The Business of News in England, 1760-1820

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For my family

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Introduction

Edward Villiers Rippingille's *The Post Office* (1819) depicts the busy heart of an English country town.[1] The post has arrived, letters, parcels and newspapers have been delivered, customers dropped off and others collected. In the distance there is a commotion as the post coach with travellers on board leaves the town, the guard at the back blowing his horn to signal their departure. Street sellers, attracted by the crowds, peddle their wares. Men and women chat while queuing expectantly for their post. Others, already in possession of letters, have hurriedly opened them and read the latest from friends and family, business associates, patrons and others. One woman sets down her basket to make conversation. In the centre of the piece, a gentleman holds a newspaper and converses with others, while a tradesman in his overalls seeks to peer closer at the front page. In this busy scene, social and material interactions connect local inhabitants with one another and with those in the world beyond by letter and in print, much aided by eighteenth-century innovations in press, post and roads that provided faster and more regular communication than ever before.

Provincial newspapers were part of this emerging environment of communications in late eighteenth-century England. Printers copied and altered the paragraphs from London, European, American and other country newspapers, bringing news from across the globe into the lives of provincial inhabitants. They added ever-increasing volumes of local news and advertisements so that the majority of the paper distilled national and global worldviews into distinctly local perspectives. Newspapers did so because they too were constructed of and by the communities in which they were produced; local missives offering condensed knowledge and information as one nodal point within a dense tangle of local and national communications. Newspaper

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proprietors operated as national mediators between local worlds to bring a juxtaposition of national and global news to their readers. In doing so, they built greater connections with one another too, creating a national news network with its own systems of distribution, communication and rules of engagement and with them, the power to negotiate with parliament (Figure I.1).

This study explores the processes by which news entered into the lives of provincial inhabitants. It investigates the world behind the creation of the newspaper: that of the hidden hands who established titles, arranged loans to fund them and worked day and night to prepare first editions; of the print-shop workers who manned the cases of type and filled the composing sticks, inked the presses and hung sodden sheets of print to dry; of the delivery boys who cried the news through streets and markets and the newsmen who galloped through counties and towns in order to deliver their wares; and of the editors, agents and other specialists who devised new means of transferring information and working together, increasing profits and representing the concerns of 'the press' as a collective to parliament. In doing so, this study explores the business of news as performed by English provincial newspaper proprietors and their metropolitan agents, examining how they used and devised institutional arrangements to facilitate the gathering, collating and reporting of news in provincial papers.

This study focuses on provincial newspaper proprietors and their newspapers, more usually described as 'country' papers by contemporaries. Provincial newspapers have been derided and underestimated, but they formed a critical component of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century media. These were the newspapers that inhabitants of the nation as a whole read. They represented a sizeable section of the English press, they were greater in number than London titles and certainly more geographically diverse. They brought in greater advertising revenues than their metropolitan counterparts too. Traditional studies of the press disparagingly remarked on provincial newspapers' parasitic nature, partly because much of their news was taken from the London papers and partly because the earliest historians were themselves either working for the London papers—their main competition—or related to those who were: hardly the paragons of objective assessment.[2] Indeed, the term '*provincial* press' (instead of country press or papers), increasingly used by the early nineteenth century to denote equality with the metropolitan press, was also seized upon by these writers to conjure up images of newspapers filled with small-town gossip of peripheral value to the mainstream. Revisions of the provincial press in the 1960s

Figure I.1 Edward Villiers Rippingille, *The Post Office* (1819) (© Leeds Museum and Galleries)

underlined the unique local and advertising content generated by provincial newspapers.[3] More recent analyses underline the role of newspapers in the formation of public opinion and in the political, social and cultural lives of towns.[4] Such is the recognition that provincial newspapers constituted a vital component of the English press that they have been placed side-by-side with metropolitan titles as barometers of national opinion and even conflated with them.[5] Examining provincial newspapers as a composite whole, however, affords the opportunity for closer examination of the processes of communication within and between towns across England. To understand the eight-ninths of English society who did *not* live in London in the eighteenth century, examination of the provincial newspaper press is a good place to start.

This study's geographical boundaries are those of England. Raymond has argued that national histories are teleological, that newspapers were the product of international news that pulsed through the Continent and beyond as much as they were products of England or Britain.[6] Newspapers are indeed porous, as are national boundaries, and it is the case that much of the country papers' content came from overseas and via London. However, newspapers were constructed by owners, editors and others who were influenced primarily by legislation decided within the national parliament, as well as by local and national issues and mores (about which, more later).[7] Within the book trade, the English and Scottish book trades had been established within different legal traditions, while Wales had no newspaper until 1804. More than this, newspaper proprietors intended to create newspapers that appealed to their local readerships. In this sense, this study offers a timely intervention, for histories of geographical identities have turned away from Britain and towards differentiation between the regions and between the four nations.[8] Examining the intersections between nation and regions, while taking account of the myriad of its connections and influences—European, transatlantic, English, Irish and Scottish—tells us much about the way in which one nation's newspaper press emerged.

The central characters of this study are the newspaper proprietors themselves. This is in no small part due to their absence in most analyses.[9] Studies on the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century press have generally ignored the trade, instead granting politicians and readers agency in the press–political sphere.[10] Indeed, readers are considered to have moved freely between the literary and physical public spheres.[11] Thus, Barker argues that the press 'shared a common set of beliefs about not only the importance of public opinion and the people in the nation's political affairs, but also about who "the people" were'.[12] Yet

'the press' that made these crucial and seemingly unified decisions has remained largely unidentified, so too the processes by which they came to be identified as such. Newspapers were not autonomous actors and public opinion requires representation in order to exist.[13] Examination of the business of news also provides new insights into wider debates, particularly regarding the role of the press in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century politics and regarding the operation of local and national business during the Industrial Revolution. Placing newspaper proprietors at the heart of the newspaper trade, this book integrates the production-side of the press with that of its impact and situates the individual newspaper business and its proprietor within the locale and the burgeoning national trade.

Who were newspaper proprietors? As national and international communications systems developed at what appeared to contemporaries to have been a rapid pace, newspaper proprietors can best be described as communications brokers—members of local communities who specialised in the trading of local, national and global information (including advertising) and who, by virtue of their occupation, gained significance within the local and national community. They were not nineteenth-century 'professional' journalists, but printers, booksellers and others. These businessmen and women were broadly from the middling sorts: the same social strata as most of their readers, advertisers and customers. As with other trades of the period they ran their businesses in small business models, they traded with each other, they reckoned their books and they traded and relied on the reputation of their families: behaviours expected of middling men and women living in a local environment that was tightly bound by credit arrangements.[14] However, newspaper proprietors were also set apart from their contemporaries by virtue of their role in the dissemination of information and knowledge. Newspaper proprietors comprised individual links in the 'communications circuit', in which every actor (and his or her individual circumstances) cumulatively shaped a text.[15] In the newspaper press, this circuit operated locally and personally, whereby readers and advertisers had the opportunity to offer feedback in person and by letter to a proprietor known to them, thus influencing future editions; and nationally, whereby individual proprietors linked together to form a national press network.

Within local communities newspaper proprietors had social significance by virtue of their role in the communications circuit. Historians have sought out varying ways of denoting important members of middling communities in the early modern period. French has

identified a middling sort who had roles as 'chief inhabitants' in their villages. The primary characteristics of such men, he argues, were wealth, service in parish office and the implication of deeper (or more obvious) roots in the settlement.[16] While such a model fits the notion of operators within local personalised communities (where the newspapers represented deep roots in the community), newspaper owners were most valued because of their connections. D'Cruze has identified a group of middling sorts in Colchester whose status was indeed related to these connections, whom she describes as 'community brokers'.[17] These community brokers were urban middling businessmen who were actively engaged in the public sphere as civil or political office holders and who were sought out by others as crucial points of local contention. Extending this to the press, newspaper proprietors were mediators in the local communications circuit. They did not always hold public office (some did), but they were politically active through their newspapers and supplied regional news and advertising, moving information across multiple manuscript, oral and print media and mediating between politicians and readers. This also translated to their newspapers, which reflected local communities' mores and their relationships with the proprietor. Moreover, just as the independence of community brokers was realised through their connections with one another, connections with other communications brokers both enhanced and reinforced the power of the individual newspaper proprietor.[18] Newspaper proprietors were communications brokers, connecting communities and operating as intermediaries between them and the national community as they moved information through print and did business with other proprietors too.

Exploring the economic and social influences on the communications brokers who procured, produced and disseminated news in England, this study has four main contentions. First, that through taxation, provincial newspapers were more powerful within the press–politics nexus than has been previously recognised; second, that provincial newspaper journalism was experiencing professionalization and came to develop a unique occupational identity over the period; third, that the newspaper trade as a whole was characteristically cooperative rather than competitive; and fourth, that the construction and dissemination of news was unique to the economic and social environment in which each individual newspaper was produced.

First, over the later eighteenth century, provincial newspapers carved out a unique position within the press–politics nexus by using vexatious stamp and advertising acts to their advantage. Historians have argued that eighteenth-century newspapers gained power through

a combination of content that brought the daily machinations of government into the everyday lives of citizens and through advertising duties that freed individual papers from government and political subsidies.[19] Newspapers, it is argued, were an essential component of British politics, facilitating middle-class engagement in and increasing influence over parliamentary politics.[20] By the 1740s, the notion that the press as vital to 'the exercise of the people's alleged right to examine "the measures of every administration"' was 'near commonplace'.[21] By the 1760s and the Wilkes affair, the notion of 'public opinion' was increasingly connected to radical ideas of historic English freedoms. The press became a key element of the 'alternative structure of politics' and won important freedoms, especially the right to report parliamentary debates.[22] This was consolidated over the American and French Revolutions as groups and individuals used newspapers to promote the extension of the franchise and parliamentary reform while others used them to defend the status quo. Such was the press's success that newspapers shaped parliamentarians' oratory within parliament as they became aware that their words were now exposed to those outside of it.[23] This was aided considerably by the growing profits of newspapers from advertising, which enabled them to be free from political subsidies. Increased profits were in part caused by increasing stamp duties which meant that there was no profit on the sale of newspapers (and instead only profit in advertising), combined with a growing number of services, products and businesses that targeted the new consuming public.[24] At least some newspapers, therefore, were independent of political subsidies. According to these interpretations, then, by the close of the eighteenth century the press was triumphant. Yet individual subsidies to newspapers and payments to editors continued while many other titles earned little or simply collapsed; thus, the trajectory of financially enabled independence supposedly experienced by the press as a whole falls short, and applies patchily at best. The notion that newspapers were successful because of what they said and how they were funded is further problematic because legislation continued to control it and the application of legal measures (especially libel) became more rigorous in response to radical threats.

Other historians have instead suggested that the press had limited impact over the eighteenth century. They focus on the perniciousness of the government in controlling and monitoring the press throughout the eighteenth century. Here the government is characterised as threatened by the success of press and public.[25] Much of society was 'mad, bad and dangerous to know' and the freedom of information—especially

political information—threatened to allow them access to privileged information with which they were not responsible enough to be trusted.[26] In this view, the press merely reflected society rather than shaping it and by the close of the century the government had a greater stranglehold over the press than ever. Only once the age of revolutions died down and an era of political stability emerged in the nineteenth century could the liberty of the press become a possibility. However, there are similarities between this version of the press–politics nexus and those more optimistic interpretations based on its commercial success. Each offers a Whiggish interpretation of the role of democracy: the one based on the continuing control of parliament until its inevitable reduction of power, the other underlining the unassailable rise of the press through commerce. Attempts have been made to find middle-ground between the two but there remains some way to go.[27]

Conflicting interpretations of the eighteenth-century press have arisen due to chronology and subject matter. By 1800, the end date of many eighteenth-century studies, the effects of the American and French Revolutions were still being felt across the world. In Britain campaigns for radical parliamentary reform meant that the legislature and judiciary had clamped down on what they considered to have been the dangerous elements of the press and looked set to continue to do so. Studies on the nineteenth-century press meanwhile invariably pick up the story from the 1830s, with the campaign for press freedom from the 'taxes on knowledge'.[28] Here, analyses present the newspaper industry as fully formed, thanks to the reduction of stamp duties, mechanisation of printing and the rise of the railways.[29] The lacuna suggests a trajectory of suppression from the late eighteenth century towards an inevitable solution in the form of the reduction in stamp duties in 1836 and their eventual removal in 1855, all of which tied neatly with industrialisation. This was simply not the case. Following E. P. Thompson, Silberstein-Loeb and John argue that historians have examined the press through the fallacious 'rationalist-illusion': the presumption that the removal of restrictions on news production and distribution would result in the emergence of 'high-quality' (in other words, truly independent) journalism.[30] Indeed, the press was already divided on this issue. As analyses of the early nineteenth-century unstamped press emphasise, its publishers were unwilling to engage with the mainstream press which they considered to have become part of the establishment.[31]

Refocusing our view towards the trade and its relationship with parliament offers a critical intervention between these views. In

particular, rather than individual papers freeing themselves of reliance on political subsidies, the substantial advertising duties paid by the provincial press as a whole into the national coffers meant that provincial proprietors gained unique leverage in legislative decisions regarding the press. By the turn of the nineteenth century, it was provincial proprietors and editors rather than their metropolitan counterparts who were consulted first when it came to changes to advertising and stamp duties. Thus, while assertions that advertising finances reduced political control over newspapers are broadly correct, the situation was more complex: advertising mattered not simply because individual papers' earnings outpaced potential bribes but because the press as a whole was gaining greater power within the press–politics nexus.[32]

Second, this study argues that provincial journalism underwent professionalisation in the period under review. In many ways, framing newspaper proprietors within a discussion of professions is unhelpful because it encourages an anachronistic view of press and professions.[33] Late eighteenth-century provincial journalists were substantially different from their late nineteenth-century counterparts. However, the unique constellation of pressures in the period combined with growing profits forced the growing specialisation of newspaper ownership and management. This was the period in which groups of non-specialists located those with expertise to run their papers, or risked prosecution from libel, financial ruin or both; in which provincial editors who moved from paper to paper and who held a degree of autonomy at each began to emerge; and in which apprentices sought out newspaper owners to whom they could be bound in order to learn the trade. These characteristics are evident in national overview. Locally too, individual proprietors and editors were marked out as members of the community with particular significance. In their roles as communications brokers, they frequently took on political or philanthropic campaigns, placing them in positions of prominence within the middling community.

Third, this study determines that contrary to common assumptions, the newspaper trade was predominantly collaborative rather than competitive and that this underlay the growing power of the provincial press as a collective force. Newspapers might have been fiercely competitive when a new rival appeared in the local marketplace, as they could be in language and tone in this era of increasing partisanship. However, members of the trade worked together in order to offset the limitations of an uncertain legislative and judicial environment—in which stamp and advertising duties fluctuated and libel mechanisms were inconsistently applied but more aggressively threatened in the

revolutionary climate—and a resulting marketplace that demanded high barriers to entry. Newspaper proprietors acted as one another's agents regardless of political affiliation, with the proprietors of even radical Foxite titles engaging in collaborative networks and developing mutually agreed 'rules of the game' by which they could co-exist and do business in regional marketplaces. These networks in turn extended and deepened, developing into a national trade network that was tied together and represented by specialist agents at the trade's metropolitan heart.

Capturing the processes by which dense social and material interactions were fostered locally and connected to the national news web with its own emerging identity and rules provides insights into the institutional arrangements devised by proprietors to extend their businesses and to ensure trustworthy transactions across the network. It further enables deeper understanding of the means by which proprietors equipped readers with the means to trust in news that had been passed from one community to another that might be several hundred miles away or further. Conceptualising historical relationships in the form of networks has proved a fruitful means of historical analysis. In recent years, historians have eschewed collective identities and looked instead to networks as a means of understanding historical actors' motivations and behaviours.[34] Exploring an individual or group's networks takes into account the meaningful relationships and influences on their lives, enabling a new understanding of the individual as a complex and nuanced convergence of influences, rather than as part of a collective 'type', defined by gender, class, age, race or nation. Institutions similarly benefit from this analysis, in the myriad of variant relationships that informed business decisions and as analyses have afforded greater prominence to nebulous and unquantifiable 'soft' institutional elements that defined business culture, such as trust, credit and reputation.[35] Indeed, trust is often taken to be the defining characteristic of network relationships.

Changes in the mechanisms of trust have come to be associated with modernity. Trust is the belief that things will work out; or, as Mayer, Davis and Schoorman have described it, the 'willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other will perform a particular action important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party'.[36] Giddens and others have argued that the ways in which communities deploy trust changes as they transform from pre-modern to modern societies, moving from personalised or particularised trust embedded in social relationships to more generalised and abstract forms of trust.[37] Ferdinand Töennies depicted this as the shift between *Gemeinschaft*

('community') based on kinship and personal social interactions and *Gesellschaft* ('society'), based on indirect impersonal interactions and rational self-interest, where trust is based on profession and technical expertise.[38] As modernising societies move from relying on 'thick' trust to 'thin' trust, they come to rely more on a greater number of relationships which centre around institutions.[39] The processes by which modernising societies shifted from thick to thin trust have been contested, not least for their simplified conception of early modern relationships and for their teleological trajectory to modernity.[40]

Similar trajectories of change in economic relations and constructions of credit in Britain have also been contested. Muldrew argues that at the end of the early modern period economic relationships in which communities were bound by interpersonal relations and credit was based on personal reputation were eclipsed by economic individualism.[41] However, Finn has demonstrated that the appearance of 'modern' economic individualism reliant on personal character and market relations was uneven and varied.[42] Yet all of these analyses primarily focus on change over time rather than through comparative differences over national and local vistas within the same timeframe. As Smail has demonstrated, there was clear regional variation in credit arrangements.[43] Examining the operation of the newspaper press, in which local and national credit arrangements were crucial to the successful operation of a local enterprise, will thus provide comparative insights into the means by which provincial middling men and women conducted business in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Rather than mechanisms of trust moving from 'thick' to 'thin', Zucker has argued that there are three types of trust: characteristic-based, process-based and institutional trust. The first two are forms of reputational and personal means of trust: characteristic-based trust is dependent on social similarity while process-based trust emerges from recurrent transactions. According to Zucker, these were destabilised during American industrialisation, leading to a reliance on institutions that produced trust, such as professions and intermediaries.[44] In the case of the press, the intermediaries between thick and thin trust were newspaper proprietors— our communications brokers. In her analysis of medical advertising in Northern industrial towns, Barker argues that newspaper proprietors were the intermediaries between the producers of medicines who advertised in the papers and the consumers of these products as the recipients of their advertising; proprietors were able to do so because they knew their customers intimately.[45] Indeed, newspaper proprietors operated as brokers of information that was constructed within the dense interpersonal

connections of the local community where trust in the printer and printing house was a critical element of trust in print.[46] However, regionally and nationally these roles changed, for proprietors also acted as intermediaries within the national communications web, operating at the intersection between personal trust and institutional trust. Here, recurrent transactions with other proprietors gave rise to particular rules of engagement, founded on mutual self-interest.[47] Proprietors were aided in this exercise by London agents who centralised and represented the trade at its core, providing the press with a centralised voice and the confidence to speak as a collective in demanding terms from government.

The processes of building trust are further concerned with the final contention of this study, that the local construction and distribution of news was shaped by the unique economic and social environment of the region in which proprietors lived. Each local proprietor was beholden to the local community and to influences from every member of that community. Interlocking credit mechanisms meant that newspaper proprietors were bound to many of their readers and advertisers who were fellow tradesmen and women. Within this environment of provincial connections, the newspaper itself was dependent upon the reputation of the proprietor and the credit afforded him or her by the local community. This meant that as with other businesses, newspapers were vulnerable to the withdrawal of custom and credit in the event of content or behaviour deemed unpalatable within the local community. These influences could be subtler, with pressure to alter copy coming from family, kin or friends who frequented the same inns, balls and assemblies, churches and meeting houses, clubs and societies. In fact, everyone in the community had the power to shape a local newspaper. Those without the financial wherewithal to purchase a newspaper could effectively shape a paper's content through attacking the office building; landowners and politicians on the other hand might offer inducements and issue promises for the insertion of items, while merchants might withdraw their advertising. As members of local society newspaper proprietors were beholden to other members of it.

That newspapers were bound with their local communities had the potential to have a powerful effect on readers' trust in the news that appeared in their papers. Local communities understood the processes by which news and information was gathered and transferred across the community. Much of a newspaper's content could be tested through knowledge within the local community and newspaper proprietors thus built up credibility over time. As Barker suggests, newspaper proprietors also operated as intermediaries vouching for the content of their newspapers.[48]

More than this, because local communities understood the processes of local news gathering and collation, newspaper proprietors depended on those communities' acceptance that news brought in from other communities could be trusted too because it was subject to the same level of local scrutiny elsewhere. In this way, processes of trust among newspaper proprietors as a trade and in newspapers as a form of communication were not entirely divorced between national and local level, but thick trust created in the latter facilitated the precarious emergence of thin trust via the institutional arrangements of newspaper proprietors in the former.

The study is divided into six chapters, which move from examining the broader contours of the national trade, especially in its relationship with London, to focusing on the activities of, and influences on, proprietors locally, before returning to examine the national picture in the form of the myriad networks that each proprietor built up, and in doing so, connected to the whole.

Chapter 1 determines the unique importance of the provincial press within the English press and examines its development in the light of its relationships with the London press. It argues that provincial newspapers were inextricably bound up with other forms of communication and in the case of the provincial press, this meant that they were shaped by competition from the London papers and by changes in transportation that brought London newspapers in greater quantities, and faster, to provincial towns. The chapter further determines that the provincial press collectively paid greater advertisement duties than the London papers. This gave the provincial press greater firepower within the press–politics nexus, with the provincial trade receiving preferential treatment by the Chancellors of the Exchequer when liaising over stamp and advertising duties. In this way, it was not the emergence of advertising *per se* that freed individual publications from political influence. Rather, it was the collective payment of advertising duty by the provincial press that gave it collective power in Westminster.

Chapter 2 focuses on advertising as the chief source of provincial newspapers' income and explains in closer detail how provincial newspaper proprietors were represented in Westminster, through advertising agents who acted as intermediaries. It details how growing advertising columns and the emergence of particular forms of advertising encouraged the emergence of dedicated agents in London. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the agents William Tayler, Thomas Newton and James White had come to act not simply as intermediaries between newspaper proprietors and advertisers, but between the provincial press and parliament.

Chapter 3 introduces the provincial newspaper proprietors and, in contrast to the change emphasised in the earlier chapters, explores their continuing links with the book trades at the regional level. It nevertheless determines that some aspects of the trade were professionalising in the light of legislative change, competition and reader expectations, which propelled the demand for literary skills and political literacy. Growing profit margins, and thus potential losses, simultaneously encouraged a demand for experienced newspaper experts and paid for them.

Chapters 4 and 5 examine the influences of families and communities on newspaper proprietors. Chapter 4 determines that household-families were integral to the operation of newspaper proprietors, as in other trades. Concern for the family's survival was the abiding concern of most middling sorts in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a period in which limited liability did not exist and the prison or pauper house condemned the family too. This had implications for the content of papers, both in encouraging conservatism within the pages of the newspapers to prevent prosecutions or the loss of custom, and resulting in the inclusion or exclusion of material at the behest of others with personal connections to the proprietor, or with power over him or her. Chapter 5 similarly explores the role of the local community in creating the newspaper. It demonstrates that every member of a community had a degree of control over the newspaper's contents and editorial line. However, as members of the middling community, newspaper proprietors were dependent on interpersonal credit relations. This meant that political miscalculations were swiftly punished in the community as much as the courts through the removal of credit.

Finally, Chapter 6 examines the regional and national connections between provincial newspaper proprietors. It demonstrates that connections were built on the basis of both interpersonal connections and iterative business transactions, with each proprietor doing business with multiple others. This created an intricate national web of minute and flexible connections, enabling the development of trade conventions as well as the transfer of information across the network. As such, the sum of provincial newspaper proprietors' connections became greater than their individual parts, for the successful operation of the newspaper trade and the news network relied on communication beyond communities. In this way, provincial newspapers were not simply one aspect of news culture in the eighteenth century or a source on the myriad lives of provincial inhabitants. They were the critical means by which England's inhabitants received and understood their news.

1
The English Press

Eighteenth-century newspapers, comprising single sheets of paper folded once and printed with time-sensitive information ('news') and advertising on both sides, contributed to a new understanding of their readers' worlds. Published with metronomic regularity, carried by wagon, by post and on horseback across regions and nations, by newsboy and hawker crying through the streets, they spread news, ideas, opinions and fashions. Newspapers connected their readers to one another locally and in geographically disparate towns, villages and regions, encouraging new dimensions of national and imperial belonging, new conceptions of time and space.[1] They connected politicians and public, fostering a new accountability of parliament in Westminster to the nation and offered a means by which intensely local politics could interact with national concerns.[2] Yet newspapers were more complex, in cause and effect. The press's capacity to bring people together also created divisions, for newspapers shone inwards light on regional identities and differences, and highlighted the uniqueness of individual communities.[3] They were politically opposed. They heightened class differences, physically in their prohibitive cost and in content that underlined the differences in middle-class mores from those above and below. In the later eighteenth century, this power both to unite, intensify and divide made newspapers attractive but also dangerous. This chapter explores how press and state negotiated between them and how provincial newspapers particularly shaped the press-politics landscape.

The operation of the newspaper press depended on a set of negotiations between state and newspaper trade, the latter of which consisted of owners, editors and agents who established, produced, managed and sold newspapers. Many of these men and women were invested in local politics and most were interested in making a profit. As information

was relayed through the press, these mediators had the power to amplify and change messages. Successive administrations were aware of the growing power of the press in reaching the political nation and its potential to shape public views, as well as its sizeable contribution to the national coffers in the form of duties. Politicians also had to take account of the notion of public opinion as an agent in the political process, which gained pace over the eighteenth century. After the mid-century, through the Wilkes affair and the American and French Revolutions, the liberty of the press was associated with historic English freedoms and became a key element in the 'alternative structure of politics'.[4] This was buttressed by the Enlightenment response to news, in that print made knowledge.[5] All of this was reinforced by the press's commercial success, with advertising revenues freeing many newspapers from political subsidies.[6] Yet this could only ever affect individual titles rather than the press as a whole. Moreover, as later chapters demonstrate, there were other means of social and economic control enforced by politicians and advertisers.

In national terms, the power of the press developed thanks to the level of finance that newspapers placed collectively into the national coffers and the cohesiveness of members of the press as a group. This further gave the provincial press, so often viewed as the junior partner of the English press, leverage within national debates on the press. Rather than the evolution of the press-politics nexus being the result of a battle between an ancien regime that continued to suppress it on the one hand, and bourgeois individualists who freed the press through commerce on the other, long-term attitudes were shaped by political economy.[7] This involved liaising and negotiating with the 'respectable press' while tightening laws and prosecution instruments to isolate or neutralise problem papers. The result was a paradoxically closer relationship between parliament and the respectable press, comprising both metropolitan and provincial papers, but a divergence between metropolitan and provincial newspaper presses as each battled for priority in legislative decisions. Newspapers did not simply play a role within the 'alternative structure of politics' but came to bridge the divide between it and parliament.[8]

Eschewing earlier characterisations of the provincial press as parasitic and worthless, historians now recognise the importance of provincial newspapers as effecting and reflecting distinctive regional ideas and opinions.[9] Provincial newspapers have even been situated alongside metropolitan titles as barometers of eighteenth-century national opinion.[10] Examining metropolitan and provincial newspapers together reflects, on the one hand, the way in which the English press was

treated equally in law, regardless of geographical location. On the other, it disregards the ways in which the two presses were interlinked and in which their relationship affected both the internal dynamics of the press and the balance of power between press and politics. Moreover, it implies that differences between London and provincial towns were slight, an inference that contemporaries and historians alike would readily reject. Comparing the simultaneously interlinked and purposely separate London and provincial presses within the same analytical frame and tracing their responses to legislative and fiscal change, this chapter demonstrates that the provincial press played a central role in the English press and provided considerable firepower within the press–politics nexus. In doing so, it demonstrates that competition with the London press powered the emergence of the provincial press as an independent force within English politics.

The chapter is divided into five sections. The first introduces the provincial press, establishing the emergence of the press in the light of the lapse of the Licensing Act and subsequent stamp acts and tracing its national expansion over the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The second section determines the differences between London and provincial newspapers, demonstrating that the provincial press had a unique role in news delivery, in part shaped by competition with the London press. This was exacerbated by the construction of new roads and an integrated postal service, discussed in the third section, which introduced greater competition from the London papers within provincial towns and propelled change in delivery and content. Similarly, as the fourth section demonstrates, legislative change in the form of the rise of parliamentary reporting encouraged new region-specific content and encouraged greater accountability on the part of regional politicians. The final section focuses on finance. It demonstrates that provincial newspapers made the largest contribution in advertising duties paid to the government. This gave the provincial press unique leverage within government discussions on the most effective means of taxing the press. Ultimately, the prominence of the provincial press in these discussions indicates recognition by politicians and legislators as to its power in fiscal terms and as a watch on politicians.

Press and nation

The eighteenth-century press was characterised by the constant tension between it and parliament as the former sought greater freedoms and the latter approached the freedom of information with caution. The

lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695 precipitated the establishment of the newspaper press in England. The Act had expired before, between 1679 and 1685, provoking an outpouring of news-sheets and newspapers. However, the period after 1695 was unique, not simply for the lapse's eventual (and for the most part unanticipated) permanence but in the establishment of a national press, for printing was permitted for the first time outside of London, York and the University towns. In 1702 the first provincial newspaper (either the *Bristol Post Boy* or *Norwich Post*) was issued.[11]

Licensing was not abandoned altogether, and in 1712 stamp and advertising duties were placed on every individual copy of a newspaper and every advertisement in a single issue. This brought in funds vital for overseas campaigns, starting with the War of Spanish Succession and escalating over the later eighteenth century in a period of almost constant warfare. It also had the not-unintended side-effect of limiting purchase to the middling ranks and above, that is, to the respectable nation.[12] Stamp duty on newspapers was introduced in 1712 at ½ d. per copy per issue and was increased in 1757, 1776, 1789, 1797 and 1815, in which year it reached 4d. Advertisement duty was also brought in in 1712, starting at 1s. per advertisement per issue and increased in 1757, 1780, 1789 and 1815, when it reached 3s. 6d. The average newspaper therefore cost 2 ½ d. in 1757 and 7d. after the 1815 Stamp Act.[13] This affected readers and proprietors. In terms of readers, each single copy of a paper was subject to stamp duty, meaning that those who could afford provincial newspapers were thus middling sorts and above with the requisite disposable income and literacy. Even so, as this chapter later explores, news could be absorbed in myriad ways that did not require purchase and news was accessible to artisans, labourers and others. In terms of production, stamped paper alone cost more than an entire printing office's weekly wage bill, which forced an almost immediate dependence on advertising income. Profit could be made here because printers could charge advertisers a higher rate than advertising duty alone. This also meant that for printers, barriers to entry were high because they involved considerable and immediate outlay. Far from limiting the press's freedom, however, this was advantageous for it limited competition and enabled some titles to become wealthy thanks to advertising.[14] More than this, high tax contributions also gave the press leverage in parliament, as this chapter will examine later.

Over the later eighteenth century the number of provincial newspapers increased significantly thanks to demographic and urban change, developments in national politics (especially the rise of contested

elections) and, with newspaper profits dependent on advertising, consumer spending. By 1760, as Map 1.1 shows, there were 35 provincial titles. Newspapers were established in main towns on the roads to London and serving large regional hinterlands that could support requisite readership and advertising, particularly regional and county capitals such as Northampton, Exeter and Gloucester, large market towns, such as Sherborne, and port towns including Liverpool and Newcastle. Most early newspapers were connected to a printing house and established in order to connect with a regional market through a newspaper's distribution system and the number of printing houses increased significantly. By the mid-1740s, 174 towns in England had 381 printers, booksellers and engravers.[15] Around 1760, most provincial newspapers also professed political impartiality in order not to alienate readers and town councils although in those towns with vibrant local politics, such as Bristol and Newcastle, newspapers were partisan, not least to differentiate themselves from each other.[16] Indeed, by the 1760s and the Wilkes affair, 'public opinion' and the 'liberty of the press' were terms that were increasingly commonplace among press and public.

By 1790 there were 60 provincial newspapers. Competition and the growth of provincial towns also meant that newspapers had moved into smaller towns, such as Maidstone, and colonised national borders, as shown in Map 1.2. The Newcastle and Whitehaven papers served the Scottish borders, competing with those from Edinburgh and Glasgow. To the West, several titles, including the *Hereford Journal*, were 'happily situated for immediate communication with a considerable part of Wales' which was without an English language newspaper until 1804.[17] Competition also meant that circulations were shrinking, although some newspapers dealt with this through syndication; as early as 1775, an edition of *Brice's Exeter Journal* was published in Plymouth.[18] Industrialising towns were also gaining a growing number of titles as they expanded, so that Manchester and Leeds had two apiece. The Atlantic ports of Liverpool and Bristol laid claim to three titles. Newspapers required readers and advertisers in order to sustain them but local and national politics motivated significant changes in the newspaper press, especially during the American and French Revolutions. Groups and individuals used the press both to promote extension of the franchise and parliamentary reform and to defend the existing status quo. At the same time, freedom to publish parliamentary debates from 1771 encouraged greater legislative transparency, encouraging the press to take on the role of watchdog, and greater collaboration with the press as mediators between parliament and the people.
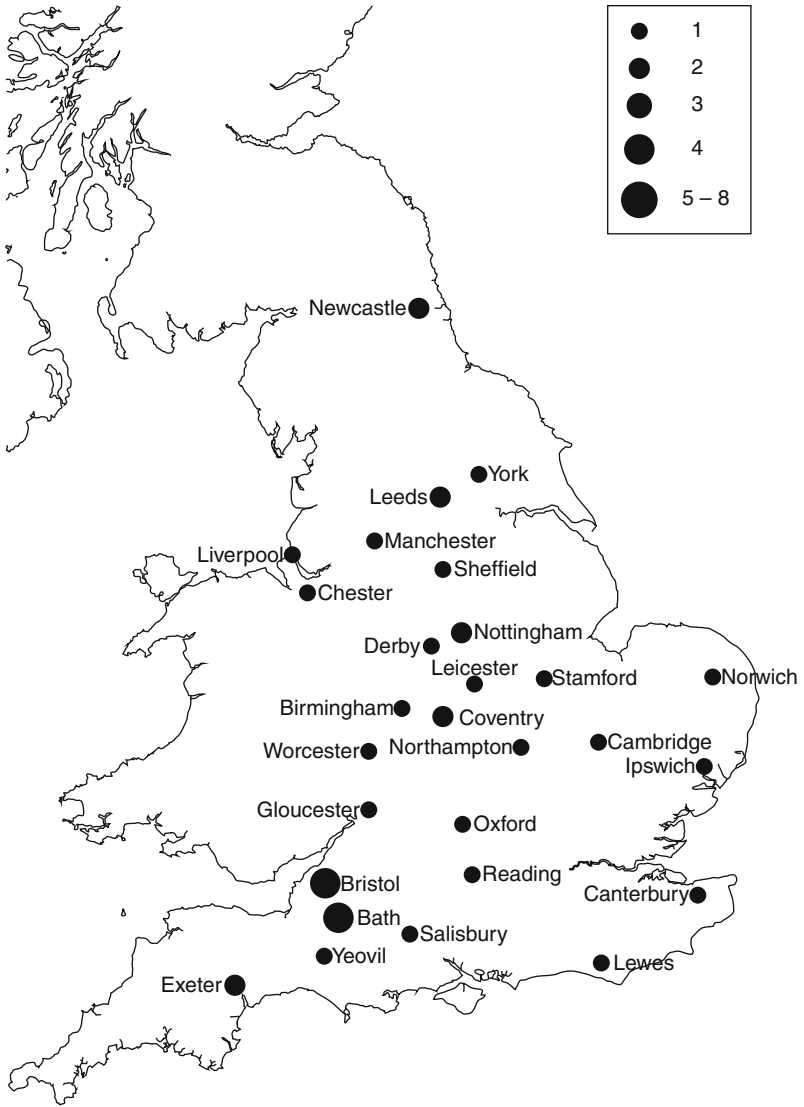
Map 1.1 Geographical distribution of provincial newspapers, end 1760
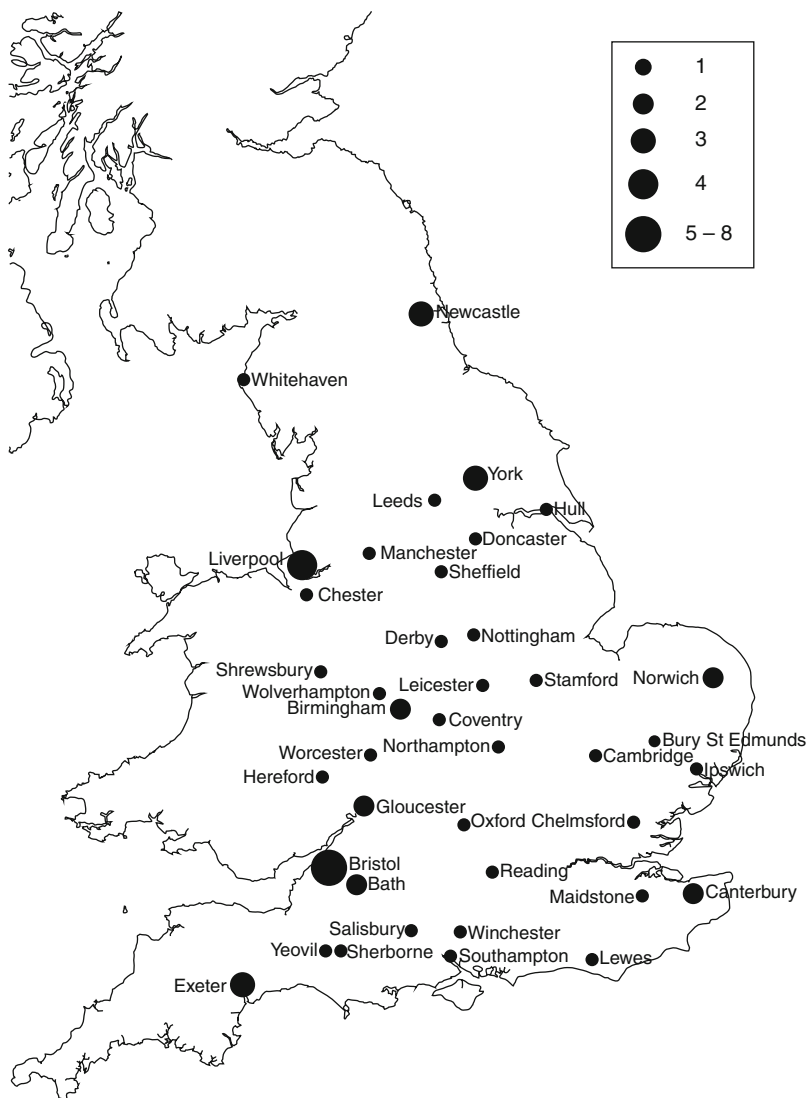
Map 1.2 Geographical distribution of provincial newspapers, end 1790

Radical newspapers were a numerically small but important feature of the provincial newspaper landscape in 1790, the product of a continuing tradition of oppositionist print politics over much of the eighteenth century. In total, at least eleven provincial radical titles calling for urgent parliamentary reform were established in the 1780s and 1790s, most of which were scattered in the Midlands and the North, including Wolverhampton, Manchester, Newcastle and Leicester. They combined local grievances with national calls for parliamentary reform. The *Chester Chronicle*, for example, was purchased in 1783 in order to lend support to the town's Independent interest there and the *Sheffield Register* was established to promote the activities of the Sheffield Corresponding Society in 1787. Unlike other provincial papers, moreover, many of the radical papers were circulated nationally and the ability to spread dissent and for local grievances to coalesce was their most dangerous aspect for the authorities.

Most radical newspapers were opposed locally by loyalist groups, or prosecuted into submission or out of existence by the authorities, most usually for the distribution of Paine's *Rights of Man*, or for seditious libel or treason. National legislation that also touched the press was brought in in tandem, including the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act (1794), which enabled the arrest and imprisonment of individuals without trial and the Treasonable Offences Act (1795), which extended the crime of treason to include speaking and writing. The Newspaper Regulation Act (1798) required printers to register themselves and declared that in the case of articles intending to 'excite hatred and contempt' of King, constitution or parliament copied from the foreign press, the burden of proof was on the defendant, at the risk of imprisonment. By now, however, any remaining radical newspapers were neutralised thanks to the invasion scare of 1798, although they increased the volume of calls for reform again after 1815.[19] The lack of British revolution in the 1790s was thus no doubt in part due to conservatism and popular loyalism, but the prosecution and persecution of provincial newspaper proprietors certainly contributed to the decision to mute themselves. By the close of the eighteenth century, government, politicians and much of the press itself had neutralised and absorbed the radical papers into the 'respectable' press or removed them altogether.

By 1820, newspapers had continued to expand in numbers, influenced by socio-economic and political change. Manchester, the heart of the industrializing North West, had five newspapers by 1820. As Map 1.3 shows, newspapers in port towns, including Exeter, Bristol, Liverpool and Hull, continued to flourish. Newspapers also sprung

●	1
●	2
●	3
●	4
●	5 – 8

Berwich

Newcastle
Carlisle
Durham
Whitehaven
Kendal
Lancaster
York
Preston
Leeds
Blackburn Wakefield Hull
Liverpool
Manchester Doncaster
Sheffield
Macclesfield
Chester
Derby Nottingham
Stafford
Shrewsbury
Leicester Stamford Norwich
Wolverhampton
Birmingham
Coventry
Warwick Huntingdon
Worcester Northampton Bury St Edmunds
Hereford Cambridge Ipswich
Colchester
Gloucester Cheltenham
Oxford Aylesbury
Chelmford
Bristol Reading Windsor
Bath Maidstone Canterbury
Salisbury Winchester
Taunton Sherborne Southampton Lewes
Yeovil Portsmouth Brighton
Exeter
Truro Plymouth

Map 1.3 Geographical distribution of provincial newspapers, end 1820

up along the South coast in response to the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, aiming to collect news from the ships as they landed. Many proprietors found to their detriment, however, that news alone could not sustain a newspaper. From the early nineteenth century, divisions in national politics became clearer and they drove the multiplication of newspapers as they were established to combat one another within towns and regions. By 1820, a total of 61 towns had newspapers, of which 33 had two or more titles. Even small towns like Truro and Kendal had two titles. In Kendal, the *Westmorland Gazette* (est. 1818) was launched with the deliberate intention of combating the *Westmorland Advertiser*. Founded shortly before the general election of 1818, the *Gazette* played an important role in assisting Sir James Lowther during the elections of 1826, when a near-successful challenge to his domination of the county seat was mounted.[20] Local newspapers were thus increasingly acquired or established by parties to reach localities. By now, the press had become part of the establishment, in many cases owned and influenced by politicians and their supporters. Previously radical titles, including the *Chester Chronicle* and the *Newcastle Chronicle*, supported the Whigs and their proprietors became mayors of their towns. This again served to consolidate the respectable press's position as its proprietors and editors distanced themselves the lower orders campaigning for enfranchisement, even before the punitive Stamp Act of 1815. From 1816, unstamped newspapers, cheaply produced and aimed at the lower ranks, had sought to distance themselves from the newspaper press, although these were destroyed by the Newspaper and Stamp Duties Act of 1819. In this way, the steady spread of newspapers over England marked the provincial press's growing role in local and national society and politics. This, however, was not concomitant with increasing liberation. Instead, the period marked the continuation of the historic push-pull relationship between parliament and press, whereby legislation to control the press was counterbalanced by newspapers' power to disseminate information and by their tax contributions. Content, in the provincial press's case, was further shaped by relationships with, and distance from, London.

Two national presses?

The English press as a whole was subject to the same legislation and taxation but was divided into two distinct markets—the London press and the provincial press. This historic division was based on content collection, market-base and finance. The London press was the largest

single-location press in the world, with 17 newspapers by 1770, 23 by 1790 and 55 by 1820 (now morning and evening dailies, tri-weeklies, bi-weeklies, and weekly Sundays).[21] Even New York and Philadelphia could only lay claim to a dozen titles each by the early nineteenth century.[22] In England, the number of provincial newspapers swiftly toppled the London press, amounting to 35 titles in 1760, 60 by 1790 and 120 by 1820. In the London and provincial markets, competition aided cooperation by encouraging a deepening network of proprietors with occupational identity and collective economic power.

A market for London-produced news, in the form of handwritten newsletters, and printed newsbooks and newspapers, was already a century old by 1695, whereas provincial news production had only been established with the lapse of the Licensing Act. By the later eighteenth century, London newspapers were produced daily (morning and evening), bi-weekly, tri-weekly and in the nineteenth century, weekly. More regular production and a higher concentration of readers meant that a greater number of London newspapers were produced and sold (and most likely read) than provincial newspapers. There was competition among the London papers for advertisers and readers. Whereas the ascendancy of the *Times* between the 1830s and 1860s resulted in a lack of metropolitan competition, this was not the case half a century earlier.[23] The largest titles, the *Daily Advertiser* and the *Gazetteer*, each had a circulation of around 5,000 in 1775, while the *London Evening Post* and the *General Evening Post* had a circulation of around 4,000–4,500. It has been estimated that as many as one in three of London's inhabitants read a newspaper, and London titles circulated far beyond the metropolis. The tri-weeklies were originally published on the days that the coaches left London for the country; in the 1770s, a significant proportion of the *London Evening Post* and the *General Evening Post*'s issues would have been destined for provincial readers.[24]

In contrast, weekly provincial newspapers had numerically and geographically smaller circulations. Successful papers could expect a circulation of upwards of 2,000 by the mid-century. In 1776 there were 2,320 subscribers to the *York Chronicle*, and the *Nottingham Journal* claimed that it sold 'little short of Two Thousand … each week', but the *Manchester Chronicle* claimed a circulation of 4,750 in 1793.[25] The *Macclesfield Courier*, on the other hand, was triumphant about its 1,000 subscribers in 1811, suggesting that by then smaller circulations could sustain a newspaper.[26] As in London, readers accessed newspapers in multiple ways: through individual or group purchase, one-off purchase or subscription; they hired them from hawkers, borrowed them from

friends or listened to or read them in coffeehouses, libraries, book shops, printing shops, alehouses, taverns and hotels; otherwise they consumed them at home, perhaps by the fireside or at the breakfast table. Newspaper reading was often an active, lively and participatory affair. It has been estimated that eight per cent of the population outside of London read a provincial newspaper, although this is perhaps a conservative estimate.[27] Thomas Flindell of Exeter would no doubt have argued so, for he maintained that up to two-thirds of his *Western Luminary* subscribers engaged in news-sharing partnerships, consisting of 'Two, three, four, five or six persons, or families. In some cases a single copy serves a whole village or little country parish'.[28] His description, in a preface to a published subscription list, however, served as a puff to advertisers, for high stamp duties meant that newspapers were dependent upon advertising profits for their survival and Flindell was competing with several other well-established titles for business.

The bulk of all newspapers' content was national and international news and advertising, but the provincial papers had always cut and pasted the former from the London papers. Readers expected this. William Rawson of the *Hull Advertiser*, for example, explained that he had at his disposal 'all the daily papers from London … [and] in cases where retrospection is necessary … he will have the liberty of perusing upwards of one hundred and twenty volumes of papers published in London, during the last thirty years'.[29] The compiler of the *Kentish Gazette* similarly explained that 'The *Intelligence* inserted in this Paper will be of the latest date, and selected from the most approved News-Papers of *London* and other parts of the kingdom'.[30] London was thus placed in the minds of contemporary readers as the centre of national news acquisition and distribution. Nineteenth-century historians, many of whom had connections with the London press, were vocal about the parasitic nature of this 'borrowing'. Contemporary complaints, however, were relatively few in number, not least because of the nature of news production.

With growing numbers of newspapers flooding into the London and provincial markets and as piracy and copyright in the book trade became a growing concern of booksellers, it is considered something of an anomaly that copyright was not extended to newspaper copy.[31] When London newspapers did complain, it was generally because unique news with ongoing value was taken from specialist titles. The Lloyd's association of insurance brokers, for example, threatened to prosecute provincial newspapers that reprinted reports from *Lloyd's List* (itself with a national audience) in the 1750s.[32] Those copyright

concerns that did trouble newspaper producers, then, were those that were based on competition and the value of uniquely gathered and composed items.

Lack of newspaper copyright was due to the time-limited nature of news and its almost untraceable origins. News is only newsworthy when it is fresh, hence newspapers placed time-specific labels—'on Tuesday last', 'on Saturday se'enight' and so on—at the start of each paragraph. The recycling of old news by provincial papers therefore had little bearing on London newspapers that had invariably broken the story several hundred miles away and several days previously. Borrowing news instead reinforced the position of the London papers, stimulating demand for news rather than weakening it. The nature of news gathering was also complex, making the identification of the owner of a discrete piece of news almost impossible. In an era in which libel was a chief means of controlling the press and publishing in the public interest was no defence, anonymity was a pre-requisite. Nor was ascertaining the identity of a writer likely. Newspapers complemented and relied on other newspapers, print, manuscript and oral news networks, 'a dense cloud of material in which each text formed part of a massive but coherent whole'.[33] Published in the largest city and port in the world, London newspapers were themselves an assembly of facts, gossip and supposition, collated from European, American and other London newspapers, pamphlets, broadsides, manuscript correspondence and in person, at the Royal Exchange or one of the capital's hundreds of coffee houses. According to one satirical complaint, hacks picked up the news by 'haunt[ing] Coffee-Houses, and thrust[ing] themselves into Companies where they are not known; or plant[ing] themselves at a convenient Distance, to overhear what is said'.[34] If provincial titles were parasitic, then the London papers were too. Much in the same way that contemporaneous French news was distributed, English newspapers relied on a system of 'feedback and convergence, rather than one of trickling down and linear causality'.[35] Moreover, built into existing multimedia networks, the news in newspapers was presented as ephemeral rather than definitive—as unfinished accounts that offered facts or ideas from which readers could make up their own minds.

The instability of London news created an important distinction between metropolitan and provincial newspapers on which the latter capitalised. In London, as news swirled the city, forming from the myriad of encounters and changing in minutes, news consumers visited multiple news outlets in a day. Newspapers were part of a multimedia commons that engaged in, and reflected, contemporaries'

heterogeneous engagement with the world—one that simply could not rely on gossip, supposition, or the press in isolation. Offering mere snapshots of the fast-moving metropolitan news, the London titles regularly inserted apologies and addenda correcting misinformation. More affordable weekly titles published in country towns, with free delivery via postboys, promised and produced a slower but purportedly more accurate account that could be adjusted as new information came in over the week. In eighteenth-century news distribution, speed was of the essence but time allowed greater accuracy. As the *Derby Journal* made clear in its first issue:

> considering the Nature of this Business … a Publisher of News must inevitably fall into Errors. In order to keep clear of them as possible, he will pay the Strictest Attention to Probability, and be careful never to give the Public such Reports as are inconfident in themselves, or improbable as they relate to know FACTS; and as he wishes to reject every Thing that is NOT TRUE, so he will never be afraid to publish what is.[36]

Unlike in London, where newspapers made similar promises of accuracy and readers rejected their claims, provincial newspapers could provide a broader overview of a week's discussions on an item, thus building an apparently more accurate picture of events.[37] When Shrewsbury's *Salopian Journal* was established in 1794, early in the French Revolutionary Wars, its proprietors explained that they would endeavour to 'on the one hand to guard … against alarming the publick mind, by hasty and unfounded reports; and on the other, against deceiving them, by mutilated and partial details'. They intended to do this by providing 'Opposite or varying accounts of the same transactions … commonly given by the different parties concerned therein' and thus laying 'before … readers the most important of these differing details … [so that] they will be enabled to collate the Facts, and judge for themselves'.[38] In this way, provincial readers had the opportunity to engage in the process of news acquisition and to determine the quality of news sources for themselves.

Local content was a mixture of borrowed news and unique content. Plenty of local news was also on offer through the advertising sections, which alerted readers to stolen or runaway animals and to the arrival of ships, goods, shops and services, new medicines, lotteries and tontines, invited them to balls and assemblies and warned them of bankruptcies, thefts and deaths. Notions of local community also often included those

far from local shores. Local news and advertising frequently included particular places overseas to which English towns and regions had special ties. The *Liverpool Advertiser*, on a typical day for example, might advertise linens and yarns from Dublin or sugar and rum from Jamaica, while Whitehaven's *Cumberland Pacquet* might advertise tobacco from Virginia, rope from Glasgow or include births, marriages and deaths in the West Indies.[39] Print bound Britons to empire, but that empire was relayed to them in local and personal terms. As much as they expanded notions of Britishness, therefore, provincial newspapers also reflected and stretched peculiarly local forms of identity across oceans.

Much local news was collated from traditional forms of communication and from other forms of print. In 1779, a supplement to *Harrison's Derby and Nottingham Journal* announced the successful capture of the Fortress of Pondicherry by East India troops. The news, it explained, was already circulating in Derby, for its church bells had been ringing throughout the day.[40] One day earlier, the paper had reported that 'one Brierley of Mountsorrel in Leicestershire was barbarously shot and murdered on Saturday night', news that had been gleaned 'by hand-bills circulated in this town'; ones that may well have been printed by Harrison himself.[41] Indeed, newspaper owners, usually connected to the wider book trade, had a wide range of print available to them. John Ware of the *Cumberland Pacquet*, for example, printed handbills, posters and pamphlets containing local information that occasionally found its way into his newspaper.[42] Newspaper proprietors were thus communications brokers, operating within the 'thick' interpersonal relations of local communities and acting as points of contact for multiple members of the community looking to gain and disseminate information within immediate region and beyond.

Just as London papers reflected the immutable news swirl of London, provincial newspapers' weekly publication mirrored the rhythms of regional news exchange as towns swelled on market days. The *Derby Mercury*, for example, was published on Derby's market day (a Friday) but produced early editions for country readers on those occasions that market day was moved to a Thursday.[43] The *Bristol Mercury* similarly described how on Bristol's market day, the farmer of the South West had a habit 'as old as the French Revolution, of taking a newspaper home in his pocket with him from town'.[44] Newspapers thus mimicked and were part of the weekly communications between metropolis, towns and hinterlands. The provincial and London presses were intertwined, but each had its own unique contribution to the delivery of news in England. Over the eighteenth century, however, differences were forced

further by changes to inland communications networks and to reporting restrictions in Parliament.

The value of communication

News is dependent on time, and particularly on speed. Changes to inland communications that opened up access to provincial towns and increased the availability of London generated news and thus also shaped the provincial press. The post had been in operation since the seventeenth century but a number of improvements transformed the service over the eighteenth century. Mass road improvements were undertaken, with the number of turnpike acts totalling 340 at the height of the turnpike boom in the 1750s and 1760s.[45] The majority of provincial trunk roads were added to the road network by 1770.[46] Whereas previously the post had only carried mail to and from London, from 1720 bye-posts were created and from 1761 cross posts were added, facilitating the flow of information across the country as well as north to south. These reduced considerably the postal costs for letters and parcels that were paid for by the mile but which had previously had to go via London. By the mid-1760s, most of England and Wales received mail on a daily basis.[47] In 1784, a new system of mail coaches was introduced to speed up and secure the mail system. Designed by John Palmer, a Bath theatre owner, the system was initially rolled out along the Bath road, with the maiden journey taking sixteen hours to reach London: one hour faster than other coaches and a day faster than the postboys. In 1785 the scheme was extended to all major routes in England and Wales and in 1786 to Edinburgh. In communications terms, provincial towns were closer to London and to one another than ever before.

   Almost simultaneous to changes in the postal system, a loophole in the new Franking Act of 1764 heralded the free distribution of newspapers. London papers were posted via the six Clerks of the Road (one for each of the main roads that left London). The Clerks sold these newspapers on at profit to local postmasters although MPs were allowed to send individual newspapers over the mails for free and the Franking Act was intended to formalise this arrangement. In doing so, however, it opened up a loophole whereby MPs now had to send just one letter granting a newspaper free postage in order to send unlimited copies. Initially few newspapers were sent over the mails in this manner, but by 1782 around 60% of the three million newspapers sent through London per annum were franked through MPs.[48] In 1787 a separate Newspaper Office with 18 members of staff was formed to cope with the rapid

increase in newspapers sent over the mails. Newspapers leaving London reached 4.7 million in 1790, 6.4 million in 1793 and 8.6 million in 1796. By comparison, just under 124,000 were sent through or into London in 1790, 205,000 in 1793 and 200,000 in 1796: around 2.5% of those moving out from London to the country.[49]

London papers had always been sent to provincial towns, but by the mid-century they had been increasing in number. Cut-price London newspapers, hired out by hawkers, read by dozens of readers and then sent dog-eared to provincial towns, challenged provincial newspapers too. Such was the problem in Bristol that despite their deep personal animosity, Sarah Farley and Elizabeth Farley, proprietors of the *Bristol Journal* and *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, issued a joint statement condemning the practice.[50] That particular issue was dealt with in 1789 when parliament banned the practice of hiring out newspapers by hawkers, yet this had limited effect on the volume of newspapers sent out to the country.

London newspapers were available in provincial towns as never before and London proprietors sought to take advantage of the situation. One such newspaper was *The Star*, London's first daily evening paper, launched in 1788 'in consequence of the increased facilities of communication by Palmer's mail-coach plan just started'.[51] Agents supplying the paper and taking in advertisements and 'articles of intelligence' from correspondents were listed in Birmingham in the Midlands and across the South of England including Plymouth, Dartmouth, Exeter, Bath and Bristol in the South West, and Rochester in the South East.[52] The newspaper's content reflected its national audience. Typically, of its four pages, one and a half pages contained advertising, one page was dedicated to international and London news and one and a half pages to news from correspondents around the country: an unprecedented level of English news for a newspaper published in London.[53] The transatlantic press may have destabilised metropolitan and American newspaper readers' conceptions of time and space but within the British Isles, provincial readers were confronted with the changing availability of news in provincial towns as well as perceived notions of what now constituted English news.[54] Newspapers were usually outward-looking, focussing on the regions far beyond their shores, but newspapers like *The Sun* encouraged new identification with other provincial regions and towns. The paper also posed a particular threat to local titles for it contained a high level of provincial news pertaining to those towns.

Provincial inhabitants had often combined local newspaper consumption with that of the London press. From the 1750s Parson James

Woodforde of Norfolk, for example, subscribed to both Norwich papers, complementing them with London papers that he read at his local inn.[55] Yet competition from the London papers' faster and cheaper distribution further threatened provincial papers' role as distributors of the fastest news from London, for the growing number of London newspapers' content could be distributed locally through oral, manuscript and lending networks faster than weekly provincial titles. While accurate news no doubt had its allure, unstable but new news was more valuable. In Tiverton, Beavis Clark, Tory town clerk described in 1799 how:

> the cock Jacobin paper called The courier … is taken daily and goes first to Mr. Smith the surgeon, then to Mr. Alier, an alien, in St. Peter's Street—hence it proceeds to Mr. Follet (the Congregational minister) and Mr. Quick the druggist and then to Parson Leigh, the undermaster at Blundell's School. The next morning it goes to Mr. Geo. Dunsford—and then it is sold to Mr. Chilcot, a serge-maker for 26s a year and he sends it and lends it among the common people.[56]

The competition encouraged greater cooperation among provincial proprietors. As early as 1778, Richard Cruttwell of the *Bath Chronicle* had proposed a new Bath title in order to block the expansion of the London press in the town. As he saw it:

> The great variety of newspapers circulated in this city would render it difficult to find an apology for a NEW ONE, did not the unprecedented conduct of some of the London Printers, in sending their Papers out here of the due course of the Post, call on the Country Printers to exert themselves in support of what has ever been considered their just and infringeable Right;—the Printer of the Bath Chronicle therefore purposes (if favoured with the Public encouragement) to fill up the space between the publication of This Paper and the Monday's Journal, by a Saturday's Morning Paper, under the title of the 'Bath Morning Post and General Advertiser'.[57]

In the event, Bath's *Morning Post* was not established, but the episode indicates the extent to which some proprietors were concerned about the encroachment of the London papers into the provincial market.

Other proprietors used a variety of strategies to buy their own publications more time. The *Liverpool General Advertiser* took a similar approach to Cruttwell in Bath, moving his publishing day in 1780 from

Friday lunchtime to a Thursday evening so that 'the public will have an opportunity of seeing all the material news before the post arrives'.[58] Some used express services to ensure that their own London newspapers arrived before those for the general public. The *Sheffield Register* (est. 1787) made the point that its London news arrived by express on a Thursday morning, ten hours before the London papers reached Sheffield by coach on a Friday evening.[59] In Manchester the *British Volunteer and Manchester Weekly Express* was introduced in 1804 and employed an express rider to meet the London mail at Derby (sixty-five miles from Manchester) in order to publish several hours ahead of the London papers' arrival by the conventional mail.[60] Many proprietors also capitalised on the demand for London newspapers in provincial towns by acting as news agents for them.[61]

Provincial proprietors also innovated in terms of content. Local news had been sparse in the early eighteenth century, with advertising constituting the majority of newspapers' local news. However, as traditional forms of communication became less effective in an urbanising nation and as provincial proprietors sought to differentiate their titles from regional and metropolitan competition, local news columns expanded. The *Glocester Journal*'s local and regional news rose from an average of 21 cm per issue in 1771 to 65 cm in 1809, while the *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury* already contained around 100 cm per issue in 1785.[62] Even accounting for the growth in the physical dimensions of newspapers, the proportion of locally-generated news was rising. In 1722 only 3% of the *Northampton Mercury* was local or regional news whereas by 1792 it constituted 18%: a substantial proportion of the paper, bearing that 30–50% of a paper was given over to advertising each week.[63]

Unique local commercial information was also increasingly inserted in the newspapers. As the *Salopian Journal* pointed out, 'the Notices of County affairs, Advertisements of Sales, Purchases and Leases; with the account of prices of Grain and Stocks, are, to most of our Readers, of more importance than narratives of greater sound'.[64] Provincial newspapers, as one node in the national news network, supplied local information into the national market. As early as 1764 the *Kentish Gazette*, which by virtue of its proximity to the metropolis was under greater threat from the London papers than most, offered 'The prices of Grain, Cattle, Hops, &c.', collated from individual correspondents reporting on Mark-Lane, Smithfield and Southwark markets as well as those throughout Kent.[65] Port-town newspapers offered extensive shipping lists, including arrivals and departures from regional ports and lists of imported goods as well as sound lists compiled with the assistance of overseas titles brought

into port directly by merchants and captains. By the later eighteenth century, these newspapers were regularly filed at Lloyd's coffeehouse in London, the centre of the mercantile insurance market.

Provincial proprietors also took advantage of the free mail system, seeking to offer unique overseas news that reached certain ports more quickly than London. News entering the ports from other countries was fed into the national news network, the operation of which is explored more fully in Chapter 6. During the American War, newspapers on the West coast sprung up, seeking to participate in national news exchange, while ports on the South coast gained titles in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. In 1800, for example, Thomas Flindell and five partners founded the *Cornwall Gazette and Falmouth Packet* in Falmouth, the headquarters of the Post Office Packet Service, from which packets sailed to Spain, Portugal, the West Indies, the Mediterranean, Brazil, Surinam, Halifax and New York. Their commanders purportedly had instructions to inform themselves of affairs in every country they visited.[66] Such was the importance of news at Falmouth that a look-out man was permanently stationed on the hill, tasked with spotting returning ships. Similarly, when J. Mottley established his *Portsmouth Telegraph* in 1799, he was so keen to gather information on the latest naval affairs that he specifically advertised to naval officers to offer him their 'professional knowledge … [and] genuine and interesting communication'.[67] These proprietors sought to bypass London in news acquisition and supply, and to boost their own titles' circulations by printing the earliest news. However, despite their emphasis on news supply, newspapers' success predicated on the supply of advertising and attracting local readers, rather than supplying national networks with news. The *Falmouth Packet* folded within eighteen months and the *Portsmouth Chronicle* lasted just one year. Competition from the London papers may have encouraged the provincial press to focus on unique news acquisition but this was not a substitute for business strategy or the recruitment of sufficient advertisers.

Parliamentary reporting

The second major change that transformed the role of the newspaper in the later eighteenth century was the advent of parliamentary reporting. Attempts had been made to publish parliamentary debates in British newspapers and periodicals from the early century, but in 1738 parliament banned reporting from proceedings from either house following a report on the King's speech, with subsequent breaches subject to fines, court cases and reprimands. In November 1768, the *London Evening Post* began

to ignore the ban, followed in 1771 by more than a dozen daily, tri-weekly and weekly London papers. Parliament allowed the lapse of the ban following a legal battle with MP, Mayor of the City of London and perennial thorn-in-parliament's-side John Wilkes following the 'Printers Case', in which the Commons in Westminster ordered the arrest of printers for publishing proceedings and Wilkes sheltered them in the City. Almost immediately, most provincial papers devoted one page, amounting to one-quarter of copy, to parliamentary debates. The impact of parliamentary reporting is well documented.[68] Coupled with growing acknowledgement of public opinion in politics, the debates made the legislature's proceedings and individual MPs' exertions more transparent. This had the effect of encouraging 'orators … [to speak] within the context of a culture of print'.[69] Or as Habermas described the speeches of Charles James Fox, they were 'made with the public in mind'.[70] Parliamentary reporting repositioned newspapers further as arbiters of public opinion and mediators between public and parliament. Politicians joked that the press made them sound more accomplished orators than they were in practice, but mediation also meant that newspapers presented differentiated parliamentary versions of their readers—mostly the middle class—according to the agenda of the publication in question.[71] Metropolitan readers might be aware of the differences in reporting, but there was less potential for this in provincial newspapers and greater rigidity in the social makeup of their readership.

