Early Modern Publishing

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Research question:
How Did Location Impact the 18th Century Book Publishing in London?
Approach

Making use of quantitative and qualitative methods to engage with a large dataset in a way which is sympathetic to historical context. Taking a heavily data directed explorative approach to the research topic.

Public outreach

We had a multi-tiered public outreach approach. Target audience: hackathon participants, humanities students, open access enthusiasts, library connections, university colleagues

- Instagram (@fegsyeah & @annekata) included photos of the atmosphere of each day
- Twitter (#empub) reported the decisive steps taken in the group along with some photos
- Facebook updates by several members
- Blogs include more personal feelings and findings:

https://earlymodernpub.wordpress.com (Anne & Mathilda)
https://blogs.helsinki.fi/thinkopen/ (Markku, forthcoming)
Why is publishing in London interesting?

● Lots of historical research
  ○ On the role of the author, importance of legal changes with regard to copyright, censorship, history of the printing press, etc..

● Recognized as socially important
  ○ Habermas (1962), Blanning (2002)

● But in many ways being ignored from a quantitative perspective
  ○ “too frequently those who write about the history of ‘print’ are little concerned with printing, about printshop practices, multiple compositors... The place of manuscripts and their relationship to print has become a fetish.” (Raymond, 2004)

● So an investigation which mixes quantitative and qualitative methods
The Data

Audubon, John James, 1785-1851.
The birds of America; from original drawings by John James Audubon...
London; Published by the author, 1827-38.
4 v. ccccxxxvii. col. pl. 99 1/2 cm.

Engr. title p.
Imprint dates: v. 1, 1827-30; v. 2, 1831-34;
See next card.
The data used

**ESTC (English Short Title Catalogue)**
→ What we are getting from it: authors, publishers (and their locations), prices of texts

**ECCO (Eighteenth-Century Collections Online)**
→ What we are getting from it: texts to extract genre information

**BBTI (British Book Trade Index)**
→ What we are getting from it: locations of publishers → coordinates

**Data we are construction and collecting:**
Historic maps and geographic information/data.
London is key
1667 is key

The book trade collapsed, and then had to re-establish itself after the Great Fire of London in 1666.

Ludgate in flames, with St Paul's Cathedral in the distance (square tower without the spire) now catching flames. Oil painting by anonymous artist, ca. 1670.
What does the raw data tell us about the development of the London book trade?
Mapping the stationer network

Including publishers, printers and booksellers

- 7193 — stationers in the whole data
- 5506 — stationers working in London
- 3936 — largest connected component of London stationers
- 383 — largest neighborhood among London stationers (that of Bedwell Law)
- 45 — size of largest cliques
- 37 — largest number of stationers (in fact, publishers) for one book
  - Coles, Elisha (1640?—1680) : A dictionary, English-Latin, and Latin-English (1764)
  - Johnson, Samuel (1709—1784): The works of Samuel Johnson (1796)
Genre classification with naive Bayesian method
The London Phoenix key features:

- **Explorable and GIS compliant map**
  - Based on John Rocque’s 1746 map.
  - Provided by the *Locating London’s Past* project (locatinglondon.org, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0)

- **Real time social network analysis of actors involved in book trade**

- **Contextual information**
  - Years active, role in book trade, genres published, titles published, gender
  - Locations of coffeeshops

- **Visualize changes over time**

- **Exploration based on specific parameters**
  - Number of publications, number of network connections, gender

- **Visualize case-studies**
Who are the publishers?
Women in the book trade

- 99 women were identified as being part of the booktrade out of 4022 total actors.

- Of those who were a part of the booktrade (excluding booksellers) only one was (certainly) not part of a publishing dynasty: Hannah Humphrey (1745 - 1818), publisher of Gillray.

- More research is necessary for a number of others:
  - Mary Bowley (Printer, 1799 - 1806?) almost certainly. Less likely are: Maybe: M. Darly (1762 - 1781), J. Hinxman (1761 - 1764), E. Johnson (1774 - 1798), M Trickett (1775 - 1780), M. Wilson (1781 - 1860).
Publishers in focus

- Andrew Millar (1705–1768), The Strand
- James Roberts (1713–1740s), Warwick Lane

William Strahan
(1715–1785)
St Bride’s and The Strand

Thomas Cadell
(1742–1802)
141 Strand

Thomas Longman
(1699–1755)
Paternoster Row

Jacob Tonson
(1655–1736)
Catherine Street
Publishing dynasties

- The Strahan family (between St Bride’s and The Strand):
  - William Strahan (1715–1785)
    - Succeeded by his son Andrew Strahan (1749–1831)
- The Longman family (Paternoster Row):
  - Thomas Longman (1699–1755)
- By 1750’s powerful bookseller-publishers, including Andrew Millar, Thomas Cadell, and Robert and James Dodsley, had joined or succeeded the trade leadership of Jacob Tonson the elder, Bernard Lintot and John Knapton and his sons (among others)
The Tonson family (Catherine Street, The Strand)

Jacob Tonson (1655–1736)

Richard Tonson

Jacob Tonson (1682–1735)

Jacob Tonson (1714–1767)

Richard Tonson (–1772)

