8 sheet, both entered 15 April 1736 to Osmond.

I have only begun to explore the interest of jobbing printing to the bibliographer and to others who need his services. Still, I hope I have shown the Bowyer printing ledgers as a new and ample, if often cloudy source of information about the daily tasks of the eighteenth-century printer, and about the people and institutions often forgotten by posterity. It is something to point out the kinds of things that were printed and might yet be found, now that one knows what to look for. I could say much on this last point, chiefly to urge bibliographers to look outside the well-catalogued book collections of the major research libraries. There is growing popular interest in the collection of printed ephemera, witness the foundation in 1975 of the Ephemera Society (Chairman: Maurice Rickards, 10 Fitzroy Square, London). Nor do I forget the work of such as Michael Twyman, John Lewis, and Michael Turner, until recently Curator of the John Johnson Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. There is plenty of room for new workers, perhaps especially in Australasia. I hope this essay will encourage others to study ways in which jobbing printing can be used as an index of civilisation.

K.I.D. Maslen,
University of Otago,
Dunedin.

1. *The Library* 13 (1932), 113–43.
2. 'Concurrent printing', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 46 (1952), 45–57.

3. J.C. Andersen, 'Early printing in New Zealand', in R.A. McKay (ed.), *A History of printing in New Zealand 1830-1940* (Wellington, 1940), p.2.
4. *The Library* 10(1930), 121-62.
5. *The Library* 15(1960), 129-32.
6. *The Library* 30(1975), 281-302.
7. *The Library* 27(1972), 302-9.
8. *The Library* 25(1970), 120-35.
9. Letter to Jefferson, Middlesex Sessional Papers, April 1763.
10. 47/137 - I owe this reference to the Librarian of Customs and Excise.
11. So reads a manuscript note in an interesting nineteenth-century scrapbook chiefly concerned with the history of the company which from the early seventeenth century supplied much of London's water. I am grateful to Anthony Rota of Bertram Rota Limited for allowing me to see this collection of documents. Extensive early records for the New River Company are nevertheless held in the Public Record Office, as explained in the excellent study by J.W. Gough, *Sir Hugh Myddelton entrepreneur and engineer*, Oxford, 1964.

Copyright of Full Text rests with the original copyright owner and, except as permitted under the Copyright Act 1968, copying this copyright material is prohibited without the permission of the owner or its exclusive licensee or agent or by way of a license from Copyright Agency Limited. For information about such licences contact Copyright Agency Limited on (02) 93947600 (ph) or (02) 93947601 (fax)