The rise of parliamentary reporting had ramifications for the provincial press. The reports further entrenched London as the national home of news and provincial newspapers were seemingly more reliant than ever on London papers for copy. While journalists like William 'Memory' Woodfall of London's *Public Advertiser* became national stars for the ability to recall long speeches and as the earliest reporters to report live from a scene, the cost of sending provincial reporters to London was generally prohibitive. Provincial proprietors had to rely on London papers and reporters. This led to frustrations. A debate on the Bristol Dock Bill of 1807, for example, was not attended by London reporters, 'being a subject of merely local interest' and went unreported in the *Bristol Gazette*.[72] Some provincial reporters evidently did attend. Charles Knight described seeing 'a provincial' in the House of Commons' gallery during debates on Catholic emancipation in February 1812, but his surprise suggests that this was unusual.[73] Other proprietors recruited editors in the capital. William Jerdan explained in 1812 that:

> It was better and more congenial employment to edit provincial newspapers in London, which, absurd as it may seem at first sight,

is just as effective (with a sub-editor on the spot for local news &c.) as if the writer resided in the place of publication; for the political intelligence had to come from town to the country …. Thus I edited the *Sheffield Mercury* for a number of years, and at other times, a Birmingham, a Staffordshire Potteries, and an Irish journal, and others in various parts of the country.[74]

The logistics of locating parliamentary reports and providing editorial comment on them therefore proved challenging, especially as provincial readers demanded access to the most important debates of national and regional relevance. Nevertheless, the provincial press gained too.

The sheer volume of parliamentary reports meant that provincial newspaper owners and editors could tailor their reports to local communities. It has been estimated that if one London newspaper was entirely filled with debates, this would account for around 2 ¾ hours' worth of speeches, amounting to around one-third of the length of an important debate or one-fifth of the longest debates.[75] As the *Salopian Journal* noted, 'To give the speeches at full length will be impracticable in a weekly paper' and reports in London and provincial papers alike were impressionistic, although the paper still aimed to 'catch the prominent features of each important debate'.[76] The limited space in weekly provincial papers meant that they had to provide précised accounts of the most significant or regionally relevant reports from the reams of available material, thus providing their readers with a unique selection of debates. While this occasionally was unsuccessful, as in the case of the Bristol Dock Bill, it enabled others to focus their subject matter. J. H. Tremayne, MP for Cornwall, explained to his father in 1825 that 'If you read the *Cornwall Gazette*, you will have seen the debate on the tin and copper duties given at length, which was not in the London papers'.[77] Reports were impressionistic in the London and provincial papers. Proprietors thus had a greater selection—even with the challenges of collection and collation—that allowed them to tailor their papers to readership and editorial line of their choosing.

Requisite brevity coupled with the large volumes of information available encouraged a new proximity between MPs and provincial proprietors, for the former would send their speeches direct to the papers. Not all agreed with or engaged in the practice, which was a breach of privilege, but there is evidence that this was widespread.[78] Reports were even occasionally composed by a number of parliamentarians. Francis Bassett, Baron de Dunstanville, regularly sent reports of his speeches to Thomas Flindell of Exeter's *Western Luminary*, describing in one letter

that 'the notes were made by Lord Donoughmore', then compressed by De Dunstanville.[79] Parliamentarians no doubt took notes for their own purposes, particularly for memoirs, but this type of collective note-taking suggests that it was also undertaken for a collective enterprise, such as press provision.

Thanks to local MPs and landowners, provincial newspapers were able to provide a level of detail that would ordinarily have required a separate reporter taking notes in parliament. An individual MP would take notes and build a relationship with a sympathetic newspaper proprietor, or in the nineteenth century, potentially feed this to a paid editor at a sponsored title. The benefits were mutual. A newspaper proprietor gained reports that were local in subject and gained the trust of an important local patron. That patron in return gained greater public prominence in the words of his choosing. As De Dunstanville described to Flindell, 'what I said in the House of Lords on Wednesday has been inaccurately stated in the only two papers which I have seen, the Post & the Chronicle (best in the Post) & … I wish my Western friends to know what I really did say'.[80] A parliamentarian could thus guarantee his centrality in a published debate, regardless of whether or not that was an accurate reflection of events in parliament. Whitehaven's *Cumberland Pacquet*, which supported the independent John Curwen against the Lowther-controlled region, for example, reported extensively on every speech that Curwen gave in parliament, including long debates on the Isle of Man in a level of detail unavailable elsewhere.[81] Other speeches were mentioned in passing, but Curwen was the star of the *Pacquet*'s reports to whom the most attention was paid. In this way, local newspapers gained positions of power in the local press–politics nexus as well as the national, as individual proprietors developed business and patron–client relationships with politicians, as explored further in Chapter 5. This may have encouraged the growth in the number of sponsored titles in the early nineteenth century as divisions in national politics became clearer and titles became more explicitly partisan. In terms of content, moreover, newspapers' positions as mediators encouraged reader interactions too.

Parliamentary reporting allowed voices from parliament to be relayed hundreds of miles from Westminster to a public in towns and villages, but in publishing them, newspapers elicited a response from readers and proprietors alike. New abridged weekly reports provided an overview of the week's news from parliament, allowing for even greater selection and editorial shaping. These appeared particularly in newspapers aimed towards artisans and those lower down the social

scale.[82] Editorials also emerged and Benjamin Flower, editor-proprietor of the Foxite *Cambridge Intelligencer* from 1793, and Peter Stuart of London's *Star* are credited with some of the earliest editorials. Provincial proprietors could thus offer more direct comment on issues affecting provincial towns and highlight provincial concerns about national issues. Provincial newspapers bound intensely local politics to the national. Flower, for example, denounced corruption in local politics while arguing that the war against France was disastrous.[83] By 1811, Edward Baines of the *Leeds Mercury* inserted up to two columns of editorial comment into his paper, combining comment on parliamentary reform with demands for local administrative improvements.[84]

Letters to the editor, anonymous or signed under a pseudonym, were also typical features from the mid-eighteenth century. Not all letters to the editor were political. Plenty outlined new decisions made by clubs and societies, dealt with local concerns or detailed agricultural and industrial improvements or cures for a range of afflictions.[85] Many, however, did focus on politics. Perceptions that letters in newspapers were more effective fora for propaganda played a role in the decline of essay papers and political pamphlets in Britain after the American Revolution. As early as 1756, Lord Hardwicke recommended that if the ministry wished to confute criticisms against it on the loss of Minorca, it should place information in newspapers, for 'these short diurnal libels do more harm than large pamphlets because they spread amongst the common people'.[86] Letters in newspapers were considered a more pervasive—and persuasive—means of reaching the public. Some proprietors also wrote anonymous letters. John Matthew Gutch wrote a series of letters in *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* as 'Cosmo', objecting to local administrative change. The anonymity allowed him to criticise as a member, and therefore representative, of the wider public. Other authors of letters suggested representativeness through common pseudonyms such as Junius, Brutus, 'A Labourer', 'An Artisan' and so on. Anonymity was entirely necessary due to the dangers of libels, but it served a vital persuasive function, being 'derived from a cultural pattern in which individual opinion is not respected'.[87]

These combined features—abridged weekly reports, editorials and weekly publication—were evidently popular. John Moggridge, one of the proprietors of the Whig *Bristol Mercury*, wrote to Lord Grey in 1819, effusively describing the turnabout in his paper's fortunes which he attributed to 'The leading articles, the papers under the head of "State of the Country" &c., and the letters of Aristides' [which] have excited vast attention'.[88] They also preceded the unstamped periodicals of the early

nineteenth century that have been credited with their origin, not least because such features underlined their distance from the reputable press that had become part of the establishment.[89] Yet their success in provincial titles beforehand suggests that nineteenth-century unstamped periodicals imitated provincial newspapers. Rather than actively creating a form separate from newspapers in order to underline their distinction from the 'respectable' press, unstamped titles may have aped provincial, and particularly provincial radical, titles as either competing forms, or in order to draw comparison with them.

Newspapers offered and encouraged ongoing conversations within their pages, within local communities and beyond. Newspapers also offered a means by which the public could increasingly oversee executive and legislature and call them to account. Conversely, MPs, public and other interested parties could publicise their activities, manage reputations and control press output. Throughout, provincial papers played an important and growing role. They developed unique content and positioning, innovated in response to internal dynamics and market changes and to external threats and opportunities. This position was reinforced in financial terms too, through their contribution to the fiscal-military state.

Political economy

An emerging culture of press liberty and freedom of public opinion, shored up by new conventions of parliamentary reporting and juries in libel cases, afforded the press growing power in the later eighteenth century. Public opinion, after all, requires representation in order to exist. Yet the press's power—and especially that of the provincial press— was generated internally through tax contributions which gave it some agency in parliamentary discussions regarding its fate. In doing so, it also divided the London and provincial trades.

Recent analyses have argued that newspapers' success was due to their commercial freedom from subsidies; dependence on advertising income enabled success in spite of stamp duties.[90] This view is simplistic, not least because there is evidence of ongoing bribes and subsidies to individual editors and newspapers. Henry Bate Dudley of the *Morning Herald*, for example, was paid as much as £3,000 in 1781 for backing Lord North during the Prime Minister's continuing unpopularity.[91] These were not on the same scale as the supposed £50,000 spent by Walpole in the 1730s, nor would it have been feasible to bribe every metropolitan and provincial proprietor. Even so, Francis Freeling, Secretary

of the Post Office, claimed to have persuaded 40 provincial newspapers to insert information in their pages from 1791 to 1798, in exchange for the provision of two London newspapers (in which the information to be copied was marked) gratis each week.[92] The offer constituted a substantial perk, considering that London papers cost more than the weekly wage bill for provincial newspaper offices. His success is hard to measure, for Winifred Gales of Sheffield's *Register* later claimed she took the free papers, not to insert the information but to see which other newspapers were doing so, but after six months the papers were no longer sent to her.[93] There were, moreover, other ways to bribe and cajole proprietors and to feed information to the press, as the following chapters explore. At legislative level, however, the power of the provincial press was vested in its contribution to the fiscal-military state.

Ascertaining the contribution of newspapers to the national economy through duties is problematic because records are incomplete. Data on gross advertising duty are available from 1712–1798, and thereafter as net duty to 1826, while data on net stamp duty are available for 1792–1793 and 1797–1826. Placing the press comparatively with taxes on other consumer goods, Dowell estimates that newspapers brought in around £140,000 in stamp duties in 1792–1793, less than glass at £183,000 but greater than calicoes at £96,000, as shown in Figure 1.1.[94] Adding 1792 advertisement duty of £63,578 onto stamp duty adds nearly one-third again to the overall taxes paid by newspapers, now totalling £203,578. This is an imprecise amount, for Dowell's data are for 1792–1793, whereas extant data on gross advertising duty are for January–December 1792.[95] It nonetheless offers an indication of the level of duty paid at this time. Together, stamp and advertising duty amounted to around one-fifth of the £1.1m. duties on wine, or just under one-third of £700,000 the duties raised from the coal trade. In other words, newspapers made a significant contribution within the fiscal-military state. Coupled with their growing remit as overseers of politics, payment of stamp and advertising duties transformed newspapers into agents of the state, rather than servants.

As duties rose over the later eighteenth century, legislation drove greater cohesion within and polarisation between the provincial and London presses. With daily circulations far higher than the weekly papers, London papers contributed higher stamp duty to the Treasury. However, provincial contributions of advertising duty, paid on each advertisement in a single issue, outstripped metropolitan contributions in the late 1790s. As Figure 1.2 shows, whereas in 1796 provincial newspapers brought in £33,975 and metropolitan papers brought in £37,727,
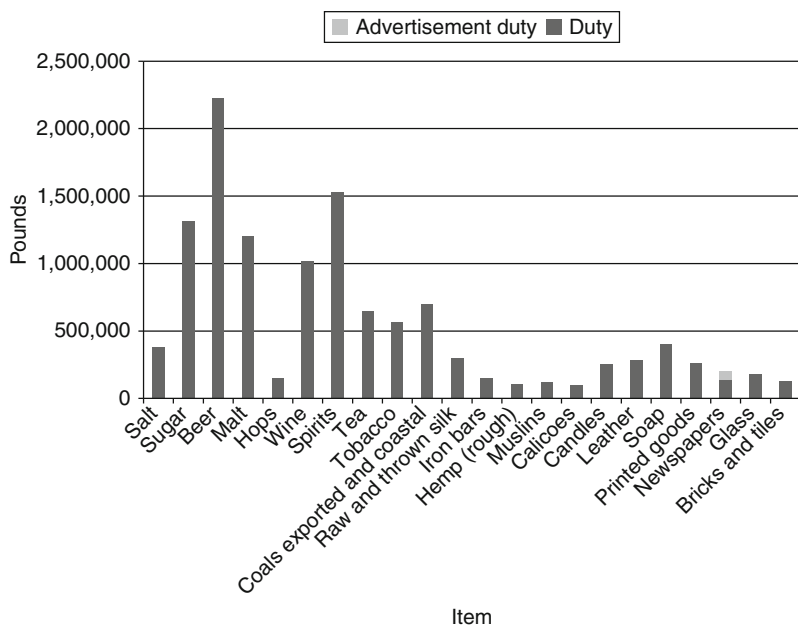
Figure 1.1   Selection of taxes on articles of consumption, 1792–1793
Source: Dowell, History of Taxation, ii, 206–207.
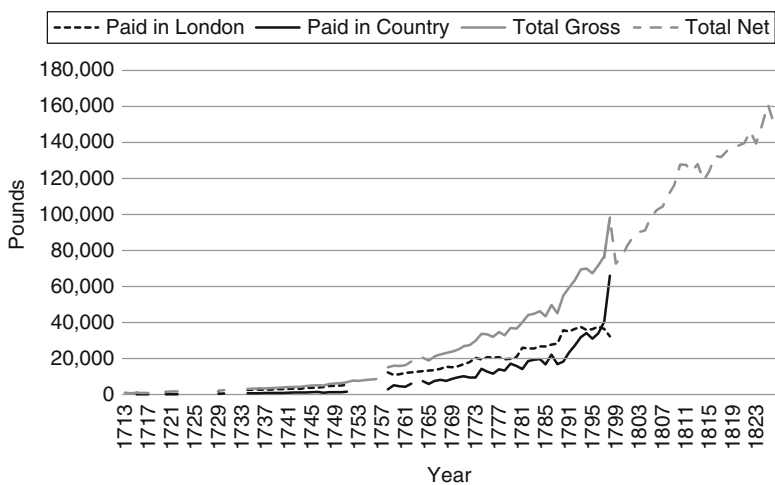
Figure 1.2   Metropolitan and provincial advertising duty, 1713–1823

the following year the former paid £40,410 compared to the London press's £36,347. In 1798, the provincial press's contribution reached £65,955, double that of the London press. Frustratingly, data thereafter are conflated in total net duty, but a continuing rise in the number of titles and advertisements over the following years suggests that the provincial press likely sustained, if not extended further, its lead.

Greater contributions by the press encouraged more consultations with the press. In 1797, stamp duty was increased and the discount that newspapers received on the bulk purchase of newspapers was reduced, while proposed plans to introduce advertisement duty were dropped. The stamp duty rise so close to the Newspaper Regulation Act of 1798 has served as evidence of the administration's attempts to control the vexatious aspects of the press. Certainly, Sheridan and others had argued for the Opposition that the stamp duty rise was 'frivolous and vexatious' and 'a vital blow struck at the liberty of the press'.[96] The Newspaper Regulation Act built on this by compelling printers, proprietors and others connected to publications to register their interests and the printing-office address, and to provide a copy of each edition to the commissioner of stamps. It also placed the burden of proof (at the risk of imprisonment) onto newspapers that copied foreign titles and sought to 'excite hatred and contempt' of King, constitution or parliament. Despite furious debates on the liberty of the press, the Attorney General argued that 'far from abridging the Liberty of the Press' the Act was intended to restore it.[97] The aim for parliament, therefore, was to distinguish the respectable from the radical press. The period marked a watershed in the relationship between parliament and the press that was to become characterized by confrontation over early decades of the nineteenth century. Following the flourishing of the unstamped press, marked by the appearance of Cobbett's *Political Register* in 1816 and Peterloo in 1819, the Newspaper Stamp Duties Act of 1819 extended the definition of a newspaper to include works that contained 'remarks or observations' on the news and created new controls on newspapers, including price and size of paper. Yet these were not aimed at the wider press. Instead, successive administrations sought to retain the respectable press's favour while removing the radical threat.

Protests over the proposed 1797 advertising and stamp duty hikes had been vocal beyond parliament. Although taxation could not be petitioned against until a bill had been enacted, protests could be placed in the pages of the newspapers and 'memorials' sent to the Treasury or relevant Minister.[98] Most newspapers routinely greeted proposed duty changes with a defence of the press and of proprietors'

and printers' rights to make a living. Countless newspapers emphasised the importance of advertising. As the *Manchester Mercury* put it, 'From advertisements, the sole profit of a Newspaper arises'.[99] The Newcastle proprietors had registered their protest in a memorial that pleaded for the advertising duty not to be increased.[100] William Tayler, the provincial news agent examined in Chapter 2, appears to have orchestrated protests or represented a number of provincial newspapers in London.

According to George Rose, who proposed the motion, he had consulted Tayler who had indicated that the country proprietors generally accepted increased stamp duties (advertisement duties were not mentioned). However, there was notable divergence in attitudes towards the London and provincial press. London proprietors, it was argued, were gaining reasonable compensation for the increase through discount on bulk purchase because they purchased stamped paper in such high quantities. They also received ready money for their papers through their vendors, which meant that they were immediately remunerated for higher outlay on stamped paper up front. William Bouverie, Viscount Folkstone, however, had exchanged correspondence on the matter with a proprietor in his constituency and argued for the provincial press. Country proprietors, he suggested, gave twelve months' credit to their customers and thus should also receive some sort of compensation.[101] Pitt replied that the matter was fair, for the London proprietors had to divide their savings with their vendors, limiting their advantage. Although Bouverie's objections were ignored, crucially for the provincial press, an allied advertising duty rise was not passed, thereby reducing potential newspaper acquisition by the lower orders while retaining the favour of newspaper proprietors. As such, in this crucial period in which successive administrations were suppressing radical titles, MPs were also attempting to accommodate members of the press.

Examining advertisement tax contributions over the period reveals that far from the press paying greater advertising tax, parliament actually offered the press relief on duties in real terms. Payments of advertising duty continued to rise over time in the 1790s and early 1800s, but accounting for inflation, Figure 1.3 demonstrates that in real terms advertising duty remained stable and broadly unchanging over the period. In this way, parliament effectively stalled further advertising duty increases from 1797.

During the Stamp Act of 1815, divisions between the London and country presses were further evident. Stamp duties rose again from 3 ½ d. to 4d., advertisement duties rose to 3s. 6d. Pamphlet duty, at 2s. since 1712, was raised to 3d. in response to the growing radical pamphlet
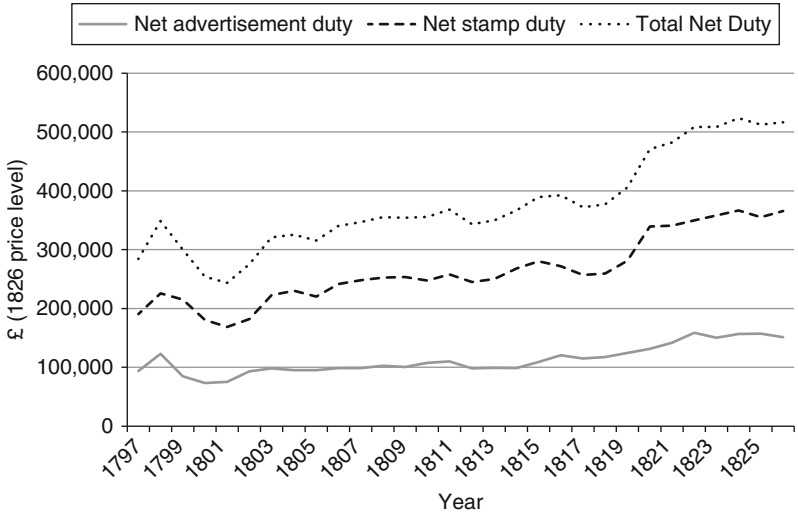
Figure 1.3   Net stamp and advertising duty, 1797–1826 (adjusted for inflation using 1826 price level)

trade. Initially, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had considered introducing variable duty on advertisements dependent on length and had proposed a 1d. charge on newspapers sent through the Post Office. However, in a meeting with provincial editors, they indicated that they would prefer the straightforward stamp and advertising duty raise. In addition a 'liberal discount' would be allowed to those who only raised their cover price from 6 ½ to 7d. The 'Proprietors of the London Papers were not equally willing to coincide in the arrangement' but the Chancellor was 'convinced that no duty would be more cheerfully paid by the public' and the changes favoured by the provincial press were brought in.[102]

The London press was far from satisfied and blamed the provincial press. The *Morning Chronicle* railed against the Chancellor and 'the *compromise*, so indecently made with him by some of the country printers'. The issue was in the difference between the provincial and London newspapers' outlay.

What conversation the CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER may have had with the Deputation of Proprietors of Country Newspapers, whom this alarming proposition has called to town, we do not know. The measure now proposed is certainly less fatal than that originally intended; and they may have preferred the chance of weathering the storm to certain and immediate ruin. Their interests are materially

different from those of the Metropolitan Press; and they declare, that in their conferences with the Minister, they spoke only for themselves. An addition of a halfpenny per sheet may be regarded as trifling to the Proprietors of Country Newspapers, as their Papers are published only once-a-week, but it will be a serious addition to the expence of Daily Papers, which are already burdened to the utmost extent they can bear.[103]

The provincial press's lack of solidarity trumpeted by the London press, however, was countered by John Mathew Gutch of *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, the probable leader of the provincial delegation. For him, the London editors raised a 'vehement, and we must say an unreasonable outcry'. Rather than the provincial proprietors disregarding the London press, it was they who had been deliberately excluded. When the provincial delegation had arrived in London to join the London press's protest, they were informed that 'the London Proprietors considered *their* case so entirely distinct from that of the Country Proprietors, that they wished the latter to act for themselves, and declined any coalition with them'. It was the London press who had met with the Minister first but he had refused to promise them any concessions until he had met with the provincial deputation, itself underlining the latter's importance in legislation governing the press.[104] As the provincial press gained in commercial power, competition with the London press and differing interests in duties encouraged greater cohesion within the provincial press.

Conclusion

Over the eighteenth century the provincial press had established itself as an important sector within the English press—important in terms of taxation, and as disseminators of news and information and as local and national mediators. External forces also shaped this success. Competition with the London press in content, distribution and eventually legislative impact, compelled innovation and cooperation within the provincial trade. By the turn of the nineteenth century, the provincial press was as powerful, if not more so, than its London counterpart. In this context, early assessments of the provincial press as parasitic and worthless, made by the earliest historians of the press (who frequently had a vested interest in it as journalists themselves) should be viewed as part of an attempt to sully the reputation of the provincial press as it flexed its power in parliament and in local politics. Far from the provincial press being outgunned by a flood of London papers into

country towns, the provincial press collectively created a new position for itself and, by virtue of its advertising power, became recognised in parliament too.

The proximity between press and parliament was not one of gradual erosion of parliament's power in favour of the press. As this chapter has shown, governments sought to adjust their policies according to the economic state of the nation, the public's understanding of the press's role in the political process and to the relevant stakeholders. This is typical of press-politics relations from the earliest printed news to the present day, in which authorities have constantly reviewed their response to information and communication and learned not simply to curtail the press but to engage with it.[105] From the later eighteenth century, the provincial press was recognised as the primary stakeholder. As the provincial press grew in power as a collective, power relations shifted. These meant that while the London and provincial press became more polarised, the provincial press became more cohesive in its response to the metropolitan press and parliament in general. This internal process was further the result of growing finances, increasing professionalization within the trade and greater opportunities for inter-action between proprietors—to which themes this book now turns.

2
Advertisements, Agents and Exchange

In 1797 the provincial press was in high foment. As the French Revolutionary wars continued, greater taxation was required to support the war effort. Along with a raft of other taxes newspaper stamp and advertisement duties were set to rise. Yet as the provincial press saw it, raising advertising duty would destroy businesses and families. As the *Reading Mercury* cried: 'The Profits of a Newspaper arise *only* from Advertisements'.[1] The Newcastle proprietors wrote a memorial recording their objections. According to them, only the London proprietors really benefited from suggested concessions on the bulk purchase of stamps while changes to advertising duty could ruin them: 'It is Mr Pitt's Plan to take away this *only* Advantage, by making Advertisers pay according to the Number of Lines and Hereby put it totally out of the Power of the Country Printers to carry on their Business'. If the planned change was effected 'We and our Families would be irreparably injured'.[2]

Debates in parliament were similarly heated. However, in proposing the motion, George Rose was certain that the country proprietors would accept at least the stamp duty rise, for he had consulted the agent William Tayler. The revelation caused some consternation among MPs who questioned whether Tayler was authorised to represent the whole of the provincial press.[3] At least one newspaper proprietor wrote to his MP disputing Tayler's remit. When questioned on the matter, Mr Rose said 'that he never asserted, that all the Proprietors of Country Newspapers were satisfied with this Bill, but that he was informed by letter from Mr. Taylor, who was agent in London for the greater number of them, that they were generally satisfied'.[4] In the event, although stamp duty was raised, advertising duty was not and some proprietors at least felt that Tayler had made a real difference. The proprietors of the *Salopian Journal* even agreed that 'a Present of Five Pounds be made to Mr Tayler,

the London agent, for his extraordinary trouble and attendance during the passing of the Newspaper Bill in 1797'.[5] That an advertising agent had played some role in representing and possibly orchestrating the protests was a first. That the agent was William Tayler is less surprising. Tayler was connected to most, if not all, of the provincial newspaper proprietors and to the major London advertisers through his role as the first major provincial advertising agent. This made him the most densely connected and powerful node in the provincial newspaper network and placed him at the centre of the trade. Advertising agents—Tayler, his business partner from 1803, Thomas Newton, and the second major agent, James 'Jem' White from 1808—were a key contributing power to the press-politics nexus in the later Georgian period and beyond.[6] These connections culminated in the foundation of a formal trade body, the Provincial Newspaper Society (PNS), in 1836.

Having explored the importance of the competition presented by the London press in Chapter 1, this chapter examines how the national provincial trade was nevertheless centred in London and came to be orchestrated and represented by metropolitan agents. It does so by focusing on the economic foundations of the provincial press—advertising—and demonstrates that the emergence of intermediaries facilitated the emergence of an increasingly powerful national trade, not least through advertising agents' critical intervention in the press—politics nexus. As Chapter 1 examined, newspaper advertisements were published in ever-increasing numbers over the later eighteenth century thanks to the expansion of towns and an urban middling sort characterised by its capacity to consume. The later eighteenth century in particular saw rapid growth. In 1711, the *Newcastle Courant* had contained just 238 advertisements, rising to 1,878 by 1761 and more than doubling to 4,211 in 1801.[7] Advertisements in the *Salisbury Journal* grew from just over 200 in 1737 to over 1,000 in 1752, more than 2,000 in 1761, and over 3,000 in 1768.[8] The number of advertisements in the *Derby Mercury* meanwhile rose from 106 in 1732, to 1,614 in 1775, 2,364 in 1800 and 3,183 in 1820.[9] This was despite advertisement duty that was introduced in 1712 at 1s. per advertisement per issue, and increased four times in the following century. Advertisements can be divided into two types according to geographical origin. The first were local or regional in nature and origin, including local property and land to let or for sale, notices for lost or stolen animals, or for local shops, services and leisure events. These constituted roughly 80% of the total number of advertisements in an average provincial newspaper.[10] The remaining 20% was taken up by national advertisements placed mainly in London, comprising mostly advertisements for books, medicines, some manufactured

goods, schools, lotteries and insurance. Aside from sometimes lengthy official notices, paid by local landowners and town councils, these national advertisements were generally longer than any of their country counterparts. They therefore offered a disproportionate income to newspapers, for as the Newcastle memorialists had pointed out in 1797, advertisements were paid on the basis of length but taxed at a flat rate per advertisement: the longer the advertisement the greater the income to the newspaper proprietor. London was therefore the most important single-location producer of advertising, both in volume and finance for provincial newspapers. For London agents dealing in national advertising, meanwhile, the swelling advertising columns of the provincial newspaper press proved an increasingly appealing business opportunity.

London agents were critical to the strength and independence of the provincial newspaper trade as it professionalised and in the process of its emergence as a national industry. Advertising agents however have been largely ignored by historians. Indeed, studies of advertising tend to focus either on its impact on press finance or on the relationship between advertiser and consumer.[11] This chapter examines intersections between the two. Advertising afforded the provincial newspaper trade growing independence from the London press and from political interference. This was not simply achieved through the individual accumulation of profit from advertisements that freed newspapers from political subsidies. Rather, collective wealth creation and high duty payments afforded the provincial press independent leverage within parliament, as Chapter 1 examined. Much of that leverage was exercised through advertising agents as intermediaries who came to represent and centralise the provincial newspaper trade. They emerged thanks to growing advertising profits, changing modes of payment for advertisements and the changing demands of advertisers as new products required new and more powerful ways to communicate with the consumer. In turn, by creating a shared system that reduced costs for advertisers and risk for provincial newspapers while simultaneously encouraging the exclusion of the London press and book trade, agents encouraged collective trust in them as intermediaries, a sense of trade identity that complemented the relationships formed within local clusters of proprietors and the power to negotiate on their behalf. This was an important innovation in the emergence of the industry. Discussions with parliament required representation and provincial newspaper owners were invariably small business owners in geographically disparate regions of the country. Agents, on the other hand, were based in London and had access to all the provincial proprietors. Examining agencies in this way also therefore tells us much

about changing mechanisms of trust across the trade over the 60 years under review and as it came to operate as a national institution.

Changes in trust and its deployment have been considered representative of more substantial temporal shifts.[12] Whereas pre-modern communities operated trust on the basis of close interpersonal relations, it is argued that modern societies depend on the abstract operation of trust through institutions.[13] The simplicity of such step change has been contested. Zucker has proposed that a form of trust based on repeat transactions ('process-based') intervened between the move from trust dependent on character and reputation ('character-based') to that based around professions and institutions ('institutional') and facilitated it.[14] Exploring the role of agents in the brokering of trust, this chapter highlights the role of intermediaries in the emergence of the press as an institution during early industrialisation. The London agents used by the provincial papers over the later Georgian period for national advertisements changed considerably, from initially bookseller agents who dealt mainly in book advertising. As advertisements for books decreased and medicine companies made their own connections with the papers, bookseller-agents were replaced by coffeehouse agencies. The move was encouraged by new forms of advertising for lottery and insurance advertising which, by virtue of payment by bills of exchange and demands for specialist copy, encouraged the emergence of dedicated advertising agencies. The third section focusses on the two largest agencies, those of Tayler and Newton and of White, demonstrating how their roles expanded beyond agency and came to cement the trade and offered a means of representing the press and asserting its identity. It identifies the late Georgian period as critical in the convergence of economic dependency on advertising with the development of new forms of persuasive advertising that required specialists.

From book-trade agents to advertising agents

From the inception of the press, the provincial newspaper trade had been integrated into the book trade's systems of supply, distribution, and credit networks, including advertising agency.[15] National and international news was taken from the London papers and the law dictated that stamped paper had to be purchased from officially-recognised London suppliers.[16] London was the centre of national credit and communications networks, through which newspapers and stamped paper were arranged and delivered, and most national advertisements largely emanated from London. Over the later eighteenth century, as advertisements produced greater

profits, advertising agency became a separate activity from the supply of news and credit, before the two converged again in the nineteenth century, now under the remit of advertising agents. Examination of changes to advertising agency thus also provides a chronology for the detachment of the newspaper trade from the book trade nationally, an important stage in its emergence as a discrete occupation and industry.

From the inception of the press, bookseller-agents based within the small bookselling district around St. Paul's Churchyard had dealt with individual provincial proprietors. This was still the case in the 1760s. Mr Law in Ave Maria Lane was the London agent for provision of materials, arrangement of credit collection of subscriptions and advertisements for George Kirkby at the *Kentish Weekly Post*.[17] Thomas Aris at *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* used Baldwin and Jeffries of Ludgate Street and Paternoster Row.[18] Thomas Slack at the *Newcastle Chronicle* meanwhile used two agents, Bristow and Nicholls and Robinson and Roberts, both of St. Paul's Churchyard.[19] Most booksellers already had existing relationships with their provincial clients, supplying them with wholesale books and medicines.[20] The texts penned by Thomas Slack of the *Newcastle Chronicle*, the *Banker's Sure Guide* (1768–1791), *British Negotiator* (1759–1784), and *Ready Calculator* (1771–1796) were co-published by Robinson and Roberts in London and Slack in Newcastle. Slack's *Britannicus estimator* (1764) was meanwhile published by William Bristow, his other agent in the metropolis. Individual interpersonal connections thus informed proprietors' choice of agents in London and each was reliant in turn on his or her agent's connections and credit in the metropolis.

Metropolitan agency via the booksellers made sense in terms of advertising, for newspapers were first established in order to market and distribute printers' and booksellers' other printed materials and services. Books and medicines dominated national advertising. In 1745 the *London Evening Post* contained an average of 29 book advertisements per issue (54% of total number of advertisements), and the *General Evening Post* contained an average of 24 (75%).[21] In the *Newcastle Courant* there were 182 book advertisements in 1741, an average of 4 (11%) per issue.[22] In the *Salisbury Journal*, whose owner Benjamin Collins owned several London copyrights, book and book-related advertisements constituted the most numerous advertisements in the 1740s and 1750s, totalling around 30% of all advertisements.[23] The London newspapers were owned by consortia of booksellers and each partner placed advertisements at cost price, while Collins would have benefited similarly. The provincial newspaper trade was thus heavily dependent on the book trade in London, for provincial advertising could be circulated among London booksellers, each potentially

striking through the other's debts before sending the money owed to the individual provincial proprietor, or offsetting the amount against his or her metropolitan debts. In this way, through systems of reckoning and exchange, London booksellers could circulate provincial advertising almost exclusively in the metropolis and decide upon the destination of book advertisements with minimal involvement from provincial proprietors. Despite the distance between provincial proprietors, interpersonal relationships informed the trade through London advertisers and agents.

The book trade also dealt with medicines in the early century. Print has a long history with the medical market. From the seventeenth century, handbills, pamphlets and posters, newsbooks, newsletters and almanacs had advertised medicines.[24] Members of the book trades had long been involved in medicine production, including provincial newspaper proprietors. Robert Raikes of the *Glocester Journal* and William Dicey, London bookseller and owner of the *Northampton Mercury*, for example, were business partners with Benjamin Okell, the patent holder of Dr Bateman's Pectoral Drops from 1726.[25] John Newbery, London bookseller and of the *Reading Mercury* similarly acquired the patent for Dr Robert James's Fever Powder in 1746. Print and medicine were a perfect advertising combination. In his best-known publication *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes* (1765) Francis Newbery's heroine Margery lost her father because he had been 'seized with a violent Fever in a Place where Dr. *James's* Powder was not to be had'. This resulted in the death of Margery's mother a few days later from a broken heart, 'leaving *Margery* and her little Brother to the wide World'.[26] Fever powder saved lives and could sustain happy families, not least Newbery's own: John and Francis died wealthy men, partly thanks to their medicine; so too did William Dicey, who valued his interest in Bateman's Pectoral Drops so highly that it was the first item mentioned in his will in 1757.[27] London bookseller-agents had arranged for the distribution of medicine advertising early in the century, not least because so many owned and manufactured the medicines themselves. Medicine and book advertisements had thus bound the London book trade and the provincial newspaper trade together, and individual newspapers were initially reliant on the connections of individual London agents.

Around the mid-century advertisements for books declined. The *London Evening Post*'s book advertisements fell from an average of 29 in 1745 (54% of total) to an average of 14 in 1765 (23%).[28] The story was similar in the provincial press; those in the *Newcastle Courant* dropped from 182 (11%) in 1741 to 155 (4%) in 1791 and to 119 (3%) in 1801. In the *Salisbury Journal* they fell from around 30% of overall numbers in the

1740s and 1750s to around 18% in the 1760s.[29] For the London papers this may have been because partners could not justify placing their own advertisements at cost in preference to other more lucrative advertising, especially after the first advertising duty increase of 1757 from 1s. to 2s. Provincial and London papers may also have been affected by the rise in the specialist review periodicals, chiefly the *Monthly Review* (1749) and the *Critical Review* (1756).[30] However, many book advertisements, especially those placed there by the printer of the paper him or herself, also increased in length, containing long lists of books invariably available from the office. Thus, while the number of advertisements for books was fewer (thereby costing the printer less), the proportion of space occupied in the paper was roughly the same. In this way, while a printer might therefore have been keen to continue to alert readers to his available books, London book publishers appear to have been placing fewer advertisements. The very reason for which provincial newspapers had been established in the first place was diminishing.

The book trade's involvement in the medicine trade was similarly changing. Medicine advertisements increased over the later eighteenth century alongside the number of newspapers. The *Newcastle Courant* contained a total of 61 advertisements for medicines in 1741 (4 % of the total number of advertisements), rising to 192 (5%) in 1791.[31] In 1760 the *Manchester Mercury* contained 219 (35.7%) medicine advertisements, rising to 343 (38.7%) in 1780.[32] As the medicine trade grew, medicine companies dealt direct with provincial papers. Thomas Flindell of the short-lived *Cornwall Gazette and Falmouth Packet* explained an apparently well-established practice in 1805:

> he [Flindell] hath now in his possession a large quantity of medicines called Botanical Syrup, Nervous Cordial, Balm of Gilead, Anti Impetignes, Cephalic Fluid, Antiscorbutic Drops, &c &c … received from Doctor Solomon of Liverpool, Mr Lignum of Manchester, Doctor Bodrum, Messrs Howard and Evans, Mrs Spilsbury and others in London in payment for advertizments … being *the usual manner* in such like cases for printers or publishers of provincial newspapers to take medicines in payment for inserting advertisements in their respective newspapers.[33]

This system of barter likely did away with the need for intervention from metropolitan bookseller-agents; instead the major medical companies at least dealt direct with the newspapers. It has been argued that interpersonal connections were replaced in the eighteenth century

by market relations, but in the medicine trade, systems of exchange persisted into the nineteenth century.[34] Most importantly for the newspaper trade, in the face of the London agents' declining custom for book and medicine advertisements from the 1760s, simultaneous to the growth in the number of local advertisements as well as other national advertisements, advertising agency was increasingly offered by other agencies in London.

From around the 1760s London coffeehouses took in provincial newspapers and dealt with advertising and subscriptions placed in the metropolis. Most papers were available in multiple locations, reflecting the growing number of provincial inhabitants visiting the metropolis and of the expanding market for advertising beyond the book trade. In 1779 the *Shrewsbury Chronicle* could be located, and advertisements placed, at seven London coffeehouses—the London, Crown, Chapter, Peele's, Oxford, Salopian and Antigallican.[35] The *Canterbury Journal* could be accessed, and advertisements placed, at Mr Walter at the Chapter coffeehouse, at Perry's on Rathbourn Place, the London on Ludgate Hill, Peele's and Anderton's on Fleet Street, as well as at Mr Law the bookseller on Ave Maria Lane.[36] The expansion of the number of agencies dealing in advertising (as well as offering the paper) reflects the expansion of advertising in volume and variety in the later eighteenth-century press. Nevertheless, as the continuing presence of Mr Law suggests, bookseller-agents had not disappeared altogether. Rather, the booksellers remained important contacts in the arrangement of credit and settling debts but were now only one of many collecting advertising.

Newspapers were sent to those coffeehouses most likely to attract their readers and advertisers. As advertisement columns grew, an increasing number of local notices destined for particular regions and towns, for bankruptcies, properties, auctions, services, official notices and so on, could be placed from London into the relevant papers and also enabled those in London to see them. The *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, *Liverpool Advertiser*, and *Salopian Journal* were available at the Salopian coffeehouse.[37] The *Norfolk Chronicle* and the *Norwich Mercury* were available at Seagoes coffee house in Holborn, which was noted for its Norfolk patrons.[38] London was a city composed of regionally bound neighbourhoods in which temporary and permanent migrants lived and stayed, and provincial newspapers were placed accordingly. Newspapers were also placed in coffeehouses near main coaching inns, centres of provincial sociability and business in London.[39] The *Kentish Herald* and the *Kentish Post* for example both sent editions of their papers to Tom's Coffeehouse on Cornhill, just across London Bridge

from the main Kent coaching inns of Borough.[40] The connections would also have facilitated the arrangement of payments; it was common that those in the metropolis would settle their debts with country inhabitants through the appropriate coaching inn. This further suggests a change in the mode of payment for advertisements that were no longer dependent on the supply of book advertisements and on the relationships and credit arrangements of individual bookseller-agents but rather on the relationship between advertiser and proprietor. This was facilitated through an intermediary who would have still had connections to the local area but who stretched the relationship beyond the 'thick' connections of the local community through repeat transactions with the proprietors themselves.[41]

Coffeehouses associated with trade, especially Lloyd's as the centre of the national maritime insurance trade, received the port-town newspapers. Each newspaper contributed to the ever-changing informational jigsaw of national and global trade, mitigating risk for merchants, investors and insurers as well as coaxing advertising from them. The *Liverpool Advertiser*, *Hull Advertiser* and *Hull Packet*, all containing a high number of shipping-related advertisements, the latest regional port news and sound lists, were available at both Lloyds coffeehouses.[42] Another auction house of note, the Rainbow coffeehouse in Cornhill, took the *Bristol Mercury* as late as 1819.[43] Shipping advertisements were the mainstay of many port-town newspapers. Of 111 advertisements in a single issue of the *Liverpool General Advertiser*, of 14 May 1795, for example, 30 (27%) were for ships and mercantile-related activities, including ships sailing to Jamaica, New York and Martinique and auctions for Spanish white wine, olive oil, cocoa, dates and figs, timber and mahogany. Contemporaries understood themselves within imperial vistas but invariably had a peculiarly local sense of the global, thus each local port town contributed to the picture of global trade.[44]

Over the final decades of the eighteenth century three coffeehouses, the Chapter, the London and Peele's, emerged as specialists in provincial advertising agency.[45] The Chapter, situated in Paternoster Row, was according to a nineteenth-century proprietor, 'much frequented by the merchants, principle booksellers, clergy &c … [where] all the London and country newspapers are taken in and carefully preserved; and files of papers may be seen from the year 1762 to the present time'.[46] The London was located on Ludgate Hill and frequented by publishers from nearby Stationers Hall, who sold stock and copyrights there.[47] The London was also regionally connected, the 'resort of country gentlemen, manufacturers, foreign merchants, clergy … [and] an ample and commodious tavern and hotel', thereby attracting regional business and

potentially advertisers.[48] Peele's of Fleet Street became a central location for national newspaper sociability and business. It was frequented by journalists, and in 1858, the Society for Repealing the Paper Duty had its central committee room there.[49] The newspaper room contained back files for six London papers from 1759, the evening newspapers from their inception and the country papers from 1773, offering London-based journalists easy access to country news and enabling advertisers to peruse suitable newspapers.[50]

By the later eighteenth century the specialist coffeehouses offered advertisers the opportunity to place in a central location notices for books as well as a growing number of notices for boarding schools and other educational establishments; manufactured products including rat poison; new washing machines and washing powders; financial products including insurance and lotteries; and the latest proceedings from a growing number of trade and philanthropic associations and campaigns. The emergence of these institutions dedicated to the delivery of news and the collection of advertising and as forums for press sociability was simultaneous to the emergence of dedicated systems of national news distribution through the Post Office Newspaper Office in 1787 and indicates the emergence of a discrete newspaper trade infrastructure now separate from its book-trade roots. Even so, bookseller-agents had not disappeared altogether. Patrick Kirkman, in Red-lion Passage, for example, acted as agent for the *Maidstone Journal*, *Boddeley's Bath Journal* and the *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury* in the 1790s, although acting for multiple newspapers in itself suggests a specialisation of representing clients too.[51]

Emerging businesses and the advertisements developed to cater for them also emerged from coffeehouses and required specialist assistance and representation. Two of the most prevalent types of national advertisement to appear over the later eighteenth century were those for insurance and lotteries. The insurance business began in London in the late seventeenth century and had a long association with its coffeehouses. One of the earliest societies for mutual protection was the Hand-in-Hand (est. 1696, Tom's coffeehouse), followed by the Sun Fire Office (est. 1710, operating from Causey's coffeehouse, St Paul's Churchyard), the Westminster Fire Office (est. 1717, established by the Westminster contingent of the Hand-in-Hand) and Royal Exchange Assurance (est. 1720) among others. The Hand-in-Hand and the Westminster operated exclusively in London and most insurance business was conducted in the metropolis in the first half of the eighteenth century. However, competition for London business and the expansion of provincial towns meant that by the 1780s there

were 15 provincial offices. Despite a new duty in 1782 on insurance, the Phoenix Fire Office was established in the Rainbow coffeehouse that year, dealing in provincial and industrial insurance. Within a year the company had 58 provincial agents, encouraging further competition in the country from other companies and new advertising.[52] By 1791 there were 43 (1.2%) insurance advertisements in the *Newcastle Courant*. While few in number, these advertisements took up a significant amount of space and used woodcuts to draw the eye.

Lottery advertising also regularly featured in advertising columns over the later century. The state lottery was initiated in 1694 and became a regular feature of public finance from 1710. From the 1730s state lotteries had funded large building projects but it was in the second half of the eighteenth century that they were more regularly held; between 1769 and their abolition in 1826, a total of 126 state lotteries were held, mostly to finance public works.[53] By 1775, the *Annual Register* referred to 'lottery mania' during the grand ceremonies that took place over several days in London. The advertising potential was huge. By the turn of the century lottery contractors paid an average of £13,000 for advertising during one lottery, although for larger campaigns this could rise to £20,000, and in the later eighteenth century there were often several lotteries each year.[54] From around 1790 the biggest lottery contractor, Thomas Bish, transformed the lottery trade, unleashing a carefully choreographed torrent of advertisements on newspapers, pamphlets, posters, sandwich boards (even on horses), advertising 'machines' and roadside signs for his eponymous Bish's tickets; advertising was an active process that involved lived experience beyond the newspaper.[55] Bish employed new techniques and specially employed copywriters such as Charles Dibdin the Younger and artists including George Cruikshank, who devised poems, songs, prose and eye-catching woodcuts to attract the public. Newspapers received their share of the advertising. In 1791, there were 62 advertisements for lotteries in the *Newcastle Courant*, amounting to just 1.8% of the overall number of advertisements, but they were again longer—and thus paid more—than most. One advertisement for the Irish state lottery took up a full column of 160 lines. Marketing strategies diversified, moreover, and they became more focussed on developing a relationship with the consumer in the competitive marketplace.

Unlike books and medicines, lottery keepers and the insurance business did not have long-term connections to the book or newspaper trades and as financial instruments they were paid for through bills of exchange rather than by barter. In terms of content they also had

different requirements. Medical and manufactured products had to persuade customers that they were the best remedies for sometimes dire and often anxiety-inducing medical complaints in a competitive market filled with products of dubious effectiveness.[56] Financial products, especially lotteries, on the other hand, had to engender a customer's faith in the strength of the instrument and lure the eye to the glimmer of potential profits and pleasure of the gamble, all the while distracting it from glancing backwards at past losses.[57] In short, they required more sophisticated marketing.

New specialist advertising agencies emerged, attracted by the increase in the volume of provincial advertising, change in the types of advertisement that were no longer the preserve of the book trade and changes to the post that enabled faster access to provincial towns. From at least 1784 to 1813, William Tayler was providing an advertising agency from No. 5, Warwick Court, Newgate Street, London. Tayler originally established a news agency supplying papers to the country, but there were others that offered that service so by 1788 he was focussing on advertising. From 1803 Tayler took a business partner Thomas Newton, and their patronage was viewed by many as critical to newspapers' success. As James Montgomery of the *Sheffield Iris* explained to a friend who was hoping to establish a provincial newspaper, 'Tayler + Newton *must* be written to, soliciting their recommendation to advertisers'.[58] Their success encouraged other agents. Samuel and Thomas Deacon set up shop in 1812 initially from the Colonial Coffeeehouse. James Lawson and Charles Barker of 12, Birchin Lane were also operating by 1812. They dealt particularly with the *Times*, for which Lawson was printer. Around 1800 James 'Jem' White commenced business in advertising and by 1807 had set up an office at 33, Fleet Street. Part of the literary world, White's was the first advertising agency to produce unique copy for clients. In doing so, White joined Tayler and Newton as the provincial newspapers' advertising agents of choice in London. Each firm came to occupy a niche area, with Tayler and Newton largely taking insurance and lottery and White specialising in ebullient lottery advertising, aided by copywriters that included White's friend Charles Lamb.

Between them Tayler and Newton and White took over the duty of representing their clients' wider businesses beyond advertising, finally severing the relationship between the book and newspaper trades. By 1824 even *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, which had regularly listed a bookseller-agent along with other London coffee houses since its establishment in 1741, listed only Newton and Company and Rd. Barker (the new husband of Margaret, James White's widow), as its agents.[59]

By the turn of the nineteenth century, the roles of Tayler and Newton and White had moved beyond advertising. By 1829, the place of both agencies in the provincial press was clearly defined. According to the *Edinburgh Review*:

> The means of communication between the provincial papers and the metropolis, are very simple. There are two newspaper agency offices; the respectable and old established firm of Newton and Co, formerly Tayler and Newton, in Warwick-square, and that of Barker and Co. [the company founded by White] in Fleet-street. At these offices, advertisements are received for all the country papers without increased charge to the advertiser, the commission of the agent being paid by the newspaper proprietor, and these agents also send to the country the stamps necessary for the papers, and undertake the collection of accounts owing in London.[60]

By binding together the provincial trade at a centrepoint, advertising agents took on a more significant and central role as the 'means of communication between the provincial papers and the metropolis', not simply in advertising but in wider discussions regarding the business of the press.

The move from interpersonal relationships to intermediaries was in no small part the consequence of changes in the volume and type of advertisements placed in newspapers. Just as the provincial press exerted itself as a press distinct from that of London in the nineteenth century, advertisers also viewed it as a separate entity. Their main route into it was through Tayler and Newton and White. Yet advertising—reliance on which had been forced by the stamp acts—had come to be only one aspect of these agencies. William Tayler and Thomas Newton and James White played a vital role in transforming the trade.

Advertising agency to newspaper agency

Closer examination of Tayler and Newton and White's business practices tell us much about the process by which advertising agents manoeuvred themselves into the centre of the trade and, in doing so, provided the press with representation in Westminster.

Almost nothing is known about William Tayler's life before his news agency, other than that he was born in 1739 or 1740, probably in the parish of St Paul in the Bail of Lincoln where he was baptised, and that he had at least one sister.[61] Aside from these scant details, the first 37 or so years of his life lie seemingly unrecorded. By 1779

Tayler was offering some sort of agency for provincial clients, collecting debt and seemingly supplying the *London Gazette* for James Linden of Southampton's *Hampshire Chronicle*. By 1786 he was supplying those in the country with London papers, addresses, proclamations, minutes of both Houses ('sent in *Manuscript* every Night the House sits'), foreign gazettes and *Lloyd's List*.[62] However, other news agencies already offered these services so from at least 1788 Tayler was operating as an advertising agent for the provincial press and files of country newspapers could be consulted at his office.[63] Tayler was soon providing advertisements to most, if not all, of the provincial newspapers. He proved very successful. In 1803, at sixty-four years old, Tayler took on one of his employees, Thomas Newton, as the business partner who was to succeed him on his retirement in 1814. On 1 May 1817, 'after a few hours' indisposition', William Tayler died aged seventy-eight. 'He was through life respected as a man of the strictest integrity', the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* noted.[64] He had been very successful, bequeathing £5,550 in Bank of England stock in his will.[65] Newton continued this success, bequeathing the business jointly to his sons.

Tayler and Newton's success was thanks to Tayler's careful positioning in the trade. Although specialist coffeehouses had been offering agency services with seeming success, running advertisements through a single agent offered advertisers a number of benefits. First, it saved on the trouble and expense of writing orders to separate newspapers or visiting separate coffeehouses to place advertisements, as well as on having to calculate the costs of advertising in multiple papers, each with separate rates. Second, brokers reduce the costs of locating trading partners; Tayler knew the trade intimately, so could select the most appropriate newspapers for an advertiser's needs. Even so, a flaw lay in Tayler's model. He initially placed the burden of payment with the advertiser, charging sixpence or one shilling for the act of sending the advertisement. As Trusler pointed out in the *London Adviser*, this meant that 'any person that is known, may, by writing himself to the printer of any purpose, free of postage, save this shilling'.[66] Tayler realised this himself, for shortly afterwards he transferred the burden of payment onto each newspaper, now requiring newspaper proprietors to send him a paper gratis weekly, presumably as a kind of retainer, and charging five per cent commission to the proprietor on the total cost of each advertisement. This removed any burden on the advertiser in placing advertisements with Tayler. It also explains Tayler's readiness to assist with the 1797 protests against variable advertisement duties for this affected his business as much as those of the proprietors themselves.

For the commission of five per cent, newspaper proprietors benefited from Tayler's services too. The agency carried the burden of advertisers' creditworthiness and was liable for prompt payment to proprietors, something that was a perennial challenge for newspaper proprietors. The agency also ensured a constant stream of national advertisements. In 1799, for example, over 160 advertisements in *Jackson's Oxford Journal* had been forwarded by Tayler, including book and lottery advertisements as well as those for insurance and schools, constituting a significant 5% of that newspaper's advertisements.[67] Moreover, with national advertisements frequently longer than others, the value of Tayler to a newspaper business was even greater. At the *Cumberland Pacquet*, advertising forwarded by Tayler over ten months in 1802–1803 amounted to an income of £59 13s. 7d., approximately 10% of advertising income.[68] Some advertisers would request that advertisements for a particular product or service were placed in every newspaper. In 1788 the Manchester Abolitionist Society paid Tayler £129 4s. 1d. for Tayler to place their resolutions in every English, Scottish and Irish newspaper.[69] Other advertisers trusted Tayler to place their advertisements in the most suitable titles, meaning that if newspaper proprietors did not retain the firm, they would lose out. As James Montgomery had explained to his friend Joseph Aston in 1804 'Tayler + Newton … send Adverts. in a great measure to whom they please'.[70] Whereas booksellers had traded with provincial newspapers according to where they as advertisers themselves wanted to place advertisements, and then advertisers had had to visit multiple coffeehouses to locate appropriate newspapers for their advertisements, later-century advertisers could now leave the decision to Tayler. This also meant that the advertisers themselves, whether philanthropic societies or Members of Parliament, invested trust in Tayler to cater for their best needs, thus placing him as a liaison between the provincial press and those outside of it. With some newspapers waiving fees for advertisements and notices for abolitionists and other reform societies, Tayler was further placed in a position of trust regarding the political and moral views of individuals within the trade.

By dealing with most, if not all, of the provincial newspapers, Tayler, and later Tayler and Newton, became a central point of contact for the trade. Intermediaries specialise in gathering information on their area of involvement, for they must acquire knowledge in order to act for others or to be trusted by others. The firm of Tayler and Newton came to operate a central information service for the provincial newspaper trade. New newspapers, such as Joseph Aston's *Manchester Mail* (est. 1805) and Wales's first newspaper, the *Cambrian* (est. 1804), advertised that

orders and advertisements would be forwarded to them by Tayler and Newton.[71] Roles available in provincial newspaper offices and the sale of newspaper businesses were advertised through the firm.[72] Information on the advertisements in provincial newspapers, on other provincial positions, businesses and auctions, were available through Tayler and Newton's office.[73] This was the case even with overseas investments. In 1809, the Philadelphia Theatre advertised for new lessees, directing them to send proposals in the first instance to Tayler and Newton.[74] Newspaper proprietors were often connected to provincial theatres, as Chapter 3 examines, and the firm's involvement incorporated national and global theatre networks into the local. Just as local proprietors operated as the centrepoint for local communication, as brokers who gathered local intelligence across multiple media and acted as agencies for job seekers and advertisers, offices for tickets and lost items, the firm of William Tayler and Thomas Newton operated as the informational hub of the newspaper trade. They were the communications brokers' communications brokers. Iterative business activity and trust placed through advertisements—the press's most precious income-generating activity—encouraged trust in other areas of newspaper business. Information about past actions of a businessman or woman, or about the past successes of the trade in general, are required in order to trust.[75] Complementing the fine web of connections at local and regional level explored in Chapter 6, Tayler acted as a substitute for trust where connections between proprietors or between proprietors and advertisers were remote.

Advertising agency had moved from interpersonal book-trade based relationships to intermediaries, but the relationship with Tayler was far from remote. Tayler appears to have actively sought out connections with provincial proprietors. John Ware of the *Cumberland Pacquet*, for example, mentioned to Sarah Hodgson of the *Newcastle Chronicle* that 'I should have been very glad to see Mr. Tayler—am happy to hear of your Determination to visit London, in the Spring'.[76] It is of course unclear as to whether this was *the* Mr Tayler, but within the context of a letter dealing with newspaper business and mentioning a visit to London, it is perfectly plausible that this was our advertising agent. Tayler certainly struck up friendships across the trade. Proprietors would have had occasion to visit London to settle debts or decide on new book or stationery stock, as so many tradesmen and women did, and Tayler may have also travelled the country. Tayler was, as the *Hereford Journal* lamented at his death, 'a gentleman whose many excellent qualities endeared him to a very numerous acquaintance, by whom

his loss will be severely felt and long deplored'.[77] Indeed, James Linden of the *Hampshire Chronicle* and Tayler had been long-term friends, for in his will of 1817 Tayler left provision for 'my dear friend Elizabeth Lindon … lately of Southampton Spinster', probably Linden's daughter, Elizabeth. Tayler further provided mourning rings for, among others 'of my dear friends', Thomas Newton and his wife, William Stevenson of the *Norfolk Chronicle* and Charles Wheeler of *Wheeler's Manchester Chronicle*.[78] Thomas Newton maintained similar links, naming 'my esteemed friend' Seth William Stevenson, now the proprietor of the *Norfolk Chronicle*, as an executor on his death in 1825.[79] Many business relationships may have involved men and women who never met, but Tayler and Newton's geographically dispersed business was bound through iterative business activity, through a stock of trust invested in the agents and through personal relationships built up with their provincial clients. Therefore, whereas earlier agents had relied on interpersonal relationships within the metropolis to go about their business, Tayler and Newton's business depended upon building close relationships with provincial proprietors in order to foster the illusion at least of interpersonal relations within an abstract relationship and facilitate greater trust in them as their reputation spread.

James 'Jem' White's firm possibly grew from Tayler's and extended the role of the London advertising agents further by supplying advertising copy to clients and offering a formal institution to represent and regulate the press in the form of the Provincial Newspaper Society in 1836, in part established by White's manager John Buller. White was born in 1775 in Worcester and attended Christ's Hospital where he made lifelong connections with the literary and journalism worlds, including Charles Lamb, John Mathew Gutch, later of *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, and Leigh Hunt, later of the *Examiner*.[80] White may also have first generated lottery connections through his school, for the lottery numbers, drawn in a grand ceremony in London, were selected by two 'blue coat' boys from Christ's Hospital. Around 1800 White commenced business in advertising in Warwick Court, Newgate Street, placing advertisements in the newspapers for Christ's Hospital. The coincidence of White's first agency in the same small court as William Tayler suggests that he may have initially worked for Tayler. In 1808 White established himself in new premises at 33, Fleet Street. He married soon after and had six children. Employing his own literary talents and those of his friends, White positioned himself as a purveyor of advertising copy, rather than merely of advertisements. However, White died in 1820, at just forty-five years old and 'in the prime of life'.[81] The *Hereford Journal* described White as

'for many years one of the highly-respectable Agents of the different Provincial Newspapers''.[82] White's success was evident, for he left his widow Margaret well-provided with over £12,000 and firm remained in the family until the death of Jem's great-grandson, Gilbert, in 1962.[83] It was under Margaret that John Buller was employed as manager and became the first secretary of the PNS.

With his creativity, literary talents and connections, White's firm focussed particularly on the lottery advertising that had become ubiquitous by the early nineteenth century. Existing ledgers for the *Manchester Guardian* show that White's supplied almost entirely lottery adverting to it in the sixteen months between June 1821 and September 1822, including Bish's, Hazard's, Carroll's and the Contractor's Lottery. Only two pieces—'an account of Coronation in Observer' and 'Richard Proctor—dead' were paid for through White that were not lotteries. Comparatively, in just eight months between February and September 1822, the bill for Newton's of Warwick Court was almost entirely for insurance advertising—the Guardian, County, Norwich Union and Sun Fire Offices, the British Commercial Office—although Newton's also had a Bish's lottery account and 'Rawson and Smith Cloths'.[84] According to the *Guardian* accounts Newton's was outpacing White's financially, bringing in the *Guardian* a total of £28 18s. 2d. in eight months compared to £21 8s. 6d. in sixteen months, although this is of course on the basis of one account of more than a possible 120 titles.

White likely penned advertising copy himself, although it has proved impossible to identify any categorically. He may have written the newsmen's Christmas address in 1815 for his friend John Mathew Gutch at *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*. The poem is set in Farley's printing office at ten o'clock one Friday evening where a newsman despairs at being unable to compose a poem. The writer is unable to bring himself not to mention his favourite character: 'Like FAUSTUS on his sand-glass staring/ I sit of every muse despairing'. The printer is eventually assisted by Farley's ghost, perhaps representing White (who had a penchant for dressing and acting as Faustus) helping his friend with the verses.[85] White also employed other writers, including Charles Lamb. As his sister Mary described to a friend, 'A man in the India House has resigned, by which Charles will get twenty pounds a year; and White has prevailed upon him to write some more lottery-puffs. If that ends in smoke, the twenty pounds is a sure card, and has made us very joyful'.[86] Indeed, Charles and Jem were particularly close. On Jem's death, Charles described how 'He [Jem] carried away with him half the fun of the world when he died—of my world at least'. It was this

enlivening and fun character that made White's agency so successful as the first writer of copy for clients, and especially lottery agents.

Lottery advertisements were at the forefront of a change in advertising style that relied upon specialist copywriters in order to capture the attention of the public and persuade them to invest in something for which they likely would not see a return. The satirical style of the literary age was a perfect marriage with lotteries. Advertisements have always played on contemporary cultural tropes and the later eighteenth century saw this in earnest as advertisers used satire and entertainment to promote particular brands. In 1810 one of Bish's advertisements played on anti-French sentiments in its song 'The Persian Ambassador. By a Town Crier' (to be sung to the Tune of 'The Frog in an Opera Hat'). Another was based around the famous repeated response during the Queen Caroline affair of Signor Majochin under Lord Brougham's interrogation, 'non mi ricordo'.[87] It is unknown who wrote these—it could have been arranged through White's or an author of Bish's own. Asked about their advertising, the wife of Robert Warren, a well-known shoe blacking manufacturer, purportedly replied 'Sir, we keeps a poet'. That poet was rumoured to be Lord Byron, who was struggling financially and allegedly receiving six hundred pounds a year copywriting, although it could have been Coleridge, Scott or Southey, all of whom also wrote for Warren's.[88]

Similar to Tayler, White played a role in the trade beyond advertising. As the *Hereford Journal* noted, White was not an advertising agent but 'one of the highly-respectable Agents of the ... Provincial Newspapers'.[89] Advertisements for the sale of country property pointed readers to catalogues held in London by J. White.[90] White also supplied the provincial press with stamped paper, newsletters and review copies for authors and publishers, a role previously taken by the booksellers.[91] Unlike Tayler and Newton, there exists no evidence that White's was at the centre of provincial trade affairs during his lifetime, although the comparison is an unfair one; White was in business for a far shorter time than Tayler and Newton and he had to compete with their well-established competition. Moreover, the establishment of the PNS in 1836 is crucial evidence of the centrality of White's (by that time, run by Jem's widow and her new husband) in the trade.

By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, White's was more readily involved in promoting the interests of the provincial newspaper trade when manager John Buller initiated the PNS in 1836, discussing the idea in the first instance with John Mathew Gutch, White's old friend and the leader of the provincial delegation who negotiated the terms of the 1815 Stamp Act. On 25 April 1836 the editors and

proprietors of 18 provincial newspapers met at White's offices in Fleet Street to discuss establishing a society. Support for all resolutions was promised from another 12 editors. The society was formally inaugurated at a dinner at Gray's Inn coffeehouse on 4 May 1837, when Gutch and Buller were elected President and Secretary respectively.

The PNS formalised the provincial press as a discrete body with its own identity and interests that were different from the English press as a whole. While it had some professional characteristics, however, it was primarily a trade body driven by the market. The society aimed to promote the general interests of the provincial press, especially strengthening its position in business and lobbying parliament on press legislation. Its members further agreed to religious and political neutrality.[92] In doing so, the agreement placed greater importance on provincial journalism than it did its individual members' religion or politics. It also cemented the provincial press's exclusion of the London press, for early topics of discussion included the encroachment of the London papers caused by the reduction in stamp duties and the rise of the railways. In 1836, in a move with precedent in the 1815 meeting with the Chancellor of the Exchequer outlined in Chapter 1, Gutch and several others met with the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary of the Post Office to discuss the abolition of postage on newspapers. From this time, membership grew rapidly, from 23 in 1837 to 123 in 1842 and 268 in 1885.[93] The society went on to contribute significantly to the reform of the libel laws and comprised the majority membership of the Press Association on its formation in 1868; this monopolistic trade organisation may have been encouraged by the Post Office through preferential treatment but its roots were in advertising agency.[94] In many ways, the PNS can be seen as the crystallisation of the practices and campaigns in which late eighteenth-century proprietors had been engaged. Just as Tayler and Newton had come to deal with a greater number of newspapers through the advertisements and had taken on greater responsibilities to the trade, so too had White's firm. In doing so, advertising agency had transformed into newspaper agency.

Conclusion

The firm's business success, connections outside of the trade and position at its centre meant that MP George Rose had recognised William Tayler as the most appropriate person to consult on the provincial newspaper trade's attitude towards stamp and advertising duty rises in 1797 and that Tayler was emboldened to intervene on behalf of the

provincial proprietors. By the time of the following stamp act in 1815, Tayler had retired and there is no known evidence of Thomas Newton having continued this representative role. Instead, John Mathew Gutch of *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* was involved in organising a contingent of provincial proprietors who met with the Chancellor to negotiate terms. Their deal, a stamp and advertising duty raise instead of variable advertisement duties on the basis of length and no charge on newspapers sent through the Post Office, was not approved by the London papers and marked a watershed in divisions between the two, as Chapter 1 explored.[95] The deal also marked the increasingly cohesive response of the press and agencies to press legislation.

Historians have long recognised advertisements as the critical means by which eighteenth-century newspapers gained greater freedom of political expression. Chapters 1 and 2 have both demonstrated that this is too simplistic. As Chapter 1 demonstrated, the freedom of the press in no small part resulted from collective duty payments that lent newspaper owners and editors a stake in press legislation. This chapter has shown that specialist advertising agents—attracted and sustained by the growing income afforded them—came to represent the trade as a whole, and encouraged greater cohesion in the process. This was achieved through changing relationships between agents in London and the proprietors themselves, from those based on individual interpersonal relationships with bookseller agents who had long-term connections with their provincial clients, to those between agents and proprietors with few connections initially at least. It is tempting to see this as evidence of wholesale change in the mechanisms of trust, from that based on personal connections between bookseller agents and proprietors to impersonal trust.[96] Indeed, process-based trust, whereby agents and principles (the proprietors) built trust cumulatively on the basis of past or present exchange and often in the light of interpersonal connections, was evident in the way in which Tayler maintained close personal links with those in the trade.[97] However, the expansion of his business across the whole trade rendered this almost impossible. Instead, in many cases, Tayler and others fostered interpersonal links with their clients after their recruitment. This created the illusion of deeper embeddedness through close relationships that shored up the exercise of trust with a geographically dispersed clientele. This also facilitated trust in the agency as a 'guardian of trust' in which the agent acted as a third-party guarantor for advertiser—proprietor relationships. It is to that clientele—the newspaper proprietors—that this study now turns.

3
Provincial Newspaper Proprietors

> It became clear to me that, as the professions seemed to
> be shut out from my adoption by my father's anxious
> desire that I should remain with him, my only way of
> escape from the petty cares of the trade of a country
> bookseller and small printer was to make literature, in
> some way or other, my vocation. It was not by writing
> commonplace essays and occasional odes and sonnets …
> that I was to carry out this purpose. If I were to accom-
> plish anything, I must have a *locus standi*. There was
> my father's printing-office; he was not without capital.
> Windsor, with its objects of interest, was without a
> newspaper. Some day, not very far off, should my ambi-
> tion gain me the conduct of such a journal? I felt that
> the vocation of a journalist—even of a provincial jour-
> nalist—required thought, energy, various knowledge.[1]

Surveying his life, Charles Knight recalled the anxiety of his seventeen-
year-old self over his future career. The traditional professions—law,
church, army and medicine—were closed to him because his father
was unwilling to let him leave Windsor. Literature proved unappealing.
Instead, Knight junior considered that provincial newspaper journalism
was still a vocation. It might not be a profession but it required literary
skills and offered locus standi, literally a place of standing, in essence to
claim a public voice. It is perhaps unsurprising that by the time Knight
wrote his memoirs in 1864 he considered some of the characteristics of
journalism to be similar to those of a profession. Fundamental change
had occurred across the press in the reduction of stamp duties in 1836
and their abolition in 1855 and in the adoption of new industrial

technologies, principally steam printing and the railways. Coupled with seemingly epochal change in the form of the Reform Act of 1832, these changes were celebrated by contemporaries as heralding a new era of the press as the Fourth Estate. Yet the transition from trade to profession is disputed in timing and inchoate in character and process. Whereas Chapter 2 examined the emergence of the provincial press from the perspective of its national centralisation and representation, this chapter focuses on the newspaper proprietors themselves and changes to their working lives and modes of operation.

The eighteenth-century newspaper press has been characterised as vibrant, combative and essential to the emergence of public debate and the accountability of parliament. By comparison the trade, and especially the provincial trade, has been characterised as unchanging and supposed to have reached a maturity by the 1760s that was sustained until at least the century's close or even to 1836.[2] By implication, the change in later eighteenth-century newspapers' content and impact identified by historians must have been driven by external agents and the allure of rising profits. Superficially there was stasis in the eighteenth-century provincial newspaper trade. Proprietors still worked in other related trades alongside their newspaper ownership and there existed neither a guild nor Company of newspaper production. While linked to the eighteenth-century trade in important ways, as Chapter 2 has shown, the first professional organisation of provincial journalists, the Provincial Newspaper Society, was not established until 1836. However, there was change in the number of people involved in newspaper ownership, the division of roles within newspaper offices and in the types of skills proprietors and editors possessed. This was in response to growing demands that newspaper ownership imposed as the political power of the press developed over the period.

This chapter considers many characteristics of provincial journalism that are also characteristics of professions—the requirement for specific literary skills; occupational segmentation in the form of movement away from the wider book trades; divisions between manual printing and literary labour; the growing sense of vocation and the exercise of power at local level. Yet the trade was not a profession, as Knight's musings highlight. Framing the trade within discussions of professionalization is also unhelpful because of concomitant teleological connotations. As other studies of early modern occupations and professions emphasise, the context of period is critical.[3] Eighteenth-century professions and occupations were mutable. Many knowledge-based occupations did not conform to the patterns of early modern guild control

while simultaneously facing massive increases in demand for professional services, meaning that many were both in flux and extremely competitive.[4] In the case of provincial journalism, and unlike the wholesale change noted in the rise of national agencies, this meant that far from demonstrating a trajectory of progression over the period, there was rather a recognition that traditional business structures were optimal for newspaper production at local level. In doing so, the chapter demonstrates that provincial newspaper proprietors and editors gained skills and agency over the period that played no small part in the politicisation of the press.

In order to demonstrate the emerging specialism of the provincial press in the light of both external conditions and internal continuities, the chapter first establishes the growing challenges presented to newspaper producers in the later eighteenth century which encouraged greater specialist editorial and business skills. The second section introduces the owners as mainly book-trade personnel and outlines the ownership structures of newspapers, suggesting that there was change in the growing proportion of partnerships in the trade but this was underpinned by continuity in the small business. Finally, through a closer examination of editorial practices and positions the chapter suggests that provincial journalism developed professional aspects similar to other knowledge-based occupations but divergent from its closest, the literary profession.

The challenge of the newspaper trade

Chapters 1 and 2 demonstrated that the late Georgian provincial newspaper trade was buoyant, for the number of newspapers and advertisements steadily increased and stamp and advertising duties lent the provincial newspaper trade leverage in legislative decisions regarding the press. Growing profits also meant that whereas in the early century around one-half of all provincial newspapers survived beyond five years, over the later century around two-thirds survived beyond five years.[5] This increased success rate belies the complexity of the trade and the challenges of a growing market.

Comparing the steady rise in newspapers with the number of per annum start-ups and closures, Figure 3.1 presents a more nuanced picture of the seemingly inexorable rise of the English provincial newspaper press. There is no link between the undulations in the total number of newspapers and newsworthy events, but variations in start-ups and failures show that domestic and foreign crises and events did play a role in the changing fortunes of the press.[6] Spikes in the number of
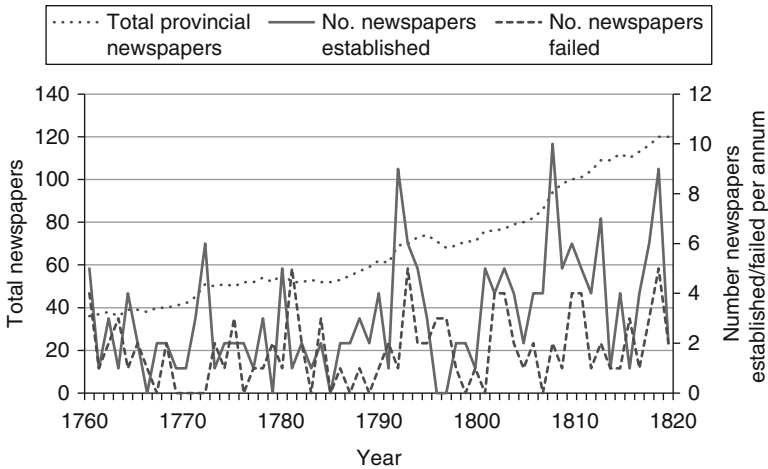
Figure 3.1   Per annum totals of provincial newspapers, failures and start-ups

start-ups occurred particularly in 1772 and 1780, shortly before and dur-
ing the American War of Independence, as well as in 1792 at the height
of the French Revolution and reflected demands for radical reform in
England, and in 1808 the year of the later Duke of Wellington, Arthur
Wellesley's victory at Vimiero during the Napoleonic Wars. Would-be
newspaper proprietors hoped to capitalise on news flurries. As the *Bury
Post* saw it in 1782, no explanation was needed to introduce a news-
paper 'At an era like the present when every Briton is inspired with an
anxious desire for the success of his country, in combating the united
efforts of her combined and secret foes'.[7] Readers might be anxious for
updates on the American war and both the Treasury and proprietors
of established newspapers benefited from increased sales. But readers
alone did not sustain newspapers. Thus, a year or two after each of the
spikes in provincial titles shown in Figure 3.1, there is a corresponding
peak in the number of titles ceasing publication. The American War, for
example, provoked a peak in titles followed by a peak in failures, with
12 of the 21 titles established between the Boston Tea Party and the
Treaty folding in three years or less. This was nearly twice the average
number of failures of around one-third for the period 1760–1820. As the
Nottinghamshire Gazette explained in 1781 after just eight months' exist-
ence: 'the encouragement it has hitherto received being by no means
adequate to its current expenses'.[8] News alone was simply not enough
to sustain a title and those keen to take advantage of a news storm were

left disappointed and out of pocket. Readers were critical agents and impressive reader numbers were trumpeted in order to attract advertisers. But successful entrenchment within a community had to involve good advertising opportunities and not just good news stories.

Nor were newspapers a cheap way for a printer to extend his or her marketing and distribution circuit by the later eighteenth century. For those with serious intentions, considerable capital had to be invested.[9] Printing presses, type, paper and marketing meant that an aspiring proprietor could spend in excess of £700 on the establishment or purchase of a new title. David Martin and Joseph Gales invested that amount in the purchase of printing presses and stock when they launched the *Sheffield Register* in 1787 and Joshua Drewry spent a similar amount setting up his *Staffordshire Advertiser* in 1795.[10] The founders of the *Salopian Journal* meanwhile invested over £2,000 in establishing their newspaper and on early running costs, probably a far more realistic figure for the total cost of a provincial newspaper in its early years to its proprietors. Preparations for its publication were extensive, involving printing 10,000 initial handbills, 500 posting bills, 200 additional handbills, one visit to London, a further 7,000 handbills 'fixing the publication of the first Paper', 350 handbills 'to post with Circular Letter to solicit Orders', 75 posting bills 'for Agents to take in Adverts', 2,500 first editions gratis, advertisements in the London *Sun*, *Morning Chronicle* and the *Star*.[11] The going price for an established concern with an established readership and advertising base, lines of local and metropolitan credit and working capital was often far higher. One advertisement for the sale of an unnamed country newspaper in 1805 gave an asking price of £3–4,000, while *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* and allied printing business was sold for £4,000 in 1801 and a half-share in the newspaper was sold for £4,000 just six years later.[12]

For such an outlay, successful newspaper owners could expect reasonable profits for a provincial tradesman or woman. Whereas in the early eighteenth century, it has been estimated that a provincial newspaper might yield a profit of around £5, by the later eighteenth century, a paper was capable of producing several hundred pounds in profits per annum. The *Chester Chronicle*, for example, was producing potential profits of between £100 and £200 per annum between 1783 and 1786; the *Cumberland Pacquet*, over £300 per annum between 1799 and 1805 and the *Chelmsford Chronicle* was producing an average profit of £313 per annum between 1777 and 1784.[13] Yet many never made a profit at all, limping through a few years before collapsing in the face of low reader and advertiser numbers and established competition. Good

business acumen was critical, for the chances of survival may have risen but so had the stakes.

There were legal obstacles too. All newspapers sold to the public had to be printed on stamped paper, a challenge in itself when stamped paper had to be purchased from recognised London suppliers and land or sea transport offered unreliable delivery. Advertisement duty had to be paid for quarterly, regardless of whether advertisers had fulfilled their debts. Most of all, newspaper publication involved political risk, especially from the 1790s when prosecutions became more frequent and new laws to control press output were enacted. The very existence of a stamped newspaper conferred a degree of official sanction since it was regularly produced from the same location. That sanction was easily revoked. Radical proprietors were arrested or threatened with arrest on a variety of grounds. James Wroe of the *Manchester Observer* had 13 processes for libel issued against him in four months.[14] James Montgomery of the *Sheffield Iris*, imprisoned once for printing a seditious poem and a second time for libel, was in no doubt as to the motives of authorities: 'the prosecution is levelled against the Iris; they are determined to crush it'.[15] As Chapter 5 examines, prosecution costs and the loss of readers' and advertisers' confidence in a paper indeed sent many out of business, thus establishing a fear of loss of credit within the community and a more cautious approach to statements that might be interpreted as libellous or radical. New regulations, including the Newspaper Regulation Act of 1798 and additional regulation in 1799 meanwhile demanded that newspapers owners register all those involved in their production, and that those selling type and presses keep account of their customers. Following Peterloo, the Stamp and Newspaper Duties Act of 1819, one of the 'Six Acts', widened the definition of a newspaper to include practically any publication produced more than once. By registering presses and the personnel who were engaged in them, the government formalised the division between the respectable and radical press, and the positions of newspaper proprietor, printer and editor as separate from the wider print trade.

These legal changes affected all newspaper proprietors. The risk of prosecution for libel by an unsuspecting or inexperienced writer became all the more likely as newspapers contained growing volumes of locally produced copy. Timing was critical. More astute proprietors would soften their rhetoric in periods of heightened tension in order to avoid bringing themselves to the attention of the authorities. Not everyone managed it. In 1810, during the Napoleonic Wars, John Drakard was imprisoned at Lincoln for the reproduction of an article on flogging in

the military from the London *Examiner*, even though the article was inserted by his editor, John Scott.[16] Others, like William Cowdroy, were never prosecuted for libel, despite his pro-parliamentary reform stance at the *Chester Chronicle* and his *Cowdroy's Manchester Gazette*. This was testimony to his care to dampen his rhetoric during periods of heightened risk as well as his training in the trade, to which this chapter shall return. Every proprietor was liable, moreover, regardless of the size of his or her stake. In 1829, John Matthew Gutch, banker, owner of *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* and part-owner of the *Morning Post* was successfully prosecuted alongside his partners for libelling George IV and Lord Lyndhurst in the *Post*. Skills of careful selection and collation were thus critical in order to entertain readers and to avoid libel. Carelessness was not an excuse. When he was prosecuted for a seditious libel in the *Liverpool Chronicle*, proprietor Francis Browne Wright argued that he had not noticed the insertion by his foreman because he was distracted by problems with his business partner. As the Attorney General noted, however, 'Mr Wright has declared he had no knowledge of this libel, yet to whom should we look; he is the only person responsible in the eye of the law; he is the only editor and proprietor of the paper in which this libel was inserted; to him, and him only, we must look'.[17] The financial and political stakes were high. These external factors—the growing costs of ownership and legal obstacles—affected the business of newspaper production and contributed to changes in the composition of trades personnel and the skills they acquired. In order to further establish this, it is first necessary to consider how newspapers were owned and by whom.

Ownership structures

Whereas the national trade witnessed wholesale change in its operation, outlined in Chapter 2, locally newspaper proprietors adapted to changing market and legislative conditions by specialising in small but transformative ways. Specialisation came from within the book trade and within the small business model. As was typical of most middling tradespeople, newspaper proprietors were engaged in multiple business activities and occupations. By examining the ancillary activities in which newspaper owners engaged, it is possible to gain insights into the extent to which the newspaper trade centred on the book trade, even in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Throughout the period under review, the overwhelming majority of newspaper proprietors were book-trade personnel, both because newspapers invariably required one printer (not least to save on hiring one) and

because business partners frequently dealt with one another on multiple occasions before entering into a business partnership. The sample constructed for this book further lends itself to focussing on book-trade personnel, for members of the book trades are well-documented in directories and dictionaries and in the imprints of the papers themselves.[18] Moreover, it has proved impossible to discriminate between each proprietor's primary and secondary occupations and between activities undertaken at different stages in a proprietor's lifecourse.[19] Most of these would have been minor additional activities carried out to ensure as full a service as possible. Even so, taken together, they provide important insights into the type of people owning provincial titles.

Collectively, the 305 proprietors engaged in a total of 929 activities (of which there were 68 distinct activities or occupations), an average of just over three per proprietor. Of these, 742 (80% of alternative activities) were book trades.[20] Disaggregating these 742 book-trade activities, at least 238 proprietors were also printers. The production of a newspaper required at least one print specialist and those with access to a printing press and type might still experiment in opening a title. Some proprietors who took advantage of this were major provincial printers, such as William Jackson, founder of *Jackson's Oxford Journal* in 1753, lessee of the Oxford Bible Press and printer of the *University Almanack*.[21] Jackson's primary activity was prestigious printing but he retained the *Journal* until his death in 1795, performing smaller print jobs and selling medicines from his office and via the newsmen. Other proprietors noted as printers might simply have performed enough jobbing printing to get the most out of their presses beyond the two days per week occupied by a newspaper's production. It appears that over the later eighteenth century more proprietors began to engage in jobbing printing as an additional service rather than the core of a business. John Ware junior of the *Cumberland Pacquet* switched the focus of his business over his lifetime, from printing some significant works (including the first Manx bible) alongside producing the *Pacquet* with his father, to focussing on the newspaper as his chief source of income and merely providing jobbing printing by the nineteenth century. The move suggests the growing ability of newspapers to sustain proprietors over the eighteenth century.

At least 160 (52%) of the sampled newspaper proprietors were also booksellers, a total of 103 (34%) of the proprietors sold stationery, at least 82 (27%) are known to have been publishers and 40 (13%) were bookbinders. Again, some of these proprietors were well-known specialists in their particular trades. John Newbery, owner of the *Reading*

Mercury from 1739, for example, became one of London's foremost publishers but retained his share in the *Mercury* until his death in 1767.[22] He used his *Mercury* to advertise his books as well as his medicines, including Dr James's Fever Powder. Robert Raikes junior, proprietor of the *Glocester Journal* (1757–1802), was a stationer by trade, but was also a printer and bookseller. He and provincial proprietors like him offered a one-stop-shop for the production, sale and delivery of printed materials that maximised on every area of a business's profitability.

Beyond the immediate book trades, most additional activities performed by proprietors were still linked to newspaper ownership or the book trades. At least 67 (22%) proprietors operated as agents, including those for the stamp office (16), a position often rewarded on the basis of loyalty to a council; James Simmons of the *Kentish Gazette*, for example, was granted the role of distributor of stamps during the Rockingham administration. Other agency activities were linked to the advertisements that newspapers carried, including those for insurance companies (12), lotteries (12) and fire offices (3). Medicines, also advertised prolifically, were available from a significant number of offices. At least 52 proprietors are documented as engaged in medicine sales, although this was underreported in the BBTI. Advertisements for patent and proprietary medicines were a staple of the provincial press, as Chapter 2 examined, and most directed customers to the newspaper office for supplies and paid for their advertisements with products.[23] Contrary to the national picture, where book-trade agents were replaced with dedicated news and advertising agencies, as newspaper ownership became a more specialised activity at local level, it retained its longstanding links with the book trade, growing from within it. This continuity was evident further in the ownership structures of newspapers.

Turning to consider ownership formations across the sample of 305 proprietors, Figure 3.2 shows that while the number of solo owners stayed relatively stable over the period, the number of proprietors in partnerships appears to have been rising in response to greater profits and in order to raise greater start-up and running capital. Group ownership was also a feature of late eighteenth-century ownership, but this was ephemeral and characteristic of the adolescent, experimental nature of the trade. The brevity constitutes acknowledgement that provincial newspaper businesses were most successful when served by individuals, or a handful of owners with specialist knowledge, usually gained through the book trades. Changes in the number of owners of multiple titles similarly reflect the changing nature of the trade. Early in the period proprietors could own more than one newspaper consecutively
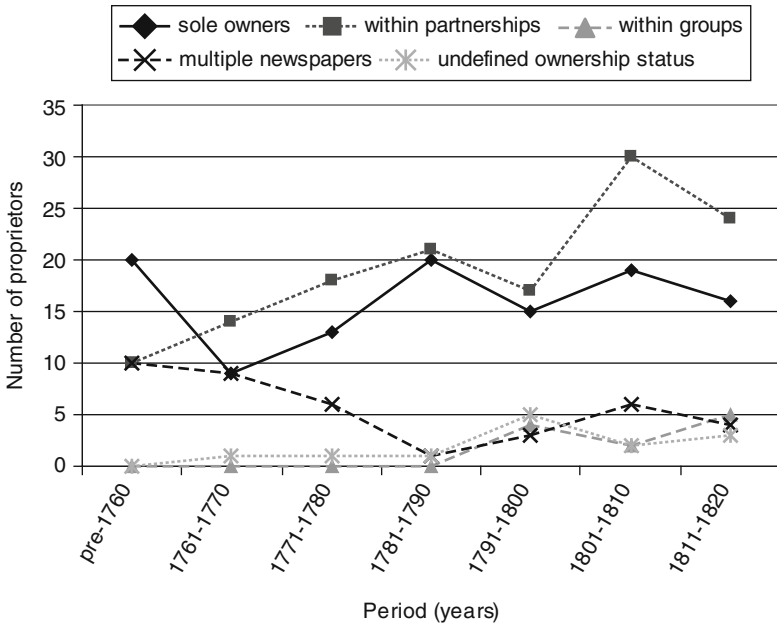
Figure 3.2   Distribution of sampled proprietors according to ownership formation, sample groups A and B

because it was relatively cheap to establish a newspaper, with their fall in numbers indicative of rising costs associated with newspaper production. The growth of owners of multiple titles again in the nineteenth century was caused by the emergence of a new type of owner-editors who interchanged setting up their own titles with the establishment of externally backed titles.

Focussing on the 273 proprietors in sample group A who owned one title over their lifetimes, Figure 3.3 shows that just 66 proprietors (24% of sample group A) owned their titles independently for the entire period of ownership, whereas a total of 194 proprietors (71% of sample group A) engaged in some sort of partnership. The high incidence of partnerships is to be expected within this study, which works on the principle that each proprietor had equal opportunity to influence a paper's fortunes and thus gives equal weight to every proprietor where known in partnerships of fewer than five.[24] Even so, examining this from a different perspective, the trend is comparable with the overall ownership history of the 141 newspapers that were owned by the 305
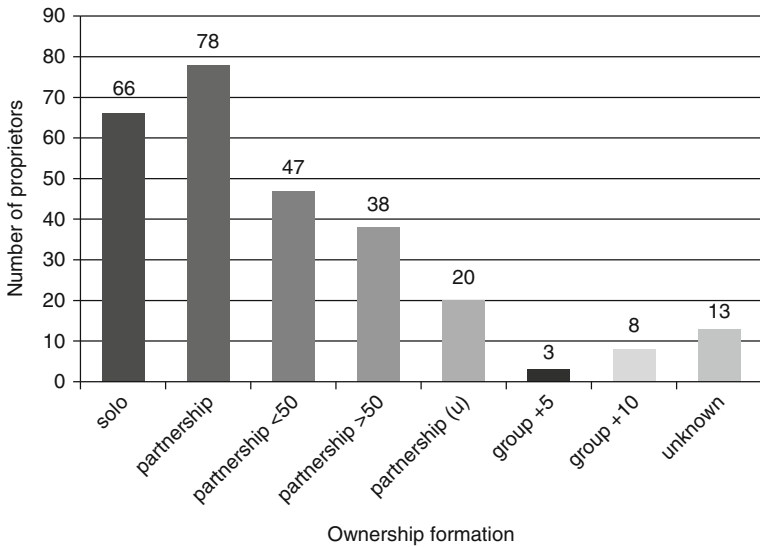
Figure 3.3 Ownership formations of sampled proprietors, 1760–1820, sample group A

sampled proprietors. Of those 141 newspapers, a total of 35 (25%) were owned by individuals alone between 1760 and 1820, while the remaining 106 (75%) were owned within partnership formations at some point in their existence.

The number of solo proprietors is perhaps surprising in view that costs were rising. Some had inherited established businesses with reliable cash flow and no requirement for immediate capital. John Gregory senior bequeathed the *Leicester Journal*, founded by him in 1753, to his son John Gregory junior in 1789. The title was evidently profitable, for Gregory senior detailed in his will that he had sent his eldest son to university on its profits and could thus bequeath the *Journal* to his second son.[25] Others entering the trade were wealthier than their earlier counterparts, attracted by the political potential of a local title. Charles Howard, eleventh Duke of Norfolk, purchased the *Hereford Journal* in 1781 and employed a Reverend Duncombe as editor.[26] As MP for Hereford from 1784 and, following his appointment to the peerage, High Steward there from 1790, Howard's likely objective as a well-known borough-monger was to extend his influence over his constituents.[27] The purchase of the paper was likely negligible compared to his net worth and was brief in the event, for Howard disposed of it within three years.

Other solo proprietors borrowed money to acquire a title so their lenders effectively owned a stake in it until the debt was fulfilled. William Meyler at the *Bath Herald*, for example, had a number of silent partners when he established the title in 1792.[28] Some loans were for financial benefit but others were a form of sponsorship or encouragement in order to fulfil a wider group's political motives, which usually connected local concerns and campaigns to those nationally. For example, John Fletcher was loaned the capital to purchase the *Chester Chronicle* in 1783 by fellow supporters of the town's Independent cause.[29] Silent partners could invest in a title that would articulate their particular views whilst potentially free of the risk of prosecution for libel whilst also potentially receiving a return on their loan.[30] Flindell's unrevealed early investors still owned a stake in the title when he committed a libel against the Recorder of Chester in 1784, but none aside from Fletcher was prosecuted. Moreover, while the proprietors appeared to be in sole charge of the newspaper, each silent member had the opportunity to shape a newspaper's content. While it is impossible to determine whether silent partnerships were an emerging trend in the later eighteenth century, their existence suggests an interest in the political potential of papers at the time, while hinting at a broader cohort of the population beyond the book trade who may have been involved in newspaper ownership. Communities often had more direct involvement with newspapers than is apparent in the pages of the newspapers.

Of the 194 proprietors in partnerships (71% of sample group A) between 1760 and 1820, a total of 78 (29% of sample group A) were engaged in partnerships throughout their entire period of their ownership, a further 20 (7%) had partners for an unknown period of time within their partnership period, and 38 (14%) had at least one other partner for more than half of their ownership period. Another 47 proprietors (15%) had business partners for under half of their ownership period. Most of these latter proprietors were typically long-term 'solo' owners who worked alongside family members intergenerationally and were in the process of handing over control during the partnership, as Chapter 4 explores in more detail. Others without children or other suitable kin took on business partners towards the end of their working lives. James Abree, for example, founded his *Kentish Post* in 1717 and ran it alone until shortly before his death in 1768, when he took on his new business partner, George Kirkby.[31] In the process the retiring newspaper proprietor assured him or herself an annuity or lump sum for the years of retirement.

The exact number of years that most partnerships lasted, or the exact number of business partners, are largely indeterminable because the pages of the newspapers rarely reveal the complexities behind the names on their imprints. Partnerships involving the equal division of a newspaper and allied business were probably the most unusual form of ownership, suggesting that most papers did not produce enough profits for both partners to support their families. Moreover, in an age of unlimited liability equal partnership involved a financial commitment to one another's families that most could not risk. More typical was the short-term venture that provided a cash-injection but there exists good evidence for the gamut of partnerships undertaken, including familial, formal, informal, permanent or short-term agreements that involved a succession of partners. Lack of finance motivated proprietors to find partners and was also the commonest cause of partnerships' demise. Busy with his optical, stationery and printing business, Egerton Smith of the *Liverpool Mercury* took on a Thomas Burgeland Johnson as a partner as a new editor for the *Liverpool Mercury* in 1812 but Johnson failed to invest in the business and the partnership was dissolved in 1815. Such brevity was indicative of the short-term nature of eighteenth-century investment more generally but also, as Chapter 4 demonstrates, because two or more people together in a business tended to multiply problems and concerns as much as capital. Smith himself was involved in at least nine other partnerships at the *Liverpool Mercury* and allied business between 1811 and 1850.[32] Newspapers were interdependent with other local businesses, and multiple changing parties had a direct interest in their financial well-being and in their content.

Although the majority of the sampled proprietors were booksellers and printers, there is some evidence that the myriad of other partners came from a wider occupational base. In 1771, for example, Clement Cruttwell co-founded the *Berkshire Chronicle* with one William Wheatley, innkeeper and owner of the 'Oakingham Machine', a coach service to London. This arrangement was mutually beneficial: Cruttwell potentially gained free passage for the expensive transit of the London newspapers essential for his newspaper's content. Wheatley gained free newspapers for the inn and cost-price advertising for his existing ventures.[33] Similarly, Samuel Hazard was already a successful circulating-library owner in Bath when he purchased a stake in Richard Cruttwell's *Bath Chronicle* in 1788.[34] His new partnership also probably provided him with reduced-rate advertising and the potential to share the considerable cost of subscribing to the London papers that were required by both businesses. It offered Cruttwell access to an even wider range

of papers; Hazard's library stocked newspapers from twenty-four towns including Manchester, Dublin and Birmingham, as well as three from London and three from Bristol.[35] Interpersonal relations had long informed business transactions and this continued in the local trade in the later eighteenth century. Systems of barter and reckoning meant that those with allied interests were most likely suited to do business with one another. Richard Cruttwell and Samuel Hazard, prospective partners in allied trades in the same town, knew one another, for Hazard was a regular advertiser in the *Chronicle* long before his investment in it.[36] As Chapter 6 explores, iterative small business transactions could lead to more substantial investment. They also bound a newspaper to multiple parties within a town, entrenching it into business, social and economic networks. A greater number of proprietors meant more potential for editorial conflict and interference but it also meant that a greater number of local individuals had obligations to, and interest in, a newspaper's survival as a business.

Silent investors in partnerships were from a wider occupational base still. Following their purchase of *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* in 1801, Jonathan Knott and Robert Lloyd recruited Joseph Grice as a silent partner in 1807. Grice was a wealthy gunmaker who supplied the Ordnance with military locks and traded in Africa; his occupational background itself provides good evidence of participation of a growing range of local businessmen and women in newspaper ownership. Grice's new partners charged him £4,000 for his share and he retained the right to inspect the business's accounts and to become involved in the day-to-day running of the business should he so choose.[37] Grice's decision to take a silent role may simply have been a business decision, having purchased a share of a profitable business in which he himself had no experience. Alternatively, Grice chose to be a silent partner because the *Gazette*'s position on slavery contrasted with Grice's wider business practices. Trading gunlocks in Africa was hardly compatible with a publication that in the same year of Grice's investment had declared its support for the abolition of slavery by supporting Wilberforce in the Yorkshire election campaign.[38] Either way, Grice evidently considered the venture profitable, again underlining the growing appeal of newspapers as an investment and their consequent integration within the local communities that had a vested interest in their success. Even as a silent partner, moreover, Grice still had the right to inspect the business's accounts; according to the agreement he signed, he could become involved in the day-to-day running of the business if 'he shall so choose'. His role as a silent partner therefore did not prevent him from making decisions

about editorial policy and while there is no evidence that Grice chose to do so, his example highlights that a range of sometimes competing interests could shape newspapers' content.

Partnerships complicated newspaper ownership by adding a greater number of people with a view on editorial line and content. A partner's input into how a business was run or into the political direction of the paper often depended on the size of his or her share in the business. When James Montgomery purchased the stock-in-trade and goodwill of the *Sheffield Register* in 1794 and established his *Sheffield Iris*, he did so with Reverend Benjamin Naylor. His new partner took a politically neutral line, which Montgomery had not intended. As Montgomery wrote to a friend:

> You were no doubt astonished when first you saw my name annexed to the Iris and perhaps still more when you shewed the humiliating distance between the cringing, trembling, girly pace of our party coloured Messenger of the Gods and the noble, firm and manly gait of the late lamented Register. I was about in London upon an occasion with which you are too well acquainted, when … two first publications appeared, and was not less surprised than you … when I read the modest language of these two papers.[39]

Montgomery's horror at Naylor's editorial line, however, was misplaced. Despite Montgomery's name being synonymous with the *Iris*, the original partnership agreement with Naylor indicates that it was Naylor who held the majority stake in the business—by a considerable amount. It detailed that Montgomery 'should at his own Expence provide all such working Tools Types Presses Utensils and Effects as should be requisite for carrying on the said Business …. And Naylor should be allowed Interest … for the amount of such Stock in Trade Utensils Money and Effects out of the profits. Montgomery, on the other hand, 'should have one full twentieth Part of the remaining Profits'.[40] Montgomery's share was to yield a minimum of £54.12.0 over a year, otherwise Naylor was to remunerate him up that amount. As the majority shareholder, Naylor no doubt considered it entirely within his right to decide on the paper's editorial stance—especially on an issue that could result in his being prosecuted for libel. Unsurprisingly, the partnership lasted for just one year. The case again highlights that editorial control could be shaped by partners even when they appeared to have had a less influential role in a business.

With rising initial investment costs and increasing recognition of the press as a vehicle for political influence, large-group ownership

became a new feature of the provincial press from the final decade of the eighteenth century. As with smaller partnerships, large-group ownership conferred on its members the opportunity to advertise cheaply, to gain a return on an investment and to influence editorial direction.[41] Even so, it is unlikely that shareholders always attended meetings. Only three of the 12 *Salopian Journal* proprietors between 1793 and 1795 regularly attended proprietors' meetings, suggesting that while the other nine had the opportunity to influence content, they chose not to. The *Salopian Journal*'s partners agreed that 'all Letters, Essays, &c. of a Political Nature be laid before the Proprietors, and the Insertion of them or otherwise be determined by Ballot', underlining the responsibility of all parties for content. However, the lack of partner involvement must have made this difficult.[42] As a result, it must have occasionally been left up to the Eddowes as printer-proprietors to select and approve of certain information, indicating a degree of trust in them as skilled newspaper producers to select appropriate content.

Particularly from the 1780s, local groups campaigning on local and national issues also increasingly recognised the opportunity provided by the press to publicise their opinions. Newspapers were purchased or established by groups or societies who had a particular agenda. There were at least 11 radical provincial newspapers demanding urgent parliamentary reform in the 1780s and 1790s.[43] In most cases these titles were the mouthpiece for, or received strong support from, a local group agitating for reform, including the *Manchester Herald*, backed by the Manchester Constitutional Society in 1792.[44] Alongside the groups that supported them, most of these newspapers were destroyed or neutralised through actual or threatened prosecution, and/or lack of local support (especially for advertising). For those that were not, the threat of French invasion mostly muted proprietors' calls for reform for the next decade or so.[45]

The use of provincial newspapers by partisan groups took off again in the early nineteenth century in response to sharpening divisions in national politics. In 1810, the Leicester Reform Committee, headed by Walter Ruding, founded the *Leicester Chronicle* to promote parliamentary reform.[46] The *Bristol Mercury* was purchased in 1818 by a group of fourteen proprietors, whose largest financial backer was Charles Elton, a Bristol banker and prominent Whig and pro-parliamentary reform supporter.[47] Critically, whereas in the 1790s most group-backed titles were oppositionist, nineteenth-century titles were also backed by those in establishment positions. As Chapter 5 examines, Thomas Flindell was employed as proprietor-editor of the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* for a

group of Cornish landowners, including Francis Basset, first Baron de Dunstanville, in order to promote Tory interests in the South West. Some groups of owners were particularly large. In 1808 the *Hull Rockingham* was founded and edited by the Reverend George Lee for 70 members.[48] The *Carlisle Patriot* was launched in 1815 to support the Tories. It was divided into 100 shares, apparently purchased by the 'principal Nobility and Gentry of the District' for £25 each.[49] For those in the upper echelons of society, this relatively small amount of money enabled them to experiment with the medium without taking on significant risk. That they felt compelled to do so further suggest the centrality of the press in national and local political life.

The organisation and management structure of large consortia differed from small-business newspapers. Joint-stock companies with transferable shares had been prohibited by the 'Bubble Act' of 1720, which was not repealed until 1825, but unincorporated companies could still be organised under a deed of settlement. Like unincorporated companies whose trustees would oversee their management, editors and printers had a prominent role in the establishment of newspapers and overall management strategy. James Amphlett, for example, was asked to establish the *Birmingham Mercury* in 1820, organising and distributing shares as well as arranging shareholder meetings and running the newspaper itself.[50] Editors had developed new roles.

In practice, however, these large firms rarely worked. At the *Birmingham Mercury*, Amphlett found that it was impossible even to decide on the paper's politics for between them the shareholders demanded the newspaper take three different political directions. The *Mercury* was in publication for a little over a year before it ceased. Its failure was by no means unusual. Disagreements over management strategy and political direction, compounded by the constant drain on cash that most newspapers created in their early years, saw the sale or closure of most group-owned publications soon after they were established. The *Bristol Mercury*, established by 14 proprietors in 1818, had just three owners by 1821 and by 1823 the editor-proprietor, Thomas Manchee, was its sole remaining owner.[51] Similarly, the group of seven cutlery manufacturers who established the *Sheffield Independent* in 1819 were reduced to three by 1823 and again to one, editor Henry Andrew Bacon, in 1829.[52] Finally, by 1812, the *Salopian Journal* had reduced from 12 partners to just two, the paper's printers and father and son Joshua and William Eddowes. This model of large-scale collaborative provincial newspaper ownership simply seemed not to work. Relative harmony among proprietors coupled with strong editorship meant that a title could be

sustained: under George Lee's management, the *Hull Rockingham* lasted for 32 years. Within four years of his death, however, the company that owned it brought the publication to an end.[53] Newspapers were hard work, could lose money and could still be an ineffective medium of influence, especially in numerous and inexperienced hands. Newspapers required experience through the recruitment of experts, either as part-owners or as paid editors.

Politicians resolved the issue of rescinding ownership by asserting other less costly and less risky pressures on editors. Baron de Dunstanville maintained his financial commitment to Truro's *Royal Cornwall Gazette* for the full ten years of Thomas Flindell's editorship (1803–1812), but he did not transfer his obligations to Flindell's next paper, the Exeter-published and independently eponymous *Flindell's Western Luminary*. Instead, de Dunstanville appears to have wielded as strong an influence over Flindell as a correspondent, offering advice, news from the House of Lords and copies of his own speeches there, without maintaining any financial responsibilities. Other politicians found connections with provincial proprietors similarly fruitful. As Richard Sheridan, standing for election in Stafford in 1812, wrote to an associate 'I forget the Stafford editor's name who has always been a friend of mine tho' I have neglected him and is a devilish clever fellow and one Tom greatly esteems'.[54] De Dunstanville, Sheridan and other politicians like them recognised the benefits of this type of communication. Their correspondence offered privileged access to the latest parliamentary and local political news while avoiding unnecessary expense and the logistical challenges of newspaper ownership. They also gained from provincial journalists' experience in refining speeches and distilling opinion into readable format. The benefit was mutual. As Chapter 5 examines, sympathetic proprietors acquired powerful friends who might offer them access to lucrative official local or regional advertising or reward them with exclusive printing during elections. Those friends might also extend their patronage beyond the immediate newspaper business, for example, by offering contacts for the wider family's benefit. By giving up newspaper ownership and instead courting newspaper journalists, politicians still potentially extended their influence over individual titles while contributing to the political influence of provincial journalists. These changes in the press-politics nexus—the brief but unsuccessful experiment with large-group ownership and the move to indirect control of provincial newspapers—underline that commercial imperatives may have freed proprietors from direct subsidies but they could be swayed in other ways. More importantly for the purposes of

this chapter, these changes suggest that newspaper production was recognised by some at least as requiring greater skill.

By exchanging direct ownership of newspapers for indirect influence over newspaper proprietors and editors, politicians recognised that commercial success in the newspaper trade was not guaranteed. Rather, newspapers required an increasingly sophisticated understanding of what readers wanted to ensure the commercial success of a title. The rise of group ownership and wealthier owners like Charles Howard encouraged the employment of experienced editors. It was for this reason that the number of proprietors owning more than one title during their lifetime ('multiple' proprietors) appeared in the early nineteenth century. This new breed of provincial newspaper professionals established and owned their own newspapers interchangeably with those of other proprietors. James Amphlett is a good example of this, having established his own *Staffordshire Mercury* (1813–1815), *Lichfield Mercury* (1815–1821) and *Pottery Gazette* (1821–1828), as well as serving as editor at the *Staffordshire Advertiser* (1804–1810), London's *Rifleman* (1811–1812), the *Birmingham Mercury* (1820–1821), and the *Salopian Journal* (1845–1853). At the *Birmingham Mercury*, moreover, Amphlett even owned the printing press and types, further blurring the line between ownership and editorship.[55] Amphlett's decision to quit the *Birmingham Mercury* moreover effected its closure, underlining his centrality as the key decision maker within a newspaper.

In terms of the occupational origins of newspaper owners and in the structures in which they owned their newspapers, there was a good deal of continuity in the trade. Newspapers were also most effectively owned in small businesses. Nevertheless, potential growth in the number of small partnerships meant that a greater number of individuals had the opportunity to have a stake in local news production, thus influencing editorial policy and content. Continuing connections with the book trade facilitated growing specialism within and distinction from it. This was particularly evident in the expansion of the editorial role.

Trade specialism and occupational segmentation

In the newspaper trade, continuities in book-trade ownership and in the persistence of small businesses facilitated internal dynamism in the form of specialised literary skills and occupational segmentation. Just as the ownership of newspapers evolved, so too did management roles within the provincial newspaper office. Growing recognition of this expertise coupled with growing profits resulted in occupational segmentation,

both in the emphasis on newspaper printing as a specialism separate from the wider printing trade and in the emergence of editors. Thus, in 1785 London news compositors successfully lobbied for a higher wage scale than that of book and manuscript compositors and in 1820 their committee issued a report charting their occupational and financial divergence from the other book trades.[56]

The emergence of editors was characteristically uneven across the provincial press and varied from paper to paper. At London newspapers editorships were full-time occupations, but in small provincial newspaper offices that employed a handful of workers the editorial position emerged from the compositor's role. Compositors often had considerable responsibility, frequently composing news columns by setting the type straight from the London papers. Although proprietors were legally responsible for a paper's content, compositors had initial responsibility, and this translated in some cases into managerial positions. At the *Newcastle Chronicle*, for example, compositor Robert Moor managed the office for the Slacks from the 1760s and was succeeded in 1784 by William Preston.[57] Similarly, the compositor at Ann Ward's *York Courant*, David Russell, was also her manager and was awarded shares.[58] The greater responsibility of manager-editors compared to other workers was reflected in the former's pay. In 1784 John Fletcher of the *Chester Chronicle* paid editor William Cowdroy one guinea per week while his journeyman earned twelve shillings.[59] Editorial salaries across the provincial press were comparable. The editor-compositor at the *Newcastle Chronicle*, William Preston, joined that office in 1784 for £50 per annum, 'enough … to afford me a jill, a joke and a jacket'.[60] Salaries rose alongside inflation so that in 1797, the proprietors of the Newcastle and Whitehaven papers estimated that the editor of a newspaper with a circulation of 2,000 was paid £1 5*s*. a week, or £65 per annum.[61] That the editors' salaries were calculated in annual salaries rather than weekly wages itself suggests a position of greater responsibility and less mechanical in nature.

Proprietors' editorial roles varied from paper to paper. Some undertook editing duties whilst also employing a separate manager. Solomon Hodgson of the *Newcastle Chronicle* employed William Preston as manager, but it was Hodgson who managed the paper's financial accounts, business correspondence and political reports. It was also Hodgson who referred to himself as the paper's editor in print and received letters from friends and family addressing him as such.[62] This may have been because he was in charge of writing the paper's editorials, or it may have been that he used the title to enhance his own status. According

to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term 'editor' was not in common parlance with reference to newspaper editing until 1802, and was most commonly used in the eighteenth century to describe 'one who prepares the literary work for another person … for publication, by selecting, revising, and arranging the material'. It may well be, therefore, that Hodgson used the title to emphasise his intellectual endeavour and literary ability, as opposed to the manual and functional role of a printer. This is further borne out in the evidence of increasing literary skills requested in advertisements for provincial editors. In 1811, one such advertisement required that the applicant should be 'competent to the Department of Writing, Selecting, and Arranging, the matter thereof'. It went on to state that if the candidate was 'professionally a Printer the more eligible', suggesting the continued combination of roles.[63] Another advertisement for a provincial editor, in 1804, emphasised the importance of education and previous experience, requesting that 'a person that has been liberally educated, can write with elegance, has been used to employment of this kind, and that understands accompts'.[64] Each was advertised in the London papers, indicating that a national market for editors had opened up.

Local news columns and editorials required the literary skill and dexterity to gauge the political climate and negotiate libel laws. Newspaper proprietors could also be selective with literary contributions, as Samuel Bamford learned to his detriment when he sent a poem to William Cowdroy of *Cowdroy's Manchester Gazette*. He was summoned to Cowdroy's office, attending with some trepidation because Cowdroy was a 'gentleman of whom I had a very high opinion, for … at all times he exhibited a quick and just perception'. Unfortunately for the aspiring poet, Cowdroy was less than impressed. 'And how the d—could you expect that I should give it a place in my paper?' he asked. Bamford enquired as to whether it was the subject of the poem that was problematic, or the manner in which he had dealt with it. Unfortunately for him, both were 'objectionable; it is your trumpery doggerel throughout. Here is your paper, and I hope you will never offer me any more such'. With which Cowdroy 'took up the candle, and went out of the place, leaving me to grope my way down the lobby and out at the door as well as I could'.[65] Nor was Cowdroy alone in his attitude towards hopeful contributors. Joseph Gales of the *Sheffield Register* was also known to refuse poor literary contributions.[66]

New local reporting meant that reporters had to attend public meetings. Editors reported on local meetings and events. James Amphlett, editor of the *Staffordshire Advertiser*, attended public meetings and reported

on them as well as editing reports from correspondents, including court reports from Mr Bennet, a solicitor.[67] Solomon Hodgson of the *Newcastle Chronicle* was supposedly nicknamed 'Memory Hodgson' because of his ability to recall the detail of local meetings in his reports. Editors could substitute lack of skills on the part of proprietors. John Fletcher, who purchased the *Chester Chronicle* in 1783, proved adept at transforming the finances of the ailing paper but not avoiding libel, as Chapter 5 explores in more detail. Within a year, Fletcher was imprisoned for libel against the Recorder of Chester. While he was in prison he appears to have sacked his old manager, one Mr Ogden (perhaps Ogden was the source of the libel or did not check the paper carefully enough) and employed William Cowdroy, who had then been working for the *Chester Courant*. Cowdroy's twenty years' experience in the trade no doubt prevented further incursions, despite the paper's editorial stance that supported the early stages of the French Revolution, Charles James Fox and parliamentary reform. Indeed, Cowdroy was one of the few radical provincial proprietors not to experience arrest in the 1790s.

Like proprietors, some editors were gaining power as their newspapers became more involved in local politics and as proprietors took less direct interest. James Amphlett of the *Birmingham Mercury*, for example, organised the division and sale of the 100 shares at £5 each, established and equipped the new office and arranged shareholders meetings at which those with a stake in the paper would have had the opportunity to influence their newspaper's editorial direction.[68] The *Mercury* lasted just under a year because of the divergent politics of its owners, according to Amphlett, although he had a vested interest in providing a version of the event that did not reflect on his business skills. Amphlett did, however, elect to quit the *Mercury*, indicating that he was satisfied that he could gain a position elsewhere. He was in a position to select his place of work. Edward Rushton, editor-proprietor of the *Liverpool Herald* similarly resigned his post shortly after he had made an attack on the barbarity of press gangs. His partner had suggested that he print a retraction but Rushton refused.[69] Some newspaper editors at least had the choice to stay or leave a title and concern over the availability of another position was not a significant factor in their decision. It has been argued that salaried posts lacked independence, but the demands of the market were changing for the nineteenth-century provincial newspaper press, so that editors did have a degree of independence.[70] Even so, that degree depended on the proprietors and editors in question, especially if an editor risked a newspaper's financial position.

Expanding occupational opportunities in the trade created opportunities for interaction between businesses through career proprietors and

editors of multiple titles, thus facilitating greater connections across the national news web. For compositors, pressmen and other workers, the print trade had always been itinerant but the growing status of editors within provincial news offices meant that connections could be forged between those with the power to influence business strategy. Editor John Vint, for example, served his apprenticeship at the *Newcastle Courant*, where he became compositor and then compositor-editor before moving to the position of sub-editor at the London dailies, the *Morning Post* and *Courier*. Vint later returned to provincial editing at *Harrop's Manchester Mercury* before settling in Douglas to edit the *Isle of Man Weekly Gazette*.[71] He therefore not only gained valuable career experience but also London and provincial connections across the country. As a career editor-proprietor, James Amphlett was similarly involved with newspaper offices in London, the Midlands and the North West. Well-connected in the newspaper trade, Amphlett at times met and corresponded with James Montgomery of the *Sheffield Iris* and Hewson Clark of the *Tyne Mercury*, two men whose newspapers he professed to admiring greatly.[72] As Brown argues, these 'roving careers suggest that in the middle decades of the [nineteenth] century there was some sort of national organisation—formal or informal—linking the newspaper press in different areas together … it also illustrates that the promoters of new or expanded papers looked for professional or experienced people to run them, rather than for people with local connections'.[73]

By the end of the period under review, the role of editor was a distinct occupation. In 1818, one Mr Tucker, angry at an article in *Flindell's Western Luminary* that suggested he was involved in the production of Exeter's radical *Alfred* newspaper, could distinguish between the two occupations:

> there are two mistakements … You insinuated that I am the proprietor, and assert that I am the Editor, of the Alfred. I am neither the one nor the other. I do not assist in its management. I derive from it no Emolument, bear no portion of its hopes, nor participate in its gains.[74]

It is striking that while Tucker distinguishes between the two roles, he also gives them equal prominence. This was echoed in legal proceedings. In the case of R. v. Gutch, Fisher and Alexander in 1829, the editors and proprietors of the *Morning Journal* were equally found guilty of libel on ministers and parliament. The social and legal distinction between a newspaper owner and a salaried editor was thus simultaneously eroded and becoming more distinct.

Conclusion

In 1820 provincial newspapers were largely family owned affairs, still printed on wooden hand presses with print runs in the low thousands. Yet as this chapter has shown, continuities belie the changes. Specialisation was propelled by the business and legal challenges of provincial newspaper production as well as reader expectations and growing opportunities for profit. The period 1760–1820 was characterised by trial, experimentation and refinement. The bedrock of the adolescent newspaper trade was the book trade, in which the overwhelming majority of proprietors continued to practise, offering continued opportunities to maximise upon business and customer demand. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that a growing number of proprietors were developing authorial and literary skills beyond their manual capabilities. They sought to emphasise this by authoring works and, in the case of Solomon Hodgson of the *Newcastle Chronicle*, electing to describe himself as an editor. This reflected wider occupational divisions between personnel in newspaper offices as provincial newspapers required increasingly specialist skills of writing and editing. The changing financial fortunes of provincial newspapers and cohort of partnered proprietors funded and enabled these changes.

The continuing links between the newspaper and wider book trade into the nineteenth century underscore the tensions in current historiography. Situating proprietors occupationally within the book trade, these results chime with those that have argued the trade was unchanging over the period.[75] In doing so, they also contrast with those studies that argue the press experienced a French Revolutionary watershed. There was indeed a shift in the type and level of political comment across the English press as a whole, but most newspapers did not suddenly change hands, nor did their owners suddenly alter the way that they conducted their business. In contrast to the national picture, at local level the book trade continued to have an important influence on the newspaper trade and continued do so over the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These combined newspaper and book-trade operations were conducted in small businesses and in a growing number of partnerships.

As with other industrialising businesses, partnerships played a crucial role in the expansion of the press. Cooperative ventures entrenched provincial newspapers in local communities, connecting the owners of urban cultural institutions and potentially encouraging the expansion of local copy as members of the local community increasingly invested in titles. In the case of Joseph Grice at *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* and

Benjamin Naylor of the *Sheffield Iris*, partners had the opportunity to shape their titles, in the latter case causing significant disagreement that contributed to the eventual breakdown of the partnership. These examples provide evidence of the conflicting and increasing pressures that partnerships could impose upon newspaper production by the later eighteenth century. The injection of capital provided by partnerships, while inherently risky, enabled the growth of newspapers and the newspaper trade in the later eighteenth century. Greater investment also encouraged clearer distinctions within individual newspaper offices, as proprietor-editors were recruited and editors employed. In doing so, these local and family initiatives contributed to a change in the national vista of newspaper production, resulting in occupational recognition, new professional associations and self-identification as members of 'the press'. Families played a key role in this, enabling the passing-on of skills and expertise, yet all the while risking proprietors' independence, for the family's survival was of paramount concern—to which this study now turns.

4
Securing the Family, Embedding the Trade

It is a truism that eighteenth-century tradesmen and women worked in and for the family unit. The newspaper trade was no different. Celebrated entrepreneurs, often presented as successful individuals, worked as part of a family unit. John Newbery of the *Reading Mercury*, children's book publisher and medicine manufacturer, entrusted his paper to the hands of his step-daughter, Anna-Maria Smart, while he conducted his large publishing business in London. Joseph Gales, radical founder of the *Sheffield Register* who fled the country under threat of arrest for treason and moved to the United States, was assisted by his wife Winifred who ran the paper and arranged its sale after he had fled. Once reunited in the United States, the family founded several further newspapers, including Joseph Gales junior's Washington *National Intelligencer*. That tradesmen and women of all sorts typically operated within family enterprises is commonly understood. Their impact on both newspapers and the trade beyond the individual shop front, however, has been underplayed. Concern for the family and for its future played a significant role in the construction and content of newspapers and on the specialisation of the newspaper trade as a whole. This chapter explores the effects of families on provincial newspaper businesses as this study now turns towards the examination of individual enterprises and the unique constellation of demands placed upon proprietors and their newspapers locally.

The small family business was the typical business model in the pre-industrial and early industrial periods. Small family businesses suited the scale of the early industrial market, available technology and capital resources.[1] They provided a stock of wealth and potentially financial and occupational security.[2] Yet as business historians have pointed out, family businesses were also problematic. They could create barriers to

enterprise by stifling innovation and business growth. They were more vulnerable to the vicissitudes of the market, calling on more limited resources than larger firms.[3] Many were small, remained small and had a relatively short life span.[4] Moreover, the decision to end any small business was not necessarily a negative one: limiting a business's size or its lifespan could be an active decision in order to benefit the household-family, the locus of middling identity.

Regardless of their financial success or their lifespans, all newspapers had the potential to be shaped by concerns for the family. Indeed, within the individual business, a tradesman or woman's family was central to his or her concerns about survival. In an era in which commerce was inherently unstable, debt pervasive and unlimited liability meant that there was no separation between a household and business's debts, business failure brought with it the prospect of family despair.[5] Concerns over the family, especially within the lower middling sorts, governed family enterprise; it was the 'family's status, rather than that of an independent, autonomous individual, [that] mediated the middling ethos'.[6] Shoring up family security thus dominated business decisions. In the newspaper trade, these concerns manifested themselves in two ways. First, in a trade that was specialising over the eighteenth century, the training of household-family members and the passing on of businesses enabled the accumulation of skills and contacts critical for the specialisation of the trade. Second, content and editorial direction was shaped according to individual families' needs.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first suggests that families informed the ownership structures of newspapers and limited the retention of businesses, while conversely offering a level of stability that encouraged greater success. The second considers the prevalence of family businesses within the newspaper trade and explores how each member of the household-family contributed to, and learned within, the business. In doing so, it demonstrates that the family business contributed to the specialisation of the trade over the eighteenth century, in the form of knowledge, skills and deepening connections. The third section focuses on one newspaper proprietor, exploring the impact of concerns for one family's immediate and future security on an individual business and newspaper. Exploring the case study of Thomas Flindell, impoverished owner of the Exeter *Flindell's Western Luminary* and father of 12, it determines that a newspaper's politics and content could be used as a bargaining tool in the hopes of improving a family's situation.

The small family business

While the practice of passing down businesses was complex, involving decisions unique to individuals and families, observing general patterns of family ownership underlines the centrality of the family business and of training within the newspaper trade. Of the 305 proprietors (sample groups A and B), 143 (47%) owned a newspaper that was passed down over at least one generation, that is they either inherited or bequeathed their papers to family. Another 17 inherited or bequeathed their papers to members of the household-family—employers, employees, masters or apprentices—suggesting some attrition but overall a rigorous tradition of handing newspaper businesses across families comparable with other small family businesses.

Length of ownership does not necessarily constitute evidence of success; families could make active commercial decisions to sell their titles within months of taking ownership. Moreover, partnerships destabilised family security by introducing risk, thus limiting the length of ownership and extent of involvement. As the preceding chapters have demonstrated, newspaper ownership was a risky business. Even with the surety of pre-existing business transactions, taking on a new business partner also meant entrusting the family to him or her too. In the worst scenario, bankruptcy or debt spread like a contagion and took those connected with it. When Francis Browne Wright was prosecuted for a libel made in his *Liverpool Chronicle* in 1807, for example, he blamed the insertion of the offending piece on being 'very much engaged and very much distressed in his mind and distressed in his affairs on account of the insolvency of his partner William Jones … late joint editor'.[7] Wright's evident distress is unsurprising in view of the financial peril in which his partner's bankruptcy placed him. This type of problem was by no means unique and explains the brevity of many partnerships. It also further illuminates why the majority of newspapers were not owned in equal halves by partners but more often than not were owned in partnerships that employed a partner-printer or involved one dominant partner and one or more partners with smaller shares.

Tying together multiple families incurred greater risk for all involved, and this is apparent in the eighteenth-century ownership history of *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, one of the largest and most successful of provincial titles. Examination of the *Gazette*'s imprints would suggest that the newspaper was passed with seeming ease across the generations. However, correspondence and articles of partnership relating to the paper indicate that even seemingly straightforward partnerships

Table 4.1   Ownership of *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 1741–1831

1741	1761	1768	1775	1779	1783
Thomas Aris	Samuel Aris (½)	Samuel Aris (½ business; all stock-in-trade)	Ann Pearson (2/3 in trust)	Executors of Ann Pearson (2/3 in trust)	Thomas Aris Pearson (2/3)
	Richard Pearson (½)	Ann Pearson (½ business in trust for sons)	James Rollason (1/3 until Thomas reaches 21)	James Rollason (1/3)	James Rollason (1/3)

1789	1801	1808	1811	1812	1828
Thomas Aris Pearson	Jonathan Knott (½)	Jonathan Knott (?¼)	Thomas Knott	Thomas Knott (½)	Thomas Knott (?alone)
	Robert Lloyd (½)	Robert Lloyd (?¼)		Thomas Beilby (½)	
		Thomas A P's executors (unspecified)			
		Joseph Grice (?½; silent)			

involved regular changes in divisions of shares and distribution of activities within the business, as shown in Table 4.1. While an initial partnership might prove appealing, later generations were tied to one another in relationships that were historic rather than based on close business or personal relations.

The *Gazette* was established in 1741 by Thomas Aris, a printer and stationer who had been trained in London. Thomas retired in 1760 and died less than a year later, passing his title onto his apprentice and nephew, Samuel Aris. Samuel immediately sold half the newspaper and allied printing, bookselling and stationery business to Richard Pearson. This equal division indicates the financial prosperity of the business and the likely good working and personal relationship between Aris and Pearson. Indeed, the two were related, for their wives were sisters.[8] The familial relationship no doubt assisted in smoothing the day-to-day management and financing of the business, but it was absolutely vital when Richard died in 1768. At this point, Richard's half-share was placed in trust with his widow Ann until their sons Thomas and Richard reached twenty-one, and Ann duly appears on the newspaper's imprints as Aris's partner until 1775. In reality, new articles of agreement were drawn up within a year of Richard's death, formalising the sale of the Pearson's stock-in-trade to Aris, but retaining Thomas and Richard's half-share in the business until they could join as equal partners.[9]

In recognition of Ann's half-share, she was to be paid sixpence per advertisement, but had no involvement in the running of the business whatsoever. Again therefore the imprint of a title belies the reality of its management. Moreover, the nature of inheritance underlines the perils of engaging in partnerships. Tying families to one another potentially compromised their futures—a decision that heads of households would only undertake in circumstances whereby they could entrust their family with their business partner. Certainly close partners might agree to protect one another's families. When John White died after nearly 60 years at the helm of the *Newcastle Courant*, his business partner Thomas Saint continued to provide a home and income for White's widow, Sarah.[10] However, this was the type of arrangement that required long-term and pre-existing connections agreed between individuals.

At *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, mechanisms for protecting the Pearson family were further evident on Samuel Aris's death in 1775. A one-third lease in the business was purchased by James Rollason, for the period until Thomas Aris Pearson's twenty-first birthday. In practice, the one-third stake meant that Rollason took 'upon himself the whole weight, care and management of the business'.[11] In 1783, Thomas Aris Pearson joined the business, having compensated his siblings for the two-thirds share that they had jointly inherited. Rollason retained his share, but on his death in 1789, his share reverted to Aris Pearson, now full owner of the paper until his own death in 1801. After this time, the Aris Pearson family sold the paper to Knott and Lloyd, who took on Joseph Grice as their silent partner. Predictably, the Knott–Lloyd partnership, made between two seemingly unconnected individuals, broke down within three years.

The *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* partnership articles relating to its 60 years in the Aris family underscore the fragility of partnered businesses in the later eighteenth century. Families and kin facilitated trust within a business and stabilised financial transactions, but concern for their security might also prevent partnerships going ahead in the first place. It has been suggested that most businesses were unable to support more than one household and thus remained a small business.[12] In the newspaper trade this was also because limited opportunities for expansion in a small reading market were coupled with the complexities of tying more than one family together. Despite the complexities, however, the family was critical to the expansion of the newspaper trade in terms of training individuals and encouraging the handing down of newspapers.

While businesses might be disposed for a myriad of positive as well as negative reasons, retention suggests that a newspaper was viable

and thus provides some insight into the importance of the family in in-house and trade-wide training. Those with pre-existing experience of the trade and a particular title were generally more likely to own a paper for longer. As Figure 4.1 illustrates, across the 272 proprietors of sample group A the average length of ownership was 19 years, with over half the sampled proprietors in possession of their newspapers for the median of 17 years. Proprietors who inherited their newspapers (64, or 23% of sample group A), became involved in family businesses (15 or 5%), married into (7 or 3%), or were granted employee shares (2 or 1%) were the group with the greatest longevity. Collectively, these 'inheritors' had an average term of 23 years, nearly 4 years longer than the overall sample average, and a median of 21 years, a total of 4 ½ years longer than the overall median. One reason for this is lifecourse, for owners inheriting their papers tended to do so at a relatively early age, but the central reason is the training of those in the business.

The purchase of a pre-established title conferred similar benefits to inheritance. The 43 proprietors who purchased existing titles, either in

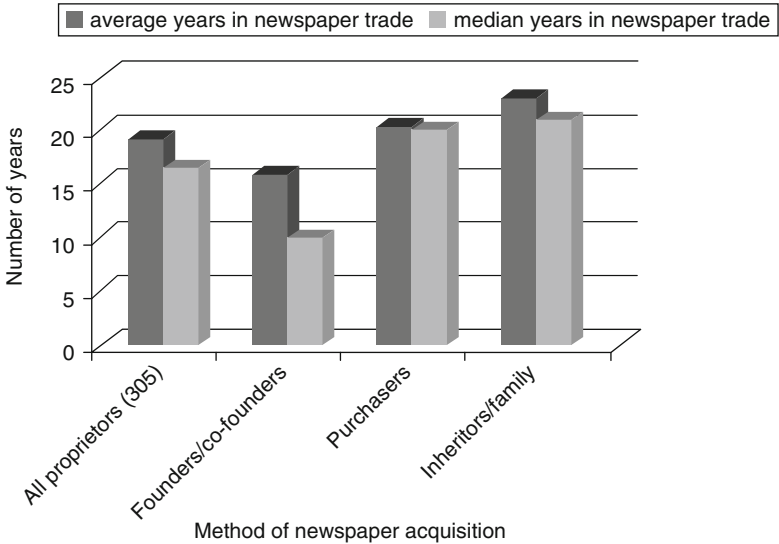*Figure 4.1*   Average length of ownership according to method of newspaper acquisition, sample group A

Note: Sample group A encompasses the 272 proprietors categorised into 'founders/ co-founders', 'purchasers', and inheritors/family', all of whom owned just one title during their lifetimes. Sample group B refers to the 33 'multiple' proprietors, each of whom owned more than one title over his or her lifetime.

whole or in share, owned their titles for an average of 20 years, with a median of 20 years. Like those who inherited, the offices and stock-in-trade were already set up, as well as staff, newsmen and systems of distribution. Most importantly, there were established connections with subscribers, regular advertisers and trade creditors. Moreover, of the 43 who purchased newspapers, in whole or in part, 13 purchased shares in a partnership, so benefiting from the experience of a pre-existing partner, while a further 12 had already worked at the newspaper in question. Jonathan Knott, earlier employee of *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, for example, purchased the paper alongside new partner Robert Lloyd in 1801. James Montgomery similarly purchased the paper where he had been a clerk, taking over the *Sheffield Register* and printing office with one James Nayler, in 1794. Curiously few apprentices purchased existing titles, and instead either inherited them or preferred to establish a new newspaper altogether. Those who had the greatest chances of success were those who were trained in the trade and who had experience of it and connections in it.

Of all the methods of acquisition, the least successful group was that of the founders and co-founders, but again, newspaper training and experience was transformative to a prospective newspaper owner's fortunes. This group was in possession of their newspapers for an average of 16 years, and for a median of only 10 years, the low number reflecting greater likelihood of inexperience in the trade, as well as greater likelihood of establishing a title in a saturated market. As Chapter 3 considered, establishing a title could cost far more, both in time and money. Even so, those who founded or co-founded newspapers were also some of the most successful proprietors of their generation, for they seized opportunities and were prepared to take risks with new markets. In order to maximise income, businesses have to increase risk.[13] Of the 63 co-founders and founders, 10 (16%) had served their apprenticeships with other newspaper owners. These apprentices were far more successful than their peers, with an average length of ownership of 29 years and a median of 30 years. Indeed, overall apprentices were more likely to own their papers for longer than average, for an average of 24 years and a median of 21 years compared to an average of 19 years and a median of 17 for proprietors overall and higher than the inheritors' average of 23 years and the same as their median of 21. In this way, the role of household-family training was integral to the newspaper trade, for it enabled families to survive in the short term by utilising family labour and in the long term by preparing them for future ownership.

Locating the family

There is some evidence of proprietors taking equal shares in a newspaper, as in the case of *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* and in that of John Crouse and William Stevenson of the *Norfolk Chronicle*, who each owned one-half of their newspaper and allied printing and bookselling business between 1782 and 1796.[14] However, in most cases a designated or dominant partner conducted the majority of newspaper business. This allowed for contributions from the entire family to the business. A provincial newspaper office was typically small, consisting of a master, a couple of journeymen (at least one to set the type and one pressman operating the wooden hand press) and a handful of apprentices. James Montgomery, for example, had four men and a part-time 'girl' at his Hartshead Press, where he published the *Sheffield Iris*.[15] As with most trades, the workforce largely comprised the household-family—nuclear family, apprentices and servants, who generally lived and worked within one building or space. An 1810 sales catalogue of *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* office and buildings details the space within one building in one lot: 'an excellent retail Shop and Dwelling House, Drawing Room and Bed Rooms, good Kitchen, Brewhouse, and Appurtanances, together with a Part of Messrs. Knott and Lloyd's Binding and Working Rooms, immediately over the Kitchen and Brewhouse'. Similarly, Winifred Gales describes the large house in the Hartshead in which the *Sheffield Register* was first produced as a 'capacious Dwelling in which there was ample accommodation for a large family, a Bindery—Composing and Press Room, and a very large Store in the form of a Crescent in front'.[16] It has been demonstrated that eighteenth-century household-families might divide space within households that reflected the status of respective family members.[17] However, while different members of the family may have controlled different areas of household space, members of the household-family worked, inhabited and socialised together. Household and business activities and those performing them were not entirely inseparable.

Each member of the family unit had a role in a business and families were critical facilitators of trade in what has been termed the 'industrious revolution'.[18] Lower-middling rank women commonly worked alongside their husbands as 'helpmeets' rather dependents.[19] Wives and daughters of newspaper owners were no different. Winifred Gales, herself an author, assisted across the Gales's Sheffield printing, bookselling and bookbinding business which produced the *Sheffield Register*, later describing in her memoirs to her children that her role was to 'attend the Store your Father's

the Office, &c'.[20] She further carried on the business after her husband had fled to Germany in 1794. This was a particularly trying situation: 'My husband gone! A Newspaper Office with 16 hands in it!—A Newspaper to Edite!—A store in full Business—four … very young children, and myself within a few months of adding another to the number!' It was nonetheless a situation with which Winifred Gales was capable of dealing. Once James Montgomery took over the business, Gales's sisters, Ann and Elizabeth, took charge of the bookselling and stationery business until 1817. They operated from the same address, suggesting their pre-existing involvement in that side of the business.[21] Women such as Winifred, Ann and Elizabeth Gales thus worked alongside their husbands, brothers and sons rather than under them, combining family and business. Indeed, Winifred described to James Montgomery long after she had moved to the United States, 'My dear Husband, according to his usual habits, immersed in business, and employs his helpmate's leisure to write to you'.[22]

Other wives were similarly occupied. Thomas and Ann Slack (née Fisher) established the *Newcastle Chronicle* together in 1764 but she was already the author of two popular grammar books and had previously run a school for young ladies before she was married.[23] Her literary talents no doubt proved useful in compiling the newspaper and in Thomas's absence, she took control of the business. In 1771, she described to a friend how 'Mr Slack is at London, & has been for some time, on which account I have been too much hurried with business to be so punctual in my correspondence as I cou'd have wished'.[24] Ann and Thomas also trained their eldest daughter Sarah in their Newcastle printing business. Sarah inherited the paper in 1784 and although she immediately married her father's former employee, Solomon Hodgson, she continued to work there.[25] She regained control of the paper on her husband's death in 1802 and ran the paper alone for the next twenty years.

As helpmeets, wives frequently took over the running of a business when required, either when their husbands were away from home or in widowhood. Of the 27 women in the sample, 25 inherited their papers and of the remaining 2, Anna Maria Smart was given a share in her newspaper, the *Reading Mercury* by her father and the other, Elizabeth Carter, was allegedly a founding partner at the *Huntingdon Gazette*.[26] The continuation of newspaper businesses by widows was not unusual, especially in order to ensure succession to children in their minority and even when it was against the express wishes of the willmaker.[27] After Thomas Wood's death in 1801, for instance, his widow Mary ran the *Shrewsbury Chronicle* with help from her two eldest sons, despite her

late husband's request that the paper be sold and the money invested.[28] When they died in early adulthood, Mary continued to run the paper until her younger sons came of age. Similarly Thomasin Peck ignored her late husband Robert's request that the *Hull Packet* be sold on his death, even purchasing his former partner's shares in the paper in order to continue the title.[29] In London and among more prosperous middling sorts, businesses were often disposed in accordance with a testator's wishes so that they died with their proprietors.[30] However, this was unusual within the newspaper trade, as with other provincial lower middling sorts. Commercial priorities further meant that lower middling women often continued to run a business after children had reached the age of majority.[31] As Sarah Hodgson had explained to her sons when they came of age, you are 'to be an assistant to me'.[32] Rather than women being at the behest of willmakers, therefore, variations in ownership patterns were not simply based on age and gender but were dependent upon the commercial realities of each situation.[33] By taking on the role of helpmeet within the newspaper office, women contributed to the enterprise in the immediate term and ensured the continuity of the business in the longer term.

Continuing to run a newspaper and printing business in a husband's absence, however, could be problematic. When Joseph Gales fled the country to escape a charge of treason, problems mounted for his wife Winifred, who was left to look after and sell the business. Creditors called in monies owing, aware that (according to Winifred Gales) as a feme covert, she was unable to compel her own debtors to pay her. More creditors meanwhile refused to extend further credit for necessities, including stamped paper.[34] It is testimony to Winifred's determination that she succeeded in continuing the newspaper over the period, and it was some relief to her when she went on hurriedly to arrange the newspaper and business's sale to James Naylor and James Montgomery. Winifred Gales had proved a capable businesswoman. The issue of her legal status, moreover, may well only have been part of the issue for her creditors. Credit constituted a willingness to trust that someone could pay back their debts in the future, while the category of the feme covert was contingent on local communities' trust in a woman as an economic actor.[35] The extension of trust and therefore credit to newspaper proprietors was often severely curtailed in the event of newspaper libel or any form of legal action against a newspaper, as Chapter 5 further explores. The Gales family's stock of credit, and with it the chances of attracting future support, had plummeted. That Gales selected to her status as feme covert to explain their problems to their children may have been

in order to play down her husband's role in placing them in such legal, social and economic peril at all.

Proprietors' children similarly contributed to newspaper offices. Just four years old when her parents established the *Newcastle Chronicle*, Sarah Hodgson (née Slack) evidently had a solid training in the office there and went onto train her own sons. Sons were typically apprenticed to older (usually male) relatives, many informally, in order to prepare them for the business that they were due to inherit and to save on additional costs of indenture to another tradesman. Robert Raikes junior was bound to his father Robert Raikes senior of the *Gloucester Journal* in 1757 and William Eddowes was bound to his father, Joshua, at the *Salopian Journal* office in 1777.[36] Apprenticing sons may have been a way of keeping them at home. John Agg senior, printer, bookbinder and stationer of Evesham, for example, noted the 'Love and affection he has toward his said son' in his indenture.[37] This was not always appreciated. Charles Knight somewhat mournfully recounted in his memoirs that his father had had an 'anxious desire that I should remain with him'.[38] While most children were trained by immediate family, Harvey Berrow junior, son of Harvey Berrrow of *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, bucked the trend and was bound to William Jackson of the *Oxford Journal* in 1763.[39] Berrow senior and Jackson would have known one another through their newspapers and printing enterprises and the apprenticeship indicates another way in which newspaper proprietors could be tied to one another. Jackson would have been a prestigious master, for he was lessee of the Oxford Bible Press and printer of the *University Almanacks*.[40] The apprenticeship thus provided Berrow junior the opportunity to gain different or perhaps more advanced skills that he could take back to the Worcester business, as well as cementing a regional business alliance. As Chapter 6 demonstrates, the trade was suffused with iterative business connections but genial kinship connections could further enhance relationships. Both were critical in the later eighteenth-century trade.

A newspaper and publishing business could secure the future of multiple children. John Gregory senior, for example, bequeathed the *Leicester Journal* to his second son John Gregory junior in 1789, for his eldest son was a cleric for whose university education Gregory senior had paid from the business's profits.[41] Alternatively, John Newbery was able to provide an education at Oxford and Cambridge for his eldest son, Francis, and to bequeath Francis his London publishing business, while he left his profitable *Reading Mercury* to step-daughter, Anna-Maria Smart and step-granddaughters, Marianne and Elizabeth. Some proprietors simply disposed of newspapers they inherited. Annie Hulbert was

bequeathed a share in the *Shrewsbury Chronicle* from her mother Ann Wood's estate in 1808 but elected to realise its financial value instead and she sold it to her brother, Theodosius.[42] For plenty of others, inheriting the family business in which they had trained shored up their own business success.

Apprentices were generally described as members of the household-family. The conduct manual *Vade Mecum* declared that they were 'taken into the Family in so intimate a Relation' and were dependent on masters for bed, board, washing and clothing.[43] Apprentices traversed the boundary between family and workers, not least because family and kin attempted to place their children into the care of a reputable and fair master or mistress. Joshua Drewry of the *Staffordshire Advertiser* for example learned his trade from his uncle John at the *Derby Mercury*.[44] William Etty's mother found him an apprenticeship at Robert Peck's *Hull Packet* in 1798 through her neighbour's daughter and Peck's wife, Thomasin: 'The Apprenticeship was arranged "between the women";— a "kind of compact" entered into: Mrs Etty glad, doubtless, to confide her son to the care of persons in some measure known to her'.[45] Indeed, an indenture often contracted an apprentice to master and mistress, thus women were proactive in locating appropriate apprentices for the business. Business transactions could also inform decisions about the placement of apprentices. The London agent Patrick Kirkman placed his son, John Charles, with Richard Newcomb of *Stamford Mercury*.[46] Overall, these interconnected obligations whereby multiple families and kin placed and accepted apprentices further tied the newspaper office to the local and regional community. Moreover, parents sending their children away at an impressionable age no doubt sought to balance the business reputation of a prospective master with that of his or his wife's temperament; mistreatment of apprentices of most trades was not uncommon.[47] Indeed, despite his mother's best efforts, William Etty later described a miserable experience as apprentice compositor at the Pecks' *Hull Packet*, filled with 'harassing and servile duties, late and early, frost and snow, sometimes till twelve at night, and up again at five'.[48] Nevertheless, Mrs Peck at least ensured that the apprentices were well-fed and received fresh milk.

The apprentice's status within the household family, alongside that of servants, was more complex than has been portrayed by historians, for although apprentices were part of the household-family, they were also recognised as separate from it. The binding of apprentices to master and mistress suggests that they had a responsibility to him and he had a responsibility to business and family. However, expenses incurred in

the care of the apprentice were paid for by the business. Between June 1777 and June 1779, the accounts of the *Chelmsford Chronicle* record £4 17s. per quarter, or 8s. 1d. per week, for board and washing for their boy, Paul.[49] John Fletcher similarly noted in his *Chester Chronicle* expenditure that he had spent ten shillings 'on the Occasion of his [apprentice] coming out'.[50] This financial responsibility accounted to the business rather than under household expenditure suggests a fine distinction between apprentice and nuclear family. Just as space could be apportioned within the home according to the status of its occupants, so too there was a fine distinction in the apprentice's place as paid for by the business.[51] This is not to say that wider household-family relationships did not exist in close proximity and could not be familial. William Bristow bequeathed his newspaper and printing office to five present and former apprentices, suggesting that he viewed them as his closest kin.[52] Others, like William Etty, claimed to have experienced quite the reverse. However, the place of the apprentice may well have been differentiated from immediate family and from that suggested in the *Vade Mecum*; indeed, conduct literature has long been contested by historians as idealised rather than representative.[53]

Whereas newspaper proprietors' wives fulfilled the role of helpmeet, apprentices (and possibly children) began with rudimentary tasks. Early in an apprenticeship, all manner of basic activities were undertaken, from delivering newspapers and selling them on the streets to opening and shutting up shop and, for apprentice printers, basic preparatory and cleaning tasks, such as mixing the ink ready for printing. Once the compositors and printers had finished, the apprentices were charged with washing the ink from the type, breaking down the form and returning each individual piece of type back to its case (capitals in the upper case and smaller letters in the lower case): no wonder that these ink-covered young men were described as 'printers' devils'. By the end of their period of indenture apprentices were composing type and checking printed pages for errors, jobs which they would undertake on their freedom as journeymen compositors or printers. These skills constituted trade-specific training. For William Ward, apprentice at the *Derby Mercury*, his apprenticeship and later role as 'corrector of the press' gave him the opportunity to store 'his mind with various and useful knowledge' so that through constant reading and composition he 'gradually acquired great fluency and command of language'.[54] Skills of composition and sentence construction that required short pithy lines and paragraphs of information were particular to the newspaper trade, as was the selection and arrangement of content. Recalling how Joshua Drewry of

the *Staffordshire Advertiser* selected his newspaper's content, Amphlett describes how Drewry would look in the previous edition of the *Lady's Magazine* for something interesting, 'often consist[ing] of "burnt children," or "recipes for the bite of a mad dog,"—no matter when or where'. In doing so, Drewry was 'one of the best judges of a selection for a newspaper that I ever met with …. "What he thought people would like to read" was his guiding star; and not what exactly suits the editor's tastes and opinion of the selector'.[55] Expertise in the provincial newspaper trade was as much dependent on awareness of reader tastes as literary talents. Importantly, Drewry's skill was acquired during his time as apprentice and later compositor at his uncle John Drewry's *Derby Mercury*. Newspaper proprietors who had been apprenticed to newspaper proprietors had greater experience in terms of physical and intellectual skills and knowledge of advertising and reading markets and like other family, they often gained a connection to their masters and business contacts.

Apprentices might also develop particular politics as a result of their apprenticeships. They were taken into a household-family at an impressionable age and household-businesses profoundly influenced the formation of some future proprietors' political opinions. Edward Baines of the *Leeds Mercury* claimed that his apprenticeship was central in his decision to enter the newspaper trade. Baines was apprenticed to the Preston printer, Thomas Walker, assisting him in 1793 to establish the *Preston Review*, a short-lived radical paper that faced considerable local opposition.[56] Walker's brief foray into newspaper printing influenced not only Baines but his fellow apprentices Isaac Wilcockson, Lawrence Clarke and Thomas Rogerson, all of whom later supported parliamentary reform at their own titles, the *Preston Chronicle*, *Preston Pilot* and *Liverpool Mercury* respectively. A fourth *Preston Review* apprentice, Thomas Thompson, was pro-reform during his editorship of the *Leicester Chronicle*.[57] Such was the charged atmosphere of Preston at the time of Thompson's apprenticeship that, perhaps aided by the connections he made through his master, Thompson was said to have been 'converted by Colonel Harrison' during an election there.[58] For administrations fighting against what they viewed as a rising tide of radicalism, newspapers did not simply spread sedition, they also bred sedition.

On the whole, formal apprenticeship across all trades was in decline by the later eighteenth century and unlike other book trades there was no direct apprenticeship for newspaper production. Provincial proprietors therefore did not take on apprentices into the 'newspaper trade' per se, but most commonly into printing or bookselling, underlining the enduring

influence of the book trade at local level. Whereas the first generation of provincial proprietors had been apprenticed to London printers, as provincial towns expanded and as the number of printing houses grew, opportunities for provincial apprenticeships expanded accordingly.[59] In the later eighteenth century, most of those indentured to newspaper proprietors did so in provincial towns and over time a growing number of newspaper proprietors had served their apprenticeships with provincial newspapers. Of the 305 proprietors examined in this book, 41 (13%) served apprenticeships with other newspaper proprietors: 40 at provincial papers and one, Stephen Jackson, later of the *Ipswich Journal* in London, at the *Public Advertiser*.[60] A further seven proprietors were responsible for training seven future proprietors of provincial newspapers who are not included within the chronological remit of this survey. That apprentices followed their masters into the newspaper trade is indicative of the amount of training they received in newspaper production, despite being indentured formally into another trade.

Not all former apprentices proved adept at the transition of apprentice to master. Following a failed attempt at a partnership in 1818, Matthewman Smith of Sheffield's *Iris* wrote to James Montgomery that:

> You, in effect said I had 'no more power over the men in the office than a block'. I was brought up an apprentice among them, not equal with them, but their drudge; they have not two ideas in their head, and I am sure they had never any idea of altering their behaviour, except as far as compelled. You have sometimes said I have been too easy—at other times too severe;—but many a time when I have been told by you to speak plainly to them, and have said I had repeatedly spoken in vain, I have then felt the want of your immediately enforcing by your authority what I alone could not accomplish.[61]

The transition to master, and indeed to equal partner with a former master, could prove challenging. Nevertheless, as the provincial newspaper trade matured, there were opportunities for specific training in provincial newspaper production and growing connections between masters and apprentices.

The household-family offered training and connections for editors too. The print trade had always been itinerant for compositors, pressmen and other workers, but the growing status of editors within provincial news offices meant that connections could be forged between those with the power to influence business strategy. Along with proprietors, editors had also trained in newspaper offices. William Ward was first

apprenticed to John Drewry at the *Derby Mercury* and then edited the paper there on his freedom, later moving to John's nephew Joshua Drewry (with whom William had served his apprenticeship) at the *Staffordshire Advertiser*, moving several years later to the *Hull Advertiser*. William Cowdroy had meanwhile trained at the *Chester Courant* then moved into an editorship at the *Chester Chronicle* before establishing his own title, *Cowdroy's Manchester Gazette*.

In this way, the household-family business formed the bedrock of the provincial newspaper trade by providing the means by which newspaper proprietors could sustain their families and facilitate the future of their individual newspapers while simultaneously creating a growing body of specialist trade knowledge and trade-specific connections. This in turn affected the newspaper trade in two ways. First, it meant that families themselves, and abiding concerns for the family's security, informed decisions about the content of newspapers. Second, it meant that connections between household-families suffused the trade.

Survival of newspaper and family

The newspaper trade was tough and the household's reputation was 'the currency for lending and borrowing'.[62] By extension, the reputation of the newspaper was bound up with that of the family. In local communities, newspaper proprietors could not only barter advertising and printing costs but the content of their newspapers too. One proprietor who offers illuminating evidence of this is Thomas Flindell, whose correspondence relating to his *Flindell's Western Luminary* has survived.

Thomas Flindell was a career proprietor who established and owned five newspapers in South West England with little success. These were: Cornwall's first newspaper, the *Cornwall Gazette and Falmouth Packet* (owned and in existence, 1801–1803) within a consortium of six tradesmen; Truro's first newspaper, the Tory *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, initially established for a group of Cornish landowners as editor and later owned by Flindell alone (editor-owner, 1803–1812); the Exeter *Flindell's Western Luminary* (owner, 1813–1824), sole-owned until his death; the *Plymouth Gazette* (1819–1820) with his son Thomas; and the *Salisbury Journal* (1816–1819) with son-in-law George Simpson.[63] Flindell had made important connections at the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* from whose patronage he continued to benefit at his *Western Luminary* and some of whose correspondence has survived, including those from (and copy letters to) Baron De Dunstanville, landowner, MP for Penryn

from 1780 and a notorious borough-monger. John, Lord Rolle, was also a regular correspondent. The largest landowner in Devon, MP for Devon from 1780, a member of the Lords from his baronetcy in 1796 Rolle also actively pursued local interests as magistrate and Recorder of Torrington from 1797 and a Colonel of the South Devon militia and the Royal Devon yeomanry.[64] Other correspondents from Devon's political elite included: John Parker, first Earl Morley, MP for Bodmin and Devon; Edward Pellew, Viscount Exmouth, the decorated naval commander and Plymouth's Port Admiral between 1817 and 1821; Arthur Holdsworth, MP for Dartmouth and that town's last governor; Captain Edmund Pollexfen Bastard, MP for Devon. All are known to have subscribed to *Flindell's Western Luminary* and thus were members of Flindell's community of readers as well as key players in Devon and Cornwall politics.[65]

Through the *Luminary*, Flindell participated in the major political and press debates of the period. He was monarchical, fiercely anti-parliamentary reform and vehemently opposed to Catholic emancipation. Flindell's outspokenness in his weekly editorials meant that he received several letters of protest and was threatened with libel proceedings on a number of occasions.[66] During the Queen Caroline affair, the most salacious news story of the era, he described Caroline as 'notoriously devoted to Bacchus as to Venus'.[67] He was arrested for libel. By the time he reached his trial the following July, Flindell had received threatening letters from London, Manchester, Liverpool, Bridport, and Ireland, his windows were broken (on one occasion a stone narrowly missed his wife) and an effigy of him was burned in St. Sidwell's, Exeter.[68] He was found guilty and sentenced to eight-month's imprisonment. The court agreed to his incarceration at Exeter Gaol because, as Flindell pleaded in his affidavit:

> he [Flindell] was fifty-four years of age … he had a wife and twelve children, of whom nine were wholly dependent on his for their support … [and] his only means of subsistence were the current profits of his newspaper business … should he be imprisoned anywhere but in Exeter, where he might still assist in the management of that business, it would inevitably decline, and perhaps fail altogether.[69]

A subscription was established for Flindell and his family and within a week it had raised £160.[70] After his release from prison, Flindell's health deteriorated and he died on 11 July 1824, aged 57. He bequeathed just £10 in his will, leaving his widow, Mary, to continue the business

until her death in 1828.[71] Despite his lack of wealth and relatively low social status—described by Polwhele as a 'man of strong understanding, though by no means polished or refined'—Flindell had corresponded with the elite of Devon and Cornwall throughout his time at the *Luminary*.[72] His surviving correspondence captures some of those interactions and suggests how one newspaper owner sought to capitalise on his newspaper's reputation in order to gain security for his family.

Thomas Flindell's main concern, as detailed in his affidavit, was for his family's security. This pervaded his correspondence—indeed it may explain the retention of 62 letters of the thousands he would have written and received in his lifetime—and rendered him easily persuaded by his patron-readers. Flindell's concern for the long-term security of his family was borne out in multiple attempts to gain general advertising patronage for the *Luminary* and later for the *Plymouth Gazette* and for jobs for his sons. In late 1815, Flindell had proposed his eldest son, Thomas, for the role of Actuary of the new Exeter Savings Bank, of which Earl Morley and Sir Thomas Acland were trustees. The job did not materialise. In 1817, he wrote to a friend in Edinburgh, a J. Johnson, enquiring of the possibility of an apprenticeship there for Thomas.[73] Again, there was not. On 19 August 1819, therefore, Flindell launched the *Plymouth Gazette* with Thomas junior, although the paper lasted less than two years. Meanwhile, Flindell was also attempting to locate a civil-service position for another son, John Brunton. Flindell's wishes again went unfulfilled and after five years of requests, he was finally told that the £250 per annum job that he had allegedly been promised did not exist. Throughout his correspondence, Flindell sought to emphasise his loyalty but ultimately the relationship with his patrons was imbalanced and he was dependent upon them far more than they upon him.

As Chapter 1 explored, by retiring from direct ownership of provincial newspapers in favour of specialists, politicians transferred the financial and political risks associated with newspaper ownership while retaining the opportunity to influence proprietors by virtue of status and their potential as patrons. Flindell was a willing participant. He placed items in his newspaper and absorbed private opinions that encouraged him to cogitate on his editorial views. Lord Rolle requested the insertion of items concerning local politics and his duties as a magistrate. In February 1819 he requested that Flindell publish a warning in the *Luminary* about a local vagrant who claimed he was a descendent of a baronet and was duping local residents into giving him credit and loaning him money.[74] The newspaper was therefore used to provide useful

local information to protect the public, a principle that was becoming part of the press's remit. However, Rolle's requests were more frequently concerned with his own projects and image. In May 1818, Flindell inserted a paragraph requested by Rolle into the *Luminary* outlining the cutting of a new canal between Bridgford and Torrington and listing (thus seeking to persuade readers of) the numerous beneficial effects that would arise from it. Rolle requested that in his next paper, Flindell insert the following:

> It is, we hear, in contemplation to cut a ford from Bridgeford to Torrington and Oakhampton by the Banks of the Torridge which will be very fruitful to those Towns and to all the country contiguous to the River, by the Conveyance of parts, balm, Lime Stones, Granite … & Clay[75]

The impartial reportage, 'we hear' obscured the direct instruction from Rolle, the canal's builder and owner. The press may have been keen to protect the public, but in Flindell's case his patrons' wishes could take priority.

Other patrons sought to promote their local and parliamentary speeches and activities and, as ever, Flindell was willing to oblige. William Elford, for example, requested the insertion of his speech from a meeting of Thomas Acland's supporters that offered a more accurate account than that in a previous issue of the *Luminary*. Moreover, 'different parts of what I said have been given in several papers, but anything like a short minute of it as a whole in none [and without one particular unreported section] … almost all I said is nearly unintelligible'.[76] Baron de Dunstanville regularly requested that his parliamentary speeches were inserted. In 1818, he forwarded his speech to Flindell because 'what I said in the House … on Wednesday has been inaccurately stated in the only two [London] papers which I have seen … [and] I wish my Western friends to know what I really did say'.[77] For De Dunstanville the local public exposure granted by the *Luminary* was as important as London and provincial exposure, if not more so. These examples thus again emphasise the growing importance attributed to the provincial newspaper press by the early nineteenth century.

Flindell's desire to effect his patron-readers' wishes was most evident in the inclusion of articles that opposed his own views. Despite his personal opposition to Catholic relief, Flindell was not impractical and inserted pro-Catholic articles and letters into the *Luminary* forwarded by De Dunstanville, who had supported the cause from 1817. On 1 June 1819, for example, Flindell inserted De Dunstanville's Lords' speech in favour of emancipation, as requested by his patron. Flindell assigned

the speech 1 ¼ columns of the 1 ½ page report. Lord Liverpool (who opposed emancipation) and the Marquis of Lansdowne, however, were afforded just two lines each.[78] It is possible that Flindell had no other reports of that debate, although the London papers did contain reports of it. Nevertheless, he still made the decision to include the lengthy final version and he published other similar articles for De Dunstanville.[79] Flindell's more powerful patrons were therefore able to influence the content of his paper, even when their opinions ran counter to his own. Even so, De Dunstanville must have had a limited impact, for Flindell also had to take into account the opinions of the rest of his readers. A number of other patrons were also opposed to Catholic emancipation, including Lord Exmouth, Arthur Holdsworth and Captain Bastard. Moreover, while Flindell was willing to publish letters that ran counter to his own views, he still expressed his political opinions in his editorials. The newspaper proprietor was thus constantly balancing different patrons', as well as other readers', friends' and family demands alongside his or her editorial policy.

Flindell's decision to publish information according to the wishes of his patrons was certainly motivated by the desire to please them, not least because he needed their custom. It may be that Flindell was being paid some sort of retainer, as he had been at the *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, but his newspaper's eponymous title and constant assertions that he was sole owner of the paper suggest otherwise. His patrons certainly offered lucrative, and much-needed, advertising and printing custom. Captain Bastard, for example, placed advertisements in the *Luminary* during the 1816 election and awarded Flindell with £140 of printing work.[80] Patrons also arranged free transportation of newspapers over the mails and provided unique copy in the form of their news and correspondence. Most importantly, by interacting with Flindell and contributing to his newspaper, Flindell's patrons had a responsibility to him and his family—or at least so Flindell hoped.

Throughout his correspondence, Flindell used his paper's politics as leverage. He positioned himself as central to the anti-radical cause in the South West and thus the ideal candidate for government patronage. 'I have set the Radicals at Dock in enferment', he explained in one letter 'by unmasking their little school of infidelity and sedition'. He was, in his eyes, the only real combatant of radicalism in the South West:

> yet I have no friend in the Government, who makes me any better
> return their compliments—of little value to a poor man with a large

family—and thus leaving me free to speak offensively perhaps sometimes of Ministers.

As a result of this unique position:

> unless I am the only labourer in the State unworthy of his time— may I hope your Lordship will kindly … write to the Noble Lords at the head of the Navy and victualling Boards, … to the … Dock Yard, and … the victualling office, and … the Naval Hospital, to make the Western Luminary the common wheele [sic] of their public advertisements.[81]

Advertising of any kind was important but government advertisements tended to be longer and therefore all the more lucrative. Flindell had attempted to gain advertising by both emphasising his credentials and by veiled threat; despite his loyalty, Flindell had 'no friend in the Government'. This was, he alluded, a dangerous situation for it might leave him 'free to speak offensively perhaps sometimes of Ministers'. Unfortunately for Flindell, neither threat nor plea was ultimately successful.

Each member of a household-family sought to protect and promote its social and economic reputation and to derive credit from it. Flindell's son Thomas, in part sponsored by Flindell, hoped that the family's political reputation would garner him connections and advertising for his new venture, the *Plymouth Gazette*. As with the *Luminary*, government advertising proved impossible to procure, but Thomas junior did receive permission to send newspapers free over the mails from the Secretary of the Admiralty, a Mr Martin at the Navy Office and Lord Exmouth.[82] Other family members contributed to the cause. Sir William Elford, MP for Plymouth and Rye and owner of Plymouth Bank explained that:

> Mrs Flindell called on me at Plymouth Bank one day to desire I would give any assistance to your son respecting advancements &c &c—I told her truly I shall be very glad to do so as I think you & your family have a claim on the supporters of Government on all that can be done—You have long advocated the cause of good order & I hope & trust you will always continue to do so.[83]

Mary Flindell's intervention in the process is another example of how women were involved in all facets of the household-business and how the entire family traded under the reputation of one unit.

Despite some successes Flindell was frustrated by the lack of recognition he received for the *Luminary* and the *Gazette* in terms of government advertising.[84] It may be that this was simply impossible for his patrons to arrange, although this seems doubtful with so many patrons. Alternatively it might be that the paper was of insufficient value. Close association with local editors was also problematic, for as Lord Exmouth explained in response to another request:

> much as I respect your principles … I am not entitled to investigate … for it may ere long be said that I employ you & defend myself whereas I only ask you about subjects wh[ich] relate to me with the same silent contempts I do myself to the fashionable wits of the day.[85]

The relationship between proprietor and correspondent did carry some risks, for libel was the chief means of controlling the press, while as Chapter 1 detailed, MPs were prosecuted for breach of privilege if it were found that they had fed their reports to newspapers. Exmouth's reticence suggests that he had limited trust in Flindell as a proprietor. Indeed, Flindell himself had damaged his own, his family's and the paper's credibility by virtue of several threats of libel actions. Moreover, once Flindell libelled Queen Caroline in July 1820, as in the case of Joseph Gales and his impending charge of treason, his stock of credit and with it chances of attracting future support, would have plummeted. Flindell could be trusted implicitly to fight for Tory principles and to extol fiercely the anti-reform cause. However, he could not be trusted as a newspaper proprietor—as someone who would reliably take care with opinions—nor as someone whose business would survive the scandal and associated costs of libel proceedings. Libel damaged proprietors because readers and advertisers often withdrew their custom in the aftermath. Indeed, the *Luminary* survived but Thomas Flindell junior's ailing *Plymouth Gazette* folded just one month after Flindell's libel at the Exeter *Luminary*.[86] If a family's reputation bound up with proprietor and newspaper, this could have damaging as well as positive effects.

Finally, attempts to place another of Flindell's sons, John Brunton, in a civil service appointment worth £250 per annum had also proved unforthcoming. Here too Flindell had attempted to trade his paper's politics but despite assurances that Lord Liverpool would find Flindell's son a position at the Treasury on account of Flindell's loyalty, no such job materialised.[87] This might have been the result of challenging circumstances: there was a small number of civil-service places proportionate to applicants, while recruitment favoured civil-service families and

Lord Liverpool's administration was attempting to reduce patronage.[88] However, the lack of leverage provided by Flindell's loyalty was once again palpable. Earl Morley did manage to locate a position for Flindell's son, but it was a clerkship of £90–100 per annum and it came with the condition attached: that Flindell must end his title's opposition to Catholic emancipation.[89] Flindell was inflexible on this point, either in deference to his other patrons' opinions or from personal conviction. Whichever, the paper continued to oppose the cause and Thomas Flindell junior and John Brunton Flindell went into business together as printers in St. Martin's Lane, London.[90] Flindell's position as a newspaper proprietor and his role within the extra-parliamentary political process had yielded opportunities to correspond with social superiors, and probably more so than many other tradesmen of his wealth and status. However, his precarious reputation and credit and his loyalty to multiple patrons simultaneously reduced his chances at successfully procuring their patronage. Flindell was desperate to broker his loyalty to the government in exchange for favours for his family. This had a significant effect on the paper's content. While his correspondence is rare, it demonstrates the complexity of concerns behind a newspaper proprietor's business and the construction of his newspaper.

Conclusion

Families affected newspapers. They affected the way in which they were produced and by whom, they affected content and they affected the decision to retain or dispose of an enterprise. Families traded as a unit and on the reputation of their newspaper, especially within the local community, where reputation remained a critical determinant of a businessman or woman's trustworthiness and future capacity to pay. As the case of Thomas Flindell demonstrates, the actions or beliefs of a head of household could inhibit the success of the newspaper and the opportunities presented to those connected to him. Indeed, while newspapers may have opened up opportunities for dialogue with the political elite, this had to be approached with caution and realistic expectations. Ultimately concern for the family may have encouraged conservatism, both in the ways in which newspapers were owned and partnerships established, and in restrictions on content; it is questionable how far those proprietors seeking to be more successful than Thomas Flindell or with rather less radical fervour than the Gales family would have been willing to risk content in the face of jeopardising a family's security.

Despite the cautionary tales, families also played an important role in the expansion of the trade beyond the individual business. They were by no means the only route to success, as demonstrated by the large numbers of proprietors with no apparent connections to the trade who purchased newspapers and became effective long-running proprietors. Yet those who had been trained stayed in the trade for longer, were often financially prosperous and had the power to influence others in their political and business connections. Families were not the only route to ownership but they created a base layer of experience and connections that contributed in no small part to the specialisation of the trade over the late Georgian period. The small family business was the cradle of the newspaper trade. And the local community, to which this study now turns, was its crucible.

5
Communities and Communications Brokers

Provincial newspapers were part of an emerging environment of communications in late-eighteenth-century England in which printers brought news from across the globe into the lives of provincial inhabitants. Yet the way in which that news was formed—with national and global worldviews complementing and competing with local news and perspectives—was itself shaped by the local community. By virtue of their position within the local communications environment, provincial newspaper proprietors were far from merely at the mercy of their local communities, but were vital actors within the 'communications circuit', in which every actor (and his or her individual circumstances) cumulatively shaped a text, or information more broadly.[1]

The relationships between proprietors and the local community have three ramifications for our understanding of the provincial press. First, newspapers were the product of dense social and material relations and trust in a local newspaper was engendered by trust in the local proprietor and by the community's pre-existing and intimate knowledge of community affairs. Second, those with an interest in newspaper content (whether readers, advertisers, the subject of printed discussion or other local inhabitants with a stake in the community) had the opportunity, by virtue of physical and personal proximity to a newspaper proprietor, to influence both subject matter and specific content of a local paper. Third, newspaper proprietors who created, managed and published newspapers were important brokers of information and knowledge and thus held themselves in, and were granted, certain regard within the local middling community.

The whole community had a stake in a newspaper. Unlike the anonymous seething mass of Londoners, the inhabitants of provincial towns frequently knew their local proprietor and his or her family personally.

Trust in a printing house was a critical element of trust in print, and this applied to the proprietors and their household-families as it did the physical space of the printing business.[2] Printing houses occupied prominent spaces in the centre of towns, lending them a quasi-official sanction and encouraging all inhabitants, even those without the funds to purchase a paper regularly, to interact with a proprietor. Just as the lower ranks could access newspapers in a range of ways, they could also access a newspaper proprietor and his shop, not least through occasional attacks on buildings when content or an editorial line proved displeasing, in a form of 'moral economy' of news.[3] Even so, the lower orders of a town were less likely to know a newspaper proprietor intimately, and had less day-to-day opportunities to influence his or her editorial line.

For the local middling rank, opportunities for interactions with a proprietor were extensive. Proprietors, readers and advertisers were fellow tradesmen and women, neighbours, family and kin. They attended the same meeting houses and churches, libraries and theatres, balls and assemblies. Printing houses, moreover, were both private and public. Readers and advertisers could visit the interior of the proprietor's office and home, typically one and the same. Whereas London printers might restrict access to authors and some readers, provincial readers and advertisers could, and did, regularly venture into newspaper offices.[4] Physical and social proximity meant that readers and advertisers had the opportunity to enquire as to the veracity of information, and to influence the content of a newspaper. For those who did not purchase a newspaper or advertising space or conduct other printing or book-trade business with a proprietor, interaction with him or her was largely external to the building, but this space too offered opportunities for exerting an opinion about the paper. In this way, newspaper proprietors acted as a focal point of local community information fostered through interpersonal connections, and as an intermediary of trust by bringing in news and communication and selling goods (and vouching for them) from afar.[5]

Local interlocking credit mechanisms tied proprietors to their predominantly middling readers and advertisers through multiple household attachments. As Chapter 4 showed, newspaper owners were no different, and the reputation of the household-family could inform the success and content of a newspaper. Associational connections based on sociability and restrained behaviour and fostered through clubs and societies came to inform commercial relationships as well as family ties, religion or ethnicity, each of which had varying priority over a proprietor, according

to his or her individual relationships and concerns.[6] Social relationships performed important roles in eighteenth-century society and business. They encouraged shared norms, improved information flow, discouraged deviations from group norms and enabled the emergence of collective action to monitor government.[7] This was complicated in local communities, however, by virtue of the multiple competing relationships formed by proprietors. In this way, trust in the newspaper was interdependent with local concerns through the relationship between proprietor and middling community, but different groups within that community could have greater influence than others. In essence, a newspaper was formed both of broad community consensus and of competing middling business and personal concerns, as well as a proprietor's own opinions.

A final concern of this chapter is with the status afforded to newspaper proprietors within their local communities. This book argues that although eighteenth-century occupations and professions were mutable and did not conform to guild control, professionalisation took the form of extending and deepening national news networks, growing wealth and the expansion of specialist knowledge. Locally too, there is evidence of the shifting status of newspaper proprietors, where they were central actors in the local, national and global 'communications circuit' as communications brokers who were active in politics and sought out by others as crucial points of local contention.[8]

This chapter establishes how the local proprietor was entrenched within the wider community and how his or her newspaper was shaped by community relations, through the newspaper office and printing shop as an urban space and through the proprietor and his or her wider business and social activities. It does so by focusing first on the location of the shop within a town and on the relationship between proprietor and local community as a whole. It second examines the relationship between the middling rank community and the proprietor, primarily through the daybooks of John Ware of the *Cumberland Pacquet* in Whitehaven and through the account books of John Fletcher of the *Chester Chronicle*. The third section focuses on the competing loyalties on proprietors, not least religion, which drove the alteration of some content. The final section considers the status of newspaper proprietors within the local community and considers their role as local communications brokers.

News space

Newspapers promised that they represented the local community by virtue of their titles, named after the towns and regions in which they

were situated, and physically in the form of their buildings which occupied central locations within towns. Most tradesmen and women set up businesses within the most prominent areas of economic activity in towns. Newspaper proprietors were concerned to locate themselves in the informational hearts of towns too. In Birmingham, for example, *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* office was located on the High Street, next to the Swan Hotel and just off the town's main marketplace, with ample frontage onto the main thoroughfare. In port towns, newspapers were located close to harbours. John Gore's *Liverpool Advertiser* office was positioned in Castle Street, a short walk from the harbour, allowing the merchants and ships' captains who brought news and placed large orders for advertising and other printing jobs to make their way easily to the office. In Whitehaven, John Ware's *Cumberland Pacquet* office was strategically positioned too, just one street back from the harbour; easily locatable for advertisers and for those wishing to drop in new information. The newspaper office had an important function in a town, providing an arena in which readers might offer information or discuss the latest edition with the proprietor. It was part of the public sphere, the physical manifestation of the newspaper.

All newspaper offices were arenas into which customers were invited. John Ware of Whitehaven's daybooks record regular interactions with readers as customers popped into the shop to pick up a newspaper along with other goods. On Tuesday 19 March 1803, one Mr Lloyd, a lecturer, picked up the new issue of the *Cumberland Pacquet* from the office along with a bottle of Brodum's Botanical Syrup. That same day, Mr Sheppard of Whitehaven purchased twelve quires of 'mourning paper' along with two issues of the *Pacquet*.[9] As with other provincial printing offices, newspaper offices were liminal zones in which the public could enter the private world of the business's owner. In the case of the *Newcastle Journal* earlier in the century, Isaac Thompson invited customers into his shop following an article on geography:

> Should these Explanations … not be easy and familiar enough, to the Apprehensions of any Customers … if it suit the Convenience of Each, and they, or any one of them, will take the Trouble of calling at the Dwelling-House of I. Thompson … the whole shall be freely explained and render'd easy to common Capacities, by the Assistance of a Pair of large Globes; and this may be done in a few Minutes of Time.[10]

By talking to them in his shop, Thompson could further inform his readers and connect with them, establishing newspaper and shop as

spaces of knowledge and learning. Explanation in person, moreover, was one form of engendering greater trust in the printed product.

As the fixed and physical manifestation of a newspaper, the office itself offered a stake in the town and region, and allowed for all members of the local community—whether readers or advertisers or not—to exert an influence on the publication of the newspaper. Newspaper proprietors frequently used their offices for community functions. Readers might be directed to the office to leave charitable donations and sign their name to petitions or subscription lists for philanthropic or political causes.[11] This was common across the provincial press. The *Bath Chronicle*, for example, advertised for charity donations for a variety of local individuals who had fallen on hard times, including a Mary Lancaster, pregnant and widowed with four small children and 'industrious tradesman' and one Anthony Kingston, 'deprived of his intellect for several years'.[12] Donations were to be made at Richard Cruttwell's newspaper office or at his co-proprietor, Samuel Hazard's library. These examples are of course characteristic of local middling philanthropy, but they also emphasise the utility and applicability of newspapers to all members of the local community rather than the middling rank alone. Lost items could be similarly enquired for at newspaper offices, and those seeking employment were often referred to 'the printer of this paper' in the first instance.[13] Other newspaper offices doubled as meeting places. Thomas Slack's Newcastle bookshop, the 'Printing Press', was a local club where artists and authors gathered and it may have been here that the Wilkesite party encouraged him to establish the *Newcastle Chronicle* in 1764. Richard Phillips' *Leicester Herald* office was similarly used as a meeting place for local radicals in the early 1790s. Readers were socially and politically active in the newspaper office; they were active participants in the process of news-creation.

Critically, newspaper offices were spaces that were not limited to the readers or advertisers of a newspaper. For some, the permanence of the printing-office building provided a focus for the expression of dissatisfaction with a newspaper's content or editorial line. This allowed those who were unable to afford a newspaper subscription themselves (thanks to high cover prices) to exert their own views, not least through attacks on the building itself. These were usually linked to a paper's politics. In December 1792, a Church and King mob stoned the house of the Manchester Constitutional Society's Thomas Walker as well as the offices of the radical *Manchester Herald*.[14] In September 1793, another Church and King mob gathered in the square outside the house of Joseph Gales of the radical *Sheffield Register* and were only prevented

from smashing its windows by the arrival of around 500 *Register* supporters. A few months later, once Joseph had fled the country from prosecution for treason, a 'detached' contingent of volunteers marched to the Hartshead. Winifred Gales was forced to hurry around the house opening the eight windows that looked onto the square in order to prevent them being smashed. When the mob saw her in a window, one asked whether they would insult her, and 'they instantly lowered their Musquets, and giving a tremendous <u>Huzza</u> which shook every nerve in my system, departed'. The intimidation nevertheless continued and another man shouted that he would be back to break every window that night. The threat was not realised, thanks to an armed guard of supporters who stayed at the house every night until Winifred departed Sheffield to meet her husband in Hamburg.[15] Less than a year later the windows of a house where three of the *Register*'s compositors lodged were fired at.[16] In this way, news and newspapers had to conform to the local population's conceptions and limits of acceptability—boundaries that could vary according to their political affiliations.

As newspapers became increasingly partisan in the nineteenth century, it was not only radical papers who risked attack. In October 1917, a group of around 200–500 people, also affected by the economic depression, broke the windows of Birmingham's anti-radical *Commercial Herald*, followed by a baker's shop next door and the house of a constable.[17] Offensive content provoked similar reactions. At the height of the agitations over Queen Caroline and concerned by her seemingly favourable treatment in light of her alleged infidelity, Thomas Flindell of the *Western Luminary* enquired in his paper as to whether 'a woman who is as notoriously devoted to Bacchus as to Venus—shall such a woman as would, if found on our pavement, be committed to bridewell and whipped, be held up in the light of suffering innocence?'[18] In response, as Chapter 4 details, an effigy of Flindell was burned in St Sidwell's Exeter and his windows were broken, with one stone narrowly missing his wife. Nor was the response limited to the local community, for thanks to national communications networks, Flindell received threatening letters from London, Manchester, Liverpool, Bridport and Ireland.[19] In this way, newspaper offices were the physical manifestation of a newspaper within a town and region and enabled a moral economy of news in which all community members—especially those without the capacity to pay for a regular paper—could make clear their approval, or disapproval, of it. Indeed, for the disenfranchised, newspapers offered sites of political protest and gathering as much as the constable's house or the town hall.

Newspapers and the local middling community

Despite variations in readership, most subscribers to a newspaper were congregated in the middling sorts. Thanks to this, as well as the newspaper proprietor's position within the same social sphere, provincial newspapers tended to address the large middling audiences that patronised both newspaper and the wider printing business. John Ware of the *Cumberland Pacquet* provides a good example of the way in which a newspaper proprietor's business was interwoven with the local middling community. A five-and-a-half year run of his daybooks (1799–1805), pertaining to his combined newspaper, printing, book and stationery shop, has survived and is examined in part here.[20] The daybooks offer an account of the daily orders and payments made by customers for printing jobs, stationery, book, magazine and medicine sales, binding, sales of Ware's and other provincial and London newspapers and monies owed and paid by the business. They include information on subscribers to the newspaper, daily customers and those to whom Ware owed and paid on a daily basis, and underline the intimate connections that one proprietor fostered within his local community.

John Ware and his father, also John, launched the *Cumberland Pacquet* on Thursday 20 October 1774. Whitehaven was the ideal town in which to establish a newspaper, at a strategic national and international crossroads between Scotland, England, Ireland, the American colonies and the West Indies as well as Northern Europe. Its population was estimated to have peaked at up to 16,000, thanks to the coal and tobacco trades.[21] Coal was exported from Cumberland mines to Ireland by the town's owner, Sir James Lowther, later the Earl of Lonsdale (1736–1802), the town having been developed from a small fishing village for the purpose by Sir John Lowther, 2nd Baronet (1642–1706). Whitehaven merchants also imported tobacco from Maryland and Virginia and re-exported it to France, Holland and Ireland. The port's tobacco imports were second only to London and greater than those into Glasgow, Bristol and Liverpool, thus a significant proportion of the local population was dependent on transatlantic trade.[22]

Cumberland and Westmorland politics was dominated by Sir James Lowther, supposedly the richest commoner in England and described by O'Gorman as one of 'the greatest borough patrons' who controlled nine of the ten parliamentary seats in both counties and its boroughs by 1761.[23] A court leet met annually in Whitehaven until its sale in

1896, but town administration had been undertaken since 1708 by 21 trustees. Fourteen trustees, invariably prominent merchants, were elected by the town's inhabitants in trade, while Lowther and six of his chosen representatives made up the remainder. The Lowthers thus retained considerable influence over the town, frequently resulting in stagnation in urban development. By the 1760s there had been at least one episode of tension and by the turn of the nineteenth century there was a growing anti-Lowther interest in the town, pitching town against castle. When they had established the *Pacquet* in 1774, John and his father, also John, had declared it politically impartial but had broadly supported Lowther and continued to do so throughout Ware senior's lifetime. The Wares thus gained lifetime patronage of their business, even once Ware junior began to campaign against Lowther. By the turn of the nineteenth century, as dissatisfaction with Sir James (Earl of Lonsdale) and then Sir William's (first Earl of Lonsdale) local administration became more apparent, the *Cumberland Pacquet* became more vocal in its opposition to the Lonsdales.

For the residents of Cumberland, local content also meant overseas content and the *Pacquet* mirrored their heterogenous experience of the world. The *Pacquet* contained lists of ships entering and leaving local ports, including Harrington, Workington, Maryport, Carlisle, Ulverston and Dumfries on the West coast and South Shields on the North-East coast, as well as news of arrivals, departures and missing or lost ships from other port towns nationally and worldwide. This information, presented locally, was also the most valuable outside of Cumberland and advertised the region to the wider nation as an international hub. From its inception, for example, the *Cumberland Pacquet* capitalised on the American connection and was filled with anti-war correspondence sent from the colonies to Whitehaven residents.[24] The newspaper thus acted on one level as a community commons in which news-consuming inhabitants could share news and information—which in Whitehaven's case constituted a myriad of transatlantic connections.

Focussing on his customers, John Ware's *Cumberland Pacquet* and printing business customers represented many of Whitehaven and Cumberland's middling ranks. Merchants patronised Ware in the largest numbers, demanding large quantities of stationery and printing, including ship inventories, handbill advertisements as well as placing advertisements in the *Pacquet*.[25] Merchants were also among subscribers to the paper, including a Mr Conning from Newton Douglas who, unusually, paid for one year's subscription in advance. Two ships' captains, Captain Askew and Captain Stockdale, were also subscribers, and other

merchants and captains commonly made one-off purchases.[26] Ware took advantage of his social proximity to his customers, purchasing a one-sixteenth share in the brig 'Jane and Mary' from another of these customers, Jonathan Wilson, at a cost of £41 in 1801.[27] The investment was quite common for the middle classes of port towns and indeed newspaper proprietors; Thomas Slack, owner of the *Newcastle Chronicle* until 1784 also owned a one-sixteenth share in a ship.[28] These connections potentially furnished new information for the newspaper, while trips into the newspaper office to pay bills and collect materials again provided opportunities for the exchange of information.

Cumberland's professions also patronised Ware. The clergy, to whom advertisements were often directed, purchased and commissioned printed works and advertisements were often directed to them.[29] The two churches in the town, St. James's Church and St. Nicholas's Church, Lowther Street (which the Ware family attended) were customers, and a total of 13 'reverends' were subscribers to the *Pacquet*, indicating a traditional Anglican focus. Each of the professions engaged in extensive correspondence to communicate with others in their field and required current knowledge of the latest trends, techniques and debates.[30] Attorneys ordered statute books and termly reports from London through Ware.[31] Lawyers were also responsible for sales of real estate, ordering handbills and advertising in the *Pacquet*. Indeed, they are the most frequently listed occupation in the daybooks for one-off purchases of the paper, probably checking on their advertisements or researching other property for their clients.[32] Other attorneys, including Mr Hodgson, Mr Steel and Mr Younger were subscribers.[33]

Doctors similarly frequented Ware, purchasing the latest books on diseases and treatments, usually at considerable expense.[34] Whitehaven Dispensary had opened in 1783 and Ware continually championed it in the *Pacquet*, donating money to it and commending the surgeons' good work, knowledge of which was gained not least from the Dispensary reports that Ware printed and published.[35] Ware was thus still behind the shop counter, but in this way he acted as a communications broker both geographically and across different print media. The transfer of information from one medium, in this case the report, to another, the newspaper, changed the nature of the information presented from a report written by an individual to news that was harnessed to celebrate the success of Whitehaven's institutions. By positioning himself as such in the middling communications chain as someone through whom they could advertise their good works, Ware also gained their custom. Of the 26 members of the Dispensary committee, 24 are listed in the

books as customers, including the four vice-presidents, John Curwen, MP, the Reverend Wilfred Huddleston, Thomas Irwin and the Reverend John Myers.[36] This was in itself a mixed constituency politically, with Curwen heading the anti-Lowther party and Huddleston a Justice of the Peace.

Newspapers were often connected closely with other institutions that were predominantly developed and frequented by the middling ranks. Lottery and theatre tickets were available at the *Cumberland Pacquet* office, and in October 1801 Ware purchased a one-eighth share in Whitehaven theatre.[37] The share, costing a total of £56, allegedly yielded five per cent profit per annum and entitled the owner to a transferable 'Silver Ticket', affording him free access to all the theatre's events.[38] These activities were typical of newspaper owners, for the theatre network used the press to advertise the latest plays and actors visiting towns. Richard McKenzie Bacon of the *Norwich Mercury* also owned shares in Norwich's Theatre Royal during the early nineteenth century.[39] Moreover, stage and press entwined for both were local platforms for public interaction and the expression and formation of opinion. With the rise of theatre reviews relations could be especially strained. One feud between John Mitchell of Newcastle's *Tyne and Wear Mercury* and the actor S. D. Mara was played out in the pages of the newspaper and on stage. After Mara's main performance one night, he sang the 'Newcastle Bellman', in which the bellman poured scorn on the paper in its fourth verse:

> To be sold by J. M. Auctioneer, a large and choice Collection of Materials for Sleeping, Consisting of a Quantity of old News; erroneous and clumsy statements of recent events; heavy Critiques on Theatrical Performers and Plays not performed, flat pieces of uninteresting Biography, drowsy original Letters; dull Extracts from a Northern *Caput Mortuum* of Insipidity; a number of Puns, Jests, and Old Anecdotes, warranted free from Attic Salt, chigramatic Point, or any other Ingredient capable of rousing Attention, or exciting Risibility; also a quantity of pure Tyne Mercury, which possesses the peculiar Property of never rising in the Barometer of public Estimation, higher than the Point Ennui.[40]

Bound up within wider forms of community communications, newspapers thus reflected community relationships and could be responsible for exacerbating them too.

Other arenas offered opportunities for business, and bound the town's institutions further to one another. In 1797 Ware founded Whitehaven

Subscription Library and became its first Secretary. The library was one of his most frequent and generous customers, spending £38 14s. 8d. in 1800 alone, mostly on books but also on stationery and binding. Similarly, John Fletcher of the *Chester Chronicle* was one of the trustees for subscribers to Chester's Commercial News Room in 1806. The news room initially took over the public library in Bolland's Entry, but later moved to Fletcher's *Chronicle* buildings, where his portrait was hung in the main reading room.[41] In this way newspaper owners were actors in multiple public arenas in which they could promote their politics and wider interests—and in which readers could pitch their views to their local proprietor. In their offices or at social events such as the theatre, newspaper proprietors like Ware could meet their customers. They knew their customers and spent time with them. Their newspapers were the product of conversations and interactions in the physical world. Ware facilitated these ongoing conversations in print but he also marshalled them.

All of these connections facilitated closer relations with a proprietor. Personal knowledge of a newspaper proprietor could encourage trust in the product and the reputation of a newspaper was bound to that of its proprietors and their families. As one Henry Wormall, a friend with whom James Montgomery of the *Sheffield Iris* had been imprisoned at York, suggested:

> I could like thou wod make me a present of one of thy papers … I think it may perhaps gain thee custom to send a paper into our neighbourhood … [the person] that ordered me to write said there was so many lies printed in the papers, they had a mind to have one of thine thinking it will contain more truth.[42]

In this instance, personal contact with Montgomery and knowledge of him meant that Wormall could vouch for Montgomery's paper too. Others might take the opportunity to inform a proprietor of dissatisfaction with an editorial line, or to gain confidential information regarding a newspaper's content. The identity of correspondents, for example, was routinely not revealed unless they had agreed to this. However, one John Dixon of Nottingham managed to uncover the name of the person who had inserted a notice in the *Nottingham Journal* about enclosure at Worksop. He later recounted to his friend (who had requested the information) that:

> I was luckily acquainted with a Tradesman of this Town who knows Mr. Burbage very well and desired him to ask who put the advertisement into the Paper relative to the Worksop Inclosure.

> Mr. Burbage looked back and informed him it was Mr. Whitaker's attorney at Worksop. He would have no suspicion of you, as I kept your name a secret even to my friend whom I employed.

In this way, middling networks facilitated increased trust in the product and enabled a degree of verification required for the emergence of trust in a printed product rather than a person, as Chapter 6 explores in more detail.

John Ware had close connections with Whitehaven's anti-Lowther faction. As dissatisfaction with Sir James and then Sir William's local administration became more vocal, Ware also turned the paper to opposing the Lonsdales. In view of this, then, Ware's continued custom from the 'township' of Whitehaven is surprising. He printed legal documents for the trustees, including warrants, subpoenas and tax assessment forms.[43] He also had the monopoly on official newspaper advertising, as well as that of the Stamp Office and the Lowther estates.[44] The advertising is less surprising because Ware was the town's only newspaper owner, but the township and Lowther could have placed their printing custom with one of several other Whitehaven printers. By the later eighteenth century, Ware provided an anti-Lowther platform and John Curwen, MP for Carlisle, Foxite Whig and anti-Lowther was frequently celebrated in the paper. Formerly John Christian, son of Eldred Curwen, John inherited the Curwen name and connected estate in 1790 as a consequence of having married his cousin Isabella Curwen some years earlier.[45] On the 'resumption of the name CURWEN by the House of WORKINGTON' in 1790, Ware reported on the advent of the 'Curwen Club', providing a detailed account of the numerous toasts to the Curwens. Ware also inserted every major speech given by Curwen in Parliament. In 1790, during debates on the Duke of Athol's attempts to gain compensation for possessions on the Isle of Man (which, Curwen maintained, Athol had already received some years previously), Curwen's speech was relayed in full. Ware noted at the end of the report that the speech had been 'communicated to us by a gentleman who was in the gallery of the House of Commons when it was delivered. It differs materially from that given in any of the London papers; and our readers may rely on its authenticity'.[46] In reality, a copy of the speech had probably been given to Ware by Curwen himself; as Chapter 1 described, the practice by MPs was illegal but commonplace. In this way, Curwen most likely had regular contact with Ware as an MP and patron, as other MPs did with local proprietors. Moreover, these reports, emphasising the closeness of the local paper to the source of the speech

highlight not simply the region's place on the national stage, but the national importance of the region.

Ware supported campaigns targeting local corruption too. A major issue raised in the paper was that of the maladministration of poor relief since the appointment of one Richard Oyes after 1773. In 17 years, according to the *Cumberland Pacquet* and later prosecutions between 1794 and 1796, Oyes extorted an 'extravagant rate' from inhabitants and refused to produce accounts while the poor of the parish went hungry. Lonsdale meanwhile perpetually held up the collection of poor relief. In one case, rates were suspended when it was discovered that two housekeepers' names had been entered in error instead of two householders' names.[47] In 1794, Whitehaven's five magistrates were poised to re-elect Oyes, who was now seeking to recoup £2,000 which he claimed to have spent as overseer. The inhabitants of the town took out a prosecution against all five. After two years, initially at the Lancaster assizes and then at the Court of King's Bench, the five were found guilty and stepped down from office. Throughout, Ware took every opportunity to praise charitable efforts to assist the poor while condemning the overseers.[48] A direct result of the case was that a bill was brought in Parliament to more effectively manage parish overseers in levying poor rates.[49] While ultimately the prosecution brought national attention to the issue, consistent campaigning in the *Pacquet* created a regular means by which the local poor-rate paying public were constantly aware of the issue. Indeed, printing lifted this type of protest from an ongoing and ephemeral discussion to having a level of fixity and therefore formality in the community. However, with newspapers the product of local relationships, business itself could be profoundly damaged from misjudged comments or editorial decisions.

Credit and credibility

If credit was the 'social communication and circulating judgment about the value of other members of communities', newspapers were beholden to the reputation of their owners and diminishment of it could spell financial disaster.[50] Libel laws were commonly deployed to keep newspapers in check and their effect reached beyond formal court proceedings. The account books of John Fletcher (1783–1786) demonstrate how a community could remove its custom in the circumstances of a libel. It was not only the content of a newspaper that was dependent upon the local community but the survival of the newspaper itself.

John Fletcher purchased his newspaper, the *Chester Chronicle*, in 1783 following its near-demise under the previous owner. The circumstances of his purchase were different from those of John Ware, for Fletcher had pre-existing competition in the form of the *Chester Courant*. However, similar to Ware, Fletcher supported the town's opposition faction in the town. The rival *Chester Courant* had long supported Lord Grosvenor, under whose sponsorship the town's two parliamentary seats were returned. In the 1784 elections, Fletcher set out to support the town's Independent candidate, John Crewe, in the first contest to the town's two Tory MPs since 1747.[51] Fletcher had no experience in the trade but he was an astute businessman, already a successful surveyor and engineer. Under him the *Chronicle* became one of a number of radical provincial titles campaigning for urgent parliamentary reform. However, while Fletcher might have been financially capable, he was inexperienced in the trade. In the event, Crewe lost the elections and both the Grosvenors were re-elected. In October, at Chester's Assembly elections, the Grosvenors disregarded charters that empowered a select body of men to elect the Mayor and Corporation officers and instead chose them arbitrarily. Incensed, Fletcher wrote an article in the *Chester Chronicle* condemning the Recorder of Chester, Robert Townsend, for his role in the affair. For specifically targeting and naming Townsend, Fletcher was prosecuted with libel and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

Fletcher's account books provide insights into the perils of eighteenth-century trade and particularly the ways in which the local community was entwined in systems of indebtedness and in which court action affected newspapers. They show how much Fletcher paid out in expenditure, how much he owed his creditors, how much he had been paid and how much his debtors still owed him. Superficially, the newspaper and printing business appears to have provided a good and increasing income over the period of the accounts. Over the first five months, the business should have made a profit of £46. Using a simple multiplier, net profit for 1783, therefore, can be estimated to have been £121. Turnover for 1784 totalled £918, of which net profit should have been £119. In 1785, turnover was £994, of which there was a potential profit of £181, a 50% increase in profits in a year from only a 10% increase in turnover. Estimated potential profit for 1786, the final year in the accounts, stands at £246, calculated from the account book's extant weeks, which saw a remarkable £33 profit in the first seven weeks of the year.

By contrast, Figure 5.1 reveals a very different side to the business and exposes potential cash-flow problems. Available floating capital has
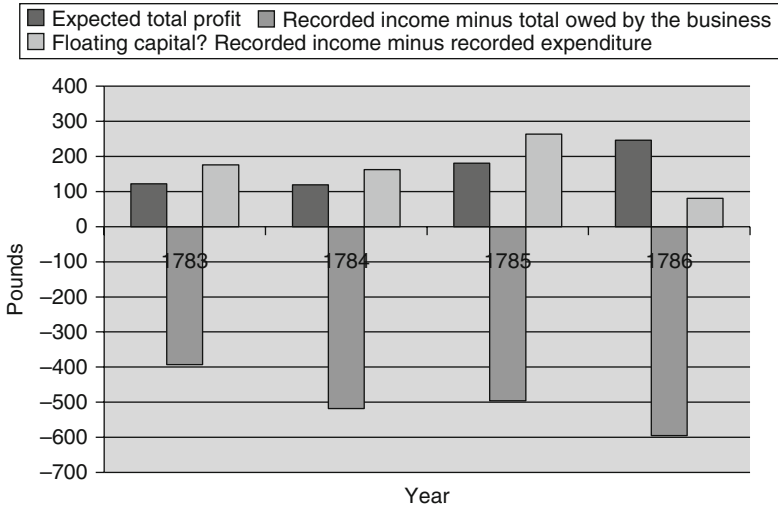
Figure 5.1   Profit and loss, John Fletcher's Chester printing and newspaper business, 1783–1786

been crudely calculated according to the actual monies immediately paid out by Fletcher and the actual income recorded as received in the accounts. Accordingly, Fletcher had £176 available to him in 1783, £162 in 1784, £263 in 1785 and £80 in 1786. However, this does not account for the monies that he owed and surely, to have ensured the business's long-term reputation, that he must have paid reasonably promptly. Indeed, stamped paper had to be paid for in advance and advertising duties promptly every quarter. Should Fletcher have fulfilled all of his bills on time but received no additional income (aside from those monies already paid to him in the weekly accounts), his losses would have totalled £392 in 1783, £517 in 1784, £495 in 1785 and in 1786, £595. The probable scenario is that most of the debts were eventually paid on a quarterly or half-yearly basis and entered into another ledger, for debts were rarely settled immediately. It is also likely that there was some sort of reckoning process between Fletcher and his customers, again typical of the period. Here, local tradesmen who subscribed to, and advertised in, the paper, including Mr Towsey a hatter, Mr Eddowes a tobacconist, Mr Davis at the tea warehouse and Mr Fletcher a block-maker, could strike through Fletcher's debts in their books to the same amount that they owed him. While this interlocking credit remained quite usual and seemingly functioning in local communities in the later

eighteenth century, it was a fragile form of finance for anyone risking politically radical ventures for credit constituted the expectation of future fulfilment of debt.

Following Fletcher's libel in November 1784, orders for advertisements and printing jobs decreased. In the issue of 5 November, the week after the libel, advertising sales dropped by nearly £2, to £5 17s., the lowest in seven months, with the low level of advertising sales continuing until the end of the year. Print jobs similarly hit a low, plummeting from an average of £5 per week to under £1, although these recovered within a month. That orders dropped suggests that the libel affected Fletcher's local reputation—not to produce news, because there was no immediate corresponding drop in newspaper sales, but to produce a newspaper and to fulfil the duties expected of a newspaper proprietor, which included the fulfilment of debts. The very state of being imprisoned put a strain on a newspaper and thus on a proprietor's credit, both in terms of the expectation of his future ability to fulfil his own debts and to fulfil his own payments to other tradesmen and women. This was not unusual. As Chapter 4 discussed, Winifred Gales had experienced a similar issue when her husband Joseph had fled the country under threat of prosecution. As she later noted, 'all narrow-minded or rather … prudent persons who perhaps could not afford to lose it, called for their honest demands'.[52] For those being prosecuted, the withdrawal of business was on top of prosecution and defence costs. As James Montgomery gloomily described at the prospect of an impending prosecution:

> The whole expences of my last Trial, including fine, expences in prison and lawyer's Bill, amounted to ninety Pounds. My friends made me a present of Sixty Pounds towards it: and I am thirty pounds out of pocket beside all the vexation and misery.[53]

In this way, those proprietors targeted by the authorities, usually for their reformist principles, could be sent out of business because the prosecution itself threatened proprietors' future capacity to pay their debts and therefore destabilised the business and in turn the newspaper. By reducing their patronage of Fletcher, his advertisers were also discouraging him from patronising them. Advertising, traditionally considered central to press freedom from political control, also worked as an effective commercial check on politics.

Advertising levels in the *Chester Chronicle* began to improve after just two months and continued to do so over the remainder of the

accounts. Fletcher himself went on to become a successful newspaper proprietor and local politician who held the office of Chester's mayor twice and who owned the paper for 52 years until his death. Sales particularly improved after Fletcher employed William Cowdroy as his new editor towards the end of 1785.[54] Having previously been editor of the rival pro-Grosvenor *Chester Courant*, Cowdroy was an editor with considerable expertise and connections within the trade and the local community. In view of Cowdroy's own transfer of allegiance from the pro-Grosvenor *Courant* to the anti-Grosvenor *Chronicle*, his impact might suggest that advertisers too were more concerned with ensuring that their advertisements were in the hands of a newspaper professional than in the politics that he espoused.

Local relationships within the predominantly middling community performed important roles in eighteenth-century society and business. The interlinked nature of local reputation and credit meant that local community opinion mattered to newspaper proprietors. These relationships thus encouraged shared norms and discouraged deviation from them, suggesting that local newspapers were informed by local interpersonal relationships first and foremost. This in itself was problematic because, as with their political affiliations and with responsibilities to the wider family outlined in Chapter 4, newspaper proprietors were often at the behest of multiple competing obligations within the local community.

Regional variations and competing affiliations

Although the local community as a whole had an interest in newspaper content, individuals and groups within the community had the power to influence a proprietor variably, according to competing affiliations and loyalties. Regional economies could have a profound effect on newspaper content. In Liverpool, the majority of advertisers in the Liverpool papers, *Gore's Liverpool Advertiser* and *Williamson's* [later *Billinge's*] *Liverpool Advertiser*, were from the mercantile community. On 4 April 1785, for instance, *Gore's Liverpool General Advertiser* contained 36 advertisements for ships and shipping-related activities, such as the sale of imported goods. As John Gore described in 1790, the 'numerous Mercantile Body' was one 'whose countenance and protection this paper depends on'. Alice Williamson changed the day of publication of her *Liverpool Advertiser* in order to please her advertisers. More significantly, neither Liverpool paper was overtly political for fear of upsetting the largely conservative mercantile interest constituting the majority

of their advertisers.[55] This was not an idle concern. In 1789, Edward Rushton, pro-abolitionist poet and then editor of the infant *Liverpool Mercury* (est. 1788), published a missive on the conduct of press gangs. Such was the concern of the *Mercury*'s partners about a local backlash that they suggested a retraction, but Rushton resigned rather than compromised. Shortly after this the seemingly ailing paper was sold and its new owner, one Henry Hodgson, changed the paper's politics to a more conservative stance.[56] Even so, Hodgson could not revive the *Mercury* and it folded in 1793, the same year that Hodgson was also declared bankrupt. Under these circumstances, newspaper businesses lacked power in the face of advertisers who could collectively drive the politics of local publications.

Liverpool's most powerful mercantile sector was that of the slave trade and its papers were thus reticent to discuss abolition for fear of the loss of business and therefore the collapse of their papers. The Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade failed to gain support from the Liverpool press, but instead gained the support of William Cowdroy, editor of the *Chester Chronicle*. The contact proved particularly important, as 'a station so near the enemy's camp, where we could watch their motions, and meet any attack which might be made from it'. More than this, Cowdroy offered the campaign 'a hearty offer of his services, and *this expressly without fee or reward*'.[57] Nor was Cowdroy alone, for Robert Raikes of the *Glocester Journal* and Richard Cruttwell of the *Bath Chronicle* similarly provided Clarkson with free insertion of items relating to abolition for free.[58] This was far from the norm: in 1788, furthermore, the Manchester Abolitionist Society paid Tayler £129 4*s*. 1*d*. for his services in placing their resolutions (constituting just one advertisement) 'in every newspaper published in England, Scotland and Ireland'.[59] Just as advertisers could control the output of some newspapers, editors and proprietors could also offer discounted or free advertising to particular causes. Other newspapers, however, were also restrained from focusing too much on slavery. When editor William Ward directed the *Derby Mercury*'s attention to the slave trade, 'publish[ing] … extracts from the evidence, week after week, accompanied by his own remarks', the move did not prove popular. As a result, 'a large number of his subscribers informed him that they could no longer endure this weekly exhibition of horrors, and must give up the journal unless he discontinued it'. As a result, in 1794 when proprietor John Drewry senior died, his son John Drewry junior dismissed Ward out of hand.[60] The incident not only suggests that proprietors retained the upper hand in the case of editorial disputes, but that readers'

sensibilities and threats to remove their business could similarly curtail editorial ambitions.

Religious affiliations could similarly regulate news content. Sarah Hodgson, Unitarian owner of the *Newcastle Chronicle*, omitted marriage announcements in the case of scandalous matches.[61] In the case of Sarah Farley of the *Bristol Journal*, it was noted in the chapel minutes following her publication of Junius's 'Letter to a King', published on 19 December 1769, that:

> It being mentioned in this Meeting that there appeared in Sarah Farley's last week's paper an unbecoming and indecent letter on the present state of public affairs. Signed Junius; Jos. Harford [member of prominent Bristol commercial family] is desired to visit her hereupon and advise her to be more cautious for the future in this respect and report to next or some succeeding meeting.[62]

A few weeks later it was recorded that Harford 'has spoken to Sarah Farley who took it kindly and intends to observe the advice of this meeting transmitted to her by him'.[63] Adrian Johns has suggested that the reputation of printers could itself imbue trust in a text, yet close ties to a printer muddied the seemingly transparent relationship between reader, proprietor and text.[64]

In each case, the constellation of competing influences on a proprietor was unique. While social networks have been frequently viewed as predominantly beneficial to business, in the newspaper trade they could affect what was and what was not produced in the newspapers and in what terms, if any, they were described. In this sense, social relationships could impede the role of the newspaper as a vehicle for public information and opinion and instead meant that it was a vehicle in which some private opinions were more important than others.

Communities and communications brokers

How did all of this affect the perception of news and the newspaper proprietor within the local community? Newspaper proprietors placed themselves at the heart of the community through the provision of physical and printed spaces in which they and local members of the community could promote shared views and opinions and contest those of others. They were often successful in business. John Ware junior left just under £1,000 in his will, more than doubling the £400 left to him by his father in 1791.[65] Others were even more successful,

including Thomas Saint of the *Newcastle Courant* who left £1,525 in his will in 1787; John Gregory of the *Leicester Journal* who bequeathed £1,010 in 1802 and the exceptional Benjamin Collins of the *Salisbury Journal*, who left over £80,000 in 1785 thanks to investment in London copyrights.[66] This kind of wealth indicates broadly middling status which facilitated close relationships with the majority of readers, who emanated from the same rank. They in turn gained greater opportunity to shape a newspaper through their friend and neighbour.

There are other indications that newspaper proprietors such as John Ware and John Fletcher had manoeuvred themselves into a degree of prominence as members of their local middle class through their businesses and their positions as a community spokesmen. Certainly for some this developed into more formal roles within the community. John Fletcher of the *Chester Chronicle* was Mayor of Chester in 1825 and 1832 while John Gregory of the *Leicester Journal* was Mayor of Leicester in 1779. Many more were typically engaged in middling associational and philanthropic activities and had interests across multiple forms of communication. John Ware played an active role in Whitehaven's commercial and cultural life, purchasing shares in a ship and in the Whitehaven theatre, and founding Whitehaven Subscription Library, where he also became Secretary.[67] John Fletcher established Chester's news room and through his career as a surveyor and engineer was involved in the construction of most of the region's roads and canals, as well as Chester racecourse's new grandstand. He even allegedly shared his office at one point with Thomas Telford.[68] Many more proprietors attended clubs and societies, each taking the opportunity to gain trusted contacts but in doing so, encouraged alternative and competing loyalties to friends and customers who could inform content.

Newspapers were operated as the media through which local philanthropic schemes were established and publicised; many newspaper proprietors evidently felt a responsibility to act within their roles as brokers of community action. John Ware was a donor to Whitehaven Dispensary and the Relief of the Poor Fund, assisting in the organisation of the latter collection, which was organised in protest at financial mismanagement by the town's overseers of the poor.[69] Again these were characteristic activities. Egerton Smith of the *Liverpool Mercury* founded Liverpool's 'Night asylum for the homeless poor' in 1816, which sheltered around 120 lodgers per night. He was also one of the founders of the 'Stranger's Friend Association', aiding the destitute and visiting the poor in their own homes and he established Liverpool's Mechanics' Library in 1824.[70] Robert Raikes meanwhile

campaigned for the prisoners in Gloucester Gaol in 1768 and in 1783 established Sunday schools.[71] In this way, many newspaper proprietors were not only responsible as central nodes in the network of community relations which involved representing the middling community's views and opinions, but they also carved out for themselves unofficial office as communications brokers and in philanthropic enterprises which were advertised through the press. In doing so, they assumed significance within the community. As Corfield has suggested, professionals had power and influence not simply as dependents of the aristocracy but by virtue of their knowledge where it 'related to something of great interest to a given community' and was believed to be efficacious, assuming 'social significance'.[72] In this way, the role of provincial journalists within local communities was also transforming in the later Georgian age as proprietors and editors took on more visible roles within the community.

Barker has argued that 'newspapers … acted in some way to construct the identity of the public themselves, through their varying definitions of "the people"'.[73] Yet in John Ware, John Fletcher and other proprietors' case, that definition was based on experience, for they knew their readers socially, through correspondence and via their networks of agents. They were active members of middling society, the same social milieu that their readers occupied. They were shrewd active agents—brokers—in the news-forming process who used the pages of the newspaper as platforms for their business activities and political views, and encouraged others to do the same. They played a central role in their town and surrounding area's communications circuit and nationally too, connecting other newspapers' communities of readers through one another. 'The public' to whom they referred was not an abstract grouping but a tangible body of men and women, known intimately to each proprietor along the communications network. They in turn could trust that each country newspaper embodied the same.

6
News Networks

The greatest power of the communications broker was in his or her connections with other communications brokers, both in the development of the trade itself and in the movement of information across it.[1] Information and opinion did not simply pulse unaided across region, nation and globe, carving out or reinforcing ideas, opinions and identities. The dissemination of news was deliberate, in form and direction. Snippets of information within newspapers were gathered by proprietors from other means of communication; small travelling paragraphs taken from other forms of print and newspapers, from correspondence and from conversations.[2] As such, these networks were not neutral.[3] Each relied upon the relationships built between proprietors to gather news, on wider communications networks (shipping, roads, coaches and post) and on the actors organising and operating those networks to circulate information from one source to the next. Each network informed the type and quantity of information transmitted, direction of travel and identity of the eventual recipient. More than this, as a greater number of newspapers were established over the later eighteenth century, a greater number of transactions between proprietors strengthened the trade. Those connections enabled the emergence of trust between proprietors, strengthening the press at local level and gaining proprietors greater collective power in the press–politics nexus. These relationships also engendered greater trust in the information produced by newspapers, which alternatively became an extension of community relations. While London agents centralised and represented the trade at its core, this was complemented and strengthened across the country through personal and business relationships between local and regional proprietors who formed networks of cooperation and influence. This final chapter returns to the national trade, examining how local connections

were built, cumulatively creating a dense web of national connectedness and collective responsibility across the trade. In doing so, it considers the implications of this for the movement of information from one newspaper proprietor's community of readers to another.

Relationships between newspaper proprietors were determined by a combination of economic incentives and technological challenges which inflated costs and potentially limited profits. Finance concerned every proprietor. Thanks to the stamp acts, newspapers were dependent upon advertisements, of which regional advertisements constituted the overwhelming majority. Newspapers thus had to circulate over wide geographical areas to capture and appeal to readers and advertisers, and this often depended upon other agents. Distance from London meanwhile affected news content in the expensive transportation of London newspapers and stamped paper that had to be purchased at approved London agents. Working together, newspaper proprietors could offset costs and overcome challenges, in turn shaping the movement of news and advertising within England and beyond. In doing so, grassroots proprietorial connections informed the formation of a national news network, facilitating the movement of news and advertising and the emergence of trade conventions essential for the emergence of the provincial press as an institution.

At their most basic, networks imply reciprocity: both partners in a relationship seek to give and gain, although not necessarily in the same way. For members of the newspaper trade, the newspaper network consisted of loosely organised and interlinking chains of proprietors near to one another or based along the same roads, engaged at the very least in reciprocal exchange of newspapers and advertising agency, as this chapter later examines. Networks also require the negotiation of trust. Yet the newspaper press built its name on political rivalry and discord, on competition based on the demands of multiple and competing publics, politicians and parties—aspects which analyses of the press tend to emphasise.[4] Indeed, the era witnessed vehement and escalating disagreements between publications over the American and French revolutions, parliamentary reform and the abolition of slavery. In the nineteenth century local newspapers took increasingly partisan positions. However, while they argued in print, trust and a culture of communal understanding was built over time through mutual concerns to increase profit and to diminish risk in an environment beset by legislative obstacles; risk engenders trust.[5]

Scrutinising the business activities of newspaper proprietors enables examination of the use of trust within the newspaper trade in two

ways: first in terms of trust developed and between businessmen and women within and beyond regions, and second in terms of the trust that they could imbue in the information they peddled and in provincial newspapers more generally. Changes in the operation of trust have been conceptualised in terms of the move from pre-modern to modern societies, from personalised or 'thick' trust within communities in which relationships are strong and frequent to more abstract forms of 'thin' trust that moves beyond individuals' known networks and is based on institutional or community norms.[6] Zucker has proposed that 'process-based' trust, built cumulatively through multiple exchanges, preceded institutional trust.[7] In a similar way, Finn has argued that the appearance of 'modern' economic individualism reliant on personal character and market relations was uneven and varied, and economic relationships based on credit and reputation persisted into the modern period.[8] Examining the newspaper trade as it operated at local and national level provides insights into the operation of businesses and comparative constructions of credit and trust between the middling ranks in close proximity and over distance. Second, examining newspaper proprietors as communications brokers enables closer consideration of the ways in which the information within print and newspapers was presented to readers in ways that they might trust the information therein. As intermediaries within and between communities, newspaper proprietors operated at the intersection between local personalised society and national community.

Local competition and cooperation

Most newspapers overlapped with others' circulations in the later eighteenth century, but competing proprietors also offered the greatest opportunities for collaborative activity. As the number of newspapers increased and multiple newspapers in towns and regions became the norm, proprietors first had to secure their place within a competitive local market. The simplest way of doing this was to avoid competition altogether by seeking approval from a pre-existing proprietor.

Not every proprietor struggled to break into an established competitor's sphere of influence. The most effective means of avoiding conflict with an existing proprietor was through pre-existing connections with him or her, or with the competing publication. On establishing the *Bath Chronicle*, for example, Cornelius Pope explained that he had 'serv'd his Apprenticeship with the late Mr BODDELY, and has had the sole management of the Bath Journal for these last five years'.[9] Similarly, having

recently gained his freedom from his master, William Chase junior at the *Norwich Mercury*, John Crouse established the second Norwich newspaper, the *Norwich Gazette* in 1761 (from 1777 known as the *Norfolk Chronicle*). As was typical in towns with a vibrant political culture, the older paper followed Norwich council's Tory politics when it was established by William Chase senior, a councilman for Wymer ward, in 1722. The *Gazette*, established by Crouse, was initially Whig. The arrangement no doubt suited former masters faced with the likelihood of competition in the fast-growing newspaper market, who knew their rival and might shrewdly ensure his compliance by easing him into the trade.

Family relationships also shaped business relationships—positively and negatively. Conducting business within families enabled businessmen and women to counterbalance the 'moral hazard' of business transactions.[10] Members of the same family established newspapers in the same region, enabling them to reduce costs, share information and find new ways to protect their businesses. The diffusion of family newspapers across a region was usually inter-generational, with the older generation easing younger members' passage into the trade in which they had been trained. All four of William Cowdroy senior's sons trained at his *Cowdroy's Manchester Gazette* office and went on to become printers. William Cowdroy junior took over his father's *Gazette* in 1814 and his brother Citizen Howarth established the *Manchester Courier* in 1817.[11] More unusual was the entrance of the three Cruttwell brothers into the South-West newspaper trade within six years of each other, William founding the *Sherborne Journal* in 1764, followed by Richard, who purchased his share in the *Bath Chronicle* in 1768, and then Clement, one of the founder members of Wokingham's *Berkshire Chronicle* in 1770. Situated near the Bath road, all three exchanged newspapers, with each more established proprietor perhaps easing his newest brother's entrance into the trade; these behaviours were typical across all trades. Members of the wider household-family might also maintain business and social relationships after their freedom. By 1788 the proprietors of all three Newcastle newspapers had been apprenticed to Thomas Slack, founder of the *Newcastle Chronicle* and had worked and probably lived together. As proprietors, they often worked together, not least exchanging newspapers and advertising and selling books for one another. Family and kinship connections aided the successful entrenchment of new newspapers in locale and region through the avoidance of conflict. However, these connections, with their concomitant expectations of loyalty, could also prove more damaging.

The household-family connection could prove disastrous and it was not unheard of for an aggrieved family member or former apprentice to establish a title in order to provoke competition. A row between brothers Samuel and Felix Farley, possibly over religious differences (one was a Quaker, the other a Methodist) resulted in three generations of disagreements.[12] When an established proprietor had not anticipated the challenge, the shock was all the greater. In 1807 William Todd established the *Sheffield Mercury* in direct competition with his former master, the Sheffield *Iris*'s James Montgomery. Montgomery despaired that 'I have been drowning these twelve years, and just when I get my head above water, comes a hand and plunges me in deep again'.[13] Opposing politics might be overcome but problematic household–family relationships, which carried the expectation of good behaviour, caused a greater sense of loss and betrayal.[14]

For those without families' security of at least predicting a local rival's response, most local relationships began with a degree of discord, for the arrival of a new newspaper introduced competition for readers and advertisers. When he took over at the *Chester Chronicle* in 1783, John Fletcher carefully (and not without a touch of glee) noted on the first page of his new account book that 'Mr Monk [of the *Chester Courant*] was so much elated with the prospect of … [the *Chronicle*'s] Discontinuation that this Day was intended for a Festival to his Men, in Triumph of his Victory, … [but now] rendered a "Day of Gloominess and Dejection" by the Republication'.[15]

New proprietors had to establish quickly a reputation for efficient and widespread distribution demanded by advertisers while established competitors tried to discredit them. Both sides were vulnerable in a trade that lacked demarcation and guild control and that was constrained by legislative limitation. Sharp practice certainly existed, including the apparent poaching of a compositor at Joshua Drewry's new *Staffordshire Advertiser* in 1795 and an accusation of stolen newspapers in York.[16] Others spread rumours that their rivals lacked economic credibility. The newly formed *Chelmsford and Colchester Chronicle* was forced to deny in 1765 that it had distribution problems because the *Ipswich Journal* had declared it unfit for advertising due to limited sales.[17] For the established proprietor, assaulting a new title was as much about defending his or her existing business's reputation as it was about damaging that of another.

Most proprietors highlighted a rival's unsuitable credentials for dealing in politics in a comedic manner. The *Reading Mercury* greeted Clement Cruttwell, surgeon, apothecary, man-midwife and new owner

of the *Berkshire Chronicle* as 'Mr _____ of Oakingham, who has for many years inoculated persons with the small-pox with uncommon success, has now opened an office for inoculating the Public with Politics'.[18] The incoming owner of *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* in 1805, John Matthew Gutch, was greeted by John Mills of the *Bristol Gazette* as 'the infallible harness-cutter from Birmingham', a slight that as well as insulting Gutch's wife (whose father was a coachmaker), questioned Gutch's trade expertise and local knowledge, both of which were increasingly expected by readers.[19] In general these quarrels died down reasonably swiftly; living with the absence of conflict characterised local communities rather than the ideal of living in harmony, where conflict resolution was a vital part of living in proximity to others.[20] More than this, new codes of urban behaviour demanded that printers did not fight on the streets as their Civil War counterparts had, and that printed insults elevated disputes away from direct confrontation.[21] Occasionally quarrels moved beyond the fleeting and were sufficiently damaging to warrant legal action. In Bristol, the quarrel between Mills of *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* and Gutch of the *Bristol Gazette* continued for five years and ended in the former suing the latter for libel.[22] Cases of defamation were in decline in England over the eighteenth century, and the low incidence of protracted trouble between proprietors may have been part of this decline.[23] Print instead offered a means by which insults could still be exchanged in public, but this time in a forum that they could at least purport to be battling with pen and with intellect rather than with fists or swords.

If vulnerability precipitated conflict, then relative security encouraged a shared understanding. Cooperation, in its most basic form, is the absence of conflict. Provincial towns were growing on the whole, and after initial jostling for position, newspapers either folded or survived by differentiating on politics or publication day.[24] In Newcastle, the *Newcastle Courant*, *Newcastle Journal* and *Newcastle Chronicle* were published on a Saturday but each had different political allegiances and over time built up different readerships based on social class too.[25] Distinguishing by publication day alternatively provided the local newspaper-reading population with bi- or even tri-weekly news. Crucially, advertisers adapted to market conditions and were willing to place notices in more than one title. When the celebrated actress Mrs Jordan was due to play at Newcastle's Theatre Royal in 1791, her agent requested that the play should be advertised on handbills and 'in all Newcastle and County Newspapers'. If the advertising proved insufficient, he warned, the actress would refuse to play at all.[26] Rival

newspapers therefore frequently inserted a large volume of identical advertisements. In the *Newcastle Courant* and the *Newcastle Chronicle* issues of Saturday 19 June, 1790 for example, of the 72 advertisements in the *Courant* and the 61 advertisements in the *Chronicle*, 49 advertisements were placed in both papers.[27] This does not mean, however, that advertising success was a passive process for newspaper owners. As James Montgomery of the Sheffield *Iris* instructed his editor, John Pye Smith, in 1795, 'observe what Advertisements … [the *Sheffield Courant* has] and enquire after all the new ones in the Town'.[28] Competition induced innovation and greater determination.

Reduced competition for advertisers and readers encouraged cooperative activity in areas of crossover between separate businesses, especially in taking in advertisements and subscriptions. Once a degree of trust was established through iterative business activity, proprietors might extend their involvement, sharing the burden of other mutual costs and threats. This was the case even when proprietors continued to be hostile in print. In Chester, John Fletcher of the (town's Independent-supporting, Fox-supporting and later Whig) *Chester Chronicle* and John Monk senior and junior of the (Corporation-supporting and later Tory) *Chester Courant* had a longstanding animosity, with their rivalry spilling into a pamphlet war in 1809. They nevertheless exchanged newspapers and advertising from 1783, the same year that Fletcher had purchased the paper and recorded his amusement at Monk's 'Gloominess and Dejection' in his account books. The Newcastle proprietors also acted as one another's agents, despite their wide-ranging and opposing politics, as did the proprietors of Bristol and Norwich papers.

Successful pre-existing business relations encouraged further collaborative activity. Some proprietors took joint action to reduce risk and protect their businesses. William Rawson at the *Hull Advertiser* and Thomas Lee at the *Hull Packet*, for example, announced stricter measures to tackle bad debt from advertisers and subscribers, as did William Chase at the *Norwich Mercury* and John Crouse at the *Norwich Gazette* (also former master and apprentice).[29] Chase and Crouse also raised cover prices in unison in response to the stamp duty increase of 1780.[30] Alternatively, in response to the encroaching London press in Bath, Richard Cruttwell of the *Bath Chronicle* proposed a new title in the town in 1778 with the aim of blocking the expansion of the London press in the town.[31] Once a town had become capable of sustaining multiple publications and advertisers expanded their remit, it made sound business sense to collaborate on matters of mutual benefit.

Even in cases where there had been extensive animosity brought about by opposing politics, relationships changed over time. John Northall of

the *Sheffield Courant* had declared when he purchased his paper in 1793 that it would be 'an antidote for the poison' of Joseph Gales's radical *Register*, which had attempted to 'destroy that love and veneration … towards our excellent Constitution'[32] The *Register* was continued as the *Iris*, under James Montgomery from 1784, and for several years the two sides were hostile but in 1797, they reached an impasse. When stamp duty was being raised from 2d. to 3 ½ d., the pair travelled to York to discuss the rise with the stamp distributor there. '"It was curious", he later recorded, "to see Paul Positive [Montgomery] and John Blunder [Northall], both mounted, and trotting amicably together towards York: we staid a night on the road at Great Houghton, and slept in the same bedroom"'. As Montgomery's biographer later commented, 'Misery … often makes persons acquainted with strange bedfellows'.[33] Montgomery was less sanguine, later lamenting with a hint of amusement, 'Poor Northall! he [sic] ultimately broke down, and I bought all his printing materials for 100l'.[34] Business relationships changed over time and were affected by change of proprietor, age and market size, although seeing a former rival's business close evidently still bore some satisfaction. In essence, repeated reciprocal exchange and recognition of occupational needs provided the opportunity for future transactions and the development of greater trust between individuals. Nevertheless, mutual cooperation engendered the need for clearer distinctions between businesses, encouraging 'rules of the game' across the network.[35]

Whether business relations had always been amicable or whether recently resolved, as proprietors worked with one another, a series of conventions governing their interactions emerged. In particular, newspaper proprietors must not affect the internal operation of either newspaper. Newsmen delivering newspapers were employed separately, even when they travelled almost identical rounds. Thomas Slack of the *Newcastle Chronicle*, for example, bound at least one of his newsmen in an exclusive contract, thereby preventing him from working for other papers.[36] In Norwich, despite the seemingly close relationship between William Chase and John Crouse, the former apprentice was quick to challenge a transgression made by his former master:

> The Printer of this Paper having received Several Letters within a few weeks, complaining of the late and irregular delivery of his Paper in some parts of the country, thinks it necessary to inform his Friends that the neglect was not in him, but owing to MR CHASE'S having hired his rider to wait for and carry his papers, which unjust step he has put a stop to by discharging the rider.[37]

The newsman ultimately paid the price for the misdemeanour but Crouse clearly felt justified in naming his former master and publicly shaming his actions in the newspaper. Again, newspapers acted as public fora for the airing and redress of disputes within the local community. In this way, print and personal relations were further bound together, again suggesting the elevation of socially embedded personalised relations into more generalised forms through alternative means of communication.

Incorrect or derisory content could provoke similar reactions. In 1771, Thomas Slack of the *Newcastle Chronicle*, for example, described how:

> The Paragraph in last week's Courant, insinuating that 'a coffin; with a human skeleton therein, was found in digging up a cellar [under the *Chronicle* office] in Union Street' is not true: Perhaps it was only meant to raise up some Spectre for the good of the house—'Tis pity the little man's malice should so often induce him to quit the paths of truth, merely to insult a fellow-labourer.[38]

Slack may have been disgruntled but he also had an ongoing business relationship with his local competitor, Thomas Saint at the *Newcastle Courant*. Just as newspaper proprietors initially responded to competition in print, they continued to police the boundaries of their businesses through print, thereby regulating local trade.

Although the newspaper trade was developing unique conventions, proprietors' behaviour might also be regulated within the wider book trade. In Newcastle, the largest printing centre outside of London by 1800, newspaper proprietors were members of the Booksellers' Association.[39] In existence between 1801 and 1822, this regulatory association met monthly to agree and regulate prices for the most commonly sold books.[40] It was convivial as much as regulatory, meeting in local inns and frequently involving large quantities of alcohol. Attendance was so erratic that it has been suggested that the association's members did not consider it 'of significant enough concern', although the association's 21-year existence indicates some support.[41] While the association did not deal with the newspaper press directly, other actions affected trade relations. The association was indeed established in order to deal with a newcomer, John Mitchell, who had offered discounts on his book stock for cash only, and went onto establish the *Tyne Mercury* in 1802.[42] He had problems especially with Sarah Hodgson and appears not to have cooperated, either because he or they were unwilling, with the other papers as a result.

Locally, as newspapers grew in numbers and profitability, mutual interest and the limitations of the market governed relationships in the trade. Families and household-families potentially offered the opportunity for proprietors to reduce risk and co-exist without conflict. However, most connections were formed in order to diminish risk and increase profit in an environment that forced dependence on advertising for profits. Conflict created cooperation, moreover, and methods of conflict resolution ultimately drove the emergence of 'rules of the game'. Rather than newspaper proprietors simply moving towards an era of cooperation, therefore, the operation of businesses with overlapping territories involved the constant negotiation and renegotiation of terms of engagement.

Chains of cooperation

Local cooperation enabled the smooth running of businesses in the immediate term, but reciprocal networks with proprietors created a web of interlinked connections nationally and globally. Newspaper proprietors commonly claimed that their newspapers were available 'by the Printers of all Country newspapers', but in reality they exchanged with between five and ten others, usually along the main roads or at by- and cross-posts. John Fletcher of the *Chester Chronicle*, for example, sent 'blanks' (newspapers printed on blank, instead of pre-paid stamped paper) to nine other newspaper offices.[43] Six were along the West of the country: to his main rival, John Monk at the *Chester Courant*, to Robert Williamson of the *Liverpool Advertiser* and John Gore of *Gore's Liverpool Advertiser*, John Ware at the *Cumberland Pacquet*, Richard Cruttwell at the *Bath Chronicle* and Thomas Wood at the *Shrewsbury Chronicle*.[44] A further three 'blanks' were sent along the Irish post road through Lancashire to Charles Wheeler of *Wheeler's Manchester Chronicle*, Joseph Harrop at the *Manchester Mercury* and to William Blanchard at the *York Chronicle*, the paper thus crossing the country at Manchester onto the North road.

Fletcher's exchange network is itself interesting, for Fletcher was a Foxite who also supported Chester's independent candidate. From 1787 Fletcher's *Chronicle* also supported the campaign for the abolition of slavery. This was arranged between the paper's editor, William Cowdroy, and Thomas Clarkson of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and involved offering information on the campaign within the paper itself and providing advertising space for the society at cost price.[45] The Liverpool papers, on the other hand, did not support

abolition openly, for, as Chapter 5 discussed, the overwhelming majority of their advertisers were shipowners, of which slavers were the most prominent. Joseph Harrop's inclusion in Fletcher's network is equally surprising, for Harrop's son James, who inherited the paper in 1788, was awarded the post of Manchester's postmaster thanks to his paper's anti-radicalism and ongoing loyalty to Manchester town council. James Harrop further went on to wage a campaign against the radical *Cowdroy's Manchester Gazette* (est. 1795), disrupting the supply of the *Gazette* across the country, sabotaging copies and delaying letters to the owner William Cowdroy, previously editor of Fletcher's *Chester Chronicle* between 1785 and 1795.[46] These events occurred a few years after the network began, but the Harrops' paper was already well-known for its pro-council and loyalist stance. The network again underlines that for the majority of proprietors—even for those with strong political and personal affiliations—aspects of the newspaper business could be separated from politics. This aided reciprocal and iterative transactions across multiple proprietors, encouraging the transfer of local news business conventions to the national trade.

Proprietors along Fletcher's western route extended the network to include proprietors along the outer reaches of his or her geographical sphere of influence. The intention was to exchange news and encourage advertising, but this had the secondary effect of creating multiple intersecting links across the trade. Thomas Wood of the *Shrewsbury Chronicle* distributed copies of his paper to the *Chester Chronicle* office and to Gore, Ware and Harrop as well as to William Pine at the *Bristol Gazette* and to William Bulgin and Robert Rosser at the *Bristol Mercury*.[47] At the northerly tip of the western chain, John Ware in Whitehaven extended his network eastwards and northwards, acting as agent for the Newcastle press, exchanging with Edinburgh's *Caledonian Mercury* and *Glasgow Journal* and on occasions with Cork and Dublin proprietors.[48] He may also have exchanged with proprietors on the east coast of the fledgling United States, carried by one of the many traders between Whitehaven and Virginia.[49] Ware also used his connection with the Hodgsons at the *Newcastle Chronicle* in order to deal with proprietors along the East coast of the country, including William Rawson at the *Hull Advertiser* and Ann Ward at the *York Chronicle* (who, in turn, exchanged with Fletcher in Chester).[50] At the southern end of the western chain, in 1790, Robert Rosser and William Bulgin at the *Bristol Mercury* sent newspapers to William Jackson at the *Oxford Journal*, Richard Cruttwell and Samuel Hazard at the *Bath Chronicle* and William Cruttwell at the *Sherborne Journal*, and extended the network of exchange westwards to Robert

Map 6.1 Networks of *Bath Chronicle*, *Bristol Mercury*, *Chester Chronicle*, *Cumberland Pacquet*, *Drewry's Derby Mercury*, *Liverpool Advertiser*, *Harrop's Manchester Mercury*, *Shrewsbury Chronicle* and *York Chronicle*, 1777–99

Sources: Account Book of John Fletcher, CALS D 3876; *Bristol Mercury*, 22 March 1790; *Cumberland Pacquet*, 22 April 1777; *Drewry's Derby Mercury* 14 January 1780; *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 2 January 1779; *York Chronicle*, 14 and 21 June 1776.

Trewman at *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post* and east to James Hodson's *Cambridge Chronicle*.[51]

Chains of exchange were also responsive to changing external conditions and, as free postage of newspapers became more commonly exploited in the nineteenth century, some newspapers were sent beyond the immediate road and shipping systems. By 1805, the *Bristol Mercury* was sent to Pearson and Swinney's offices at *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* and *Swinney's Birmingham Chronicle*, to Gore at Liverpool and to Wilson and Spence at the *York Herald*.[52] The change can be attributed to the growing use of the mails for free carriage, provided that the title in question had the permission of an MP, a loophole that appeared in the Franking Act in 1764 but which was only fully exploited from the 1780s.[53] Local and regional systems of exchange—including potentially overseas sites with connections to particular English towns and regions—therefore underpinned the trade, to the consequences of which this chapter will return.

These chains of proprietors were built on the exchange of credit, probably reckoning their books and cumulatively striking out their respective debts as each collected subscriptions and advertising for the other. Even dealing in relatively small amounts, proprietors had no interest in seeing others in the chain fail, for they would lose any credit held by the failed proprietor. Whereas William Tayler centralised and represented the trade in London, these local and regional chains tied proprietors to one another, for each had a vested interest in the success of their immediate connections, and thus in the wider trade. They also enabled individuals to trust others in the chain through their positive experiences with other local members. Even so, the chains were also flexible, with their loose connections based on relatively small credit allowing new members to join the network and others to depart. In essence, they facilitated the emergence of process-based trust and, through the cumulative strength of multiple connections, the emergence of institutional arrangements unique to the newspaper press.

Despite the relatively informal nature of English news networks with seemingly easy entrance, it is worth noting that proprietors could be selective. Samuel Taylor Coleridge described how, when he established his periodical, *The Watchman*, in 1796, he called on a newspaper proprietor in order to enquire as to whether he would take it:

> This morning I called on Mr. _____ .... Mr. _____ received me as a rider, and treated me with insolence that was really amusing from its novelty. 'Over-stocked with these articles'. _____ 'People

always setting up some new thing or other'. _____ 'I read the Star and another paper: what could I want with this paper, which is nothing more?' _____ 'Well well, I'll consider of it'. To these entertaining *bons mots* I returned the following repartee — 'Good morning, Sir'.[54]

Even though the cost of exchange was minimal, proprietors were not prepared to invest in exchange unless the transaction offered them something too. In this case, the anonymous proprietor in question could have been William Cowdroy; Coleridge would have visited the newspaper proprietors with similar pro-parliamentary reform politics to his own and the owner of the eponymous *Cowdroy's Manchester Gazette* was well-known for his gruff nature and rough handling of would-be authors, as Chapter 2 detailed. Yet this proprietor took the *Star*, Francis Freeling's paper, suggesting that it could have been James Harrop, pro-Manchester council and anti-radical proprietor of *Harrop's Manchester Mercury*. In either case, it appears that politics was not the driving force behind the interaction. The Manchester proprietor simply exchanged enough newspapers already.

Politics could still inform proprietors' relationships. As the example of John Fletcher shows, the radical press was not isolated from the wider press network. On the contrary, many of these newspapers were networked fully into the wider newspaper trade. In the 1790s, radical newspaper proprietors formed discrete networks, but with political risk providing mutual grounds for trust. Several exchanged newspapers with one another, using the network as a means of spreading information; one of the chief concerns of the authorities attempting to control the radical press. The office of Sheffield's *Iris* newspaper, the Hartshead Press, provided pieces for Fletcher at the *Chester Chronicle*, as well as to the *Doncaster Journal*, the *Leicester Chronicle* and the *Manchester Herald*. 'It is', one Hartshead journeyman described to the London Correspondence Society, 'with no small pride we reflect that our correspondence is always very warmly received by them'.[55]

Radical proprietors also exchanged with those further afield. After Joseph Gales of the *Sheffield Register* (later *Iris*) fled the country under the threat of prosecution for treason in 1794, he continued to correspond with at least James Montgomery, his successor in Sheffield, and William Cowdroy of the *Manchester Gazette*. Gales sent copies of his newspapers (Philadelphia's *Independent Gazetteer* from 1796 and the North Carolina *Raleigh Register* from 1797), although typically packages

were obstructed by the Sheffield post office. Montgomery noted to a friend in Manchester:

> Miss Gales … has desired me to thank you for your trouble in forwarding her Packet. It contained a series of her brother's newspapers from May to July …. We have received no other papers from Mr G for the present year: all between January and May have been miscarried … Cowdroy [of the *Manchester Gazette*] exchanges a paper with Mr G. and if he files it, you may perhaps have an opportunity of meeting with 'the Transatlantic'.[56]

Radical proprietors were thus able to continue to connect with, and distribute information among, one another and to circulate it within their respective titles. Indeed, the most concerning aspect of newspaper production for the authorities was the spread of sedition in this manner. Radical politics therefore did not stop proprietors from doing business with others, but it did strengthen trust among those who were active in it.

Radical newspaper proprietors also occasionally prioritised politics over funding. John Fletcher for example printed advertisements at cost for the Society for Constitutional Information from 1785.[57] They also avoided competition with one another. In 1796, Coleridge refused to exert himself to win customers in Sheffield for his new title, *The Watchman*, for 'I should injure the sale of the Iris, the editor of which, (a very amiable and ingenius young man of the name of James Montgomery), is now in prison for a libel on a bloody-minded magistrate there …. I declined publicly advertising or disposing of *The Watchman* in that town'.[58] Politics thus informed the loyalties of some proprietors, however, they were only one cause of a wider provincial network consisting of proprietors supporting divergent extra-parliamentary campaigns and politics.

Proprietorial networks were constantly in flux, with links simultaneously established, renegotiated and changing in nature while others failed altogether. However, the sheer number of chains and permutations within them created a permanent substructure that enmeshed the provincial newspaper press at grassroots level. These networks had implications for the operation of the trade and the movement of information.

Trade implications

Actors in networks could deepen their relationships over time, accumulating social capital through repeat transactions and facilitating

'process-based' trust.[59] In the provincial newspaper trade, additional schemes were developed by those who exchanged newspapers. Regional chains of proprietors thus deepened their connections through repeated activity, itself potentially leading to friendship and greater trust placed in one another through more substantial or more complex business transactions.

With the London papers encroaching on provincial newspapers' territory following the Franking Act of 1764, a number of provincial newspapers were using express riders to carry the London newspapers from which they gathered their national and international news, thus allowing the local papers to steal a few hours' march on those from London. Express riders, however, were expensive. The *Chelmsford Chronicle*'s owners, for example, paid out nearly ten pounds per quarter for its express, with only stamped paper and the compiler William Clachar's salary costing more.[60] In Chester, John Fletcher of the *Chester Chronicle* paid around ten shillings per week for a rider from Birmingham. This high but necessary expenditure induced him and others to experiment with sharing their express-delivery costs, despite significantly differing political stances. Fletcher thus shared express costs with John Gore of *Gore's Liverpool Advertiser*, paying Miles Swinney at the *Birmingham Chronicle* for the service in 1783.[61] The arrangement failed after a few months, with Fletcher documenting constant delays in his account books, but this was the result of transport delays rather than the proprietors themselves being unable to work with one another. Indeed, in its central location, Birmingham was evidently a convenient depot for the fast distribution of the London papers, and Thomas Wood of the *Shrewsbury Chronicle* also engaged a horse express from Birmingham to deliver his papers.[62] If deeper business relationships could be fostered by repeat business, then the Birmingham proprietors, at the centre of the country and at the crossroads of two main roads, had greater opportunity than other proprietors to develop stronger relationships with other proprietors.

Other proprietors attempted similar schemes. On the North road, William Blanchard of the *York Chronicle*, seemingly following interest from Thomas Slack at the *Newcastle Chronicle*, proposed establishing an express along the North road from his office in York to Slack at the *Chronicle* and in the interests of reducing costs further, on to Thomas Saint at the *Newcastle Courant*.[63] The proposal was rejected by Saint but that the proprietors at least mooted the proposition suggests that they were open to the possibility of working together. Others appear to have been more successful. In the early nineteenth century, the *Salisbury*

Journal's express collected its and the *Windsor and Eton Express*'s London papers from the metropolis, dropping the latter's papers at Staines, where they were then collected by a separate rider and taken on to Windsor.[64] This type of commitment, the importance of speed in a competitive market and the greater costs involved demanded a greater level of trust within the business relationship, fostered initially with the exchange of blanks and advertisements and the successful payment of monies.

One relationship that offers a good example as to the extent to which proprietors' business transactions entwined over time is that of John Ware of Whitehaven's *Cumberland Pacquet* and Sarah Hodgson of the *Newcastle Chronicle*. The pair may well have initiated their connection in the book trade. Hodgson was one of Ware's wholesale suppliers and between 1799 and 1805 (the period of Ware's extant daybooks), one of Ware's most popular books was Hodgson's *Fisher's Grammar*, written by Hodgson's mother Ann Fisher. Hodgson's annual *Newcastle Memorandum Book* and *Ladies' Diary* were similarly popular with Ware's customers, and in 1800 he purchased six copies of Ralph Beilby's *History of Quadrupeds*, illustrated by Bewick and published by Hodgson.[65] In terms of the newspaper trade, the pair performed the usual complementary tasks undertaken for other proprietors, including advertising agency for their respective publications and collecting subscription dues where required. The Newcastle Assembly Rooms' subscription to the *Pacquet*, for example, was collected by Hodgson, as were payments for advertisements placed in the paper from the *Newcastle Advertiser*'s Matthew Brown and the *Newcastle Courant*'s Edward Walker.[66] Ware reciprocated, collecting subscriptions to the *Chronicle*, as well as those for *Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser* and *Gore's Liverpool Advertiser*, from Whitehaven's Subscription coffee room.[67] With access to one another's newspapers, the two also inserted news from one another's regions.[68]

The relationship between Hodgson and Ware enabled the expansion of both businesses to interregional level, as the pair introduced each other into the trade networks on their respective sides of the country. The two issued invoices and collected monies on each other's behalf. On 29 May 1800, for example, Ware sent invoices to nine Hodgson contacts in Scarborough, Pancher, Newcastle, Morpeth, Leeds and Wakefield, as well as one newspaper owner, William Rawson of the *Hull Advertiser*.[69] They also assisted each other in finding staff. According to Ware, the late Solomon Hodgson had procured Ware's pressman from Durham and in 1801 Ware was asking Sarah Hodgson about the suitability of one of her journeymen for his office.[70] Within the sphere of the Cumberland–Northumberland book trade, therefore, Ware and

Hodgson, each dominant in his or her area's book trade, acted as regional communications brokers, facilitating connections between each other and smaller local concerns.

Ware and Hodgson were evidently friends, their correspondence revealing exchanges about family and friends; they even planned a trip to London together.[71] Much has been made of the networking patterns of rational dissenters, but the friendship between the Unitarian businesswoman Hodgson and the Anglican businessman Ware underlines that alternative loyalties or connections could compete with religion.[72] The friendship provided the pair with information about the trade, for they confided in each other about their respective businesses and indulged in trade gossip, one letter revealing mutual amusement at a supposed prospective government scheme for a tax on capital letters.[73] In a legislative environment that limited newspapers' profitability these exchanges were vital, for information reduces risk. Indeed, the friendship translated into collaborative trade protection with the owners of the two other Newcastle papers. In 1797 the four sent a memorial to the Treasury protesting over a potential rise in advertising duty.[74] This duty hike, about which many proprietors complained in print, was the same protest in which the London newsagent William Tayler had a hand and in which he was referred to in parliamentary debates on the matter, as Chapters 1 and 2 discussed. These local micro-connections thus enabled both the transfer of trade-specific information and a sense of common occupational identity that complemented the national centralisation of the provincial trade in London.

Informational implications

Finally, the operation of provincial newspapers and the exchange of publications had implications for the movement of information across England. First, networks enabled advertisers to place notices further afield. John Monk of the *Chester Courant* regularly sent advertising across to John Fletcher at the *Chester Chronicle*.[75] John Ware of the *Cumberland Pacquet* received advertising from the *Newcastle Chronicle*, *Newcastle Courant*, *Caledonian Mercury*, *Glasgow Journal* and *Shrewsbury Chronicle* offices.[76] John Gore of *Gore's Liverpool Advertiser* was a regular agent of John Ware's, usually advertising the sale of ships, such as that of the ship 'General Hunter' and the schooner 'Carolina' in 1804.[77] Ware meanwhile passed on advertising to other port-town proprietors placing, for example, an advertisement in Robert Peck's *Hull Packet* for sale of the Whitehaven-based 'Comet'. The Rev. Mr Grant similarly

placed an advertisement in the *York Herald* through Ware advertising his search for a curacy. One Mr Howgill's *Sacred Music* was meanwhile advertised through Ware in *Gore's Liverpool Advertiser*, *Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser* and the *York Herald*.[78] Connections between proprietors further afield, encouraged additionally by the emergence of free postage, facilitated a rise in national provincial advertising during industrialisation. National advertising had previously been London-based in the main (and generally for medicines, books and lotteries) but by the close of the eighteenth century there was also a growing advertising market for goods and services from other provincial towns. In 1781, for example, Young, Greaves and Hoyland, Sheffield manufacturers of 'patent plated and metal candlesticks', placed an advertisement in the *Newcastle Courant* paper to publicise their availability in three different shops in Newcastle and one in Durham.[79] The Manchester Association of Butchers and Tanners also notified the Newcastle public of decisions made at their latest meetings in the *Newcastle Courant,* advancing further the role of the provincial newspaper advertisement as an agent of national exchange.[80]

The second effect of exchanging newspapers along the regional network was that news could pass along it, and in the process by-passed London. The overwhelming majority of news still emanated from the metropolitan papers, with each provincial newspaper owner purchasing one or two London papers from which he or she cut and pasted international and national news. However, in a trading nation, print offered an important means by which merchants and others could assess risk, and as the port towns expanded in population and prosperity, local newspapers provided a means by which information destined for local communities was distilled into the news networks. This was particularly important in wartime, and especially the American War of Independence, when oral news and correspondence from ships' captains and merchants entered through the western ports. With each member in the network extending outwards, news was disseminated through the interlinking chain across the country.

Skirmishes and near misses near the coastal ports placed western port-town newspapers in prime position for the acquisition of the latest news, placing them days in advance of the London papers. On 12 July 1777, the *Cumberland Chronicle Extraordinary* (printed in the large port town of Whitehaven) reported that the *Mary and Betty* captained by one Thornburn, had arrived at Maryport 'having been taken by an American privateer on Monday last, and given to the crews of several vessels to proceed to Ballyshannon'. Captain Thornburn had put two of

the crews ashore near Port Patrick and then returned to Cumberland. The story was in turn quoted in the *Chester Chronicle*, from which paper *Harrison's Derby and Nottingham Journal* then took the same piece of news.[81] Local gossip fed into the press network. In 1779 the *Chester Courant* could report that 'the Rumour of the Hawk Packet, of Liverpool, being run down by the Tom Letter of Marque, and all on board lost' was premature, because the Hawk had recently arrived at Whitehaven, where the *Cumberland Pacquet* had first reported its safe return.[82] In this way, provincial newspapers fed oral gossip into the newspaper network as the action happened near to their shores.

News coming into the port towns was likewise committed to the press network. In July 1778 the *Chester Courant* reported news from the *Cumberland Pacquet* that 'the Dolphin' was taken near Cuba by an American Sloop but retaken by a Royal Navy vessel, with which it then went on to take a French vessel.[83] In 1779, Liverpool's *General Advertiser* inserted a letter describing the capture of St Vincent to a local Whitehaven merchant who had sent it into the *Cumberland Pacquet*, and reports of which had been dispatched in some of the London papers. Following this story, a paragraph was inserted from the *Glasgow Journal* on the latest from St Eustatius.[84] Whether brought in direct from the port, or by correspondence, the seemingly traceable lineage of news items lent it credibility as it travelled through the provincial news network.

Reports from local papers also enabled the transmission of more personal information or local opinion. The Bristol papers, for example, refuted reports in the Bath and London papers in 1777 that Bristol had intended to offer troops to the government for the war. This in turn was picked up by the *Chester Courant*, along the same western network. The reports, the *Courant* passed on, were false, for the:

> Generality of the Inhabitants here [in Bristol] are too sensibly affected with the Decline of their Trade, as well as with the other alarming Consequences of the American War, to wish a Continuance of it; well-knowing that nothing but a speedy Accommodation can save this Country from inevitable Ruin.[85]

In the same edition a report defended General Horatio Gates, the former British army officer and now Commander of the American army in the Northern department who had recently defeated the British at Saratoga. Reports had suggested that Gates had settled in America immediately after the Seven Years' War, thus implying that he had long-intended

to fight against the Crown. This was untrue, according to the Bristol papers, because Gates had lived in the town and 'is well known to a great many Persons here. The Reason of his going to America was owing to inferior Officers being promoted over his head, at which he was disgusted. The same Reason is assigned for Gen. Lee's going abroad'.[86] The newspaper network thus enabled the release of specific information produced within dense interpersonal community relations.

By reporting information that was local knowledge and reported in the first person, newspapers equipped their readers with the capacity to trust information reported many hundreds of miles away from the source of that information. The direct insertion of the cut-and-paste, verbatim and often in the first person, was important because it offered a faithful reflection of the sentiments of the individuals or community that had voiced the original statement. Unlike the London papers, often lost in a melting pot of gossip and suggestion contributed by voices from across the globe, this regionally transmitted information was seemingly verifiable and a form of extension of community gossip. Trust vested by readers in the newspaper was therefore not merely dependent upon trust in the newspaper itself, but in the place of provincial newspapers as a reflection of each community's relations and in provincial proprietors as intermediaries and active members of the middling community. Just as the trade was built of locally dense connections that bound proprietors at a distance, so too information passed along the network, seemingly verifiable and produced within close local experience, gained a trustworthiness within the wider nation. In doing so, newspapers contributed to the transition of a society based on 'thick trust', consisting of interpersonal relationships and close connections, to that based on 'thin trust', in which there emerged the ability to place abstract trust in people unknown directly to an individual or community.[87] Newspapers demand the placing of trust in a newspaper proprietor and in the information being read in the paper. Rather than one being replaced by the other, however, the replication of interpersonally transmitted and trusted local news from paper to paper facilitated an abstract trust in the process and potentially in the press itself.

The regional distribution of locally verified and reported news could also encourage regional distinctions. On 22 April 1778, there was a raid on Whitehaven by John Paul Jones of the USS *Ranger*, who, along with 30 men, had intended to set fire to hundreds of ships. In the event, difficulties getting ashore and arriving near dawn meant that they were able only to set fire to one ship, spike cannon in the forts and allegedly steal a sizeable quantity of liquor. The Wares had immediately produced

a *Cumberland Pacquet Extraordinary*, producing a blow-by-blow account that was reproduced in newspapers across the country. Information moved both through the provincial network and via London. Most newspapers quoted the *Pacquet* verbatim, but the publication of information invited comment and John Gregory of the *Leicester Journal* added that:

> The alarm given to the indolent inhabitants of Whitehaven: their supineness and blameable security at such a time as this, is inexcusable, and deserved a greater punishment—What a figure in the annals of ridicule must these valiant and watchful Cumberlanders make, when it shall remain on record, that thirty ragamuffins landed from a privateer, stormed an alehouse, spiked the guns of the battery, and marched off in triumph.[88]

The information, headlined as having come from the *Cumberland Pacquet Extraordinary*, thus indicating unusual and urgent news, enabled Gregory to focus on the failures of the local town and ridicule Cumberlanders as a whole, rather than offer sympathy or concern regarding the attack. In this instance, the exchange of news created proximity to Cumberland, but it also enabled the expression of difference from the region. Provincial newspaper proprietors thus acted as mediators between regions and the nation, brokering and selecting information and, on occasions, offering their own interpretation of it for their individual audiences. For readers, these chains offered the opportunity to gain access to the nation beyond London, and to overseas events beyond those reported in the London papers. Newspapers contributed to the development of national identity, built up through a patina of local stories that appeared as part of an extension of communities.

Conclusion

In the newspaper trade, a trade that made its name on political rivalry and disagreement, infrastructure was built local connection by local connection. Family and kinship networks played their part, mitigating trust in usually risky business transactions. Yet business networks were often based on iterative business activity rather than family ties, religion or ethnicity. Cooperation was driven by technological challenges and by legislative restrictions that chiefly caused press dependence on advertising for profits. In the process, local relationships built from

shared business interests assisted in the development of national trade and in the development of trust in the provincial newspaper press.

A little over a century before our proprietors were laying the type to copy paragraphs on the Seven Years' War, the Wilkes affair or perhaps the Great Malvern tornado of 1761, printers engaged during the English Civil War had fought one another at the presses and on the streets as they battled for lives and souls. By the later eighteenth century, however, politics and religion were factors that negatively defined surprisingly few business relationships. Politics, to be sure, could affect relationships between newspaper owners, especially radical proprietors where the risk inherent in producing a radical title itself encouraged trust. But for most later eighteenth-century newspaper owners, new codes of urban sociability encouraged polite ways of despatching competitors and newspapers themselves represented one form of local public conflict resolution.

Although these were relatively low-risk relationships, they provided a basis of mutual confidence from which greater trust could develop. Myriad small connections, repeated time and again, fostered more substantial relationships and commitments within the trade and created new conventions that newspaper proprietors could follow. They encouraged conventions of basic cooperation and news sharing and enabled the regulation of the trade, creating a web of minute and changing connections in which participants of the network had a vested interest. In doing so, they created an environment similar to other business networks in which a sense of obligation prevented abuse of those networks.[89] In the creation of a new national institutional infrastructure, moreover, they forged an influential collective force that lent the trade grassroots local power to challenge politicians, and ultimately legislative measures on the press in Parliament.

The exercise of trust differed according to geographical distance, in terms of how individual newspaper proprietors responded to one another, how they presented the information within their newspapers and how readers were encouraged to trust that information. Locally, there was a constant negotiation and renegotiation of relationships based on interpersonal connections and the mediation of conflict, suggesting continued business practices based on close relationships. Local associational activity and local trade conventions, however, suggest a movement towards trust based on personal character and the market. Nationally, connections were more fragile but often disregarded politics and religion as negative factors for involvement in business, with proprietors favouring iterative business transactions. In the newspaper trade as in

other trades, there was no simple transition from thick to thin trust, but instead both existed alongside one another. Newspaper proprietors were 'intermediaries' of both thick and thin trust. On the one hand, they knew their readers and local communities and personally vouched for them, operating within an arena of thick trust.[90] On the other, they repeated those relationships beyond the local sphere through business transactions that facilitated those in distant communities to trust the word of those they did not know. In this sense, the emergence of the national communications network enabled the emergence of variable forms of trust in print and different means by which communities could extend their understanding of the world.

Conclusion

> THERE is not, perhaps, any situation or profession, amongst the mechanical part of mankind, that is so much exposed to observation and censure as the Printer of a Newspaper. The various tastes he has to please, the different opinions he has to combat, and the trouble he must necessarily take, render it an arduous, difficult and expensive undertaking; and it may, without presumption, be added, in some degree meritorious—for while the honest industry of some individuals is exerted for the subsistence of themselves and families, community is benefited, and the public receives pleasure, information, and knowledge, from their efforts.[1]

As Joseph Gales described in the first edition of his *Sheffield Register*, producing a successful newspaper required a fine balance of careful composition that was sensitive to readers' tastes and ready to combat rival opinions, as well as hard work and financial investment. For this, he or she was rewarded with an income for the family and with the knowledge that a newspaper provided a service that was of benefit to society. The creation of a newspaper, then, was by no means a solitary task, but one that involved the family and the community. As this book has shown, moreover, in order to offset the more 'arduous, difficult and expensive' elements of newspaper production, it increasingly involved dealing with other members of the newspaper trade and agents, all of whom came to comprise the 'provincial press'. Whereas in earlier studies, members of the provincial press had remained a nebulous group of individuals who did little more than facilitate readers' consumption

of newspapers, this study has placed them centre-stage. It has revealed them to be a group of entrepreneurial, shrewd and sophisticated businessmen and women, as well as serial business failures, chancers who thought that newspaper production would be an easy money-spinner and those who thought that newspapers offered them an easy route to political influence.

This book has suggested that over time, newspaper production *did* become more arduous and difficult for those without prior experience in it. Newspapers required greater political awareness and dexterity to avoid charges of libel, from which no person involved in the ownership, and increasingly any part of production, was immune. They required greater financial wherewithal and they required growing literary skills in order to satisfy readers. Specialists, both proprietors and editors, emerged. Yet their appearance was uneven across the provincial press and occupational segmentation alone did not constitute professionalisation. Locally, newspaper owners remained rooted in the book trade and the most effective newspaper businesses were frequently family businesses that fostered the intergenerational accumulation of skills and knowledge. However, examining the national picture, it is clear that there was significant change in the organisation and power of the provincial newspaper trade over the later eighteenth century that preceded the organisational changes usually associated with the emergence of mass readerships and the technological and communications transformations brought about in the mid-nineteenth-century industry.

This study has suggested that newspaper proprietors were 'communications brokers' who facilitated the transfer of information across multiple forms of communication within and beyond regional vistas. At local level, provincial newspapers were the products of local relationships. Barker has argued that 'newspapers … acted in some way to construct the identity of the public themselves, through their varying definitions of "the people"'.[2] Those definitions were based on experience, for newspaper proprietors knew their readers socially, through correspondence and via their networks of agents. They were members of middling society, the same social milieu that their readers occupied. They were shrewd operators within their town and region's cultural and social life and their business, social and political lives were intimately linked. This afforded proprietors access to greater knowledge of the community in which they operated. 'The public' to whom newspaper owners so often referred was not an abstract grouping but a tangible body of men and women. In this way, newspaper proprietors continued to operate within an environment of 'thick' trust, where personal

relationships and independent credit arrangements suffused the operation of newspaper businesses.[3] This was also evident in their role in the transfer of information between the physical and printed community; newspapers projected the characteristics of personalised local middling communities, offering a degree of intimacy with and moral commitment to the community, as well as a sense of social cohesion, but providing varied political accounts of it.

Local and personal ties also meant that newspaper proprietors faced limitations to their independence. As provincial newspapers were recognised as an increasingly important means of reaching the public, politicians discovered that they did not need to risk investment in a newspaper themselves. Rather, they could rely on the lure of their social and economic patronage to encourage particular editorial lines or the insertion of content. Interlocking credit arrangements moreover encouraged conservatism in newspapers' politics and editorial comments. Prosecutions not only resulted in fines and jail sentences, but in economic sanctions from local communities who were fearful of placing ongoing investments in a proprietor whose future capacity to pay his or her debts was dinted. Newspaper proprietors thus had to weigh up the survival of their businesses, and that of their families, against their politics. Contrary to the growing firepower of the provincial press as a collective within the press–politics nexus, therefore, local proprietors often remained at the behest of those with greater political or economic influence.

Provincial proprietors coalesced into a national unit through a myriad of minute connections that joined together to form a dense web of trade ties. Each newspaper proprietor was linked to others within regions and along the road systems, exchanging newspapers and acting as regional advertising agents. The trade was, on the whole, suffused with a cooperation that belied the competition and insults to which proprietors frequently resorted in print. This both suggests that external pressures in the form of stamp and advertising duties created closer identification with others in the trade and that printers used print as a means of resolving conflicts and developing mutually accepted rules of engagement. Many of these local and regional links were familial or based on kinship, including connections between former apprentices and others within the household-family. However, these links were primarily based on regional advertising needs, thus proprietors did business with those newspapers in the closest proximity, regardless of personal relationships or indeed the politics of their papers. Mutual assistance and mutual recognition of the critical importance of communication across the trade therefore encouraged business relationships. These ties can be

characterised as process-based ties, which were based on interpersonal and iterative transactions and were often local and reasonably few in number.[4] They also provide evidence of the emergence of trade-specific institutional arrangements in the emergence of 'rules of the game', in which participants are bound by mutually negotiated boundaries. Here, newspaper proprietors as communications brokers operated as intermediaries of 'thin' trust. Indeed, if institutions are defined as 'rules of the game' or 'systems of established and embedded social rules that structure social interactions', newspaper proprietors were the local architects of the provincial press as an institution.[5]

Provincial newspaper proprietors were a significant force within the English press in the later eighteenth century. Greater communication between proprietors no doubt embedded trade relationships and identity but it was advertising that undoubtedly underpinned the power of the press. This was not, however, simply the result of advertising revenues outgunning potential bribes, as other historians have argued.[6] Instead, the sheer quantity of taxation paid to the Exchequer rivalled that of major industries and meant that parliament had to address the trade's concerns when changing the tax regime—not least because they risked alienating the very publications that publicised their activities. This was coupled with the rise of the London advertising agents, themselves established in response to the sheer profits available in advertising sales, who galvanised proprietors and presented the provincial press's views as a collective response to parliament. That newspaper proprietors trusted their agents with such responsibility was again the result of gradual step-change over the period. There is evidence here again of process-based trust, in which the London agents developed greater trust through individual personal relationships and iterative business transactions. However, rather than this process simply preceding institutional trust, interpersonal ties were carefully maintained and thus further embedding trust in the agents themselves. Taken together with the thick web of connections fostered at local level, the provincial press had clear systems of communication and boundaries of expectation. Over the period under review, newspaper proprietors had come to play a critical role as intermediaries in the movement of information across region, nation and the wider world. By the time the railways arrived and readers poured over their papers by the millions, members of the provincial press could rightly claim a developed sense of their own identity and a central place in the nation's newspaper press.

Appendix

Sample of provincial newspaper proprietors, 1760–1820

Introduction

This sample of provincial newspaper proprietors contains data collected from biographical dictionaries and directories, primary and secondary studies on provincial newspapers and the trade, and a myriad of smaller studies on provincial newspapers and their proprietors. In total, 305 proprietors noted across these sources have been included in the checklist, selected according to several basic criteria: ownership of (not just employment at) a provincial newspaper between 1760 and 1820, surname and first name (in two entries, initials), gender, name of newspaper owned, and approximate years of ownership. For each entry, information entered where known includes: how a proprietor acquired his or her newspaper (purchased, founded, inherited etc.), involvement in the management or ownership of other newspapers, partnership formations (how many partners and names and dates of partnership), why ownership ended (retired, died, paper ceased etc.), and to whom, if anyone, the paper was passed. Personal details, where known, have also been entered for each proprietor, including dates of birth and death, parents' and spouses' names and father's occupation, apprenticeship information and financial details (wills, insurance records and bankruptcies). The use of minimum criteria means that the sample focuses primarily on proprietors who could be described as book-trade personnel typically engaging in more than one other book-trade activity, for it was they who usually published or managed provincial newspapers throughout the period. Although this is not entirely representative of all provincial proprietors over the period, it enables closer interrogation of the business of newspaper production and the occupational roles within it.

The chronological remit of the survey is 1760–1820 inclusive, thus it includes those proprietors who acquired a newspaper before 1760 but still owned a provincial newspaper on or after that year (36 proprietors, 12% of sample), as well as those who commenced ownership of a provincial newspaper before or in 1820 and continued ownership well into the nineteenth century (99 proprietors, 32%). This enriches the chronological context of this study, providing coverage from some of the founders of the earliest and longest-running provincial newspapers to many of those in possession of titles after the reduction of stamp duties to 1*d.* in 1836. The 305 proprietors in the sample owned, in whole or in part, at least 140 of the known 227 provincial newspapers in print between 1760 and 1820, as well as three provincial newspapers that were in print before 1760, four in print after 1820, four London, and two American newspapers.

As a representative sample, the database includes a good range of proprietors who were active between 1760 and 1820, in gender, chronologically (both in the distribution of proprietors active across the entire period and variation in lengths

of ownership), geographically, and in the type of ownership formations in which they were engaged (solo, partnership etc.). In terms of gender, of the 305 proprietors, 27 (9% of total) are women, reasonably reflective of the proportion of women in trade as a whole over the period, in the light of other estimates, which range from 4% to 9%.[1] In the print trade, Barker has estimated the proportion of women in the North-East trade to have been around 10% between 1695 and 1855.[2] In terms of the chronological range of sampled proprietors, the sample contains a fairly even distribution of proprietors across the entire 60 years, with slightly more proprietors representing the early nineteenth century, itself reflective of the rise in the number of provincial titles in those decades. There is similarly broad distribution in the total number of years for which each proprietor owned his or her paper. Although this type of survey, which collates large amounts of data from a range of sources, favours the most historically visible proprietors (those who were either the most financially or politically successful, or who owned more politically notorious publications), it provides representative variation in length of ownership across the proprietors relative to the lifespan of most provincial titles. A total of 122 (41%) of the sampled proprietors owned their newspapers for ten years or less and 30 of those (10% of the total) owned their newspapers for one year or less. This is similar to the overall failure rate for newspapers, which saw around one-third of provincial titles fail within three years and just over 40% within ten years. The sample likewise offers excellent coverage across England. Proprietors range from Henry Richardson, owner of the *Berwick Advertiser* on the Scottish borders to John Mottley at the South-coast *Portsmouth Gazette*, from Thomas Flindell at the *Cornwall Gazette and Falmouth Packet* on the West coast to Richard Bacon at the East Anglian *Norwich Mercury*.

In terms of typical patterns of ownership, the sample encompasses the wide range of partnership formations that could be found in eighteenth-century newspaper offices. Some provincial newspapers were owned outright by a single owner but partnership was the dominant form of business organisation in the eighteenth century. Most newspaper partnerships consisted of fewer than five proprietors, but by the later eighteenth century groups of proprietors were reaching above ten owners and in the nineteenth, a form of new joint-stock company, consisting of up to 100 shareholders, began to appear.[3] While there is evidence that these various forms of partnership existed within the provincial newspaper trade, there is very little evidence detailing the division of shares or labour, thus there has been no attempt in the sample to discriminate between partners (for example, by 'weighting' them according to their share in a paper, or whether they were solo or partnered proprietors). In terms of structuring the checklist, the aim has been one of inclusion and of providing as full a sample as possible. In this way, the survey offers a cross-section of a variety of proprietors who owned newspapers over the period. Moreover, the survey rests on the presumption that all provincial proprietors regardless of partnership formation had the opportunity to influence the management and content of their newspaper. Indeed, in law, regardless of the size of their share, all proprietors were equally financially liable for the business.[4] However, in order to avoid domination of the sample by proprietors who owned small shares in a handful of newspapers, some intervention in the sample has proved necessary and additional inclusion criteria have been applied to proprietors in partnerships.

Where newspapers were owned in partnerships of two, three, or four proprietors, all proprietors have been included (although subject to the criteria

for inclusion of course). Where a provincial newspaper is known to have been owned by a group of five partners or more simultaneously, only the proprietor in charge of management of the paper has been included, as well as his or her successor if the two periods of involvement overlapped. This also applies to consortia-owned newspapers, a new development in the provincial press in the early nineteenth century, for whom only the presiding proprietor-editor or printer-manager has been included. The *Hull Rockingham*, for example, was established by a consortium of 70 in 1808 but only the Reverend George Lee, that title's proprietor-editor, has been included. All partners where known, however, have been noted under the included individual's entry. Although this method favours proprietors of small and medium partnerships, the incidence of these small businesses was far more frequent than that of large groups over the period under review. In practice, the use of minimum criteria for all proprietors' inclusion in the database largely eradicates the inclusion of the overwhelming majority of minor partners, particularly those in more ephemeral partnerships or in consortia. In these cases, their exclusion from the sample does not preclude qualitative discussion of them.

Abbreviations and explanations of data provided in Appendix B

All entries include surname, forename, title owned and approximate dates of ownership.

Information is inserted in the following order:

Surname, Forename (dates of birth and death; father and mother's names, father's occupation).

a.   Apprenticeship details, dates bound and freed; master's name, master's trade.

n.   Name of newspaper, or newspapers, owned (approximate dates of ownership; mode of acquisition (predecessor); reason for termination of ownership (successor).

All proprietors included in the database were in possession of their newspapers between 1760 and 1820, although the full dates of ownership, whether they began before 1760, or concluded after 1820, have been noted. Common types of acquisition were as co-founder, founder, inheritor, purchaser; common reasons for ending ownership were death and retirement (frequently due to ill health). Where reason for disposal is not known, 'unknown disposal' is noted.

p.   Partnership type; names of partners (dates of partnership with that partner). Partnership type is divided into 6 categories: 'solo' (proprietors who owned their newspapers outright for their entire period of ownership); 'solo>50' (proprietors who owned their newspapers outright for over half of their period of ownership); 'partnership' (engaged in partnership(s) for the entire period of ownership); 'partnership (u)' (engaged in partnership for unspecified period); 'group+5' (engaged in partnership with 5 or more

other partners); 'group+10' (engaged in partnerships with 10 or more partners); 'unknown' (no details of partners or whether a solo proprietor). Partners not appearing in separate entries within the sample are still noted here, with dates of partnership where known.

app. Apprentices indentured to the proprietor as a master, names of apprentices, dates bound and freed.

b. Bankruptcy dates.

ins. Insurance details: year of insurance, amount insured for.

pub. Publications other than newspapers, owned in whole or in part by the proprietor.

occ. Occupations and activities, other than the newspaper trade, in which the proprietor engaged. The aim of this section is to provide evidence of the range of activities in which a proprietor was involved, before, during and after ownership, rather than to assign him or her a definitive occupation. Indeed, with scant documentary evidence, it is impossible to uncover which activity or occupation constituted a proprietor's main business. Some activities, such as medicine selling or insurance agency, would have most likely been supplementary to a proprietor's primary occupation; other activities would have constituted their primary business, such as banking or circulating library ownership. Frequently, it is unclear which activities constituted a proprietor's main occupation. For some proprietors, printing or bookselling might have constituted their primary trade; for others, those trades might have represented additional income secondary to newspaper ownership, or even another occupation. Activities are therefore listed equally.

wd. Worth at death: financial and other major assets.

ref. References

Provisional checklist of provincial newspaper proprietors, 1760–1820

Abree, James (1691–1768) **a.** bd. 6 Aug 1705, fd. 6 Oct 1712; Ichabold Dawkes, London printer) **n.** *Kentish Post* (1717–1768; founder; retired (partner George Kirkby (*q.v.*) **p.** solo >50; initially printed *Kentish Post* for Thomas Reeve; W. Aylett (brief period, early years); George Kirkby (1768) **app.** William Friend, bd. 1723 **occ.** bookseller, printer, stationer **refs.** Koss, *Rise and Fall*, p. 38; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, no. 2421; Plomer *Dictionary*, pp. 1–2; Plomer, 'James Abree'; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 719.

Adams, Elizabeth (d. 1771; John Buckley, apothecary) **n.** *Chester Courant* (1741–71; inherited (husband Roger Adams, founder of *CC*); died (grandson John Monk (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; son John Adams (nd) **occ.** bookseller, medicine seller, printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Adams, Orion', *ODNB*; Stewart-Brown, 'Stationers, Booksellers, and Printers', pp. 116–17.

Adams, Orion (1716/17–1797; Roger and Elizabeth Adams (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor) **n.** *Orion Adams' Weekly Journal* [Manchester] (?1752); founder; title ceased); *Plymouth Gazette* (1759–60; founder; title ceased); *Birmingham and*

Wolverhampton Chronicle (1769–70; co-founder; title ceased) **p.** at *BWC*, Nicholas Boden (*q.v.*) and James Sketchley (*q.v.*) (1769–70); probably unknown others at *PG* **pub.** *The Humourist; Or, The Magazine of Magazines* (?1752) **occ.** itinerant printer (in Dublin, London, Oxford, Birmingham, Plymouth, Manchester) **refs.** Jenkins, 'Printing in Birmingham', pp. 103–4, 106–9, 309; Maxted, 'Adams, Orion', *ODNB*; Maxted, 'Biographical Dictionary (A)'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 2; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 795.

Agg, **John** (d. 1832/3) **n.** *Mercantile Gazette* [Bristol] (1806–08; purchased (Catherine Routh) (*q.v.*); merged); *Western Star and British Commercial Chronicle* (1807–08; founder; merged); merged *MG* and *WS* to form *Western Star and Mercantile Gazette* (1808–09; co-founder; title ceased) **p.** at *WS*, G. Saunders to March 1808; at *WSMG*, James Farnham Williams to 21 February 1809 **b.** 1809 **pub.** *Town Talk; Or, Living Manners* (est. 1811) **occ.** author **refs.** Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 175–7; Penny, *Examination*, p. 14; Watkins and Schoberl, *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 3; Will of John Agg, PCC PROB11/1810.

Amphlett, **James** (1775–1860) **n.** *Staffordshire Mercury* (1813–15; founder; sold); *Lichfield Mercury* (1815–21; founder; sold (John Woolrich); *Pottery Gazette* (1821–8?; founder; unknown disposal) **p.** unknown **pub.** shares in various London journals **occ.** editor, *Staffordshire Advertiser*, (1804–10); *The Rifleman* [London] (1811–12); *Birmingham Mercury* (1820–21); *Salopian Journal* (1845–53); author, printer **refs.** Amphlett, *Newspaper Press*, pp. 1–27, 33; BBTI; Pigot, *Directory of Staffordshire*; Rotherham and Steele, *History of Printing*, pp. 109–11; Watkins and Schoberl, *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 5.

Anderton, **Thomas n.** *Manchester Chronicle* (1762–3; founder; title ceased) **app.** Thomas Rylance, bd. 1763 **b.** 24 Mar 1764–16 Apr 1765 **p.** solo **occ.** bookseller, ?circulating library owner **ref.** Maxted, 'Checklist of Bankrupts'; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 6.

Archer, **William a.** bd. 7 Aug 1753, fd. 1 Nov 1763; John Bush, London stationer **n.** *Bath Chronicle* (1768–9; purchased (Cornelius Pope (*q.v.*); sold (William Cruttwell (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; William Cruttwell (*q.v.*) **occ.** manager, *Bath Chronicle* (?1766–8), printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, no. 1384; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, pp. 7–8; Russ, 'Bath Printers', pp. 469–70.

Aris, **Samuel jr** (Samuel Aris, printer) **a.** bd. 3 Apr 1739 (uncle Thomas Aris (*q.v.*) **n.** *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* (1760–75; inherited (uncle, Thomas Aris); died (nephew, Thomas Aris Pearson (*q.v.*); *Warwickshire Weekly Journal* (1769–73; co-founder; sold (Myles Swinney (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; Richard Pearson (1760–68), Ann Pearson, (1768–75) **app.** Noah Rollason (*q.v.*), bd. 1769 **occ.** printer **refs.** Jenkins, 'Printing in Birmingham', pp. 75–82; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'.

Aris, **Thomas** (d. 1761) **a.** bd. 1 Oct 1722, fd. 4 Nov 1729; possibly brother, Samuel Aris snr) **n.** *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* (1741–60; founder; retired (Richard Pearson (*q.v.*) and Samuel Aris (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **app.** Samuel Aris jr (*q.v.*), bd. 3 Apr 1739 **occ.** bookseller, printer, stationer **refs.** Jenkins, 'Printing in Birmingham', pp. 39–45; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, no. 135–42; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 8; Will of Thomas Aris, PCC PROB11/869.

Aston, Joseph (1762–1844; William Aston, gunsmith) **n.** *Exchange Herald* (1809–26; founder; paper ceased); *Rochdale Recorder* (1827–8; founder; paper ceased) **p.** solo **occ.** contributor, *Manchester Herald* in youth; printer *The Argus* (1803); editor and publisher, *Manchester Mail* (1805); author (playwright), picture-gallery owner, printer, print seller, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Henderson, 'Aston, Joseph', *ODNB*; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 817; Watkins and Schoberl, *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 9.

Attree, Harry Robinson n. *Brighton Herald* (1806–10; co-founder; retired (partner, William Fleet (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; Matthew Phillips (*q.v.*) (1806–8); William Fleet (1806–10) **occ.** author, linen and woollen draper **refs.** BBTI; UBD ii, 373.

Austin, Stephen (1744–1818) **a.** ?George Kearsley, *North Briton* **n.** *Hartford Mercury* (1772–5; founder; paper ceased) **p.** solo **pub.** shared number of copyrights with Weaver Bickerton, one of the proprietors of *Grub Street Journal* (est. 1730) **occ.** printer, schoolmaster, stationer **refs.** Moran, 'Stephen Austin', pp. 1–13; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, pp. 10, 24–5; UBD iii, 372.

Ayscough, George (1715–83; William and Ann Ayscough, newspaper proprietor/printer) **n.** *Ayscough's Nottingham Courant* (1732–62; inherited (mother, Ann Ayscough); sold (Samuel Creswell (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **occ.** printer; farm-owner on retirement (lost money in stock speculations, lived with son in London until death) **refs.** Clarke, *Early Nottingham Printers*, pp. 5–7; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 11.

Bacon, Henry Andrew n. *Sheffield Independent* (1819–29; co-founder; retired and sold (Robert Leader) **p.** group+5; cutler manufacturers, Thomas Asline Ward and Michael Ellison (1820–21); E. Rhodes, B. Sayle, M. Ellison, F. W. Everet, J. W. Gurney, W. Thorpe, T. A. Ward, 1821–4; bought out 5 of syndicate by 1823; Ellison and Ward (1823–9); solo by 1829 **occ.** printer **refs.** Happs, 'Sheffield Newspaper Press', pp. 115–16; Leader, *Seventy Years*, pp. 29–35.

Bacon, Richard (1745–1812) **n.** *Norwich Mercury* (1785–1804; ?purchased share; retired (son, Richard Mackenzie Bacon (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; William Chase III (*q.v.*) and W. Yarrington (son-in-law) (1785–94); son Richard Mackenzie Bacon (1794–1804) **app.** J. Hurry, bd. ?1782 **occ.** grocer by trade, later appraiser, auctioneer, bookseller, bookbinder, brandy merchant, medicine seller **refs.** *NW*, 13 May 1939, p. 5; Stedman, 'Norfolk Newspaper Press', pp. 83–91; Stoker, 'History of Norwich Book Trades', pp. 361–2.

Bacon, Richard Mackenzie (1776–1844; Richard Bacon (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor) **a.** ?father Richard Bacon **n.** *Norwich Mercury* (1794–1816; inherited (Richard Bacon); sold due to financial difficulties; repurchased share 1826–44; died (son, Richard Noverre Bacon) **p.** partnership >50; father, Richard Bacon (1794–1804); William Kinnebrook (?to 1816); ?son, Richard Noverre Bacon (nd) **pub.** founder, *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (lasted for 10 annual volumes) **occ.** printer, music critic, owner Taverham papermill (supplied *The Times*, although business failed) **refs.** *NW*, 13 May 1939, p. 5; Stedman, 'Norfolk Newspaper Press', pp. 86, 90, 92–101; Stoker, 'History of Norwich Book Trades', p. 362; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 866; Warrack, 'Bacon, Richard Mackenzie', *ODNB*; Will of Richard Mackenzie Bacon, PCC PROB11/2013.

Baines, Edward, snr (1774–1848; Richard Baines, grocer) **a.** bd. 1790 (Thomas Walker, Preston printer and stationer to 1795); fd. ?1797 (John Binns (*q.v.*)

and George Brown (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietors) **n**. *Leeds Mercury* (1801–37; purchased (widow of John Binns (*q.v.*); retired (son, Edward Baines jr) **p.** solo>50; financial backing from group of Leeds Whigs for purchase; son, Edward Baines jr (1827–37) **occ.** bookseller, medicine seller, printer, publisher, stationer **refs.** Baines, *Life*; BBTI; Belchem, 'Baines, Thomas', *ODNB*; Crosby, 'Baines, Edward', *ODNB*; Lowerson, 'Baines, Sir Edward', *ODNB*; *NW*, 27 May 1939.

Barker, C. n. *Chester Chronicle* (1775–?83; co-founder; unknown disposal (partner John Poole (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership (u); John Poole (1775–?83) **occ.** bookseller, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Hughes, *Chronicle of Chester*, pp. 3–10.

Bartholoman, Alexander (1762–1811) **n.** *York Herald* (1799–1811; purchased (Joseph Mawson (*q.v.*); died (widow Mary, sold to John Spence and Thomas Deighton) **p.** solo **occ.** printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Looney, 'Advertising and Society', p. 33; Sessions, *Printing in York*, p. 947; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 843.

Bell, William (1758/9–1824) **a.** Thomas Robson, Newcastle printer **n.** *Hull Advertiser* (1794–5; co-founder; unknown disposal (partner, William Rawson (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; William Rawson **occ.** auctioneer, broker, circulating library owner commercial agent, Exchange coffeehouse and sales rooms owner **refs.** Chilton, *Early Hull Printers*, p. 47; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; UBD iii, 343.

Berrow, Elizabeth (1750–?; Harvey Berrow snr (*q.v.*) (newspaper proprietor) **n.** *Worcester Journal* (1777–9; inherited (Harvey Berrow jr (*q.v.*); relinquished on marriage (husband John Tymbs (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **ins.** 1778, £400 **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** BBTI; Cooper, 'Berrow, Harvey', *ODNB*; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'.

Berrow, Harvey snr (1719–76; Capel Berrow (clergyman) **a.** bd. 3 Jul 1733, fd. 2 Sep 1740; Edward Say, London **n.** *Worcester Journal* (1748–76; inherited (Stephen Bryan); died (son, Harvey Berrow jr (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **app.** John Butler, bd. 1750; William Smith, bd. 1758 **occ.** bookseller, lottery agent, map seller, medicine seller, music seller, printer, publisher, stationer **wd.** annuities of £15 p.a.; 1 farm **ref.** BBTI; Cooper, 'Berrow, Harvey', *ODNB*; Grosart, 'Berrow, Capel', *ODNB*; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Plomer, *Dictionary*, p. 56; Plomer et al. *Dictionary*, p. 23.

Berrow, Harvey (1749–77; Harvey Berrow snr (*q.v.*) (newspaper proprietor) **a.** bd. 1763; William Jackson, Oxford, printer (*q.v.*) **n.** *Worcester Journal* (1776–7; inherited (father Harvey Berrow snr); died (sister Elizabeth Berrow (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** BBTI; Cooper, 'Berrow, Harvey', *ODNB*; Grosart, 'Berrow, Capel', *ODNB*; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'.

Berry, C. H. **n.** *Huntingdon Gazette* (1813–14; co-founder; unknown disposal (partners Weston Hatfield (*q.v.*) and George Ecton Jones (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; Elizabeth Carter; Weston Hatfield; George Ecton Jones **refs.** BBTI.

Billinge, Thomas (1741–1816) **n.** *Liverpool Advertiser* (1785–1816; purchased share; died, sold by executors (Thomas Baines) **p.** solo>50; Alice Williamson (1785–9) **app.** Thomas Wheatcroft, bd. 1770 **occ.** bookseller, engraver, lottery agent, medicine seller, printer, print seller, publisher, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Clare, 'Growth and Importance', pp. 106, 136; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 863; UBD iii, 684.

Binns, John n. *Leeds Mercury* (1794–1801; purchased (?James Bowling (*q.v.*); died, sold by executors (Edward Baines(*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; George Brown (1794–1801) **app.** Christian Brogdon, bd. 1774 **occ.** bookseller, circulating library owner, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Clare, 'Growth and Importance', p. 220; Crosby, 'Baines, Edward', *ODNB*; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; UBD iii, 537.

Birch, Samuel n. *Manchester Herald* (1792–3; co-founder; paper ceased, prosecuted **p.** group+10 with Matthew Falkner for Manchester Constitutional Society, led by Thomas Walker and Thomas Cooper **refs.** BBTI; Handforth, 'Manchester Radical Politics', p. 101; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 775.

Blagden, Thomas (*d.* 1794) **n.** *Constitutional Chronicle* (1780–82; co-founder; paper ceased) **p.** partnership; John Hill **ins.** 1784, £500 **refs.** Penny, *Examination*; Edwards, *Early Newspaper Press*, p. 7; Edwards 'Early Hampshire Printers', p. 115; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; UBD ii, 135; Will of Thomas Blagden, PCC PROB 11/1246.

Blake, John (*d.* 1814) **a.** bd. ?1765; W. Mercer **n.** *Maidstone Journal* (1786–1814; founder; died, sold by executors (J. Hall) **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, circulating library owner, lottery agent, medicine seller, musical instrument seller, music seller, perfumer, printer, publisher, stationer, wine merchant, stamp agent **refs.** BBTI; Knott, 'Competition', pp. 17, 20; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 853.

Blanchard, William a. bd. 1769, Samuel Rudder, Cirencester bookseller **n.** *York Chronicle* (1777–1836; purchased (Christopher Etherington (*q.v.*); died (incorporated into *Yorkshire Gazette*) **p.** partnership; ?Edward Woolley and John Hampston **ins.** 1782, £500 **occ.** printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Davies, *Memoir*, p. 334; Kent, 'Blanchard, William', *ODNB*; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; Sessions, *Printing in York*, p. 945.

Boden, Nicholas n. *Birmingham and Wolverhampton Chronicle* (1769–70; co-founder; paper ceased) **p.** partnership; Orion Adams (*q.v.*) and James Sketchley (*q.v.*) **b.** Jun 1774 **occ.** printer **refs.** Jenkins, 'Printing in Birmingham', pp. 105–10; Maxted, 'Checklist of Bankrupts'.

Boden, Thomas [also Bowden] (1768–1836; Edward Boden) **n.** *Manchester Gazette* (1795–8; co-founder; bankrupt (William Cowdroy (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; William Cowdroy **b.** 24 Jun 1800, cert. 12 Sep 1801 **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, circulating library owner, newsagent, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Clare, 'Growth and Importance', p. 85–6; Horner, 'Cowdroy, William', *ODNB*; Maxted, 'Checklist of Bankrupts'; Stewart-Brown, 'Stationers, Booksellers, and Printers', p. 119; UBD iii, 596.

Bonner, Samuel (1733–1813) **n.** *Bonner and Middleton's Bristol Journal* (1774–1802; co-founder; retired and sold (John Fenley (*q.v.*) and William Baylis) **p.** solo>50; Richard Middleton (*q.v.*) (1774–83) **occ.** previously employed at *Bristol Journal*; bookseller, printer **refs.** *Early Bristol Newspapers*, pp. 29–30; BBTI; Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 75–7, 101–4; Penny, *Examination*, pp. 8, 14; UBD ii, 138.

Bowling, James (1737/8–1794) **n.** *Leeds Mercury* (1767–94; purchased; retired and sold (John Binns (*q.v.*) and George Brown (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **occ.** printer **refs.** Clare, 'Growth and Importance', p. 220; Looney, 'Advertising and Society', p. 31; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 850; UBD iii, 537.

Brice, Andrew (1692–1773; Andrew Brice (shoemaker) **a.** Joseph Bliss **n.** *The Postmaster; Or, the Loyal Mercury* [Exeter] (1717–25; founder; title ceased); *Brice's Exeter Journal* (1725–72; founder; retired (partner Barnabas Thorn (*q.v.*) **p.** solo at *P*; at *BEJ*, ?daughter, Sarah Brice (1743–6); Barnabas Thorn (1769–72) **app.** Robert Trewman (*q.v.*), bd. 1758; Thomas Williams, bd. 1767 **occ.** printer (initially enlisted as a soldier) **refs.** Plomer *Dictionary*, 48–9; BBTI; Brushfield, 'Andrew Brice'; Dredge, 'Devon Booksellers' [supplement], p. 123; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices', Maxted, 'Biographical Dictionary' (B); Maxted, 'Brice, Andrew', *ODNB*.

Brice, Thomas jr (1749–1803, Thomas Brice (printer) **n.** *Brice's Exeter Journal* (1789–91; purchased share; sold (R. Trewman (*q.v.*) and E. Grigg) **p.** partnership (u); ?Chorlock, Hine and Bodley **occ.** printer **refs.** BBTI; Brushfield, 'Andrew Brice', pp. 200–202; Maxted, 'Biographical Dictionary' (B); UBD iii, 18.

Bristow, William (1760/1–1808) **a.** bd. 1776, fd. 1783; Thomas Smith, Canterbury stationer **n.** *Kentish Chronicle* (1788–1808; unknown acquisition; died (bequeathed to apprentices, Mawer Cowtan (*q.v.*) and Robert Colegate (*q.v.*) and ?Saffery) **p.** solo>50 **app.** Mawer Cowtan, ?Saffery, nephew Robert Colegate **occ.** bookseller, circulating library owner, insurance agent, lottery agent, map seller, medicine seller, printer, publisher, stamp office agent, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; UBD ii, 502, 507; Will of William Bristow, PCC PROB11/1485.

Brodie, William Bird (1780–1863; Peter Bellinger Brodie (vicar) **n.** *Salisbury Journal* (1808–48; inherited (uncle, Benjamin Collins (*q.v.*); bankrupt (James Bennett) **p.** partnership; John Dowding and John Luxford **occ.** banker, bookseller **b.** 1847 due to bank's debts **wd.** under 18,000 (probate) **refs.** BBTI; Brock, 'Brodie, Sir Benjamin Collins', *ODNB*; Ferdinand, 'Collins, Benjamin', *ODNB*; Richardson, 'Wiltshire Newspapers III', pp. 64–6; Tucker, *Catalogue*, p. 16.

Brookfield, John n. *Sheffield Public Advertiser* (then *Sheffield Courant*) (1793–7; co-founder; ceased) **p.** partnership; John Northall **occ.** attorney, government agent **refs.** Happs, 'Sheffield Newspaper Press', pp. 41, 80.

Brown, Andrew (1769–1847; A. Brown (Army Major, Philadelphia) **n.** *Bristol Mirror* (1808–26; purchased (William Sheppard (*q.v.*); retired (partner John Taylor) **p.** partnership>50; John Taylor (1809–26) **refs.** Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', 196–7; Penny, *Examination*, p. 14.

Brown, George n. *Leeds Mercury* (1794–1801; purchased (James Bowling (*q.v.*); sold (Edward Baines (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; John Binns (*q.v.*) (1794–1801) **app.** Edward Baines **occ.** bookbinder **refs.** BBTI; Clare, 'Growth and Importance', p. 220; UBD iii, 537.

Brown, Matthew (1757/8–1803) **a.** bd. 1771; Thomas Slack (*q.v.*), Newcastle printer/newspaper proprietor **n.** *Newcastle Advertiser* (1788–1803; founder; died (widow, who sold to John Thompson and Charles Hutchinson) **p.** solo **pub.** owner, *Newcastle Magazine, or, Monthly Journal* (1785–6) **wd.** £5; annuities of £10 p.a. **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** Welford, 'Early Newcastle Typography', pp. 48–9; Will of Matthew Brown, PCC, PROB 11/1398.

Bucknell, Joseph n. *Hampshire Chronicle* (1795–8; purchased (John Wilkes (*q.v.*); sold (B. Long) **occ.** printer **refs.** Edwards, *Early Newspaper Press*, p. 7.

Bulgin, William (1757/8–1831; John Bulgin (clothier) **a.** bd. 1773; Thomas Mills, Bath bookseller **n.** Bristol Mercury (1790–1808; co-founder; retired and sold (John Evans (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; Robert Rosser (*q.v.*)(1790–1800); William Sheppard (*q.v.*) (to August 1799); James Kemp (1805–08) **b.** 1804 **ins.** 1786/7, £300 **occ.** bookseller, lottery agent, reading room owner, printer **refs.** *Early Bristol Newspapers*, p. 31; Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 72, 106–111, 302; Maxted, 'Checklist of Bankrupts'; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; Penny, *Examination*, pp. 10, 14, 16; UBD ii, 136.

Burbage, George (1727–1807) **n.** *Burbage's Nottingham Chronicle* (1772–5; founder; merged); merged with *Creswell's Nottingham Journal* to form *Creswell and Burbage's Nottingham Journal* (1775–1807; co-founder; died (son-in-law and former apprentice George Stretton (*q.v.*) **p.** at *CBNJ*, Samuel Creswell (*q.v.*)(1775–81); son Joseph Burbage (1781–6; Joseph died); George Stretton (1793–1807) **app.** Ralph Brack, bd. 1760; George Stretton, bd. 1772; George Cheselden Ward, bd. 1773; Thomas Fosbrook, bd. 1775; Samuel Earnshaw, bd. 1776; Thomas Ealand **occ.** auctioneer, bookbinder, bookseller, papermaker (owned paper mill), printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Clarke, *Early Nottingham Printers*, pp. 17–23; Creswell, *Collections*, p. 36; Fraser, 'Nottingham Press', pp. 46–7; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 39; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 728.

Carnan, John (*d.* 1785; William Carnan (printer/newspaper proprietor) **a.** bd. 2 Dec 1746, fd. 20 Dec 1753; William Faden, Fleet Street **n.** *Reading Mercury* (1739–85; inherited (father, William Carnan); died (nieces Marianne and Elizabeth Smart (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; John Newbery (1739–?); and Charles Micklewright (1741–55). Described as 'C. Micklewright and Co.' after Newbery moved to London in 1745 (although he kept an interest in the paper); Mary Micklewright (1755–6); Charles Pocock (1756–61); Anna Maria Smart (1762–7) **app.** Thomas Adam, bd. 1 Jul 1760; John Carnan (son), fd. 4 Feb 1772; Joseph Cave, bd. 4 Feb 1772, fd. 3 Apr 1781; William Henry Cave, bd. 7 May 1771; Richard Cooper, bd. 3 Feb 1761; Thomas Cowslade (*q.v.*), bd. 7 Aug 1770, fd. 3 Apr 1781; Richard Cruttwell, bd. 7 Apr 1761, fd. 4 Oct 1774; Joseph Paine, bd. 7 Apr 1767; Thomas Thomas, bd. 3 Apr 1781; Samuel Waugh, bd. 4 Feb 1777 **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** Burton, *Early Newspaper Press*, pp. 103–11; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, no. 2785.

Carter, Elizabeth *Huntingdon Gazette* (1813–14; co-founder; unknown disposal (partners Weston Hatfield (*q.v.*) and George Ecton Jones (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; C. H. Berry (*q.v.*); Weston Hatfield; George Ecton Jones **refs.** Murphy, *Cambridge Newspapers*, p. 61.

Chalk, Thomas *Chelmsford Chronicle* (1795–?1839; ?purchased share; unknown disposal) **p.** William Clachar (*q.v.*) (1795–?1813); and William Meggy snr (*q.v.*) (1795–1832); William Meggy jr and another Chalk by 1839 **occ.** circulating library owner, insurance agent, printer, victualler **refs.** BBTI; UBD ii, 515.

Chase, William snr (1728–1781; William Chase (newspaper proprietor/printer) **n.** *Norwich Mercury* (1750–81; inherited (mother); died (son, William Chase jr (*q.v.*); daughter Catherine Matchett (*q.v.*); son-in-law, Thomas Holl (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **app.** Edward Crispe, bd. 1743 (£10); John Cruse (*q.v.*), bd. 1752 (£40); William Sadler bd. 1758 (£2); Jeremiah Singleton, bd. 1768; Thomas Lemon, bd. 19 Jul

1775 **occ.** auctioneer, bookseller, medicine seller, printer, publisher, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; *NW*, 13 May 1939, p. 5; Plomer, *Dictionary*, p. 68; Stedman, 'Norfolk Newspaper Press', pp. 70–71; Stoker, 'History of Norwich Book Trades', pp. 380–1; Stoker, 'Chase, William', *ODNB*.

Chase, William jr (William Chase snr (*q.v.*) **n.** *Norwich Mercury* (1781–8; inherited (father, William Chase snr); sold (partner, Richard Bacon (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; sister, Catherine Matchett (1781); W. Yarrington and R. Bacon, 1785–6. Left business 1786 but name continued on the newspaper until 1788 **occ.** bookseller, printer, publisher **refs.** *NW*, 13 May 1939, p. 5; Stedman, 'Norfolk Newspaper Press', pp. 71, 83–4; Stoker, 'History of Norwich Book Trades', p. 381; Stoker, 'Chase, William', *ODNB*.

Clachar, William (1732/3–1813) **n.** *Chelmsford Chronicle* (1773–1802; purchased share; sold (partners William Meggy (*q.v.*) and Thomas Chalk(*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; Charles Frost (1773); Charles Frost, Samuel Gray and Elizabeth Griffiths (1777–84); Samuel Gray (1785); C. Meggy and Chalk (1795–6); from 1799, imprint reads 'Meggy and Chalk' to 1813 **app.** Paul Edie, bd. 9 Jan 1775 **ins.** 1775/7, £500; 1777/8, £1,000; 1778/9, £400; 1780, £1,500; 1785, £800 and £1,000 **occ.** auctioneer, bookseller, bookbinder, circulating library owner, insurance agent, medicine seller, printer, publisher, stamp office agent, stationer **refs.** Barker, *Newspapers, Politics, and Public Opinion*, pp. 100–5; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 52; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 850; UBD ii, 515.

Clarke, George Rix (1771–1839) **n.** *Suffolk Chronicle* (1801–02; founder; paper ceased) **p.** solo **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, circulating library owner, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI.

Cocking, Thomas (*d.* 1787) **n.** *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* (1779–87; inherited (employer Elizabeth Farley (*q.v.*); died (partner, John Rudhall (*q.v.*) **p.** solo>50; John Rudhall (1785–87) **occ.** printer **refs.** Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 87–8; Penny, *Examination*, p. 7.

Colegate, Robert a. uncle William Bristow (*q.v.*) **n.** *Kentish Chronicle* (1809–?1855; inherited (William Bristow); retired) **p.** partnership (u); Mawer Cowtan, 1809–22; Saffery? (apprentices with Colegate). Business had been divided into one-fifth shares: no documentation as to other proprietors **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, circulating library owner, medicine seller, printer, publisher, stationer **refs.** BBTI.

Collins, Benjamin (1715–85; William Collins, tallow chandler) **a.** ?elder brother, William Collins **n.** *Salisbury Journal* (1729–75; co-founder; retired (son Benjamin Charles Collins (*q.v.*); *Hampshire Chronicle* (1778–83; purchased controlling share) *London Chronicle; or Universal Evening Post* (est. 1757; shareholder); *Publick Ledger* [London] (est. 1760; shareholder) **p.** at *SJ*; partnership; multiple partners with small shares, at *HC*, son Benjamin Charles Collins (*q.v.*); John Johnson; John Breadhower; John Wilkes **app.** Richard Baldwin, bd. 16 Sep 1741; Richard Holland, bd. 2 Oct 1742; Edward Stevens, bd. 20 Jan 1747; Caleb Preston, bd. 10 Mar 1753; George Sealey bd. 1755; Thomas Goodfellow, bd. 1766; Richard Wilkes, bd. 1766; James Robbins, bd. 24 Oct 1775; son, Benjamin Charles Collins, bd. 31 Oct 1775 **pub.** *The Rambler* (1/16 share); *Gentleman's Magazine* (1/12 share); *Monthly Review* (1/4 share) **occ.** banker, bookseller, printer **refs.** Brock, 'Brodie,

Sir Benjamin Collins', *ODNB*; BBTI; Ferdinand, *Benjamin* Collins; Ferdinand, 'Collins, Benjamin', *ODNB*; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 56–7; Richardson, 'Wiltshire Newspapers III', pp. 53–61; Richardson, 'Wiltshire Newspapers III, Continued', pp. 341–5; Wiles, 'Earliest Hampshire Newspaper'.

Collins, Benjamin Charles (1758–1808; Benjamin Collins (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor/printer/banker) **n.** *Salisbury Journal* (1775–1808; family business; died (nephew William Bird Brodie (*q.v.*); *Hampshire Chronicle* (1778–83; family business; sold **p.** solo at *SJ*; at t *HC*, father Benjamin Collins; John Johnson; John Breadhower; John Wilkes **ins.** 1785/7, £600 **occ.** banker, bookseller, printer, stationer **refs.** Brock, 'Brodie, Sir Benjamin Collins', *ODNB*; Ferdinand, 'Collins, Benjamin', *ODNB*; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; Richardson 'Wiltshire Newspapers III', pp. 61–4.

Combe, Thomas n. *Leicester Chronicle* (1792–3; founder; paper ceased) **p.** solo **occ.** bookseller, circulating library owner **refs.** Fraser, 'Press in Leicester', p. 59; England, *Magnificent Mercury*, pp. 8–9; Hughes, 'Combe, Thomas', *ODNB*.

Congdon, Lazarus (*d.* 1835) **n.** *Plymouth and Dock Telegraph* (1808–12; founder; died **p.** solo>50; mother Mrs Congdon (*q.v.*) **app.** William Elliott (later proprietor of *Torquay Chronicle*) **occ.** printer, *Devonport Telegraph and Plymouth Chronicle* (c. 1830), circulating library owner, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Biography of Printers (C)'.

Congdon, Mrs (1714–1810) *Plymouth and Dock Telegraph* (1810; ?granted share from son; died) **p.** partnership **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Biography of Printers (C)'.

Cowdroy, 'Citizen' Howarth (1795–1828, William Cowdroy snr (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor) **a.** ?father, William Cowdroy **n.** *Manchester Courier* (1817–?28; founder; died) **p.** partnership (u) Mr Rathbone **occ.** printer **refs.** BBTI; Horner, 'Cowdroy, William', *ODNB*; Stewart-Brown, 'Stationers, Booksellers, and Printers', p. 126; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 854.

Cowdroy, William snr (1752–1814) **a.** bd. 1764, fd. 24 Jul 1777; John Monk snr (*q.v.*) **n.** *Cowdroy's Manchester Gazette* (1795–1814; co-founder; died (son, William Cowdroy jr (*q.v.*) **p.** solo>50; Thomas Boden (*q.v.*) (1794–5) **occ.** compositor then editor, *Chester Courant* (1777–85), editor, *Chester Chronicle* (1784–95), author (playwright), bookseller, printer, publisher **wd.** under £600 (probate) **refs.** BBTI; Horner, 'Cowdroy, William', *ODNB*; Hughes, *Chronicle of Chester*, pp. 19, 67–79; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Nuttall, 'History of Printing', pp. 28–9; Stewart-Brown, 'Stationers, Booksellers, and Printers', pp. 124–6; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 854.

Cowdroy, William jr (1775–1822; William Cowdroy snr (*q.v.*) (newspaper proprietor) **a.** ?William Cowdroy snr **n.** *Cowdroy's Manchester Gazette* (1814–22; inherited (William Cowdroy snr); died (widow sold to Archibald Prentice and Manchester Reformers) **p.** partnership>50; mother, Sarah (1814–?21) **occ.** printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Horner, 'Cowdroy, William', *ODNB*; Stewart-Brown, Stationers, Booksellers, and Printers', p. 126; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 854.

Cowslade, Marianne (1753–1840; Christopher Smart (poet) **n.** *Reading Mercury* (1785–1830; inherited share (uncle, John Carnan (*q.v.*); died (son, Francis

Cowslade) **p.** partnership; husband, Thomas Cowslade (*q.v.*), sister, Elizabeth and mother, Anna Maria Smart (*q.v.*) (1785–1809); son, Francis (1809–30) **occ.** bookseller, medicine seller, stationer **refs.** Burton, *Early Newspaper Press*, pp. 108–13.

Cowslade, Thomas (*d.* 1806) **a.** bd. 1770; John Carnan (*q.v.*)(£50) **n.** *Reading Mercury* (1785–1806; marriage (to Marianne (nee Smart) (*q.v.*); died (widow Marianne and son, Francis) **p.** partnership; wife Marianne Cowslade (*q.v.*) and mother-in-law Anna Maria Smart (1785–1806) **app.** George Baylis, bd. 1 Sep 1789; son, Francis Peter Cowslade, bd. 5 Aug 1800; Thomas Lander, bd. 2 Oct 1787, fd. 3 Nov 1818 **ins.** 1785, £200 **occ.** insurance agent, printer, Postmaster (Reading, 1801–6) **refs.** BBTI; Burton, *Early Newspaper Press*, pp. 111–12; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, nos. 1478, 2124–6.

Cowtan, Mawer (1782–1847) **a.** 1795–1803; William Bristow (*q.v.*) **n.** *Kentish Chronicle* (1805–22; purchased share (master William Bristow); ?sold share (partner, Robert Colegate (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; William Bristow (*q.v.*) (1805–08); Robert Colegate (1809–22); ?Saffery (business had been divided into one-fifth shares: no documentation as to other proprietors) **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, circulating library owner, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI.

Cox, Henry (*d.* 1828) **n.** *Nottinghamshire Gazette* (1780–81; founder; paper ceased) **p.** solo **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, printer, stationer **refs.** Clarke, *Early Nottingham Printers*, pp. 24–5, 50.

Craighton, Elizabeth (1704–96) **n.** *Ipswich Journal* (1761–79; inherited (brother, William Craighton (*q.v.*); retired (partners John Shave (*q.v.*) and Stephen Jackson (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; William Jackson (1761–77); John Shave and Stephen Jackson (1777–9) **occ.** bookseller, publisher **refs.** *History of the Ipswich Journal*, pp. 2–4; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, pp. 64–5; Will of Elizabeth Craighton, PCC, PROB 11/1272.

Craighton, William (*d.* 1761) **n.** *Ipswich Journal* (1739–61; founder; died (sister Elizabeth Craighton; nephew William Jackson (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **app.** John Shave (*q.v.*); John Adee, bd. 1741; William Lovechild, bd. 1743 **wd.** £520 **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** *History of the Ipswich Journal*, pp. 2–3; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Oldham, 'Ipswich Master-Stationer's Tiff'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 65; Sterenberg, 'Spread of Printing', pp. 35–6; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 706.

Creswell, Samuel (1726–86; Samuel Creswell (baker) **a.** ?John Murray, Nottingham, stationer **n.** *Leicester Journal* (1755–6; ?purchased share (John Gregory snr (*q.v.*); ?sold share John Gregory snr); *Creswell's Nottingham Journal* (1756–75; purchased (George Ayscough (*q.v.*); merged with *Burbage's Nottingham Chronicle* to form *Creswell and Burbage's Nottingham Journal* (1775–81; co-founder; sold (partner George Burbage (*q.v.*) **p.** at *LJ*, John Gregory (1755–62); at *CBNJ*, George Burbage (1775–81) **app.** 1760, James Tomelinson; John Worley, bd. 1766; Thomas White, bd. 1769; Thomas Seddon, bd. 1769; George Stafford, bd. 1771; Charles Heath, bd. 1776 **occ.** auctioneer, bookbinder, bookseller, publisher, stationer **refs.** Clarke, *Early Nottingham Printers,* pp. 8, 9, 10–20; Creswell, *Collections*, p. 36; Fraser, 'Nottingham Press', p. 46–7; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 66.

Crouse, John (1737/8–1796; William Henry Crouse (shareholder, Norwich theatre/comedian) **a.** bd. 1752, William Chase snr (*q.v.*) **n.** *Norwich Gazette* (1761–?; founder); *Norfolk Chronicle* (1769–96; founder; died (partners William Stevenson (*q.v.*) and son-in-law Jonathon Matchett (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; William Stevenson (1785–96), Jonathon Matchett (1794–6) **app.** Thomas Booth; William Baker; step-son, Jonathon Matchett, fd. 3 May 1795 **ins.** 1785, £500 **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, contractor for Norwich to London mail coach, printer; publisher **wd.** £3,550; 3 properties **refs.** BBTI; Blatchly, 'Stevenson, Seth William', *ODNB*; Hasted, 'Crouse, John', *ODNB*; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, pp. 67; 115; Stedman, 'Norfolk Newspaper Press', pp. 114–48; Stoker, 'History of Norwich Book Trades', pp. 391–2; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 792; Will of John Crouse, PCC, PROB 11/1292.

Cruttwell, Clement (1743–1808; William Cruttwell snr, barber/perukemaker) **n.** *Berkshire Chronicle* (1770–79; founder; paper ceased) **p.** partnership (u); with 'Trickey, Wheatley and Company' **occ.** apothecary, surgeon and man-midwife from 1767; ordained 1783 (matriculated St Mary Hall, Oxford, 1780); author of the 6 volume *Tours Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* **refs.** BBTI; Burton, *Early Newspaper Press*, p. 122–5; Carter, 'Cruttwell, Clement, *ODNB*; Cruttwell, *Tours*; Tatham, 'Cruttwell, William', *ODNB*.

Cruttwell, James (1771/2–1818; William Cruttwell jr (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor) **n.** *Sherborne Journal* (1804–18; inherited (father William Cruttwell (*q.v.*); died) **p.** unknown **occ.** circulating library owner **refs.** Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 869.

Cruttwell, Richard (1747–99; William Cruttwell snr, barber/perukemaker) **a.** bd. 7 Apr 1761; John Carnan, London (*q.v.*) **n.** *Bath Chronicle* (1768–99; purchased (William Archer (*q.v.*); died (son Richard Shuttleworth Cruttwell) **p.** solo>50; William Archer (1768–9); Samuel Hazard (1788–99) **app.** John Baker, bd. 7 Apr 1778; William Castle, bd. 1 Jul 1777; son, Richard Shuttleworth Cruttwell, bd. 4 May 1790, fd. 2 Jul 1799; William Samson, bd. 2 May 1775; John Wilton, bd. 1 Apr 1783 **pub.** *Bath and Bristol Magazine* **occ.** bookseller, publisher, printer **refs.** Burton, *Early Newspaper Press*, p. 125; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, nos. 1479, 2235–9; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 69; Russ, 'Bath Printers', p. 470; Will of Richard Cruttwell, PCC PROB 11/1979.

Cruttwell, William jr (1741–1804; William Cruttwell snr (barber/perukemaker) **a.** bd. 5 Oct 1756; Samuel Idle, transferred 4 Oct 1763 to James Harrison, London **n.** *Sherborne Journal* (1764–1804); founder; died (son, James Cruttwell) **p.** solo **app.** Charles Chislett, bd. 1 Dec 1778; William Spooner, bd. 5 May 1795; George Smout, bd. 1 May 1777 **b.** Oct 1778 **ins.** 1784/5, £1,200 **occ.** printer, stationer **refs.** Carter, 'Cruttwell, Clement, *ODNB*; Maxted, 'Checklist of Bankrupts'; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, nos. 2240–41; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 69; Tatham, 'Cruttwell, William', *ODNB*.

Cutbush, Richard James (1791–1852) *Maidstone Gazette* (1815–47?; co-founder; retired) **p.** solo>50; Thomas Wickham (1814–16); 'Cutbush and Son' (1839–43); 'Cutbush, Son and Whiting' (1845–7) **occ.** insurance agent, printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; *Maidstone Poll Book*, p. 27.

Deck, Philip [also Deek] *Bury Post* (1782–4; co-founder; unknown disposal (partner Peter Gedge (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership Peter Gedge and William Green (*q.v.*) (1782–4) **occ.** bookseller, circulating library owner, publisher, postmaster, stationer **refs.** BBTI; UBD ii, 454.

Dicey, Cluer (1714/15–1775; William Dicey (*q.v.*) (printer/bookseller/newspaper proprietor) **a.** father, William Dicey **n.** *Northampton Mercury* (1736–75; inherited (father, William Dicey; died (son Thomas Dicey (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; father William Dicey (1736–53); William Dicey and Richard Marshall from 1753; Thomas Dicey (1758–75) **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** Clayton, 'Dicey family', *ODNB*; Jackson, 'Print in Provincial England', pp. 35–6, 53–68, 78–81; *NW*, 3 June 1939, p. 5; Schofield, *Men that Carry the News*, p. 73; Will of Cluer Dicey, PCC PROB 11/1012.

Dicey, Thomas (1742–1807) **n.** *Northampton Mercury* (1758–98; family; unknown disposal) **p.** partnership Father, Cluer Dicey, 1775; T. Dicey and Co., 1780–93; others? **ins.** 1779, £2,000 **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** BBTI; Clayton, 'Dicey family', *ODNB*; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; Will of Thomas Dicey, PCC PROB 11/1477.

Donaldson, William *Portsmouth Gazette* (1793–1802; founder; paper ceased) **p.** solo **occ.** ?involved with the *Portsmouth Telegraph*; bookseller, printer, stamp office agent, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Edwards, 'Early Hampshire Printers', p. 116.

Drakard, John (1715–1854; Henry and Ann Drakard) **n.** *Stamford News* (1809–34; founder; retired); *Stamford Champion* (1830–34) **p.** solo **refs.** bookseller, circulating library owner, printer **refs.** Barker, 'Drakard, John', *ODNB*; BBTI; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 843; Watkins and Schoberl, *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 98.

Drewry, John snr (1738/9–1794) *Derby Mercury* (1769–94; inherited (uncle, Samuel Drewry (*q.v.*); died (nephew, John Drewry jr (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **app.** William Ward; Joshua Drewry (*q.v.*) **ins.** 1784/5, £1,000 **occ.** bookseller, medicine seller, printer **refs.** Amphlett, *Newspaper Press*, p. 37; Andrew, 'Derbyshire Newspaper Press', pp. 216–220, 340–2; BBTI; Johnson, 'Joshua Drewry', p. 189; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; Taylor, 'Derbyshire Printers', pp. 46–51; UBD ii, 885.

Drewry, John jr (1766/7–1840) **a.** ? uncle John Drewry (uncle)(*q.v.*) **n.** *Derby Mercury* (1794–?1835; inherited (uncle, John Drewry snr); sold (Thomas Burroughs) **p.** solo>50; 'Drewry and Son' (1818–35) **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, printer, publisher, stationer **refs.** Andrew, 'Derbyshire Newspaper Press', pp. 221–32, 340–2; BBTI; Glover, *History and Gazetteer*, p. 609; Johnson, 'Joshua Drewry', p. 189; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Taylor, p. 51.

Drewry, Joshua (1773–1841; Joshua Drewry (printer, Lincoln) **a.** uncle, John Drewry (*q.v.*) **n.** *Staffordshire Advertiser* (1795–1819; founder; unknown disposal (Collins and Keene, then Drewry's cousin-in-law Charles Chester) **p.** solo **pub.** *The Register* (c. 1827–8), *The Bookworm* (1820), **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, circulating library owner (est. after 1795), insurance agent, printer stationer **refs.** Amphlett, *Newspaper Press*, pp. 21, 37; BBTI; Johnson, 'Joshua Drewry'; Rotherham and Steele, *History of Printing*, pp. 109–11; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 842.

Drewry, Samuel (*d.* 1769) **n.** *Derby Mercury* (1732–1769; founder; died (nephew John Drewry snr (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **app.** John Bilby, bd. 1744; Christopher Peat, bd.

1767 **refs.** Andrew, 'Derbyshire Newspaper Press', pp. 212–15, 340–2; BBTI; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Taylor, 'Derbyshire Printers', 44–6.

Eaton, Richard n. *Nottingham Gazette* (1813–14; founder; bankrupt, sold (paper's printer, Walter Tupman (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **refs.** Fraser, 'Nottingham Press', pp. 48–9, 63–4.

Eddowes, Joshua (1724–1811; Ralph Eddowes, grocer) **n.** *Salopian Journal* (1794–1810; co-founder; retired (son, William Eddowes (*q.v.*) **p.** group+10; with son, William Eddowes (1794–1810), printers for consortium of 11: Captain John Scott, Joseph Loxdale, John Flint, Thomas Lloyd, John Probert, William Coupland, Robert Pemberton, Isaac Wood and Rev'd Edward Blakeway **app.** George Crump, bd. 15 Aug 1765; son, William Eddowes jr, bd. 30 May 1777 (*q.v.*) **ins.** 1779/81, £750 **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, printer **refs.** BBTI; Lloyd, 'Book Trade', 106–8; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 843.

Eddowes, William snr (1754–1833; Joshua Eddowes (*q.v.*), printer/bookseller) **a.** bd. 30 May 1777; father Joshua Eddowes **n.** *Salopian Journal* (1794–1833; co-founder; died (son, John Eddowes (*q.v.*) **p.** group+10; with father Joshua Eddowes (1794–1810), printers for consortium; later, son, William Eddowes jr (1812–24); son, John Eddowes (1824–33) **app.** William Cole, bd. 17 Feb 1796 (printing) and 27 Apr 1797 (bookbinding); son, John Eddowes, fd. 24 Jul 1824 **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, printer **refs.** BBTI; Lloyd, 'Book Trade', pp. 108–9.

Eddowes, William jr (1789–1824; William Eddowes (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor) **n.** *Salopian Journal* (1812–24; father's business; died (brother John Eddowes (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; father, William Eddowes snr, 1812–24 **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** BBTI; Lloyd, 'Book Trade', pp. 109–10.

Etherington, Christopher (*d.* 1779; Christopher Etherington) **n.** *York Chronicle* (1772–77; founder; bankrupt, sold (William Blanchard (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **app.** Ambrose Beckwith, bd. 18 May 1773; William Holden, bd. 5 Apr 1775 **occ.** bookseller, printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Davies, *Memoir*, pp. 331–40; Maxted, 'Checklist of Bankrupts'; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 85; Sessions, *Printing in York*, p. 945.

Evans, John (1774–1828; David and Mary Evans) **n.** *Bristol Mercury* (1808–1814; purchased copyright (James Kemp and ?William Bulgin (*q.v.*); sold (John Grabham (*q.v.*); *Bristol Observer* (1819–23; purchased; paper ceased) **pub.** ?editor, *Bristol Memorialist* (1816–23) **p.** at *BM*, John Grabham (1811–14) **occ.** printer, 'general accountant' **refs.** BBTI; Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 198–9, 209–11; Lord, 'Evans, William', *ODNB*; Penny, *Examination*, pp. 16, 17; Potter, 'Evans, John', *ODNB*.

Falkner, Matthew (1739–1824) **n.** *Manchester Herald* (1792–3; founder; paper ceased) **p.** group+10; with Samuel Birch (*q.v.*) for Manchester Constitutional Society, led by Thomas Walker and Thomas Cooper **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, printer, publisher, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Handforth, 'Manchester Radical Politics', p. 101; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 775.

Farley, Elizabeth (1713/14–1779) **n.** *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* (1753–73; inherited (husband, Felix Farley); retired (partner, Thomas Cocking (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; son, Samuel Farley (1753–6; 1758–60); Thomas Cocking (1767–73)

occ. printer **refs.** Penny, *Examination*, 7; DNB (Farley); Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 82–7; Maxted 'Biographical Dictionary (F)'.

Farley, Hester (1750–1806; Felix Farley, newspaper proprietor) **n.** *Bristol Journal* (1774–5; inherited (cousin Sarah Farley); sold (George and William Routh (*q.v.*) and Charles Nelson (brother-in-law) **p.** solo **occ.** printer **refs.** Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 89; BBTI; Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 71, 75–7, 318–21; Maxted, 'Farley family', *ODNB*; Penny, *Examination*, p. 7.

Farley, Sarah (*bap.* 1699–1744; Edward Farley jr, newspaper proprietor/printer) **n.** *Bristol Journal* (1753–74; inherited (uncle, Samuel Farley); died (cousin, Hester Farley (*q.v.*) **p.** solo>50; ?brother-in-law Mark Farley (1762–6) **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** BBTI; Brushfield, 'Andrew Brice', p. 169; *Early Bristol Newspaper Press*, p. 17; Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', 71–5; Penny, *Examination*, p. 7.

Fenley, John (*d.* 1805) **n.** *Bristol Mirror* (1802–1804; purchased (Samuel Bonner (*q.v.*); quarrelled with partner, sold share (partner William Sheppard (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership William Baylis (1802–03); William Sheppard (*q.v.*) (1803–1804) **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller **refs.** Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 104–5; Penny, *Examination*, p. 14; UBD ii, 148.

Ferguson, Robert n. *Liverpool Phoenix* (1790–?95; founder; dissolved partnership (partners Merrit and Wright) **p.** partnership>50 ?H. Ferguson (1790); John Heath, later Chairman of Liverpool Constitutional Society (1792–4); Merritt and Wright (1795–6) **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** Clare, 'Growth and Importance', pp. 128–35; UBD iii, 696.

Ferrall, James *Swinney's Birmingham Chronicle* (1802–18; purchased share; unknown disposal) partnership>50; Myles Swinney (1802–12); Joseph Lovell (1807–8) **occ.** bookseller, medicine seller, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; *Wrightson's Triennial Directory*.

Fleet, William (1787–1874) **n.** *Brighton Herald* (1806–1864; co-founder; retired (son Charles Fleet) **p.** partnership>50; Matthew Phillips and Harry Robinson Attree (*q.v.*) (1806–8); Harry Robinson Attree (1808); ?Bray (1810–11); son William Fleet jr (1822–?); son Charles Fleet (1843–64) **occ.** printer **refs.** BBTI.

Fletcher, John (1756–1835; Thomas Fletcher, yeoman) **n.** *Chester Chronicle* (1783–1835; purchased (John Poole (*q.v.*); died (nephew Thomas Fletcher) **p.** solo **ins.** 1784/5, £400 **occ.** engineer, printer, surveyor **wd.** under £20,000 (probate) **refs.** Hand, 'John Fletcher'; Hughes, *Chronicle of Chester*, pp. 32–98; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; Nuttall, 'History of Printing', pp. 27–32; Account Book of John Fletcher, Proprietor of the *Chester Chronicle* (1783–1786), CCALS, D3876.

Fletcher, Thomas a. bd. 1753; Thomas James, fd. 1 Mar 1763 by Sarah James (*q.v.*) **n.** *Cambridge Chronicle* (1762–?1778; co-founder; financial problems (partner Francis Hodson (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; Francis Hodson, 1762–77 **app.** (with Francis Hodson) Samuel Beard, bd. 7 Jun 1774; William Bridges, bd. 6 Dec 1768, fd. 5 May 1778; Henry Headley, bd. 5 Aug 1777; James Hodson (*q.v.*), bd. 6 Mar 1770, fd. 2 Sep 1783; Joseph Hodson, bd. 3 Apr 1764, fd. 1773; Richard Newcomb (*q.v.*), bd. 7 Sep 1773, fd. 3 Feb 1784; Matthew Clarkson Smith, bd. 2 Mar 1763; John Wade, bd. 7 Oct 1766, fd. 5 Mar 1776 **b.** Dec 1779 **ins.** 1777, £300; 1778, £700 **occ.** innkeeper, printer **refs.** Maxted, 'Checklist of Bankrupts'; Maxted,

'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, nos. 2926–33, 4450; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 95; UBD ii, 491.

Flindell, Thomas (1767–1824; Thomas Flindell, victualler) **a.** ?Philip Eliot, Falmouth printer **n.** *Cornwall Gazette and Falmouth Packet* (1801–1802; co-founder; paper ceased)*; Royal Cornwall Gazette* (1803–12; co-founder; sold (Peter Nettleton (*q.v.*); *Flindell's Western Luminary* (1813–24; founder; died (widow, Mary) *Salisbury Gazette* **(**1816–19; co-founder; ?relinquished share (son-in-law George Simpson (*q.v.*); *Plymouth Gazette* (1819–20; co-founder; paper ceased) **p.** at *CGFP* group of five tradesmen; at *RCG*, group of Cornwall landowners; at *SG*, with George Simpson; at *PG*, son Thomas Flindell **app.** George Simpson **wd.** £5; annuities of £5 p.a.; 'an interest' in house **occ.** editor, *Doncaster Gazette* (1790–98), printer **refs.** BBTI; North, 'Flindell, Thomas; Maxted, 'Biographical Dictionary (F)'; Maxted, 'Newspaper Readership'; Potts, 'Early Cornish Printers', pp. 266–9; Will of Thomas Flindell, PCC, PROB 11/1697.

Flood, William (1780–1822) **n.** *Freeman's Journal* [Canterbury] (1813; founder; paper ceased) **occ.** printer, schoolmaster **refs.** BBTI.

Flower, Benjamin (1755–1829; George Flower 'prosperous' London tradesman) **a.** bd. 5 Feb 1771, fd. 7 Apr 1778; father, George Flower **n.** *Cambridge Intelligencer* (1793–1803; co-founder; paper ceased) **p.** partnership; brother Richard Flower **app.** John Copland, bd. 3 Nov 1795 **pub.** *Flower's Political Review* (1807–11) **occ.** banker, commercial agent, financial trader (all prior to *CI*), author, bookseller, printer, stationer **refs.** Blain, 'Adams, Sarah Flower', *ODNB*; Garnett, 'Flower, Benjamin', *ODNB*; Gleadle, 'Flower, Eliza', *ODNB*; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, nos. 2936, 2939; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 779; Watkins and Schoberl, *Biographical Dictionary*, 117.

Frost, Charles (*d.* 1785) **a.** bd. 1765; Timothy Toft, Chelmsford printer **n.** *Chelmsford Chronicle* (1771–84; co-founder; retired (partners William Clachar (*q.v.*) and Samuel Gray) **p.** partnership William Clachar (?1773–84); Samuel Gray (1773–84) **ins.** 1775/7, £500; 1778/9, £300; 1784/5, £500 **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, circulating library owner, publisher, stamp office agent, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 98; Will of Charles Frost, PCC PROB 11/1136.

Gales, Joseph (1761–1840; Thomas Gales, schoolmaster) **a.** ?unknown Sheffield printer then Tomlinson, Newark **n.** *Sheffield Register* (1787–84; founder; fled country (James Montgomery (*q.v.*); *Gales's Independent Gazetteer*, Philadelphia, (1797–8; founder); *Raleigh Register* (1799–1839; founder) **p.** partnership; at *SR* David Martin, 1787–9 **b.** 12 Jul 1794, in trouble with authorities; fled to Germany then America **ins.** 1783/5, £200; 1785/6, £400; 1786/7, £700 **occ.** auctioneer, bookbinder, bookseller, insurance agent (Royal Exchange), map seller, medicine seller, music seller, newsagent, printer, stationer, print seller, **refs.** BBTI; Clare, 'Growth and Importance', pp. 143–82; Donnelly, 'Gales, Joseph', *ODNB*; Isaac and Schmoller, 'Letters', p. 153; Leader, 'Reminiscences', pp. 12–15, 315–17; Maxted, 'Checklist of Bankrupts'; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 760; Wigley, 'James Montgomery', p. 180.

Gawtrees, William n. *Leeds Intelligencer* (1818–22); purchased (Wright family); paper failing, partnership dissolved and sold (Robinson and Hernaman) **p.** partnership; Thomas Kirkby and ?Inchbold (1818–22), under title of 'Gawson and Co.' **occ.** medicine seller, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; *NW* 19 August 1939, p. 5; Schofield, *Men that Carry the News*, p. 83.

Gedge, Ann (1769–1840) **n.** *Bury Post* (1818–?1834; inherited (husband Peter Gedge (*q.v.*); retired (son, Johnson Gedge(*q.v.*); **p.** partnership; son Johnson Gedge **occ.** printer **refs.** BBTI.

Gedge, Johnson (1800–1863; Peter Gedge (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor) **a.** ?father Peter Gedge **n.** *Bury Post* (1818–?63; inherited (father Peter Gedge (*q.v.*); died) **p.** partnership mother Ann Gedge **occ.** printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI.

Gedge, Peter (1758–1818; Philip and Ann Gedge (nee Chase), printer/bookseller) **n.** *Bury Post* (1782–1818; co-founder; died (widow Ann Gedge (*q.v.*) **p.** solo>50; father-in-law William Green (*q.v.*) and Philip Deck (*q.v.*) (1782–4), after which, solo **ins.** 1785, £400 **occ.** bookseller, medicine, music and perfumery business (1786–9), printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Gedge, 'Gedge, Sydney', *ODNB*; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; Stedman, 'Norfolk Newspaper Press', pp. 179–80; Stoker, 'History of Norwich Book Trades', p. 399; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 866; Will of Peter Gedge, PCC PROB11/1605.

Goadby, Robert (1721–78) **n.** *Sherborne Mercury* (1748–9; founder; merged); *Western Flying Post* (1749–78; son, Robert Goadby jr and nephew, Samuel Lerpiniere) **p.** partnership; at *WFP* Henry Bettinson, from 1785, son Robert Goadby and nephew, Samuel Lerpiniere, from 1785 **app.** Benjamin Dodge, bd. 1 May 1764, fd. 3 Mar 1772; William Justins; John Shorthouse, bd. 20 Oct 1757; Joseph Towers, bd. 23 Oct 1753, fd. 3 May 1768; Isaac Watts, bd. 6 May 1766, fd. 4 May 1779; James Watts, bd. 12 Apr 1768 **wd.** £2,485; annuities of £30 p.a.; printing office, half-share in hotel **occ.** bookseller, printer, publisher **refs.** Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, no., 3286–90; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 104; Will of Robert Goadby, PCC, PROB 11/1045.

Gore, John snr (1738–1803; William Gore) **n.** *Gore's Liverpool Advertiser* (1765–1803; co-founder; died (son Johnson Gore (*q.v.*) **p.** solo>50; William Everard of Liverpool and John Payne of Paternoster Row, London (1765–71), son Johnson Gore (1799–1803) **b.** Mar 1779 **occ.** bookseller, lottery agent, music-seller, printseller, publisher, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Clare, 'Growth and Importance', pp. 107, 136; Maxted, 'Checklist of Bankrupts'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 105; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 817; Wardle, 'John Gore', pp. 223–4.

Gore, John jr (1801/2–1830; Johnson Gore (*q.v.*) **a.** ?father Johnson Gore **n.** *Gore's Liverpool Advertiser* (1820–30; father's business; died) **p.** partnership father, Johnson Gore **occ.** bookseller, medicine seller, printer, publisher, stationer **refs.** BBTI.

Gore, Johnson (1774–1833; John Gore snr (*q.v.*) **a.** bd. 6 May 1774; Thomas Chapman, London **n.** *Gore's Liverpool Advertiser* (1799–1832; family business; retired and sold (?Messrs Mawdsley) **p.** solo>50; father John Gore snr (1799–1803); son, John Gore jr (1820–30) **occ.** bookseller, medicine seller, printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Clare, 'Local Newspaper Press', pp. 115, 123; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, no. 1638.

Grabham, **John snr** (*d.* 1770) **a.** Felix Farley (*q.v.*) **n.** *Bristol Chronicle* (1760–61; co-founder with brother-in-law William Pine (*q.v.*); paper ceased) *Bristol Gazette* (1767–70; founder (joined by Pine later that year); died (widow Mary (*q.v.*) then William Pine) **p.** at *BG* and *BC*, William Pine (1760–61; 1767–70) **app.** Joseph Bertin, bd. 1762 **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, circulating library owner, printer **refs.** BBTI; Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 72, 93–5, 97; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Penny, *Examination*, p. 8.

Grabham, **John jr** (1767/8–1824; *Bristol Mercury* (1811–18; ?purchased share; moved to London and sold (consortium of 14, including Thomas John Manchee (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; John Evans (*q.v.*) (1811–14) **refs.** BBTI; Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 72, 93–5, 97; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Penny, *Examination*, p. 8.

Grabham, **Mary** (*d.* 1773) *Bristol Gazette* (1770–73; inherited (husband John Grabham snr (*q.v.*); died (partner and brother-in-law William Pine (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; William Pine (1770–73) **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** BBTI.

Green, **William** (*d.* 1784) **a.** bd. 1746; Thomas Hollingworth, Kings Lynn stationer **n.** *Bury Post* (1782–4; co-founder; died (partner and son-in-law Peter Gedge (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; Peter Gedge and Philip Deck (1782–4) **app.** Edward Ely, bd. 1756; Charles Pinchard, bd. 1759; Robert Hawes, bd. 1761; Robert Loder, bd. 1765; John Sayer Dixon bd. 1772; Robert Catchpole, bd. 14 Feb 1777 **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, newsagent, printer, publisher, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'.

Gregory, **John snr** (1727–89) **n.** *Leicester Journal* (1753–89; founder; died (son John Gregory jr (*q.v.*) **p.** solo>50; Samuel Creswell **app.** ?son John Gregory jr; Francis Hodson (*q.v.*); Francis Miller; ?Wilshaw; ?Byard; James Taylor; Job Bradley, bd. 1765 **wd.** £310; £50 annuities of £50 p.a.; 2 houses with additional premises **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 110; BBTI; Clarke, *Early Nottingham Printers*, pp. 11–14; Hinks, 'John Gregory'; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Will of John Gregory, PCC, PROB 11/1179.

Gregory, **John jr** (*d.* 1806; John Gregory snr (*q.v.*) **a.** ?father John Gregory snr **n.** *Leicester Journal* (1789–1806; inherited; died (son-in-law John Price (*q.v.*) **p.** solo>50; John Price (1803–1806) **wd.** £1,010; 1 house with premises, additional (unspecified) real estate **occ.** bookseller, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Fraser, 'Press in Leicester', p. 53; Hinks, 'John Gregory', p. 91; UBD iii, 597; Will of John Gregory jr, PCC, PROB 11/1449.

Gutch, **John Matthew** (1776–1861; John Gutch, Oxford antiquary; chaplain, All Souls College) **n.** *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* (1805–44; purchased share (partner John Broughton Rudhall); retired (partner James Martin); *Country Constitutional Guardian* [Bristol] (1822–4; founder; unknown disposal); *Morning Journal* [London]; co-founder; unknown disposal) **p.** partnership; at *FFBJ* John Broughton Rudhall (1805–1806) James Martin (1823–44); at *MJ* Robert Alexander (1828–9) **occ.** banker, publisher, stationer **wd.** under £3,000 (probate) **refs.** Baigent, 'Gutch, John Mathew', *ODNB*; BBTI; Crossley, 'Gutch, John', *ODNB*; Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 90–91, 177–89; Lock, 'Gutch, Robert', *ODNB*; Penny, *Examination*, pp. 15–16.

Gye, William (1732–1802) **n.** *Bath Courant* (1773; co-founder; paper ceased) **p.** partnership J. Salmon (*q.v.*) **occ.** bookseller, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Russ, 'Bath Printers', pp. 470–71; Will of William Gye, PCC PROB 11/1383.

Hall, John (*d.* 1795) **a.** bd. 10 Jun 1773; Thomas Slack (*q.v.*) **n.** *Newcastle Courant* (1788–95; inherited (employer Thomas Saint (*q.v.*); sold (Edward Walker) **p.** partnership (u) Joseph Elliot (1788–?94) **occ.** medicine seller, printer, publisher **refs.** Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Welford, 'Early Newcastle', pp. 50–51.

Hargrove, William (1788–1862; Ely Hargrove, topographer) **a.** Mr Smart, Huddersfield **n.** *York Courant* (1815–62; purchased (Caesar Peacock (*q.v.*); died (sons Alfred and William Hargrove); *York Herald* (1813–62; co-founder; died (sons Alfred and William Hargrove) **p.** partnership>50; 'Gawthorp and Cobb' (?1813–?28); 'Gawthorp and [?son] Hargrove' (1828–34); sons Alfred and William Hargrove (1855–62) **occ.** printer, publisher **wd.** under £3,000 (probate) **refs.** BBTI; Goodwin, 'Hargrove, William', *ODNB*; Sessions, *Printing in York*, pp. 942, 947–8.

Harrison, James n. *Derby Journal* (1776–81; founder; paper ceased) **a.** bd. 3 May 1768, Joseph Cooper; fd. 3 Apr 1770 by William Adlard (?also described himself as 'Late Apprentice to Mr Jeremiah Roe') **p.** solo **occ.** bookseller, printer, publisher, theatre ticket agent **refs.** Andrew, 'Derbyshire Newspaper Press', pp. 243–46; BBTI; Taylor, 'Derbyshire Printing', p. 51.

Harrod, William (1753–1819; William Harrod, printer/bookseller) **n.** *Stamford Herald* (1793–5; founder; paper ceased) **occ.** author, circulating library owner, printer, publisher, stationer **wd.** 'impoverished' **refs.** BBTI; Jenkins, 'Harrod, William', *ODNB*; Watkins and Schoberl, *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 147.

Harrop, James (1764–1823; Joseph Harrop (*q.v.*), printer/newspaper proprietor) **n.** *Harrop's Manchester Mercury* (1788–1823; inherited (father, Joseph Harrop; died (sold by heirs in 1825 to J. E. Taylor, founder, *Manchester Guardian*); *Manchester Weekly Express* (1804–23; founder; sold by heirs in 1825 to J. E. Taylor) **p.** solo **occ.** bookseller, medicine seller, postmaster (Manchester), printer, stationer, stamp office agent **refs.** BBTI; Clare, 'Local Newspaper Press', p. 109; Ramwell, 'Harrop, Joseph', *ODNB*; Timperley, E*ncyclopaedia*, p. 817; UBD iii, 815.

Harrop, Joseph (1727–1804; James Harrop, joiner) **a.** Robert Whitworth **n.** *Manchester Mercury* (1752–88; founder; retired (son, James Harrop (*q.v.*) **p.** ?solo; backed financially by Revd John Clayton and unknown others **app.** Charles Wheeler, bd. 1762 (*q.v.*); George Booth, bd. 1765 **occ.** bookseller, medicine seller, Postmaster (Manchester), printer, publisher, stationer, stamp agent **wd.** over £8,000 **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 117; Ramwell, 'Harrop, Joseph', *ODNB*; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 817.

Hatfield, Weston (*d.* 1837) **n.** *Huntingdon Gazette* (1813–37; co-founder; died (son, James Hatfield) **p.** solo>50; C. H. Berry (*q.v.*) (1813–14); George Ecton Jones (*q.v.*) (1813–19) **occ.** printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Murphy, *Cambridge Newspapers*, p. 16; Will of Weston Hatfield, PCC PROB11/1896.

Hazard, Samuel (*d.* 1806) **n.** *Bath Chronicle* (1788–?1806; ?purchased share (partner Richard Cruttwell (*q.v.*); died) **p.** partnership>50 Richard Cruttwell (1788–99) **app.** John Norris, bd. 10 Mar 1774 **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller; circulating library owner, land agent, medicine seller, stationer **refs.** Maxted, 'Index

of Masters and Apprentices'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, pp. 121–2; Russ, 'Bath Printers', p. 470; UBD ii 102; Will of Samuel Hazard, PCC PROB11/1457.

Hill, John a. bd. 4 Nov 1766, Robert Raikes jr, Gloucester (*q.v.*) **n.** *Constitutional Chronicle* (1780–82; co-founder; paper ceased) **p.** partnership; Thomas Blagden (1780–82) **occ.** printer **refs.** BBTI; Penny, *Examination*, p. 8.

Hodgson, Henry n. *Liverpool Herald* (1790–93; purchased (Edward Rushton (*q.v.*); paper ceased) **p.** solo **ins.** 1785/6, £600 **occ.** bookseller, printer, publisher, stationer **refs.** Clare, 'Local Newspaper Press', pp. 117–19; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; UBD iii, 702.

Hodgson, Sarah (*d.* 1822; Thomas Slack (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor/printer/ publisher) **n.** *Newcastle Chronicle* (1800–22; inherited (husband Solomon Hodgson (*q.v.*); died (sons James and Thomas Hodgson) **p.** solo **occ.** bookseller, printer, publisher, stationer **refs.** Isaac, 'Earliest Proprietors', pp. 155–61; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 803.

Hodgson, Solomon (1760–1800; Solomon Hodgson) **a.** Thomas Slack (*q.v.*) **n.** *Newcastle Chronicle* (1784–1800; inherited (master and father-in-law Thomas Slack); died (widow Sarah Hodgson (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **app.** John Hudson, bd. 1784 **occ.** bookseller, printer, print seller, publisher, stationer **refs.** Isaac 'Earliest Proprietors', pp. 155–61; Welford, 'Earliest Newcastle', pp. 43–8.

Hodson, Francis snr (1737–1812; Nathaniel Hodson (innkeeper) **a.** bd. 1754, fd. 18 Sep 1762; John Gregory snr (*q.v.*) **n.** *Cambridge Chronicle* (1762–1812; founder; died (sons Edward and James Hodson) **p.** solo>50; Thomas Fletcher (1762–77) **app.** [with partner, Thomas Fletcher] Samuel Beard, bd. 7 Jun 1774; William Bridges, bd. 6 Dec 1768, fd. 5 May 1778; Henry Headley, bd. 5 Aug 1777; son, James Hodson (*q.v.*), bd. 6 Mar 1770, fd. 2 Sep 1783; Joseph Hodson, bd. 3 Apr 1764, fd. 1773; Richard Newcomb (*q.v.*), bd. 7 Sep 1773, fd. 3 Feb 1784; Matthew Clarkson Smith, bd. 2 Mar 1763; John Wade, bd. 7 Oct 1766, fd. 5 Mar 1776; brother, James Hodson, bd. 1768; Thomas Haslewood, bd. 1782 **b.** Mar 1785 (held onto business) **ins.** 1778, £800; 1782, £100; 1783, £700; 1785/6, £500 **occ.** printer **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Checklist of Bankrupts'; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, nos. 2926–33; Murphy, *Cambridge Newspapers*, p. 16; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, pp. 128–9; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, pp. 848; UBD ii, 492; Will of Francis Hodson, PCC PROB11/1537.

Holt, Daniel (1763/4–1797) **n.** *Newark Herald* (1791–4; founder; paper ceased (imprisoned for seditious libel) **p.** solo **app.** Joseph Gales (*q.v.*) **occ.** printer **refs.** Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 780; Blagg, *Newark*, p. 11.

Hooper, John (*d.* 1799) **n.** *Bath Journal* (1779–99; purchased share (partner John Keene (*q.v.*); died (partner John Keene) **p.** partnership; John Keene (1779–99) **occ.** printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Will of John Hooper, PCC PROB11/1330.

Howard, Charles, 11th Duke of Norfolk (1746–1815; Charles Howard (10th Duke of Norfolk) **n.** *Hereford Journal* (1788–91; purchased (through agent from Margaret Pugh (*q.v.*); sold (James Wainwright (*q.v.*); *Morning Chronicle* [London] (1788–?; purchased share) **p.** solo **occ.** politician/peer **refs.** BBTI; Goodwin, 'Howard, Charles', *ODNB*; Morgan, 'Herefordshire Printers', p. 114.

Hoxland, Edward (*d.* 1832) **a.** Barnabas Thorne, Exeter (*q.v.*) **n.** *Plymouth and Plymouth Dock Weekly Journal* (1819–?1825; co-founder; unknown disposal) **p.** Peter Nettleton (*q.v.*), Edward Nettleton (*q.v.*) and William Colman (1819–?25); Cross and Colman (1819–?) **occ.** bookseller, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Devon Biographical Dictionary'; Will of Edward Hoxland, PCC PROB11/1798.

Hulbert, Annie (Thomas Wood (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor) **n.** *Shrewsbury Chronicle* (1808; inherited (mother Mary Wood (*q.v.*)); sold share (brother Theodosius Wood (*q.v.*)) **p.** partnership; brothers Zacharias and Theodosius Wood **refs.** *NW* 7 Oct 1939, p. 5.

Humble, Edward (1752/3–1820; Edward Humble, bookseller/stationer) **n.** *Newcastle Advertiser/Durham County Advertiser* (1811–20; purchased (John Thompson); retired 1814, but shares until death (son Francis Humble (*q.v.*)) **p.** son Francis Humble (1811–20) **ins.** 1775/7, £600; 1779/81, £700 **occ.** bookseller, circulating library owner, insurance agent, lottery agent, medicine seller, printer, stationer **refs.** Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 134; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 878; Welford, 'Early Newcastle', pp. 49–50.

Humble, Francis (*d.* 1850; Edward Humble (*q.v.*)) **n.** *Durham County Advertiser* (1811–50; purchased (John Thompson); died (sold to Duncan family) **p.** solo>50; (initially group+5) Sir Cuthbert Sharp, George Andrews, Phineas Fewster, J. White, Benjamin Howard, John Burrell, Alexander Logan, Thomas Rutherford, Ralph Hutchinson (1818–23); solo from 1823 **occ.** printer **refs.** BBTI; Milne, *Newspapers*, p. 50; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 854; Welford, 'Early Newcastle', pp. 49–50; Will of Francis Humble, PCC PROB 11/2119.

Jackson, Postle (1778–1847; Stephen Jackson (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor/ printer) **n.** *Ipswich Journal* (1818–47; inherited (father Stephen Jackson) **p.** solo **occ.** printer **refs.** *History of the Ipswich Journal*, p. 4; BBTI; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 869.

Jackson, Stephen (1747–1818) **a.** Henry Woodfall, London (*Public Advertiser*) **n.** *Ipswich Journal* (1777–1818; purchased share (aunt Elizabeth Craighton (*q.v.*); died (son, Postle Jackson) **p.** partnership>50; Elizabeth Craighton (1777–79) and John Shave (*q.v.*) (1777–98) **occ.** printer **wd.** £3,100; annuities of £5 p.a.; printing office and premises, 3 houses with gardens and outbuildings **refs.** *History of the Ipswich Journal*, pp. 2–4; BBTI; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 138; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 869; UBD iii, 430; Will of Stephen Jackson, PCC, PROB 11/1672.

Jackson, William (*d.* 1777) **n.** *Ipswich Journal* (1761–77; inherited (uncle William Craighton (*q.v.*); bankrupt (Elizabeth Craighton (*q.v.*), Stephen Jackson, John Shave (*q.v.*)) **p.** partnership; Elizabeth Craighton (1761–77) **b.** Nov 1774 **occ.** printer, Supervisor of Excise (1790s) **refs.** *History of the Ipswich Journal*, p. 3; BBTI; Maxted, 'Checklist of Bankrupts'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 138; UBD iii, 430.

Jackson, William (*d.* 1795) **n.** *Oxford Journal* (1753–95; founder; died (John Grosvenor) **p.** solo **app.** George Eaton, bd. 1759; Harvey Berrow (*q.v.*), bd. 1763 **ins.** 1777, £1,500; 1782, £400 and £3,000 **occ.** lessee, Oxford Bible Press, medicine seller, printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 138; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, pp. 785–6; Will of William Jackson, PCC PROB11/1262.

James, Sarah (*d.* 1767) **n.** *Cambridge Journal* (1758–67; inherited (husband Thomas James); retired and sold (Thomas Fletcher (*q.v.*) and James Hodson (*q.v.*) at *Cambridge Chronicle*) **p.** solo **app.** Thomas Fletcher, bd. 6 Feb 1753 to Thomas James, fd. 1 Mar 1763 by Sarah James; Robert Fletcher, bd. 6 Mar 1754 to Thomas James, fd. 1 Mar 1774 by Sarah James; Thomas Powell, bd. 6 Mar 1759; William Smith, bd. 6 Mar 1764, fd. 1 Dec 1772 **occ.** printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Cranfield, 'First Cambridge Newspaper'; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, nos. 4428–31; Murphy, *Cambridge Newspapers*, p. 16; *NW* 12 Aug 1939, p. 5.

Jollie, Francis snr (1735–1820) **n.** *Carlisle Journal* (1798–1819; founder; retired (sons Francis and Jeremiah Jollie (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; sons Jeremiah Jollie and Francis Jollie (1809–19) **app.** sons Jeremiah and Francis Jollie **occ.** author, bookseller, medicine seller, music seller, printer, publisher, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Watkins and Schoberl, *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 181; UBD ii, 634.

Jollie, Francis jr (1791–1827; Francis Jollie snr (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor/ printer) **a.** ?father Francis Jollie (*q.v.*) **n.** *Carlisle Journal* (1809–26; father's business; died (widow Margaret and son James) **p.** partnership>50; father, Francis Jollie snr (1809–19); brother Jeremiah Jollie (*q.v.*) (1809–22) **occ.** printer **refs.** BBTI.

Jollie, Jeremiah (1787–1822; Francis Jollie snr (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor/printer) **a.** ?father Francis Jollie (*q.v.*) **n.** *Carlisle Journal* (1809–22; inherited (father Francis Jollie snr (*q.v.*); died (brother Francis Jollie jr (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; father, Francis Jollie snr (1809–19); brother Francis Jollie jr (1809–22) **occ.** printer **refs.** BBTI.

Jones, George Ecton *Huntingdon Gazette* (1813–?19; co-founder; unknown disposal (partner Weston Hatfield (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; C. H. Berry (*q.v.*) (1813–14); Weston Hatfield (1813–19) **refs.** BBTI.

Jones, William (1762–1846) **n.** *Liverpool Chronicle* (1804–11; co-founder; paper ceased) **p.** partnership; Francis Brown Wright (*q.v.*) **pub.** *New Evangelical Magazine* (1815–24); *Millenial Harbinger and Voluntary Church Advocate* (1835–6) **occ.** author, bookseller, printer, publisher, Scottish Baptist Minister **refs.** BBTI; Murray, 'Jones, William', *ODNB*; Watkins and Schoberl, *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 183.

Jopson, Elizabeth (*d.* 1767) **n.** *Jopson's Coventry Mercury* (1759–67; inherited (husband James Jopson; died) **p.** solo **occ.** bookseller, circulating library owner, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 143; UBD ii, 622.

Kaye, Thomas (1780–1865) **n.** *Liverpool Courier* (1808–60; founder; retired) **p.** solo **app.** Thomas Bean (later founder, *Liverpool Albion*) **pub.** *Liverpool Medical Gazette* (1833) **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, lottery agent, medicine seller, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 834.

Keene, John (*d.* 1799) **n.** *Keene's Bath Journal* (1757–99; inherited (father-in-law Thomas Boddeley; died (widow Ann Keene and partner John Hooper (*q.v.*) **occ.** printer, publisher **wd.** £400 **refs.** BBTI; UBD ii, 102; Will of John Keene, PCC, PROB 11/1345.

King, John snr (1768–1831) **n.** *Suffolk Chronicle* (1810–31; co-founder; died (son John King jr) **p.** partnership; Thomas Savage (*q.v.*) (1810–12); ?Garrod (1824–31) **occ.** auctioneer, bookseller, printer **refs.** BBTI.

Kirkby, George snr (John Kirkby, clerk) **a.** bd. 3 Jun 1755, fd. 7 Jun 1772; James Bettenham, London stationer **n.** *Kentish Post* (1768; inherited (partner James Abree; merged with *Kentish Gazette*); *Kentish Gazette* (1768–1803); died (son George Kirkby jr (*q.v.*)and partner James Simmons (*q.v.*) **p.** at *KP*, James Abree (1768); at *KG*, James Simmons (1768–1803) **occ.** papermaker, printer **refs.** Chilton, *Early Hull Printers*, pp. 57, 59; UBD iii, 350.

Kirkby, George jr (1773/4–1857; George Kirkby (*q.v.*) **a.** bd. 1789; father George Kirkby and James Simmons (*q.v.*) **n.** *Kentish Gazette* (1807–?33; inherited from father (but not owner until after James Simmons (*q.v.*) died); unknown disposal) **p.** partnership>50; Charles Rouse (*q.v.*) and James Lawrence (*q.v.*) (1807–23); Kingsford and Cramp (1823–7); ?Smithson to 1831 **occ.** printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Will of George Kirkby, PCC PROB11/2244.

Kirkby, Thomas *Leeds Intelligencer* (?1817–22; purchased (Wright family); paper failing, partnership dissolved and sold (Robinson and Hernaman) **p.** partnership; William Gawson (1817–22) **refs.** BBTI.

Knight, Charles snr (1749–1824) *Windsor and Eton Express* (1812–24; co-founder; retired but kept shares until died) **p.** partnership; son, Charles Knight (1812–24) **ins.** 1781, £400 **occ.** bookseller, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Burton, *Early Newspaper Press*, p. 127–8; Knight, *Passages*; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'.

Knight, Charles jr (1791–1873; Charles Knight (*q.v.*), bookseller/printer/newspaper proprietor) **a.** bd. 1805, fd. 1812, father, Charles Knight snr **n.** *Windsor and Eton Express* (1812–26; co-founder; sold paper (John Burgiss Brown) **p.** partnership; father, Charles Knight snr (1812–24) **pub.** *Plain Englishman* (1820–23); *The Etonian* (1820–21); *Knight's Quarterly Magazine* (1823–4); shares in and editor of *Guardian* [London] (1820–22) **occ.** bookseller, printer, stationer **wd.** under £3,000 (probate) **refs.** Burton, *Early Newspaper Press*, pp. 127–9; Knight, *Passages*; Mitchell, 'Knight, Charles', *ODNB*.

Knott, Jonathon (1766/7–1814) **n.** *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* (1804–12; purchased (executors of employer Thomas Aris Pearson (*q.v.*); retired (brother, Thomas Knott (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; Robert Lloyd (*q.v.*) (1804–11) **occ.** bookseller, newsagent, paper merchant, paper stainer, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 853.

Knott, Thomas snr (1762–1831; Jonathon Knott (*q.v.*) *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* (1811–31; inherited (father Jonathon Knott); died (son Thomas Knott jr) **p.** partnership>50; Thomas Beilby (1812–28) **occ.** paper maker, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI.

Lawrence, James (*b.* ?1775) **a.** James Simmons (*q.v.*) and George Kirkby snr (*q.v.*) **n.** *Kentish Gazette* (1807–23; inherited (master, James Simmons); unknown disposal) **p.** partnership; George Kirkby jr (*q.v.*) and Charles Rouse (*q.v.*) (1807–23) **occ.** bookseller, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI.

Lee, Arthur (1787–1850; Arthur Lee) **n.** *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* (1804–42; business of uncle William Lee jr (*q.v.*); paper ceased (fire) **p.** partnership>50; uncle William Lee jr (1804–30) **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** Becket, 'First Sussex Newspaper', pp. 252–3.

Lee, George, Revd (1770–1842) **n.** *Hull Rockingham* (1808–42; co-founder; died (paper ceased 2 years later) **p.** group+10; joint stock company of 70, led by Daniel

Sykes, J. C. Parker, W. Spence **occ.** schoolmaster, Unitarian minister **refs.** BBTI; Chilton, *Early Hull Printers*, pp. 211–18; *White's Directory* (1840).

Lee, Thomas n. *Hull Packet* (1790–98; purchased (George Prince (*q.v.*); sold (Robert Peck (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership (u); ran paper under title of 'Thomas Lee and Co.' **occ.** papermaker, printer **refs.** Chilton, *Early Hull Printers*, pp. 57, 59; UBD iii, 350.

Lee, William snr (*d.* 1786; Joseph Lee, bookseller) **a.** bd. 4 Nov 1729, fd. 3 Apr 1744; James Bettenham, London stationer **n.** *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* (1745–86; founder; died (son William Lee jr (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; Edward Verall (*q.v.*) (1749–72); son William Lee jr **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** Beckett, 'First Sussex Newspaper', pp. 247–51; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, no. 787.

Lee, William jr (1745–1830; William Lee snr (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor/bookseller) **a.** ?father, William Lee snr **n.** *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* (1768–1830; family business; died (nephew Arthur Lee (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; father, William Lee snr (1768–86); nephew Arthur Lee (1804–1830) **occ.** author, bookbinder, bookseller, medicine seller, printer, publisher, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Beckett, 247–53; Watkins and Schoberl, *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 200; Will of William Lee, PCC PROB11/1785

Linden, James (*d.* 1804) **n.** *Hampshire Chronicle* [Southampton/Winchester] (1772–8; founder; bankrupt, sold (T. Baker and Co. (Benjamin Collins (*q.v.*) controlling partner); *Hampshire Chronicle* [Southampton/Portsmouth] (1778–81; founder; paper ceased (fire) **p.** at *HC* (1772–8) partnership>50; ?Wise and Webber (1775–78); at *HC* (1778–81) solo **app.** Robert Draper, bd. 24 Oct 1774 **b.** Feb 1778 cert. 16 Mar 1779 div. 15 Oct 1781 **occ.** bookseller, printer, schoolmaster **refs.** BBTI; Edwards, *Early Newspaper*, pp. 5–7; Edwards, 'Early Hampshire Printers', pp. 117–8; Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins*, pp. 1–5, 51, 58, 224–5; Maxted, 'Checklist of Bankrupts'; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 156.

Lloyd, Robert (*d.* 1811) **n.** *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* (1804–11; purchased (executors of Thomas Pearson (*q.v.*); died (Jonathon Knott (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership Jonathon Knott (1804–11) **occ.** printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 853; Will of Robert Lloyd, PCC PROB11/1528.

Lovell, Joseph n. *Swinney's Birmingham Chronicle* (1807–08; purchased share; unknown disposal) **p.** partnership Myles Swinney (*q.v.*) and James Ferrall (*q.v.*) (1807–08) **occ.** printer **refs.** BBTI.

Luckman, Thomas (*d.* 1784; Thomas Luckman) **a.** bd. 9 Oct 1774; James Jopson (*q.v.*) Coventry printer **n.** *Coventry Gazette* (1757–63; co-founder; paper ceased) **p.** partnership; James Sketchley (1757–63; co-founder) **app.** Thomas Lesson, bd. 1756 **ins.** 1780, £1,300 **pub.** *Birmingham Register* (partner James Sketchley) (1764–5) **occ.** auctioneer, bookseller, draper and mercer (1771–9), medicine seller, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; Jenkins, *Printing in Birmingham*, pp. 114–16

Mackenzie, Peter n. *County Press* [Northampton] (1808–11; founder; paper ceased) **p.** solo **occ.** printer **refs.** Dixon, 'Northamptonshire Newspapers', p. 3.

Manchee, Thomas John (1789–1853) **n.** *Bristol Mercury* (1818–29; purchased (William Pine jr (*q.v.*); sold (William Henry Somerton) **p.** group+10; 1818,

13 proprietors including: John Hodder Moggridge of Woodfield Monmouthshire; Dr Edward Kentish; Daniel Day and Francis Short of Bristol; Charles Abraham Elton of Clifton and Samuel John Browne of Bath. Solo from 6 October 1823 (dissolution of partnership with other proprietors) **occ.** bookseller, printer, stationer **refs.** Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 199–203.

Martin, David (*d.* 1797) **a.** bd. 1773; Ralph Beilby, Newcastle-upon-Tyne engraver **n.** *Sheffield Register* (1787–94; co-founder; risk of prosecution, emigrated to New York (partner Joseph Gales (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; Joseph Gales (1787–94) **occ.** bookbinder, engraver, printer, print seller **refs.** BBTI; Happs, 'Sheffield Newspaper Press', 91–3; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'.

Martin, Stephen a. bd. 1747; Thomas Boddeley (*q.v.*) Bath printer **n.** *Bath Advertiser* (1755–63; founder; paper ceased) **p.** solo **occ.** comedian **refs.** Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Maxted, 'Biographical Dictionary (M)'.

Matchett, Jonathon (1771–1844; John Matchett and Catherine Matchett, nee Chase (*q.v.*), surgeon) **a.** fd. 3 May 1795; John Crouse (*q.v.*) and William Stevenson (*q.v.*) **n.** *Norfolk Chronicle* (1794–1844; business of step-father William Stevenson (*q.v.*); died (partner William Seth Stevenson (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; John Crouse (*q.v.*) (1794–6); William Stevenson (1794–1821); Seth William Stevenson (1808–44); son, William Matchett (*q.v.*) (1827–44) **occ.** medicine seller, printer, stationer **refs.** Blatchly, 'Stevenson, Seth William', *ODNB*; Stedman, 'Norfolk Newspaper Press', pp. 140–52; Stoker, 'History of Norwich Book Trades', p. 416.

Mawson, Joseph [also Mawman] n. *York Herald* (1790–99; co-founder; sold (Alexander Bartholoman (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; Thomas Wilson (*q.v.*) and Robert Spence (*q.v.*) (1790–95) **occ.** author, printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Watkins and Schoberl, *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 230.

Meggy, William snr (1761/2–1832) **n.** *Chelmsford Chronicle* (1795–1832; purchased share; died (son, William Meggy jr) **p.** partnership; William Clachar (*q.v.*) and Thomas Chalk (*q.v.*) (1795–?1813); Thomas Chalk to 1832 **occ.** bookseller, insurance agent, printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Will of William Meggy, PCC PROB11/1808.

Meyler, William [also Mayler] (1755–1821) **a.** bd. 1767; Andrew Tennant, bookbinder **n.** *Bath Herald* (1799–1821; founder; died (son T. S. Meyler) **p.** partnership (u); Joseph Sheldon **occ.** author, bookseller, circulating library and reading room owner, lottery office, printer, publisher, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Andrews, *History of British*, p. 131; Russ, 'Bath Printers', p. 471; Lewis, *History of the Bath Herald*; UBD ii, 104.

Middleton, Richard (1723/4–1807) **n.** *Bonner and Middleton's Bristol Journal* (1774–83; co-founder; retired (partner Samuel Bonner (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; Samuel Bonner (1774–83) **occ.** printer **refs.** BBTI; Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 75–7, 101–2; Penny, *Examination*, p. 8; UBD ii, 138.

Mills, James (1775–1849; Thomas Mills, bookseller) **n.** *Bristol Gazette* (1807–40; purchased share; retired) **p.** solo>50; William Pine jr (1807–09); trading as 'John Mills and Co.' (29 Jun 1809–7 Jan 1813); son Thomas Mills (1830–36) **occ.** printer **refs.** BBTI; Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 192–6; Penny, *Examination*, p. 15.

Minshull, **William** (1767–1833; Giles Minshull, linen draper) **n.** *Lancaster Gazette* (1801–33; founder; died (daughter, Graciana Jane Minshull, sold to C. E. Quarme, 1834) **p.** solo **occ.** bookseller, circulating library owner, printer **refs.** Lloyd, 'Book Trade', p. 145.

Mitchell, John (*d.* 1819) **n.** *Tyne Mercury* (1802–19; founder; died (son William Andrew Mitchell (*q.v.*) **p.** solo>50; son William Andrew Mitchell (1815–19) **occ.** printer, publisher **refs.** Milne, 'Tyne Mercury', pp. 227–8; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 813.

Mitchell, William Andrew (John Mitchell (*q.v.*) **n.** *Tyne Mercury* (1815–43; business of father John Mitchell; paper failing, sold (William Fordyce) **p.** solo>50; father John Mitchell **occ.** printer **refs.** Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 813; Brett, 'Early Nineteenth Century Reform', pp. 53–4; Welford, *Men of Mark* iii, 199–205.

Monk, Edmund (1760–1800; John Monk snr (*q.v.*), printer/newspaper proprietor) **a.** fd. 24 Jun 1790, John Monk snr **n.** *Chester Courant* (1779–1800; business of father John Monk snr; died (brother John Monk jr (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; father, John Monk snr (1779–90) **occ.** bookseller, printer, publisher **wd.** £997 9*s*. 6*d*. (inventory attached to will) **refs.** Plomer et al., p. 174; BBTI; Hughes, *Chronicle of* Chester, pp. 77–8; Nuttall, 'History of Printing', pp. 23–5; Stewart-Brown, 'Stationers, Booksellers, and Printers', p. 139; Will of Edmund Monk, CRO WS 1801.

Monk, John snr (1741–99; William Monk, newspaper proprietor/printer) **a.** bd. 1754; father William Monk **n.** *Chester Courant* (1771–90; inherited (grandmother Elizabeth Adams (*q.v.*); retired (son, Edmund Monk (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; son Edmund Monk (1779–90) **occ.** printer, publisher **refs.** *Chester Directory*, p. 30; *Directory and Guide for the City of Chester*, pp. 65–7; BBTI; Hughes, pp. 77–8; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Nuttall, 'History of Printing', pp. 23, 28–9; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 174; Stewart-Brown, 'Stationers, Booksellers, and Printers', p. 139; UBD ii, 707, 718.

Monk, John jr (1769/70–1817; John Monk snr (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor/ printer) **n.** *Chester Courant* (1800–17; inherited (brother Edmund Monk (*q.v.*); died (widow Margaret Monk (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **occ.** printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Nuttall, 'History of Printing', p. 25; Stewart-Brown, 'Stationers, Booksellers, and Printers', p. 140.

Monk, Margaret n. *Chester Courant* (1817–32; inherited (husband John Monk jr (*q.v.*); retired, sold (John Dixon) **occ.** printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Nuttall, 'History of Printing', pp. 25–6; Stewart-Brown, 'Stationers, Booksellers, and Printers', p. 140.

Montgomery, James (1771–1854; John Montgomery, Moravian missionary) **a.** baker, Mirfield nr Leeds **n.** *Sheffield Iris* (1794–1825; purchased (employer Joseph Gales (*q.v.*); retired, sold (John Blackwell) **p.** solo>50; Revd Benjamin Naylor (*q.v.*) (1794–5); Mattewman Smith (1817–18) **app.** Robert Leader, bd. 1825, later proprietor *Sheffield Independent*; Mattewman Smith **occ.** clerk and bookkeeper at Gales's Sheffield printing and bookselling business (1792–4); author and poet, bookseller, lottery agent, printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Clare, 'Growth and Importance', pp. 183–215; Donnelly, 'Gales, Joseph', *ODNB*; Happs, 'Sheffield Newspaper Press'; Isaac and Schmoller, 'Letters'; Leader, *Reminiscences*, p. 15,

Leader, *Seventy Years*, p. 35; Tolley, 'Montgomery, James', *ODNB*; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 789; Wigley, 'James Montgomery'.

Mottley, John Charles (James Mottley, stationer) **n.** *Portsmouth Telegraph* (1799–?1846; founder; unknown disposal) **p.** solo>50; William Harrison (1828–?1846) **occ.** author, bookseller, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Edwards, 'Early Hampshire', p. 116.

Mowbray, Walter [also Mawbray] *Hampshire Chronicle* [Southampton/Portsmouth] (1783–6; purchased (James Linden); bankrupt, paper ceased) **p.** solo>50; Luke Kent (1783–4) **b.** 1785 cert: 18 Mar 1786 **occ.** printer **refs.** Edwards, *Early Newspaper Press*, pp. 6–7; Edwards 'Early Hampshire', p. 116; Maxted, 'Checklist of Bankrupts'.

Naylor, Revd Benjamin n. *Sheffield Iris* (1794–5; purchased (Joseph Gales (*q.v.*); partnership dissolved (partner James Montgomery (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; James Montgomery (1794–5) **occ.** Unitarian preacher **refs.** Andrews, *History of British*, p. 126; Clare, 'Growth and Importance', pp. 185, 188, 196; Happs, 'Sheffield Newspaper Press', pp. 94–5; Wigley, 'James Montgomery', pp. 10–11.

Nettleton, Edward (Peter Nettleton (*q.v.*) (newspaper proprietor/printer) **n.** *Plymouth and Plymouth Dock Weekly Journal* (1819–25; founder; unknown disposal (?sold to George Soper) **p.** partnership; Peter Nettleton (*q.v.*), Edward Hoxland (*q.v.*) and William Colman (1819–?1825) **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, circulating library owner, lottery agent, medicine seller printer, stamp agent, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Biographical Dictionary (N)'.

Nettleton, Matilda Hargrave (Joseph Woolmer, linen draper) **n.** *Royal Cornwall Gazette* (1817–18; inherited (husband Peter Nettleton (*q.v.*); sold (Frederick Schoberl) **p.** solo **occ.** printer **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Biographical Dictionary (N)'.

Nettleton, Peter snr (*d.* 1822) **n.** *Plymouth and Plymouth Dock Weekly Journal* (1819–22; co-founder; died (partners Edward Nettleton (*q.v.*) and William Colman (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; son, Edward Nettleton, Edward Hoxland (*q.v.*) and William Colman (1819–?22) **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Biographical Dictionary (N)'.

Nettleton, Peter jr (1788–1817; Peter Nettleton snr (*q.v.*), printer, newspaper proprietor) **a.** ?father Peter Nettleton **n.** *Royal Cornwall Gazette* (1813–17; inherited (father Peter Nettleton snr; died (widow Matilda Hargrave Nettleton (*q.v.*) **occ.** printer **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Biographical Dictionary (N)'.

Newbery, John (*bap.* 1713–1767; Robert Newbery, farmer) **n.** *Reading Mercury* (1737–69; inherited (William Carnan); died (partners, John Carnan (*q.v.*) Anna Maria Smart (*q.v.*) and her daughters, Marianne and Elizabeth); *Universal Chronicle* [London] (1758–60; *Publick Ledger* [London] (est. 1760) **p.** partnership; John Carnan (*q.v.*) (1739–67); Charles Micklewright (1741–55); Mary Micklewright (1755–6); Charles Pocock (1756–61); Anna Maria Smart (*q.v.*) (1762–7) **pub.** shares in *British Magazine* (est. 1760) **occ.** bookseller, circulating library owner, medicine seller, stationer **refs.** Burton, *Early Newspaper Press*, pp. 104–108; Maxted, 'Newbery, Francis', *ODNB*; Maxted, 'Newbery, John', *ODNB*.

Newcomb, Richard snr (Richard Newcomb, 'gentleman') **a.** bd. 7 Sep 1773, fd. 3 Feb 1784; Thomas Fletcher (*q.v.*) **n.** *Stamford Mercury* (1785–1828; purchased

share; retired (son Richard Newcomb jr (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; Christopher Peat (1785–1812); son Richard Newcomb jr (1812–28) **ins.** 1784/5, £2,100; 1785/6, £200 **occ.** bookseller, bookbinder, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, nos. 5716–18, 2931.

Newcomb, Richard jr (*d.* 1851) **a.** bd. 1 May 1798; father Richard Newcomb snr (*q.v.*) **n.** *Stamford Mercury* (1812–51; inherited (father Richard Newcomb snr; died (nephew, Robert Edmond Newcombe) **p.** solo>50; father, Richard Newcomb snr (1812–28) **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** BBTI; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, no. 5718.

Northall, John n. *Sheffield Courant* (1793–7; purchased (originally *Sheffield Public Advertiser* from ?John Brookfield); paper ceased) **p.** partnership William Beattie (1793–7) **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, chapman, circulating library owner, music seller, printer, print seller **refs.** BBTI; Clare, 'Growth and Importance', pp. 22, 174, 205; Happs, 'Sheffield Newspaper Press', pp. 41–2, 80.

Ordoyno, Charles Sambroke (*d.* 1826) **n.** *Derby Herald* (1792; founder; paper ceased) **p.** solo **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, circulating library owner, ?engraver, printer, stationer **refs.** Andrew, 'Derbyshire Newspaper Press', pp. 246–8; BBTI; Taylor, 'Derbyshire Printing', p. 52; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 773.

Peacock, Caesar (George Peacock, newspaper proprietor) **n.** *York Courant* (1809–15; family business (father George Peacock (*q.v.*); sold (William Hargove (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **occ.** printer, publisher, *York Courant* (1815–19) **refs.** Sessions, *Printing in York*, p. 942.

Peacock, George n. *York Courant* (1788–1809; inherited (partner and mother-in-law Ann Ward (*q.v.*); retired (son, Caesar Peacock (*q.v.*) **p.** solo>50; Ann Ward (1788–9) **occ.** printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Ferdinand, 'Ward, Ann', *ODNB*; Ferdinand, 'Ward, Caesar', *ODNB*; Sessions, *Printing in York*, p. 942.

Pearson, Ann (*d.* 1779) **n.** *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* (1768–79; inherited (husband Richard Pearson (*q.v.*); unknown disposal (son, Thomas Pearson (*q.v.*) and partner, James Rollason (*q.v.*); *Warwickshire Weekly Journal* (1769–73) **p.** at *ABG* and *WWJ* Samuel Aris, 1768–75; James Rollason, 1775–9; ? sister Catherine Aris (Samuel Aris's widow) (1775–9) **ins.** (with Rollason) 1775/6, £1,000; 1778/9, £1,500 **occ.** printer **refs.** Jenkins, 'Printing in Birmingham', pp. 75–6, 150; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'.

Pearson, Richard (*d.* 1768) **n.** *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* (1760–68; inherited (?Thomas Aris (*q.v.*); died (partner, Samuel Aris (*q.v.*) and widow Ann Pearson (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; Samuel Aris **occ.** printer **refs.** Jenkins, *Printing in Birmingham*, p. 75.

Pearson, Thomas (1762–1801; Richard Pearson (*q.v.*) and Ann Pearson (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor) **a.** fd. 8 Jun 1784; father Richard Pearson **n.** *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* (1783–1801; inherited (mother Ann Pearson (*q.v.*); died (Thomas Knott (*q.v.*) **p.** solo>50; James Rollason (1783–9) **occ.** almanack vendor, bookbinder, bookseller, printer, print seller, stationer **wd.** £2,000; printing office and shop, Swan Inn **refs.** BBTI; Jenkins, *Printing in Birmingham*, pp. 76, 178–52, 192–9; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, no., 6236; UBD ii, 230; Will of Thomas Pearson, PCC, PROB 11/1377.

Peat, Christopher a. Samuel Drewry (*q.v.*), Derby printer **n.** *Stamford Mercury* (1785–1812; purchased share (Richard Newcomb (*q.v.*); unknown disposal) **p.** partnership; Richard Newcomb (1785–1812) **occ.** printer **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'.

Peck, Robert (1774–1819; Daniel Peck) **n.** *Hull Packet* (1798–1819; purchased (employer Thomas Lee (*q.v.*); died (widow Thomasin Peck (*q.v.*)) **p.** solo>50; Richard Wells (Jan–Jun 1819) **app.** William Etty, bd. 1798 **occ.** editor, *Hull Packet* (1783–98) medicine seller, printer, shares in Hull Dock Company **refs.** Chilton, *Early Hull Printers*, pp. 56–7, 59, 63, 67; Gilchrist, *Life of William Etty*, pp. 22–30; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 870.

Peck, Thomasin n. *Hull Packet* (1819–1820/21; inherited (husband Robert Peck (*q.v.*) purchased his partner, Richard Wells' shares too); unknown disposal (sold to Richard Allanson) **p.** solo **occ.** printer **refs.** Chilton, *Early Hull Printers*, pp. 67–9.

Perkins, John (1766–1846) **n.** *Hull Rockingham* (1811–41; purchased share; retired (partner Revd George Lee (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; Revd George Lee (1811–41) **occ.** ink manufacturer, printer **refs.** Chilton, *Early Hull Printers*, pp. 160, 163–5.

Phillips, Matthew (1775–1859) **n.** *Brighton Herald* (1806–08; co-founder; sold (partners Harry Robinson Attree (*q.v.*) and William Fleet (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; Harry Robinson Attree and William Fleet (1806–08) **occ.** innkeeper, land surveyor, schoolmaster **refs.** BBTI.

Phillips, Richard (1767–1840; father, farmer) **n.** *Leicester Herald* (1792–5; founder; paper ceased (fire) **p.** solo **pub.** *The Museum* (Leicester, 1795); *Monthly Magazine* (London, est. 1796); *Antiquary's Magazine* (est. 1807) **occ.** usher at a Chester school (1786), author, bookseller, circulating library owner, hosier, medicine seller, music seller, printer, print seller **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; DNB (RP); Rafferty, *Writers*, p. 81; Seccombe, 'Phillips, Sir Richard', *ODNB*; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, pp. 771; UBD iii, 603; Watkins and Schoberl, *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 271–2.

Pine, William snr (1739–1803) **n.** *Bristol Chronicle* (1760–61; co-founder with brother-in-law John Grabham (*q.v.*); paper ceased); *Bristol Gazette* (1767–70; joined Grabham shortly after founded; died (son William Pine jr (*q.v.*) **p.** at *BG* and *BC*, John Grabham (1760–61; 1767–70), at *BG*, Isaac Moore and Fry family (nd); son William Pine jr (1795–1803) **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, circulating library owner, medicine seller, printer, publisher, type-founder **refs.** *Early Bristol Newspapers*, 26, 27–9; BBTI; Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 97–101; Penny, *Examination*, p. 8, 14; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 814; UBD ii, 170.

Pine, William jr (*d.* 1849; William Pine snr (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor) **n.** *Bristol Gazette* (1795–?09; inherited (father, William Pine); ?moved to London (partner John Mills (*q.v.*); *Bristol Mercury* (1818–20) **p.** at *BG*, father William Pine snr (1795–1803); John Mills (1807–09); at *BM*, solo **occ.** bookseller **refs.** Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 100–1; Penny, *Examination*, pp. 14, 15, 16.

Poole, John (1734/5–*c.* 1798) **a.** bd. 1757, fd. 13 Sep 1766; Thomas Ledsham, stationer and bookseller **n.** *Chester Chronicle* (1775–83; co-founder; paper failing (sold to John Fletcher (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; C. Barker (1775–?) **app.** son, Thomas Poole, bd. 1767; C. W. Leadbetter; John Humphreys; William Leicester;

Benjamin Prince; William Hall (later overseer, *Lancaster Gazette*) **occ.** bookseller, printer, publisher, stationer **refs.** BBTI; *Chester Directory and Guide*, p. 32; *Chester Guide*, pp. 65–8; Hughes, *Chronicle of Chester*, pp. 3–32, 78; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Nuttall, 'History of Printing', pp. 26–7; UBD ii, 719.

Pope, Cornelius n. *Bath Chronicle* (1760–68; founder; sold (William Archer (*q.v.*) **a.** bd. 1747; Thomas Boddeley, *Bath Journal* **app.** William Shoude, bd. 1766 **occ.** printer **refs.** Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 200; Russ, 'Bath Printers', pp. 469–70.

Prescott, John (1732–1811) **n.** *Prescott's Manchester Journal* (1771–81; founder; paper ceased) **ins.** 1779/80, £400 and £700 **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, printer, publisher, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 202.

Price, John (*d.* 1831) **n.** *Leicester Journal* (1803–31; inherited (father-in-law John Gregory (*q.v.*); died (son, Charles Price and daughter, Catherine Price) **p.** solo>50; John Gregory jr (*q.v.*) (1803–06); 'Price and Son' (1827–35) **app.** Benjamin Payne; ?Nokes; sons John and Felix Price **occ.** printer **refs.** BBTI; Fraser, 'Press in Leicester', pp. 53–6.

Prince, George (*d.* 1790) **n.** *Hull Packet* (1787–90; founder; died (sold to Thomas Lee (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **occ.** printer **refs.** Chilton, *Early Hull Printers*, pp. 53–7.

Pugh, Charles (*d.* 1788) **a.** bd. 3 Dec 1751; William Faden **n.** *Hereford Journal* (1770–88; founder; died (sister, Margaret Pugh (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **app.** Richard Bowen, bd. 1770 **occ.** bookseller, printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 204; Will of Charles Pugh, PCC PROB11/1167.

Pugh, Margaret (*d.* 1817) **n.** *Hereford Journal* (Jun–Aug 1788; inherited (brother Charles Pugh (*q.v.*); sold (Charles Howard (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **occ.** bookseller, medicine seller, printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI.

Raikes, Robert jr (1736–1811; Robert Raikes snr, stationer/newspaper proprietor) **a.** fd. 4 Oct 1757; father, Robert Raikes **n.** *Gloucester Journal* (1757–1802; inherited (father Robert Raikes snr); retired (David Walker (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **app.** John Evans, bd. 1787 **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** Austin 'Robert Raikes', pp. 21–4; Austin, 'Gloucester Journal'; BBTI; Gregory, *Robert Raikes*; Harris, *Robert Raikes*; McConnell, 'Raikes, Robert', *ODNB*; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, no. 6518; Plomer *Dictionary*, p. 246; Stoker, 'Raikes, Robert', *ODNB* UBD, iii, 195.

Rawson, John jr (1735/6–1796; John Rawson snr, printer/newspaper proprietor) **n.** *Hull Advertiser* (1794–5; co-founder; retired (son, William Rawson (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; son, William Rawson (1794–5) **occ.** circulating library owner, letter press and copperplate printer, stationer **refs.** Chilton, *Early Hull Printers*, pp. 85, 132–39; UBD iii, 352.

Rawson, William (1758–1820; John Rawson jr (*q.v.*), printer/newspaper proprietor) **n.** *Hull Advertiser* (1794–1820; co-founder; died (partner and editor Isaac Wilson (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; William Bell, 1794–? (probably short-lived involvement); father, John Rawson (1794–5); Isaac Wilson (also editor) (1800–1820); William Holden (also printer) (1806–20) **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, circulating

library owner, letter press and copperplate printer, stationer **refs.** Chilton, *Early Hull Printers*, pp. 137–45; UBD iii, 352.

Richardson, Henry (*d.* 1823; father, pressman) **n.** *Berwick Advertiser* (1808–23; founder; died (widow Catherine Richardson) **p.** solo **occ.** printer **refs.** BBTI; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 834.

Robson, Thomas **n.** *Newcastle Journal* (1777–88; purchased (?executors of Isaac Thompson (*q.v.*); paper ceased) **p.** solo **pub.** *Newcastle Weekly Magazine* (1776–?); *Evangelical Magazine, or, Christian Library* (Aug–Oct 1777) **occ.** printer **refs.** Welford, 'Early Newcastle', pp. 41–2.

Rollason, Ann (1768/9–1846) **n.** *Coventry Mercury* (1813–46; inherited (husband Noah Rollason (*q.v.*); died (son Charles Rollason) **p.** solo>50; William Reader (1813–22); son Charles Rollason from 1820 **occ.** bookseller, printer, stamp office agent, stationer **wd.** £14,000 **refs.** BBTI; Wiskin, 'Rollason, Ann', *ODNB*.

Rollason, James [also Rollaston] (1750–89) *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* (1775–89; purchased shares; died (Thomas Aris Pearson (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; Ann Pearson (*q.v.*) (1775–79); 'A. Pearson and Co.' (1775–1783: Ann died in 1779, her executors assisted with the running of the paper until her son, Thomas Aris Pearson (*q.v.*) came of age); Thomas Aris Pearson (1783–9) **ins.** (with Pearson) 1775/7, £1,000; 1778/9, £1,500 **occ.** printer **refs.** BBTI; Jenkins, *Printing in Birmingham*, p. 309.

Rollason, Noah (1758–1813) **a.** 1769; Samuel Aris (*q.v.*) **n.** *Coventry Mercury* (1810–13; unknown acquisition; died (widow Ann Rollason (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; William Reader (1810–13) **occ.** bookseller, circulating library owner printer, stationer **refs.** Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 850; UBD ii, 623; Wiskin, 'Rollason, Ann', *ODNB*.

Rosser, Robert (*d.* 1802) **n.** *Bristol Mercury* (1790–1800; co-founder; financial troubles (sold to partner William Bulgin (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; William Bulgin **occ.** bookseller, lottery agent, printer **b.** 01 May 1798 superseded: 16 Jun 1798 **refs.** Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 72, 106–9; Penny, *Examination*, p. 10; UBD ii, 136, 178.

Rouse, Charles Petman (*b.* ?1768) **a.** James Simmons (*q.v.*) and George Kirkby (*q.v.*) **n.** *Kentish Gazette* (1807–23; inherited (master James Simmons; ?died (partner, George Kirkby jr) **p.** partnership; George Kirkby jr and James Lawrence (*q.v.*) (1807–23) **occ.** bookseller, circulating library owner, insurance agent, medicine seller, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI.

Routh, Catherine (*d.* 1809) **n.** *Bristol Journal* (1800–06; inherited (husband William Routh); sold (John Agg (*q.v.*) **p.** unknown **occ.** printer **refs.** Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 81, 175; Penny, *Examination*, pp. 13–14.

Routh, George (*d.* 1812) **n.** *Bristol Journal* (1775–84; purchased (Hester Farley (*q.v.*); unknown disposal (brother William Routh (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; brother William Routh (1775–84) and Charles Nelson (1775–7) **occ.** printer **refs.** Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 77–9; Penny, *Examination*, p. 8; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 218.

Routh, William (*d.* 1800) **n.** *Bristol Journal* (1775–1800; purchased Hester Farley (*q.v.*); died (widow Catherine Routh) **p.** partnership; brother George Routh (*q.v.*)

(1775–84) and Charles Nelson (1775–7); J. Cassin (1791–2); H. Peach (1792–3) ?solo to 1800 **occ.** printer **refs.** Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 77–81; Penny, *Examination*, pp. 8, 13; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 218; UBD ii, 172.

Rudhall, John (*d.* 1803) **n.** *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* (1785–1803; purchased share (partner John Cocking; died (son John Broughton Rudhall) **p.** solo>50; John Cocking (*q.v.*) (Mar 1785–7); Thomas Cole (1790–92) **occ.** printer **refs.** BBTI; Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 87–90; Penny, *Examination*, p. 7, 15; UBD ii, 172.

Ruding, Walter n. *Leicester Chronicle* (1810–14; co-founder; paper failing (sold to Thomas Thompson) **p.** group+10; Leicester reform committee **refs.** Fraser, 'Press in Leicester', p. 59.

Rushton, Edward (1756–1814) **n.** *Liverpool Herald* (1788–9; co-founder; partnership dissolved (sold to Henry Hodgson (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership (u) **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** Clare, 'Local Newspaper Press', pp. 117; Clare, 'Growth and Importance', p. 122; Royden, 'Rushton, Edward', *ODNB*.

Saint, Thomas (1738–88; Joseph Saint, merchant) **a.** 1753–61; William Charnley, Newcastle upon Tyne stationer **n.** *Newcastle Courant* (1761–88; purchased share (partner John White); died (employee John Hall (*q.v.*) and Joseph Elliott) **p.** solo>50; John White (*q.v.*) (1760–69) **occ.** printer **wd.** £1,525; annuities of £30 p.a.; 2 printing offices and attached domestic property **refs.** Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 221; Welford, 'Early Newcastle', pp. 37–9; Will of Thomas Saint, PCC, PROB 11/1169.

Salmon, John a. bd. 1743; John Whitchurch, Tavistock cardmaker **n.** *Bath Courant* (1773; co-founder; paper ceased); *Salmon's Mercury* (1778–81) **p.** *BC*, William Gye (*q.v.*) (1773) **occ.** bookseller, lodgings owner, printer **refs.** BBTI; Maxted; *Bath Courant*, 23 Mar 1780, 25 Apr 1799.

Sanderson, Elizabeth (*d.* 1797; father, printer) **n.** *Yorkshire Journal* (1790–97; inherited (husband Thomas Sanderson (*q.v.*); died (daughters then sold to William Sheardown (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **occ.** apothecary **refs.** BBTI; *NW* 28 Oct 1939, p. 5; Schofield, *Men that Carry the News*, pp. 78–9.

Sanderson, Thomas (*d.* 1790) **n.** *Yorkshire Journal* (1786–90; founder; died (widow Elizabeth Sanderson (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **occ.** apothecary **refs.** Schofield, *Men that Carry the News*, pp. 76; *NW* 28 Oct 1939, p. 5.

Savage, Thomas (John Savage, miller) **a.** bd. 4 Apr 1769, fd. 7 May 1776; Harris Hart **n.** *Suffolk Chronicle* (1810–12; co-founder; retired (partner (John King (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; John King (1810–12) **occ.** bookseller, miller, printer **refs.** BBTI; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, no. 3744.

Sharpe, Henry snr (1774–1831; John Sharpe, printer/schoolmaster) **n.** *Warwickshire Advertiser* (1806–31; founder; died (son Henry Sharpe jr) **p.** solo>50; trading as 'Henry Sharpe and Son' (1830–1) **occ.** bookseller, music seller, printer, publisher, stationer **refs.** BBTI.

Shave, John n. *Ipswich Journal* (1777–98; granted shares as paper's printer; unknown disposal (partner Stephen Jackson (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; Elizabeth Craighton (*q.v.*) (1777–9); Stephen Jackson (1777–98) **ins.** 1785/7, £1,000 **occ.**

printer **refs.** *History of the Ipswich Journal*, pp. 3–4; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; UBD iii, 431.

Sheardown, William n. *Doncaster Gazette* (1794–1827; founder; retired (sold to employees Thomas Brooke, Charles and James White and George Hatfield); *Yorkshire Journal* (1797; merged into *DG*) **p.** solo **refs.** bookseller, printer **refs.** Schofield, *Men that Carry the News*, p. 78; *NW* 28 Oct 1939, p. 5; UBD ii, 833.

Sheppard, William n. *Bristol Mirror* (1803–8; purchased; paper failing (sold to Andrew Brown (*q.v.*) **p.** solo>50; John Fenley (*q.v.*) (1803–4) **occ.** bookseller, stationer **refs.** Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', p. 105; Penny, *Examination*, p. 14.

Simmons, James (1741–1807; William Simmons, barber/perukemaker) **a.** bd. 1764; Thomas Greenhill, London stationer **n.** *Kentish Gazette* (1768–1807; founder; died (Charles Petman Rouse (*q.v.*) George Kirkby jr (*q.v.*), James Lawrence(*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; George Kirkby snr (*q.v.*) (1768–1803) **app.** William Chalken, bd. 3 Nov 1778, fd. 6 May 1788; Webster Gilman, bd. 7 Nov 1769, fd. 7 Apr 1778; William Lawrence, bd. 5 Apr 1785; Joseph Pym, bd. 3 Nov 1778; William Sedgwick, bd. 7 Apr 1778, fd. 1 Jun 1790; James Lawrence (*q.v.*) Charles Petman Rouse (*q.v.*) bd. 1773; James Sharp, bd. 1773; Peter Burgess, bd. 16 Feb 1775 **occ.** banker, bookbinder, bookseller, circulating library owner, flour mill owner, printer, publisher, stationer circulating library, Distributor of Stamps (during Rockingham administration), flour mill owner, fire office agents **refs.** Andrews, *History of British*, p. 128; BBTI; Knott, 'Competition'; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, nos. 7400–04; Panton, 'James Simmons'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 229; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, pp. 826–7; UBD ii, 502.

Simpson, George (1792–1871; George Simpson, in pottery trade) **a.** Thomas Flindell (*q.v.*) **n.** *Salisbury Gazette* (1816–70; founder; retired (son George Simpson) **p.** solo>50; Thomas Flindell (*q.v.*) (1816–19) **occ.** insurance agent; printer **refs.** BBTI; Slade, 'Wiltshire Newspapers', pp. 40–45.

Sketchley, James (*d.* 1801) **n.** *Bee and Sketchley's Weekly Advertiser* [Bristol] (1777–?) *Coventry Gazette* (1757–63; co-founder; paper ceased); *Birmingham and Wolverhampton Chronicle* (1769–70; co-founder; paper ceased); *Warwickshire Weekly Journal* (1769–73; co-founder; unknown disposal (sold share to partner Myles Swinney (*q.v.*) **p.** at *CG* Thomas Luckman (*q.v.*) (1757–63); at *BWC*, Orion Adams (*q.v.*) and Nicholas Boden (*q.v.*) (1769–70); at *WWJ* Myles Swinney, Samuel Aris (*q.v.*) and Thomas Appleby (1770–73) **ins.** 1785/7, £200 **pub.** *Birmingham Register or Entertaining Museum* (1764–5) **occ.** auctioneer and sworn appraiser, bookseller, lottery agent, money broker, printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Jenkins, 'Printing in Birmingham', pp. 18, 64–73, 114; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, pp. 229–30; UBD ii, 234.

Slack, Thomas (1719–1784; Joseph Slack) **n.** *Newcastle Journal* (1764–84; founder; died (daughter Sarah then her new husband Solomon Hodgson (*q.v.*) (Slack's former apprentice and son-in-law) **p.** solo **app.** Solomon Hodgson (*q.v.*), bd. 1763; Thomas Dixon, bd. 1765; William Perryman, bd. 1769; George Thompson, bd. 1 Jan 1771; Matthew Brown (*q.v.*), bd. 1771; William Darnton, bd. 1771; John Hall (*q.v.*), bd. 6 Oct 1773; Francis Coates, bd. 27 May 1776 **occ.** author, bookseller, printer, publisher **wd.** £5,200; annuities of £4 p.a.; 2 houses with attached

shops, 2 additional houses and pastureland **refs.** Isaac, 'Earliest Proprietors', pp. 153–5; Isaac, 'Slack, Thomas', *ODNB*; Isaac, 'Fisher, Anne', *ODNB*; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 230; Welford, 'Early Newcastle', pp. 33–7; Will of Thomas Slack, PCC PROB 11/1115.

Smart, Anna Maria (1732–1809; William Carnan (*q.v.*), printer/bookseller/ newspaper proprietor) **n.** *Reading Mercury* (1762–1809; given share (step-father John Newbery (*q.v.*); died (daughters Marianne and Elizabeth) **p.** partnership; John Newbery (1762–67); John Carnan (*q.v.*) (1762–85); daughters, Elizabeth and Marianne (1785–1809) **occ.** butter warehouse; medicine seller **refs.** Burton, *Early Newspaper Press*, pp. 108–13; Jackson, 'Print in Provincial England', pp. 76–7.

Smith, Egerton (*b.* 1774 (Egerton Smith, printer/stationer) **a.** bd. 1789; James Ashburner, Kendal **n.** *Liverpool Mercury* (1811–32; founder; died (partners John Smith and William Dolier) *Liverpool Gleaner* (1817; founder; paper ceased) **p.** partnership; partners in wider print business (unknown investment in paper) Samuel Dawson (1803 in print business–1811); 1850, described as 'Egerton Smith and Co.', F. B. Wright; Thomas Burgeland Johnson; Moore Galway; James Melling; Edward Rushton; Edward Melling; John Smith; Thomas Rogerson; William Cockrell; Langley **occ.** author, bookseller, engraver, map seller, mathematical instrument maker, medicine seller, optician printer, publisher, stationer, bookbinder **refs.** BBTI; Buchanan, *Robert Buchanan*, vii; *Liverpool Mercury*, 5 Oct 1832; Perkin, 'Egerton Smith'; UBD iii, p. 722.

Smith, James n. *Staffordshire Gazette* (1813–18; founder; paper ceased) **ins.** 1778/9, £1,200 **occ.** bookseller, insurance agent, medicine seller, printer, stamp office agent, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'.

Solomon, Samuel (1768/9–1819) **n.** *Mercantile Gazette* (1803; founder; paper ceased) **p.** solo **pub.** *The Kaleidoscope* (1818–19; 1820–31) **occ.** printer, publisher, Jewish Doctor, Patentee of Dr. Solomon's Balm of Gilead **wd.** £30,000 **refs.** Andrews, *History of* British, p. 124; BBTI; Corley, 'Solomon, Samuel', *ODNB*.

Spence, Robert (1778/9–1813; Thomas Spence, bookseller) **n.** *York Herald* (1790–95; co-founder; unknown disposal (sold to partner Joseph Mawson (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; Joseph Mawson and Thomas Wilson (*q.v.*) (1790–95) **occ.** bookseller, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Sessions, *Printing in York*, p. 951; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 850.

Stark, Adam (1784–1867) **n.** *Hull and Lincoln Chronicle* (1807–10; founder; paper ceased) **p.** unknown **occ.** author, bookbinder, bookseller, commissioner for taking special bail, owner reading room, postmaster, printer **refs.** BBTI; Olney, 'Stark, Adam', *ODNB*.

Steele, James jr (*d.* 1861; James Steele snr, bookseller) **a.** bd. 1770; James Ashburner, Kendal bookseller **n.** *Whitehaven Gazette* (1819–26; founder; paper ceased) **p.** unknown **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, printer **wd.** under £4,000 (probate) **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'.

Steele, Isaac (James Steele snr, bookseller) **n.** *Westmorland Advertiser* (1811–?26; founder; unknown disposal (James Steele (?*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; 'Isaac Steele and Co' (1818–26) **occ.** hosier **refs.** BBTI; UBD iii, 476.

Stevenson, Seth William (1784–1853; William Stevenson (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor/printer) **n.** *Norfolk Chronicle* (1808–53; business of father (William Stevenson; died (partner William Matchett and son Henry Stevenson) **p.** partnership father William Stevenson (1808–1821); Jonathon Matchett (1808–44); William Matchett (1827–53) **occ.** author, printer, publisher **refs.** Blatchly, 'Stevenson, Seth William', *ODNB*; Stedman, 'Norfolk Newspaper Press', pp. 140–52, 349–50.

Stevenson, William (1750–1821; Revd Seth Ellis Stevenson, clergyman) **n.** *Norfolk Chronicle* (1785–1821; acquired through wife's share (Catherine Matchett (*q.v.*); died (son Seth William Stevenson (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; John Crouse (1785–94); step-son Jonathon Matchett (*q.v.*) (1794–1821); son, Seth William Stevenson (1808–21) **occ.** miniature painter and student at Royal Academy, Fellow, Society of Antiquaries, author, editor, bookseller, stationer **wd.** annuities of £300 p.a.; unspecified property in Norwich **refs.** Andrews, *History of British*, p. 131; Blatchly, 'Stevenson, Seth William', *ODNB*; Stedman, 'Norfolk Newspaper Press', pp. 140–48; Stoker, 'History of Norwich Book Trades', pp. 434–5; Watkins and Schoberl, *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 332; Will of William Stevenson, PCC PROB 11/1645.

Stretton, George (1771–1833; George Stretton, London printer) **a.** George Burbage (*q.v.*) **n.** *Creswell and Burbage's Nottingham Journal* (1793–1832; purchased share; retired (sold to John Hicklin) **p.** solo>50; George Burbage (former master and father-in-law) (1793–1807) **occ.** bookseller, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Clarke, *Early Nottingham Printers*, pp. 23–4; Fraser, 'Nottingham Press', pp. 47–51, 63–6; McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, no. 8042; *NW* 8 Apr 1939, pp. 5, 30.

Sutton, Charles (1766–1829) **n.** *Nottingham Review* (1808–29; founder; died (son Richard Sutton) **p.** solo>50; son, Richard Sutton (?1829) **refs.** *NW* 8 Apr 1939, p. 5; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 834.

Swinney, Myles (1738–1812) **n.** *Swinney's Birmingham Chronicle* (1769–1812; co-founder; died (partner James Ferrall (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; Samuel Aris (*q.v.*) James Sketchley (*q.v.*) and Thomas Appleby (1770–73); Thomas Wood (*q.v.*) (1771–2); a Mr Evetts (1779–80); Edward Walker (1791–3); John Collins (1795–1800); a Mr Hawkins (1797–1802); James Ferrall (*q.v.*) (1802–12); Joseph Lovell (*q.v.*) (1807–8); James Ferrall (*q.v.*) (1807–11) **b.** GM Jun 1779 cert: 17 Jun 1780 **app.** Thomas Wood (*q.v.*) **pub.** *British Museum or Universal Register* **occ.** bookseller, letter-founder, medicine seller, printer, stationer **refs.** Jenkins, 'Printing in Birmingham', pp. 117–44; Lloyd, 'Book Trade', pp. 192–3; Maxted, 'Checklist of Bankrupts'; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; *NW* 7 Oct 1939, p. 5; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 241; UBD ii, 236; Will of Myles Swinney, PCC PROB 11/1595.

Taylor, John (1778/9–1859) **n.** *Bristol Mirror* (1809–59; purchased share; died (son Thomas David Taylor) **p.** partnership>50; Andrew Brown (1809–26); others in 1840s included Richard Smith; a Thomas David; son Thomas David Taylor (1845–59) **refs.** Gallop, 'Chapters in the History', pp. 197–8; Penny, *Examination*, p. 14.

Thompson, Isaac (*d.* 1776) **n.** *Newcastle Journal* (1739–76; founder; died (sold to Thomas Robson) **p.** partnership (u); William Cuthbert (1739–44); several partnerships under 'I. Thompson and Co.', last partnership consisting of Peregrine Tyzack, Robert Thorp and Thomas Aubone (dissolved 1764), then solo **pub.**

The Newcastle General Magazine (1751–?)**occ.** land agent, surveyor **refs.** Welford, 'Early Newcastle', pp. 27–30.

Thompson, Thomas n. *Leicester Chronicle* (1814–42; purchased (employers, committee of proprietors); unknown disposal (son, James Thompson) **p.** solo **occ.** printer **refs.** Fraser, 'Press in Leicester', pp. 60–3; Rafferty, *Writers*, pp. 91–2.

Thorne, Barnabas (*d.* 1785) **a.** fd. 1740; Nathaniel Thorn **n.** *Brice's Exeter Journal* (1766–85; purchased (Andrew Brice (*q.v.*); died (1789, Thomas Brice (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership (u); E. Score; trading as 'B. Thorn and Son' (1781–4) **app.** John Dyer, bd. 6 Apr 1776; George Floyd, bd. 4 Sep 1780; Edward Hoxland, bd. 3 Apr 1784 **occ.** bookseller, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Brushfield, 'Andrew Brice', pp. 200–1; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Maxted, 'Biographical Dictionary (T)'.

Todd, William (*d.* 1848) **a.** James Montgomery (*q.v.*) **n.** *Sheffield Mercury* (1807–24; founder; bankruptcy; (sold to sons Joshua and Henry Todd) **p.** solo **app.** John Clarke (1820) **b.** bankrupt 1824 **occ.** bookseller, medicine seller, postmaster, Sheffield (1815–24), printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Happs, 'Sheffield Newspaper Press', pp. 85–6, 113–14; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 832.

Trewman, Robert snr (1737/8–1802) **a.** bd. 1756; Andrew Brice (*q.v.*), left 1763 after violent quarrel with Brice **n.** *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post* (1763–1802; founder; died (son Robert Trewman jr (*q.v.*) and widow Mary Trewman) *Old Exeter Journal* (acquired and closed) **p.** W. Andrews (1763–65); son, Robert Trewman jr (1790–1802) **app.** Abraham Farthing, bd. 19 Apr 1770 **ins.** 1781, £400 **occ.** bookseller, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Brushfield, 'Andrew Brice', p. 199; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Maxted, 'Biographical Dictionary (T)'; Maxted, 'Trewman, Robert', *ODNB*; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 811; UBD iii, 26.

Trewman, Robert jr (1767–1816; Robert Trewman snr (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor/printer) **a.** ?father Robert Trewman snr **n.** *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post* (1790–1816; business of father Robert Trewman snr (*q.v.*); died (James Bellerby) **p.** solo>50; father, Robert Trewman (*q.v.*) (1790–1802); mother, Mary Trewman **occ.** bookseller, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Biographical Dictionary (T)'; Maxted, 'Trewman, Robert', *ODNB*; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 863; UBD iii, 26.

Tupman, Walter (Samuel Tupman, bookseller/stationer) **n.** *Nottingham Gazette* (1814–15; original printer, purchased (employer Richard Eaton (*q.v.*); paper ceased) **p.** solo **occ.** printer **refs.** Fraser, 'Nottingham Press', pp. 49, 63–4.

Tymbs, Harvey Berrow (Harvey Berrow (*q.v.*), printer/newspaper proprietor) **n.** *Worcester Journal* (1811–36; inherited (father Harvey Berrow (*q.v.*) and step-father John Tymbs (*q.v.*); ?retired (Henry Deighton, John Hyde and George Bentley) **p.** partnership; John Tymbs and Henton James Tymbs (1811–16); Henry Deighton (1822–1836) **occ.** bookseller, printer, publisher, stamp office agent **refs.** BBTI.

Tymbs, John n. *Worcester Journal* (1779–1811; marriage to Elizabeth Berrow (*q.v.*); unknown disposal **p.** solo>50; J. Smart, 1775; son Henton James Tymbs (1808–16); stepson, Harvey Berrow Tymbs (1811–16) **occ.** bookseller, printer, stamp office agent **refs.** BBTI.

Verrall, Edward n. *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* (1749–72; purchased share; unknown disposal (partner William Lee (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership **occ.** bookseller, medicine seller, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Beckett, 'First Sussex Newspaper', pp. 248–51.

Wainwright, James (*d.* 1832) **n.** *Hereford Journal* (1791–1818; purchased (Charles Howard (*q.v.*); retired (apprentice Edwin Goode Wright (*q.v.*) **p.** unknown **app.** Edwin Goode Wright **occ.** chemist, paper-ruler, publisher **refs.** BBTI; UBD iii, 225.

Walker, David (1760–1831) **n.** *Gloucester Journal* (1802–31; purchased (Raikes family); died (sons Alexander and David Walker) **p.** partnership>50; sons Alexander and David Walker (1816–31) **occ.** printer **refs.** BBTI; Austin, 'Gloucester Journal', pp. 285–5.

Ward, Ann (1715/16–1789) **n.** *York Courant* (1759–89; inherited (husband Caesar Ward); died (son-in-law George Peacock (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; David Russell (paper's conductor); son-in-law George Peacock (1788–9) **app.** Lucas Lund, bd. 1770 **ins.** 1785, £1,500 **occ.** printer, publisher **wd.** 2 houses **refs.** BBTI; Davies, *Memoir*, pp. 261–311; Ferdinand, 'Ward, Ann', *ODNB*; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 255.

Ward, William n. *Sheffield Public Advertiser* (1760–93; founder; unknown disposal (sold to John Brookfield (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership (u); Thomas Ward (1777–?) **ins.** 1777, £300 and £500 **occ.** printer **refs.** Clare, 'Growth and Importance', pp. 145–6; Happs, 'Sheffield Newspaper Press', p. 24; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'.

Ware, John snr (1727/8–1791) **n.** *Cumberland Pacquet* (1774–89; co-founder; died (son John Ware jr (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership>50; son John Ware (1776–89) **occ.** bookseller, medicine seller, printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; McKay, 'John Ware', pp. 163–75.

Ware, John jr (1753/4–1820; John Ware snr (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor/printer) **n.** *Cumberland Pacquet* (1776–1820; co-founder; died (from 1827, Robert Gibson) **p.** father John Ware snr (*q.v.*) (1776–89) **app.** Robert Gibson **refs.** bookseller, insurance agent, medicine seller, printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; McKay, 'John Ware', pp. 163–75; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 256; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 877.

Watton, John snr (*d.* 1851) **n.** *Shrewsbury Chronicle* (1810–51; purchased (partner Theodosius Wood (*q.v.*); died (sons John jr and George Watton **p.** solo>50; Theodosius Wood (1810–13); son, John Watton **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** Lloyd, 'Book Trade', p. 192; *NW* 7 Oct 1939, p. 5; Will of John Watton, PCC PROB 11/2137.

Wells, Richard n. *Hull Packet* (1819; purchased share (partner Robert Peck (*q.v.*); bought out (Peck's widow Thomasin Peck (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; Robert Peck (1819) **occ.** assistant to J. Craggs, bookseller in Hull, before and after involvement with *Hull Packet* **refs.** Chilton, *Early Hull Printers*, pp. 67–8, 165–6.

Wheeler, Charles (1750/1–1827) **a.** bd. 1762; Joseph Harrop (*q.v.*) **n.** *Wheeler's Manchester Chronicle* (1781–1827; founder; died (son John Wheeler) **p.** solo>50; trading as 'Wheeler and Son' (1798–1817) **ins.** 1779/81, £300 **occ.** bookseller, printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Clare, 'Growth and Importance', p. 54; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'.

White, John (1689–1769; John White) **n.** *Newcastle Courant* (1711–69; founder; died (partner Thomas Saint) **p.** solo>50; Thomas Saint (1761–9); adviser to

York Mercury (possible financial interest?) (1719–1724); *York Courant* (1725–31); (possibly) *Durham Courant* (1730s?) **app.** Seth Hardy, bd. 1726; Michael Curry, bd. 1744 **occ.** printer **refs.** Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Plomer, *Dictionary*, p. 309; Sessions, *Printing in York*, pp. 934–5; Welford, 'Early Newcastle', pp. 18–23.

Wickham, Thomas n. *Maidstone Gazette* (1815–38; co-founder; unknown disposal (partner Richard Cutbush (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; Richard Cutbush (1814–38) **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, insurance agent, lottery agent, medicine seller, newsagent, stationer **refs.** BBTI.

Wilcockson, Isaac (1783–1851) **a.** *c.* 1793–4; Thomas Walker, Preston printer **n.** *Preston Chronicle* (1818–51; purchased; died) **p.** solo **occ.** bookseller, printer, publisher **refs.** Baines, *Life*, pp. 19–20; BBTI.

Wilkes, John (1750–1810) **n.** *Hampshire Chronicle* (1778–83; share as paper's printer; partnership dissolved); *Salisbury Journal* (minor share, 1772–4; role reduced to agent) **p.** at *SJ*, Benjamin Collins (*q.v.*); at *HC*, Benjamin Collins, Benjamin Charles Collins (*q.v.*), John Johnson, John Breadhower **occ.** bookseller, circulating library owner, music seller, printer, publisher **refs.** BBTI; Edwards, *Early Newspaper*, p. 7; Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins*, pp. 4–5, 64–7, 69–71, 73.

Williamson, Alice n. *Liverpool Advertiser* (1767–89; granted (brother Robert Williamson (*q.v.*); died (partner Thomas Billinge (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership (u); Thomas Billinge (1785–9); other unknown partners **occ.** printer, stationer **refs.** Clare, 'Local Newspaper Press', p. 115; Clare, 'Growth and Importance', pp. 108, 117.

Williamson, Robert n. *Liverpool Advertiser* (1756–67; founder; left country (sister Alice Williamson (*q.v.*) **p.** solo **app.** John Almon (London bookseller and printer, *Gazetteer*, bd. 1751; Peter Joynson, bd. 1751; Samuel Morgan, 28 Feb 1759 **b.** 1764 **occ.** bookseller, printer, publisher **refs.** Clare, 'Local Newspaper Press', p. 115; Clare, 'Growth and Importance', p. 106; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 713.

Wilson, Isaac (1772–1835) **n.** *Hull Advertiser* (1800–32; granted share as editor (employer William Rawson (*q.v.*); retired (sold to John Lawson) **p.** partnership>50; William Rawson (1800–20) and William Holden (1806–20) **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** Chilton, *Early Hull Printers*, pp. 141–5, 181–3.

Wilson, Jonathon (1783/4–1821) **n.** *Macclesfield Courier* (1811–21; co-founder; died (?sold to a J. M. Harper) **p.** partnership (u); 'two attornies, a Cotton-spinner [and] an Ironmonger'; solo by his death in 1821 **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** BBTI.

Wilson, Thomas n. *York Herald* (1790–5; co-founder; unknown disposal (sold to partner Joseph Mawson (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership; Joseph Mawson (*q.v.*) and Robert Spence (*q.v.*) (1790–5) **app.** William Fawdington, bd. 1 Jun 1771 (£80) **occ.** bookseller, medicine seller, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Maxted, 'Index of Masters and Apprentices'.

Wolstenholme, John n. *Yorkshire Gazette* (1819–28; co-founder; unknown disposal (Henry Bellerby) **p.** group+10; joint stock company consisting of members of the York Book Society, of which Wolstenholme was a member and at whose bookshop the Society met **occ.** bookbinder, bookseller, map seller, printer, print seller, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Sessions, *Printing in York*, p. 946.

Wood, Mary (*d.* 1808) **n.** *Shrewsbury Chronicle* (1801–8; inherited (husband Thomas Wood); died (sons, Zacharias Wood (*q.v.*) Theodosius Wood (*q.v.*) and daughter, Annie Hulbert (*q.v.*) **p.** solo, assisted by sons Thomas and Percival until their deaths in early adulthood **occ.** printer **refs.** NW (Shrewsbury), 5; Lloyd, 196.

Wood, Theodosius (1782–1836; Thomas Wood (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor/ printer) **n.** *Shrewsbury Chronicle* (1808–13; inherited (mother Mary Wood (*q.v.*); took Holy Orders (sold to partner John Watton) **p.** partnership; initially brother Zacharias Wood (*q.v.*) and sister Annie Hulbert (*q.v.*) (1808–10); from 1810, John Watton (Theodosius at Magdalene College, Cambridge) **occ.** printer, Vicar from 1813 **refs.** Lloyd, 'Book Trade', pp. 146–7, 192; *NW* 7 Oct 1939, p. 5.

Wood, Thomas (1746–1801; Stephen Wood, clothier) **a.** bd. 1768; Myles Swinney (*q.v.*) **n.** *Swinney's Birmingham Chronicle* (1771–2; co-founder); *Shrewsbury Chronicle* (1772–1801; founder; died (widow (Mary Wood (*q.v.*) **p.** at *SBC* Myles Swinney (1771–2) **occ.** printer **wd.** annuities of £121 p.a. from £2,410 mortgages lent out on 6 properties; 1 family property **refs.** Jenkins, 'Printing in Birmingham', pp. 269–70; Lloyd, 'Book Trade', p. 196; Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 269; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 808; Will of Thomas Wood, PCC PROB 11/1361.

Wood, Zacharias (*d.* 1812; Thomas Wood (*q.v.*), newspaper proprietor) **n.** Shrewsbury Chronicle (1808–9; inherited (mother Mary Wood (*q.v.*); sold share (Theodosius Wood (*q.v.*) **p.** partnership brother Theodosius Wood (*q.v.*) and sister Annie Hulbert (*q.v.*) **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** BBTI; *NW* 7 Oct 1939, p. 5.

Woolmer, Shirley (1758/9–1831) **n.** *Exeter Gazette* (1792–1823; founder; retired (son, Edward Woolmer) **p.** unknown **ins.** 1785, £100; 1786, £800 **occ.** book-binder, bookseller, circulating library owner, music seller, printer, print seller, stationer, sub-distributor of stamps **refs.** Maxted, 'Biographical Dictionary (W); Maxted, 'Index to Insurance'; *NW* 9 Sep 1939, p. 5.

Wright, Edwin Goode n. *Hereford Journal* (1818–40; inherited (former employer James Wainwright (*q.v.*); unknown disposal (acquired by Edward Weymss) **p.** solo **occ.** printer and editor of *Hereford Journal* for Wainwright (1802–1818), circulating library owner, printer, publisher refs. BBTI; Pigot and Co., *Directory of Staffordshire* (1830).

Wright, Francis Brown n. *Liverpool Chronicle* (1804–11; co-founder; paper ceased (Wright declared bankrupt) **p.** partnership (u); William Jones (*q.v.*) **b.** 1811 **occ.** chapman, printer, publisher, stationer **refs.** BBTI.

Wright, Griffith snr (1732–1818) **n.** *Leeds Intelligencer* (1754–84; founder; retired (son Thomas Wright (*q.v.*) **p.** solo>50; trading as 'Wright and Son' (1780–90) **occ.** bookseller, printer, stationer **refs.** BBTI; Clare, 'Growth and Importance', p. 216; Looney, 'Advertising and Society', p. 30 Plomer et al., *Dictionary*, p. 273; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 869.

Wright, Griffith jr (*d.* 1855; Thomas Wright (*q.v.*), bookseller/newspaper proprietor) **n.** *Leeds Intelligencer* (1805–18; inherited from father Thomas Wright); sold **p.** solo **occ.** printer **refs.** Clare, 'Growth and Importance', pp. 216–17; Looney, 'Advertising and Society', p. 30; *NW* 19 August 1939, p. 5.

Wright, **Thomas** (1756–1805; Griffith Wright snr (*q.v.*), bookseller/newspaper proprietor) **n.** *Leeds Intelligencer* (1780–1805; business of father Griffith Wright snr; died (son Griffith Wright jr (*q.v.*) **p.** solo>50; **occ.** bookseller, printer **refs.** BBTI; Clare, 'Growth and Importance', p. 216; Looney, 'Advertising and Society', p. 30; UBD iii, 536, 541.

Wroe, **James** (1787/8–1844) **n.** *Manchester Observer* (1818–21; co-founder; paper ceased (Wroe imprisoned for producing seditious publication) **p.** group+5; group of radicals including John Saxton, John Knight, Joseph Johnson, ?Thomas Rogerson and unknown others **occ.** originally woolcomber, then became interested in local politics; bookbinder, news agent, printer, publisher, stationer **refs.** Andrews, *History of British*, p. 134; BBTI; Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 869.

Notes

Introduction

1. 'Post Office' (1819) by Edward Villiers Rippingille.
2. F. Knight Hunt (1850) *The Fourth Estate: Contributions Towards a History of Newspapers, and the Liberty of the Press* (London); A. Andrews (1859) *The History of British Journalism* (2 vols., London); H. R. Fox Bourne (1887) *English Newspapers: Chapters in the History of Journalism* (2 vols., London); Arthur Aspinall (1949) *Politics and the Press, c.1780–1850* (London).
3. G. R. Cranfield (1962) *The Provincial Newspaper, 1700–1760* (London); R. M. Wiles (1965) *Freshest Advices: Early Provincial Newspapers in England* (Ohio).
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7. H. Barker and S. Burrows (2002) 'Introduction', *Press, Politics and the Public Sphere in Europe and North America 1760–1820* (Cambridge), p. 1.
8. L. Brockliss and D. Eastwood (eds) (1997) *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles c. 1750-c. 1850* (Manchester); Neville Kirk (ed.) (2000) *Northern Identities: Historical Interpretations of 'the North' and 'Northerness'* (Aldershot).
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10. J. Habermas (1962) *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, tr. T. Burger (2003) (Cambridge, MA), p. 27. While Habermas's public sphere has offered an important model of communication and political participation in eighteenth-century England, it is my intention in this work to move beyond debates on the public sphere, which have been extensive and varied.

11. Criticisms and revisions of Habermas are of course numerous: B. Robbins (1993) 'Introduction: The Public as a Phantom', in B. Robbins (ed.) *The Phantom Public Sphere* (Minneapolis), pp. vii–xxvi; G. Eley (1992) 'Nations, Publics and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century', in C. Calhoun (ed.) *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, MA), pp. 289–339 and even more radically of counterpublics (Warner, 2002).
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18. '… despite the apparent independence of an active public role and influence within social networks, their position was ultimately only realised through their connections with each other within the constraints of local society as a whole': D'Cruze, 'Middling Sort in Eighteenth-Century Colchester', p. 182.
19. See Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and Public Opinion*; Bickham, *Making Headlines*; Cf. Aspinall, *Politics and the Press*; L. Werkmeister (1963) *The London Daily Press, 1772–1792* (Lincoln, NE).
20. J. Brewer (1976) *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III* (Cambridge); Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and Public Opinion*; Wilson, *Sense of the People*.
21. Harris, *Politics and the Rise*, p. 32.
22. Brewer, *Party Ideology*, p. 16.
23. Christopher Reid (2012) *Imprison'd Wranglers: The Rhetorical Culture of the House of Commons 1760–1800* (Oxford).
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30. Richard R. John and Jonathan Silberstein-Loeb (2015) *The Making of News ... Should also Add E. P. Thompson* (Oxford).
31. Gilmartin, *Print Politics*.
32. Cf. Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and Public Opinion*.
33. 'Professionals' should be studied within the context of period: S. Nenadic (2012) 'Architect-Builders in London and Edinburgh, c. 1750–1800, and the Market for Expertise', *Historical Journal*, LV, 597–617 (p. 601); R. O'Day (2000) *The Professions in Early Modern England, 1450–1600* (Abingdon), ch. 1.
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36. D. Gambetta (1988) 'Can We Trust Trust?', in D. Gambetta (ed.) *Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations* (Oxford), pp. 213–37; R. C. Mayer, J. H. Davis and F. D. Schoorman (1995) 'An Integrative Model of Organisational Trust', *Academy of Management Review*, XX, 709–34 (p. 712).
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2. On politics and the press: H. Barker (1998) *Newspapers, Politics, and Public Opinion in Late Eighteenth Century England* (Oxford); T. Bickham (2009) *Making Headlines: The American Revolution as Seen through the British Press* (DeKalb, IL); B. Harris (1996) *Politics and the Rise of the Press: Britain and France, 1620–1800* (London and New York); S. Lutnick (1967) *The American Revolution and the British Press, 1775–1783* (Columbia, MO); R. Rea (1963) *The English Press in Politics, 1760–1774* (Lincoln, NE); K. Schweizer and J. Black (eds) (1989) *Politics and the Press in Hanoverian Britain* (Lewiston, NY); Wilson, *Sense of the People*, esp. pp. 37–47, 108–14, 348–50.

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20. F. O'Gorman (1989) *Voters, Patrons, and Parties: The Unreformed Electorate of Hanoverian England 1734–1832* (Oxford), p. 60.
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24. Harris, 'London Newspapers', pp. 424, 427.
25. *York Chronicle*, 14 and 21 June 1776; *Nottingham Journal*, 6 Jan 1781; D. Read (1961) *Press and People, 1790–1850: Opinion in Three English Cities* (Aldershot), p. 210.
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27. Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and Public Opinion*, pp. 115–6.
28. *Flindell's Western Luminary: List of Subscribers* (Exeter, [1815]).
29. *Prospectus of a Weekly Newspaper, to be published the first SATURDAY in July 1794, under the title of THE HULL ADVERTISER.*
30. *Kentish Gazette or Canterbury Advertiser*, 30 April–4 May 1768.
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32. Slauter, 'Upright Piracy', pp. 47–8, 54.
33. Harris, 'London Newspapers', pp. 418–9.
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36. *Derby Journal*, 2 August 1776.
37. Heyd, *Reading Newspapers*, esp. ch. 4.
38. *Salopian Journal and Courier of Wales*, 29 January 1794.
39. For example, *Liverpool General Advertiser*, 13 August, 1779; *Cumberland Pacquet*, 18 February 1789, 17 February 1790.
40. *Supplement to Harrison's Derby and Nottingham Journal*, 19 March 1779.
41. *Harrison's Derby and Nottingham Journal*, 18 March 1779.
42. Gardner, 'Communications Broker', p. 547.
43. J. D. Andrew (1954) 'The Derbyshire Press, 1720–1855' (Reading Univ., MA thesis), p. 161.
44. *Bristol Mercury*, 3 April 1832. Likewise, the *Staffordshire Advertiser*, similarly, was published on a Saturday 'for the farmers and country readers attending market day': J. Amphlett (1860) *The Newspaper Press in Part of Our Last Century, and Up to the Present Period of 1860* (London), p. 37.
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49. H. Robinson (1948) *The British Post Office: A History* (Westport), p. 148, n. 21.
50. *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, 2 July 1757.
51. *Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1838, quoted in H. R. Fox Bourne (1887) *English Newspapers: Chapters in the History of Journalism* (2 vols., London), I, 271.
52. *The Star*, 1 January 1795.
53. For example, *The Star*, 20 July 1790.
54. Contrary to Anderson's notion of the 'imagined community', Heyd suggests that newspapers created 'a more complex group experience … a joint understanding of the world in the medium term and a collective comprehension of past events, a certain common memory': Heyd, *Reading Newspapers*, p. 148.
55. J. Beresforde (ed.) (1924) *Diary of James Woodforde, 1758–81* (Oxford), pp. 18, 21, 116, 133, 271, 282, 321.
56. Beavis Wood to Dudley Ryder, 2 April 1799, quoted in I. Maxted, 'The French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars', *Papers in the British Book Trade*, 12, http://bookhistory.blogspot.co.uk.
57. *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 1 January 1778.
58. *Liverpool General Advertiser*, 25 February 1780.
59. D. Clare (1960) 'The Growth and Importance of the Newspaper Press in Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield and Leeds Between 1780 and 1800' (Manchester Univ., MA thesis), p. 43.

60. C. H. Timperley (1842) *Encyclopaedia of Literary and Typographical Anecdote; Being a Chronological Digest of the Most Interesting Facts Illustrative of the History of Literature and Printing* (London), p. 817.

61. *Norfolk Chronicle*, 5 January 1782: 'Of ... J. CROUSE [owner of the *Chronicle*] may be had LONDON NEWSPAPERS *Delivered Regularly every Day,* And about SIXTEEN HOURS sooner than usual'.

62. *Glocester Journal*, all issues June 1771, December 1771, June 1809, December 1809; *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, all issues June 1785, June 1810.

63. I. Jackson (2005) 'The Geographies of Promotion: A Survey of Advertising in Two Eighteenth-Century English Newspapers', in John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong (eds) *Printing Places: Locations of Book Production and Distribution Since 1500* (New Castle, DE and London), p. 69.

64. *Salopian Journal and Courier of Wales*, 29 January 1794.

65. *Kentish Gazette or Canterbury Advertiser*, 30 April–4 May 1768.

66. A. H. Norway (1895) *History of the Post-Office Packet Service Between the Years 1793–1815* (London), pp. 2–3.

67. *Portsmouth Telegraph; or, Mottley's Naval and Military Journal*, 14 October 1799.

68. See most recently, Reid, *Imprison'd Wranglers*; N. Hessell (2012) *Literary Authors, Parliamentary Reporters: Johnson, Coleridge, Hazlitt, Dickens* (Cambridge).

69. C. Reid (2000) 'Whose Parliament? Political Oratory and Print Culture in the Later Eighteenth Century', *Language and Literature*, IX, 122–34 (p. 126).

70. J. Habermas (2003) *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. T. Burger (Cambridge, MA), p. 66. Also quoted in Reid, 'Whose Parliament?', p. 128.

71. Reid, *Imprison'd Wranglers*; D. Wahrman (1992) 'Virtual Representation: Parliamentary Reporting and Languages of Class in the 1790s', *Past and Present*, CXXXVI, 83–113.

72. *Bristol Gazette*, 16 July 1807.

73. C. Knight (1864) *Passages of a Working Life During Half a Century: With a Prelude of Early Reminiscences* (7 vols., London), I, 109.

74. Quoted in A. Andrews (1859) *The History of British Journalism* (2 vols., London), II, 125.

75. A. Aspinall (1956) 'The Reporting and Publishing of the House of Commons Debates, 1771–1834', in R. Pares and J. P. Taylor (eds) *Essays Presented to Sir Lewis Namier* (London), pp. 227–57 (p. 240).

76. *Salopian Journal and Courier of Wales*, 29 January 1794.

77. Quoted in Aspinall, 'Reporting and Publishing', p. 232.

78. Thomas Creevy, for example, was prosecuted for libel against one Mr Fitzpatrick, inspector of taxes at Liverpool, at Lancaster Assizes, found guilty and was not let off in his appeal in the Lords. Aspinall, 'Reporting and Publishing', p. 231; *The European Magazine, and London Review*, 64, July–December 1813 (London, 1813), p. 157.

79. Francis Basset, Baron de Dunstanville to Thomas Flindell, 20 May 1818, Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office (WSRO), Misc. 130/75, Flindell Correspondence.

80. De Dunstanville to Thomas Flindell, 17 April 1818, WSRO, Misc. 130/75, Flindell Correspondence.

81. For example, *Cumberland Pacquet*, 24 March 1790.

82. Gardner, 'Newspaper Proprietors', p. 300.

83. G. A. Cranfield (1978) *The Press and Society from Caxton to Northcliffe* (London), pp. 187–8.

84. E. Baines (1859) *The Life of Edward Baines, by his Son* 2nd edn (London), p. 36.

85. For example, *Adam's Weekly Courant* [Chester], 23 February 1779.
86. Harris, *Politics and the Rise*, p. 38.
87. C. Brooks (1991) 'John Reeves and his Correspondents: A Contribution to the Study of British Loyalism, 1792–1793', in L. Domergue and G. Lamoine (eds) *Apres 89: La Revolution Modele ou Repoussoir* (Toulouse), p. 56.
88. John H. Moggridge to Lord Grey, 15 January 1819, quoted in P. Brett (1997) 'Early Nineteenth Century Reform Newspapers in the Provinces: the *Newcastle Chronicle* and the *Bristol Mercury*', in M. Harris and T. O'Malley (eds) *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History 1995 Annual* (Connecticut), p. 60.
89. Kevin Gilmartin (1996) *Print Politics: The Press and Radical Opposition in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge), pp. 74–6, 87.
90. Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and Public Opinion;* Cf. Aspinall*, Politics and the Press*; Werkmeister, *London Daily Press*.
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92. F. Freeling (1809) 'History of Francis Freeling's Work at the Post Office', British Postal Archive, POST 98/9.
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94. S. Dowell (1884) *A History of Taxation and Taxes in England* (4 vols., London), II, 206–7.
95. Oats and Sadler, 'Political Suppression', 107–8; Dowell, *History of Taxation*, pp. 207–8. Analysis of taxes requires caution for the accuracy of government accounts cannot be assured.
96. Quoted in L. Oats and P. Sadler (2004) 'Stamp Duty, Propaganda and the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars', *Studies in the History of Tax Law*, I, 253–4.
97. *The Sun*, 14 June 1798.
98. Brewer, *Sinews of Power*, ch. 8.
99. *Manchester Mercury*, 27 June 1797.
100. 'Declaration of the Printers and Proprietors of the Newcastle Courant, Newcastle Chronicle, Newcastle Advertiser, and Cumberland Pacquet', British Library Add. MSS, 50240, Hodgson Papers.
101. *London Evening Post*, 17 June 1797.
102. *Bury and Norwich Post: Or, Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Cambridge, and Ely Advertiser*, 14 June 1815.
103. *Morning Chronicle*, 8 June 1815.
104. *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, 10 June 1815.
105. J. Peacey (2004) *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda during the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot).

2 Advertisements, Agents and Exchange

1. *Reading Mercury*, 10 July 1797.
2. 'Declaration of the Printers and Proprietors of the Newcastle Courant, Newcastle Chronicle, Newcastle Advertiser, and Cumberland Pacquet', British Library Add. MSS, 50240, Hodgson Papers.
3. *Morning Chronicle*, 20 June 1797; *London Evening Post*, 17 June 1797.

4. *Morning Chronicle*, 20 June 1797.
5. Minutes of 5 March 1799, Minutes of *Salopian Journal* Proprietors' Meetings, Shrewsbury Archives, MS 1923.
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7. *Newcastle Courant*, all issues 1711, 1761, 1801.
8. C. Y. Ferdinand (1993) 'Selling It to the Provinces: News and Commerce around Eighteenth-Century Salisbury', in J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds) *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London), p. 397.
9. J. D. Andrew (1955) 'The Derbyshire Newspaper Press, 1720–1855' (Reading Univ., MA thesis), pp. 329–41.
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11. On advertising and press finance: Ivon Asquith (1975) 'Advertising and the Press in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: James Perry and the *Morning Chronicle* 1790–1821', *Historical Journal,* XVIII, 703–24; H. Barker (1998) *Newspapers, Politics and Public Opinion* (Oxford); Bickham, *Making Headlines*. On advertising and the consumer: C. Y. Ferdinand (1993) 'Selling It to the Provinces: News and Commerce around Eighteenth-Century Salisbury', in J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds) *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London), pp. 393–411.
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16. Wiles, *Freshest Advices*, p. 103.
17. *Kentish Weekly Post*, 5–12 September 1768.
18. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 9 June 1746, 17 February 1772.
19. *Newcastle Chronicle*, 6 September 1766.
20. Feather, *Provincial Book Trade*, pp. 4–11.
21. J. Tierney (2001) 'Advertisements for Books in London Newspapers, 1760–1785', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, XXX, 153–64 (p. 155).
22. *Newcastle Courant*, all issues, 1741.
23. Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins*, p. 193.
24. P. Isaac (1998) 'Pills and Print', in R. Myers and M. Harris (eds) *Medicine, Mortality and the Book Trade* (Winchester), pp. 25–47 (p. 29); L. Curth (2002)

'The Commercialisation of Medicine in the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1640–1700', *The Seventeenth Century*, XVII, 48–69.

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26. J. Newbery (1766) *The History of Goody Two-Shoes* (London), ch. 1; I. Maxted (2004) 'Newbery, John (*bap.* 1713, *d.* 1767)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19978, accessed 4 July 2014.
27. Bergel, 'William Dicey', p. 100.
28. Tierney, 'Advertisements', pp. 156–7.
29. Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins*, p. 193.
30. Tierney, 'Advertisements', pp. 160–2.
31. *Newcastle Courant*, all issues, 1741, 1791.
32. H. Barker (2009) 'Medical Advertising and Trust in Late-Georgian England', *Urban History*, XXXVI, 379–98 (pp. 384 (n. 30), 385).
33. 'The Answer of Thomas Flindell the Defendant to the Bill of Complaint of William Jordan, James Wynne, Charles Say, William Michell and John Elliot, Complainants', 4 March 1804, National Archives, C13/41. My italics.
34. Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*.
35. *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 2 January 1779.
36. *Canterbury Journal*, 29 December–5 January 1779.
37. *Liverpool Advertiser*, 7 January 1799; Minutes of 10 and 21 January 1794, Minutes of *Salopian Journal* Proprietors' Meetings, Shrewsbury Archives, MS 1923; Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and Public Opinion*, p. 103.
38. *Norfolk Chronicle*, 7 January 1792; *Norwich Mercury*, 8 August 1789; *Directory to the Nobility, Gentry and Families of Distinction in London and Westminster, &c. Being a Supplement to the British Directory of Trade, Commerce and Manufacture, for 1793* (London, 1793).
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40. *Kentish Post, or Canterbury News-Letter,* 1–4 June 1768; *Kentish Herald*, 29 April 1802.
41. L. Zucker (1986) 'Production of Trust: Institutional Sources of Economic Structure, 1840–1920', in S. Bacherach (ed.) *Research in Organizational Behavior* (Greenwich, CT); R. Putnam (2001) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of an American Community* (New York).
42. For example, *Liverpool Advertiser,* 10 June 1799, 7 January 1799; *Prospectus of a Weekly Newspaper* [*Hull Advertiser*], [1794]); *Hull Packet*, 6 January 1800.
43. *Bristol Mercury*, 4 January 1819.
44. K. Wilson (1995) *Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England 1715–1785* (Cambridge); V. E. M. Gardner (2013) 'The Communications Broker and the Public Sphere: John Ware and the *Cumberland Pacquet*', *Cultural and Social History*, X, 533–57.
45. Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins*, pp. 85, 86.
46. Quoted in B. Lillywhite (1963) *London Coffee Houses: A Reference Book of Coffee Houses of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (London), p. 154.

47. Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses*, p. 340.
48. *Directory to the Nobility, Gentry and Families*, n.p.
49. Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses*, p. 443. One correspondent of the *Daily News* recalled how, in the early nineteenth century, he had seen, among others, Lord Macaulay, editor of the *Christian Observer*, and later Postmaster-General, and the radical publishers William Hone and William Cobbett all consulting the papers at Peele's.
50. J. Amphlett (1860) *The Newspaper Press in Part of our Last Century, And Up to the Present Period of 1860* (London), pp. 21–2; John Strachan (2004) 'Gifford, William (1756–1826)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10669, accessed 23 May 2014.
51. *Maidstone Journal*, 28 June 1791; *Boddeley's Bath Journal*, 20 January 1800; *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 23 January 1795.
52. D. T. Jenkins (1984) 'The Practice of Insurance against Fire, 1750–1840, and Historical Research', in Oliver M. Westall (ed.) *The Historian and the Business of Insurance* (Manchester), pp. 9–38 (pp. 16–17).
53. J. Strachan (2007) *Advertising and Satirical Culture in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge), p. 163.
54. R. Banham (2009) 'Lottery Advertising 1800–1826', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, XIII, 17–60 (p. 23).
55. Banham, 'Lottery Advertising'.
56. Barker, 'Medical Advertising'.
57. J. Richard (2011) 'Putting in Hazard a Certainty: Lotteries and the Romance of Gambling in Eighteenth-Century England', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, XL, 179–200 (pp. 185–6).
58. James Montgomery to Joseph Aston, 4 September 1804, Sheffield Archives, SLPS 37/1, Montgomery Correspondence.
59. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 5 January 1824.
60. *Edinburgh Review,* 'Provincial Newspaper Press. ART. IV.—*The Leeds Mercury*; *The Manchester Guardian*', *Westminster Review* (January 1830), pp. 69–103 (p. 79); also quoted in Terrence Nevett, 'Charles Lamb's Circle and the Process of Marketing Change', pp. 63–4.
61. Will of William Tayler leaves £50 Bank of England stock at 5% annuities to the poor of the parish 'where I was baptized': Will of William Tayler, National Archives, PCC PROB 11/1592: 'A few days ago died Mrs. Poyntell, of Lincoln, sister to Mr. Wm Tayler, of Warwick-Square, London': *Chester Chronicle*, 2 February 1798.
62. Turner, 'Distribution', pp. 472–3.
63. A few other agents are mentioned in imprints, although none as uniformly as Tayler: *Bristol Observer*, 7 January 1819; *Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette*, 12 April 1817; Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins*, p. 87; Trusler (1790) *London Adviser and Guide: Containing Every Instruction and Information Useful and Necessary to Persons Living in London, and Coming to Reside Her* (London), p. 137.
64. *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 5 May 1817.
65. Will of William Tayler.
66. Trusler, *London Adviser*, p. 138.
67. Turner, 'Distribution', p. 474; *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, all issues, 1799.

68. Daybooks of John Ware, Cumberland Record Office, JAC 462, 28 May 1802, 22 March 1803.

69. D. Clare (1963) 'The Growth and Importance of the Newspaper Press in Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield and Leeds', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 73, 36–7.

70. James Montgomery to Joseph Aston, 4 September 1804, Sheffield Archives, SLPS 37/1, Montgomery Correspondence.

71. *Morning Chronicle*, 18 December 1804; *Morning Post*, 16 January 1804.

72. *Morning Chronicle*, 13 March 1811. See also *Morning Post*, 14 June 1804, 19 June 1805; *Morning Post*, 10 February 1804, 3 April 1805.

73. For example, *Hampshire Telegraph*, 20 January 1806; *Lancaster Gazette*, 4 April 1812.

74. *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 28 December 1809; *Norfolk Chronicle*, 30 December 1809.

75. Christopher G. Kingston (2011) 'Intermediation and Trust', *Ekonomiaz* 72, 64–85.

76. John Ware to Sarah Hodgson, 1 September 1802, British Library Add. MS 50240.

77. *Hereford Journal*, 7 May 1817.

78. Will of William Tayler. James Linden also had a sister called Elizabeth: Turner, 'Distribution', p. 471.

79. Will of Thomas Newton, National Archives, PCC PROB 11/1703/235.

80. David Chandler, 'White, James (*bap.* 1775, *d.* 1820)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29247, accessed 20 June 2014; Chandler, '"There Never Was His Like!"', p. 81.

81. *Stamford Mercury*, 24 March 1820; *Newcastle Courant*, 25 March 1820.

82. *Hereford Journal*, 29 March 1820.

83. Chandler, 'White, James'.

84. Ledger Account Book, 1821–3, John Rylands Library, *Guardian* archive, GB 139 GDN/269.

85. *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, 30 December 1815.

86. Mary Lamb to Sarah Hazlitt, 7 November 1809, in Charles Lamb, *The Works of Charles Lamb* (5 vols., New York, 1837), ii, 233, also quoted in Nevett, 'Charles Lamb's Circle', p. 309.

87. Strachan, *Advertising*, p. 165.

88. Nevett, 'Charles Lamb's Circle', 311–2; Strachan, *Advertising*, p. 2.

89. *Hereford Journal*, 29 March 1820.

90. *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser*, 6 May 1819.

91. Nevett, 'Charles Lamb's Circle', p. 63.

92. H. Whorlow (1886) *The Provincial Newspaper Society, 1836–1886. A Jubilee Retrospect* (London).

93. L. Brake and M. Demoor (eds) (2009) *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* (London), p. 514.

94. J. Silberstein-Loeb (2014) *The International Distribution of News: The Associated Press, Press Association, and Reuters, 1848–1947* (Cambridge), p. 230.

95. *Morning Chronicle*, 8 June 1815.

96. C. Lane (1998) 'Introduction: Theories and Issues in the Study of Trust', in C. Lane and R. Bachmann (eds) *Trust Within and between Organisations* (New York), pp. 1–30 (p. 12).

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3 Provincial Newspaper Proprietors

1. C. Knight (1864) *Passages of a Working Life during Half a Century: With a Prelude of Early Reminiscences* (7 vols., London), I, 81.
2. G. A. Cranfield (1962) *The Development of the Provincial Newspaper, 1700–1760* (Oxford), ch. 12; J. Black (2001) *The English Press, 1621–1861* (Stroud), pp. 178–9.
3. R. O'Day (2000) *The Professions in Early Modern England, 1450–1600* (Abingdon), ch. 1.
4. S. Nenadic (2012) 'Architect-Builders in London and Edinburgh, c. 1750–1800, and the Market for Expertise', *Historical Journal*, LV, 597–617 (p. 601).
5. Cranfield, *Provincial Newspaper*, p. 246.
6. Cf. H. Barker (1998) *Newspapers, Politics, and Public Opinion in Late Eighteenth Century England* (Oxford), p. 110.
7. *Bury Post and Universal Advertiser*, 11 July 1782.
8. *Nottinghamshire Gazette,* 18 August 1781.
9. Cf. B. Harrison (1982) 'Press and Pressure Groups in Modern Britain', in J. Shattock and M. Wolff (eds) *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings* (Leicester and Toronto), p. 277; Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and Public Opinion*, p. 37.
10. D. A. Johnson (1970) 'Joshua Drewry and the First Stafford Newspapers', *Essays in Staffordshire History*, 4th ser. VI, 186–208.
11. Barker, *Newspapers, Politics, and Public Opinion*, pp. 100–4; Minutes of meetings, December to 14 January 1793, 29 January 1793, 25 January 1793, Minutes of *Salopian Journal* Proprietors' Meetings, Shrewsbury Archives, MS 1923.
12. *Morning Post*, Wednesday 3 April 1805.
13. Daybooks of John Ware of Whitehaven, 1799–1802; 1802–1805, Cumberland Record Office (CRO), JAC 461 & 462; Account Book of John Fletcher, Proprietor of the *Chester Chronicle* (1783–1786), Chester Archives and Local Studies (CALS), D3876; Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and Public Opinion*, p. 101.
14. C. H. Timperley (1842) *Encyclopaedia of Literary and Typographical Anecdote; Being a Chronological Digest of the Most Interesting Facts Illustrative of the History of Literature and Printing* (London), p. 869.
15. James Montgomery to Joseph Aston, 29 October 1795, Sheffield Archives, SLPS 37/1-2 (4).
16. G. F. R. Barker (2004) 'Drakard, John (1774/5–1854)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com, accessed 2 June 2014.
17. F. Browne Wright (1809) *A Narrative of the Proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, Against the Editor of the Liverpool Chronicle, for a Libel* (Lancaster), p. 26.
18. For more detail on the methodology employed in the construction of the sample, please see appendix. This chapter divides the sample into two groups: sample group A consists of 273 proprietors and will form the majority of discussion. All individuals in this group owned, in whole or in part, a single provincial title during their lifetimes. Sample group B consists of 'multiple proprietors', those proprietors who are known to have owned, in whole or part, more than one title over their lifetimes, either simultaneously or consecutively. The division between the two groups is necessary because group A deals with one newspaper per proprietor and B deals with more than

one newspaper per proprietor, thus discussion of acquisition or disposal of each newspaper, for example, becomes unbalanced if the two groups are combined. Evidence of proprietors' business activities has been extracted from a wide range of sources but the most significant of these is the British Book Trade Index (BBTI), which provides a list of book and non-book trades attributed to each of its entries on book-trade personnel, see BBTI online: www.bbti.bham.ac.uk.

19. The full range of activities in which proprietors engaged were seldom listed in full in their papers. Joseph Gales's bankruptcy proceedings provide a full account of his business activities alongside the *Sheffield Register*. In them he is described as having followed: 'the Trade and Business of a Bookseller Stationer and Printer and during all such time did seek and endeavour to get his living by buying of Books Paper Pens Ink and other Activities of Stationary and by buying diverse Medicinal preparations and selling the same again and others of the same Trade'. In other sources Gales's additional activities are variously noted as those of a bookbinder, music seller, map seller, print seller, auctioneer, newsagent, insurance agent for Royal Exchange Assurance. Bankruptcy proceedings against Joseph Gales, 23 July 1794, Sheffield Archives, PC 311.

20. 'Book trades' are defined as auctioneer, bookbinder, bookseller, chapman, circulating-library owner, engraver, ink manufacturer, itinerant pedlar, letter founder, map-seller, music seller, paper maker, paper merchant, paper mill owner, paper stainer, printer, print seller, publisher, reading room owner and stationer.

21. Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, pp. 785–6.

22. K. G. Burton (1954) *The Early Newspaper Press in Berkshire (1723–1855)* (Reading), pp. 104–8; Ian Maxted (2004) 'Newbery, John (*bap.* 1713, *d.* 1767)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19978, accessed 14 June 2014.

23. There is some degree of inconsistency in the BBTI data, in which contributors used their own methods to determine what was considered a 'book-trade' activity. Thus, whilst some have defined the book trades broadly, including medicine sales within their remit, others have taken a more restricted view. Research producing low data counts, such as here evident for medicine sales, is more likely to be prone to distortion: J. Hinks and M. Bell (2005) 'The Book Trade in English Provincial Towns, 1700–1849: An Evaluation of Evidence from the British Book Trade Index', *Publishing History*, LVII, 53–112 (pp. 57, 61).

24. In order to achieve effective comparison, the sample has been divided into two groups: group A (273 proprietors), who owned, in whole or in part, one newspaper over their lifetimes and group B (32 proprietors), who owned, in whole or in part, two or more newspapers over their lifetimes. See introduction for methodology.

25. Will of John Gregory, National Archives, PCC PROB/11/1179/69.

26. F. C. Morgan (1941) 'Herefordshire Printers and Booksellers', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, Herefordshire*, p. 114.

27. G. Goodwin (2004) 'Howard, Charles, Eleventh Duke of Norfolk (1746–1815)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13890, accessed 18 September 2011.

28. W. Lewis (1870) *History of the Bath Herald, Established 1792* (Bath).

29. 'I purchased the Chronicle and was persuaded by my friends to attempt, what the united efforts and interest of the party could not accomplish' John Fletcher to John Monk, *Chester Chronicle*, 17 November 1809, quoted in J. Monk (ed.) (1810) *Compilation of All the Authorised Papers Relating to the Election for City Officers in 1809* (Chester), pp. 32–3.

30. In view of the legal requirements that all partners of a business were equally responsible for it, the anonymity of multiple partners in a newspaper business was a problem that the Newspaper Regulation Act (1798) sought to rectify by requiring all owners of publications (as well as printers) to declare themselves on sworn affidavits.

31. *Kentish Post*, 20 July 1768.

32. M. Perkin (1990) 'Egerton Smith and the Early Nineteenth-Century Book Trade in Liverpool', in R. Myers and M. Harris (eds) *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print, 1550–1850* (Winchester), p. 161; 'Narrative of Facts', *Liverpool Mercury*, 10 August 1821.

33. Burton, *Early Newspaper Press*, p. 123.

34. *Bath Chronicle*, 21 October 1784, 20 August 1789, 24 September 1789. Richard and Clement Cruttwell were brothers.

35. *Bath Chronicle*, 13 November 1783.

36. *Bath Chronicle,* 2 January 1783, 5 January 1786.

37. Partnership agreement between Joseph Grice, Jonathan Knott, and Robert Lloyd, Birmingham City Archives, MS 37000/135, EBM 35/7.

38. S. Drescher (1994) 'Whose Abolition? Popular Pressure and the Ending of the British Slave Trade', *Past and Present*, CXLIII, 136–66 (p. 150).

39. James Montgomery to Joseph Aston, 30 July 1794, Sheffield Archives, SLPS 37/2.

40. Partnership Dissolution of James Montgomery and Rev'd Benjamin Nayler, 27 June 1795, Sheffield Archives, PC 318.

41. The minutes of the *London Packet* of 1770, for example, record that all fourteen partners were entitled to reduced-rate advertising: Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and Public Opinion*, p. 33, n. 89.

42. Minutes of *Salopian Journal* Proprietors' Meetings, Shrewsbury Archives MS 1923, 24 December 1793.

43. These were the *Cambridge Intelligencer*, *Chester Chronicle*, *Derby Herald*, *Derby Mercury*, *Leicester Chronicle*, *Leicester Herald*, *Manchester Gazette*, *Manchester Herald*, *Newcastle Chronicle*, *Newark Herald*, *Sheffield Register* (later *Sheffield Iris*). However, the highest number of titles circulating at any one time was eight: M. J. Smith (1979) 'English Radical Newspapers in the French Revolutionary Era, 1790–1803' (London Univ., Ph.D. thesis), p. 8.

44. P. Handforth (1956) 'Manchester Radical Politics, 1789–1794', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, LXVI, 101.

45. Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and English Society*, p. 190.

46. D. Fraser (1966–1967) 'The Press in Leicester, *c.* 1790–1850', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, XLII, 53–69 (p. 59).

47. P. Brett (1997) 'Early Nineteenth-Century Reform Newspapers in the Provinces: The *Newcastle Chronicle* and the *Bristol Mercury*', in M. Harris and T. O'Malley (eds) *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History 1995 Annual* (Westport, CT), p. 60.

48. C. W. Chilton (1982) *Early Hull Printers* (Hull), pp. 211–8.
49. *Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory* (1986) (London), p. 166.
50. J. Amphlett (1860) *The Newspaper Press, in Part of the Last Century and up to the Present Period of 1860* (London), pp. 25–6.
51. H. Lewis (1887) *The History of the Bristol Mercury* (Bristol), p. 8.
52. R. Leader (1892) *Seventy Years of Progress: A History of the Sheffield Independent, From 1819 to 1892* (Sheffield), pp. 29–35.
53. Chilton, *Early Hull Printers*, pp. 211–8.
54. Quoted in Johnson, 'Joshua Drewry', p. 201.
55. Amphlett, *Newspaper Press*, pp. 25–6.
56. E. Howe (ed.) (1947) *The London Compositor. Documents Relating to Wages, Working Conditions and Customs of the London Printing Trade, 1785–1900* (London), ch. 15.
57. R. Welford (1906) 'Early Newcastle Typography, 1639–1800', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, III, 47, n. 26.
58. R. Davies (1868) *A Memoir of the York Press, With Notices of Authors, Printers, and Stationers, in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Westminster), p. 261.
59. Account Book of John Fletcher, CALS, D3876.
60. Quoted in Welford, 'Early Newcastle Typography', 47.
61. 'Declaration of the Printers and Proprietors of the *Newcastle Courant*, *Newcastle Chronicle*, *Newcastle Advertiser*, and *Cumberland Pacquet*', British Library Add. MS 50240, Hodgson Papers.
62. See for example, R. Brown to Solomon Hodgson, 11 August 1790; J. Langdale to Solomon Hodgson, 13 November 1795, Hodgson Papers, BL Add. MS 50240.
63. *Morning Chronicle*, 13 March 1811.
64. *Morning Post*, 14 June 1804.
65. S. Bamford (1859) *Early Days* (Manchester), 297–8.
66. D. Clare (1960) 'The Growth and Importance of the Newspaper Press in Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield and Leeds Between 1780 and 1800' (Manchester Univ., MA thesis), p. 150.
67. Amphlett, *Newspaper Press*, p. 21.
68. Amphlett, *Newspaper Press*, p. 26.
69. M. Royden, 'Rushton, Edward (1756–1814)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com, accessed 14 December 2014.
70. L. Davidoff and C. Hall (1987) *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London), p. 269.
71. Timperley, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 853.
72. Amphlett, *Newspaper Press*, pp. 33, 34.
73. L. Brown (1985) *Victorian News and Newspapers* (Oxford), pp. 81–2.
74. A. Tucker to Thomas Flindell, 2 October 1818, Correspondence of Thomas Flindell, WSRO, Misc. 130/75.
75. Cranfield, *Provincial Newspaper*, ch. 12; Black, *English Press,* pp. 178–9.

4   Securing the Family, Embedding the Trade

1. R. Church (1993) 'The Family Firm in Industrial Capitalism: International Perspectives on Hypotheses and History', *Business History* 35, 17–43;

S. Nenadic (1993) 'The Small Family Firm in Victorian Britain', *Business History*, 35, 86–114 (p. 93).

2. M. Hunt (1996) *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680–1780* (London and Berkeley), esp. ch.1; J. Kent (1999) 'The Rural "Middling Sort" in Early Modern England, circa. 1640–1740: Some Economic, Political and Socio-Cultural Characteristics', *Rural History*, 10, 19–54.

3. A. Owens (2001) 'Property, Gender and the Life Course: Inheritance and Family Welfare Provision in Early Nineteenth-Century England', *Social History*, 26, 299–317; A. Owens (2002) 'Inheritance and the Life-Cycle of Family Firms in the Early Industrial Revolution', *Business History*, 44, 21–46.

4. Nenadic, 'Small Family Firm'.

5. Hunt, *Middling Sort*, esp. ch. 1.

6. M. Mascuch (1995) 'Social Mobility and Middling Self-Identity: the Ethos of British Auto-Biographers, 1600–1750', *Social History*, 20, 45–61 (p. 60).

7. Francis Browne Wright (1809) *A Narrative of the Proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, Against the Editor of the Liverpool Chronicle, for a Libel* (Lancaster), p. 20.

8. Ann Pearson and Catherine Aris.

9. Articles of Agreement between Ann Pearson and Samuel Aris, 15 September 1768, Birmingham City Archives, EBM 35/1 and 25/2.

10. Will of Thomas Saint, National Archives, PCC PROB 11/1169.

11. 'Articles of Agreement between Ann Pearson and James Rollason', Birmingham City Archives, MS 3700/135.

12. Nenadic, 'Small Family Firm', 93.

13. J. Hoppit (1987) *Risk and Failure in English Business* (Cambridge), pp. 10–11, 15–17, 51–5.

14. Will of John Crouse, National Archives, PCC PROB 11/1292; R. Stedman (1971) 'Vox Populi: The Norfolk Newspaper Press, 1760–1900' (Library Association, PhD thesis), pp. 140–8.

15. M. E. Happs (1973) 'The Sheffield Newspaper Press and Parliamentary Reform, 1787–1832' (Oxford Univ., B.Litt thesis), p. 96.

16. Winifred Gales, 'Recollections' (n/d), p. 27, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Gales Family Papers, 1815–1939, http://www2.lib.unc.edu/mss/ inv/g/Gales_Family.html.

17. H. Barker and J. Hamlett (2010) 'Living above the Shop: Home, Business and Family in the English "Industrial Revolution"', *Journal of Family History*, 35, 311–28.

18. J. de Vries (1994) 'The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution', *Journal of Economic History*, 54, 249–70.

19. H. Barker (2006) *The Business of Women: Female Enterprise and Urban Development in Northern England, 1760–1830* (Oxford), pp. 121–5; Joanne Bailey (2003) *Unquiet Lives: Marriage and Marriage Breakdown in England, 1660–1800* (Cambridge), p. 94. Cf Peter Earle (1989), 'The Female Labour Market in London in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., XLII, 328–53 (pp. 338–9); Hunt, *Middling Sort*, p. 125).

20. Gales, 'Recollections', p. 27.

21. Barker, *Business of Women*, pp. 107–8.

22. Winifred Gales to James Montgomery, 24 January 1828, Sheffield Archives, SLPS 36/695.

23. H. Barker (1997) 'Women, Work and the Industrial Revolution: Female Involvement in the English Printing Trades, c. 1700–1840', in H. Barker and

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36. Agreement between Robert Snettie, distributor of the *Newcastle Chronicle*, and Thomas Slack, 5 March 1777, Hodgson Papers, British Library Add. MS 50240.
37. *Norfolk Chronicle*, 26 May 1770.
38. *Newcastle Chronicle*, 25 May 1771.
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40. Snowdon, 'Georgian Women', pp. 132–3.
41. Snowdon, 'Georgian Women', p. 136.
42. Snowdon, 'Georgian Women', p. 133.
43. In 1813 the practice of printing on blanks was banned: see *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, 13 February 1813, declaration that an order had been issued by the Commissioners of the Stamps stating that all future copies, whether sold or given away, were to be printed on stamped paper. After this time, newspaper proprietors therefore had to pay duty on all newspapers, regardless of whether money had changed hands for them.
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47. *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 2 January 1779.
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49. V. E. M. Gardner (2013) 'The Communications Broker and the Public Sphere: John Ware and the *Cumberland Pacquet*', *Cultural and Social History*, pp. 533–57.
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51. *Bristol Mercury*, 22 March 1790.
52. *Bristol Mercury*, 16 September 1805.
53. *Bristol Mercury*, 16 September 1805: 'This paper is sent Free of Postage to any part of Great Britain'.

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57. Smith, 'Radical Newspapers', p. 120.
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59. Haggerty, *'Merely for Money?'*, pp. 133, 168–9; Zucker, 'Production of trust', p. 60.
60. *Chelmsford Chronicle* Minute Book, Essex Record Office, Acc. 5197, D/F, 66/1. Clachar was also a partner at the paper, but his salary as compiler was paid separately from his quarterly dividend.
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69. 29 May 1800, Daybooks of John Ware, CRO, JAC 461.
70. John Ware to Sarah Hodgson, 6 November 1801, British Library Add. MS 50240, Hodgson Papers.
71. John Ware to Sarah Hodgson, 6 November 1801, 1 September 1802, 23 November 1802, British Library Add. MS 50240, Hodgson Papers; John Ware to Sarah Hodgson, 29 November 1818, Tyne and Wear Archives, Acc. 13/11/5, Papers of the Hodgson Family of Newcastle, 1773–1890.
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79. *Newcastle Courant,* 27 January 1781.
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Conclusion

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Appendix

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3. Joint-stock companies with transferable shares, unless authorised by incorporated charter granted by Crown or Parliament, had been prohibited by the 'Bubble Act' of 1720 (6 Geo I, c.18 (1720). This was repealed in 1825 (6 Geo IV, c.19), and before this date, unincorporated companies (a form of joint-stock company) were usually organised under a Deed of Settlement. However, from around 1810, a series of court judgements placed the legality of the unincorporated company in doubt as a legitimate form of business organisation: R. Harris (1997) 'Political Economy, Interest Groups, Legal Institutions and the Repeal of the Bubble Act in 1825', *Economic History Review*, L, 675–96; R. Harris (1994) 'The Bubble Act: its Passage and its Effects on Business Organisation, *Journal of Economic History*, LIV, 610–27.

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William Bristow, PCC PROB11/1485.
Matthew Brown, PCC, PROB 11/1398.
Elizabeth Craighton, PCC, PROB 11/1272.
John Crouse, PCC PROB 11/1292.
Richard Cruttwell, PCC PROB 11/1979.
Cluer Dicey, PCC PROB 11/1012.
Thomas Dicey, PCC PROB 11/1477.
Thomas Flindell, PCC PROB 11/1697.
harles Frost, PCC PROB 11/1136.
Peter Gedge, PCC PROB11/1605.
Robert Goadby, PCC PROB 11/1045.
John Gregory snr, PCC PROB11/1179.
John Gregory jr, PCC, PROB 11/1449.
William Gye, PCC PROB 11/1383.
Weston Hatfield, PCC PROB11/1896.
Samuel Hazard, PCC PROB11/1457.
Francis Hodson, PCC PROB11/1537.
John Hooper, PCC PROB11/1330.
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