Jacob Tonson (not in the publishing business)
## Recipes for successful publishing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Get an apprenticeship at a successful publisher!</th>
<th>Print to everybody!</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Publish notable books and pay generously to the authors! (but not too much...)</td>
<td>Inherit some money and buy a business!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persuade your family to continue the business!</td>
<td>Publish dictionaries, almanacs and maps!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be the King’s printer!</td>
<td>Acquire copyrights of classic works!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Print to other publishers!</td>
<td>Specialize!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publish novels!</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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*Note: The recipes are listed in a playful and imaginative manner, combining historical and modern elements to suggest innovative strategies for publishing success.*
Copyright laws that affected the publishing business
Battle of the booksellers

- The greatest profits in 18th century book publication in England derived from the ownership of copyrights to successful works. Therefore there was a keen competition on successful books.

- The printers, known as stationers, formed a collective organisation, known as the Stationers' Company.

- The Copyright Act of 1710 or the statute of Anne (1710) - the first copyright law in the world: granted publishers of a book legal protection of 14 years with the commencement of the statute. It also granted 21 years of protection for any book already in print. It created a public domain for literature, as previously all literature belonged to the booksellers forever.

- When the statutory copyright term provided for by the Statute of Anne began to expire in 1731 London booksellers tried to defend their dominant position and lobbied parliament to extend the copyright term provided by the Statute of Anne.
Battle of the booksellers

- This lead to 30-year book battle of the booksellers where London booksellers fought with Scottish book trade over the right to reprint works falling outside the protection of the Statute of Anne.
- The Scottish booksellers argued that no common law copyright existed in an author’s work. The London booksellers argued that the Statute of Anne only supplemented and supported a pre-existing common law copyright.
- Therefore the London booksellers tried to defend their rights of copyright to Scottish (and other English) booksellers. The battle was fought in the form of several law cases.
- Notable cases Millar v. Kincaid (1749–1751), Tonson v. Collins (1761–1762) (related to the Spectator) and Bach v. Longman (1777)
Case studies
George Berkeley (1685-1753)

- Bishop of Cloyne, Idealist philosopher, Educational entrepreneur, promoter of tar-water.
- Philosophical works, published in Dublin from 1709, starting with *An essay towards a new theory of vision*.
- After this, Berkeley’s philosophical works were published by Jacob Tonson publishing dynasty: *De motu* (1721), *Alciphron* (1732), *Theory of vision* (1734), *The Analyst* (1734), *Treatise concerning the principles of human knowledge* (1734), *A Defence of free-thinking in mathematics* (1735), *Miscellany* (1752).
- Berkeley’s base was in London eight 1713-1720 and became part of the literary circle of Pope, Addison & Steele and Swift: perhaps Addison & Steele proposed Tonson who was the publisher of the Spectator. So Berkeley upgraded his publisher.
- Other possible reasons: perhaps Tonson was seen as more progressive publisher than Clements who published mostly religious texts. Perhaps Tonson also paid more, being a large and wealthy publishing company.
- Berkeley’s most well-known works today, that is, *Treatise* and the dialogues were published over ten year later than works on motion and optics, as well as *Alciphron* which is a religious work. *Treatise* was published 24 years after the original publication in Dublin (1710). The Dialogues were published in London over ten years before Tonson by H. Clements.
Berkeley’s London publishing history
Berkeley’s “other” works published in London

- Berkeley had also a number of other publishers for other than philosophical works - he seemed to have chosen them on the basis of the various topics of the books. This seems to have been a common strategy for non-fiction authors - for example, Bernard Mandeville seems to have used the same strategy, publishing most of his philosophical works at J. Roberts and other works at several other publishers. Very often scientific papers were published in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society.

- Berkeley’s Bermuda plan (*A proposal for the better supplying of churches in our foreign plantations, and for converting the savage Americans to Christianity ...*) was published by Henry Woodfall in 1725, Woodfall was a publishing dynasty who had published Alexander Pope, so Pope’s metaphysical optimism fits well with Berkeley’s American optimism which was also supported by Samuel Johnson.

- *Siris: a chain of philosophical reflexions and inquiries concerning the virtues of tar-water, and divers other subjects connected together and arising one from another* is a book about the blessings of tar water and it was published in 1744 by C. Hitch and C. Davis. They were medical publishers, which is appropriate.

- Tar water was a medieval medicine consisting of pine tar and water. It tasted foul and it was used both as a tonic and as a substitute to get rid of "strong spirits". Medical experts have thought it to be a fraud. However, *Siris* sold more copies than any of his other books during Berkeley’s lifetime!

- In the introduction of his *Journal of A Voyage to Lisbon*, Henry Fielding considers tar-water a panacea for treating dropsy. “But even such a panacea one of the greatest scholars and best of men did lately apprehend he had discovered [...]. The reader, I think, will scarce need to be informed that the writer I mean is the late bishop of Cloyne, in Ireland, and the discovery that of the virtues of tar-water".
For your health, Sire!

[Tar water] is of a nature so mild and benign and proportioned to the human constitution, as to warm without heating, to cheer but not inebriate.
The Fieldings

Sarah Fielding (1710–1768)

“the first to examine the interior life of women and children”

Most notable works:

The Adventures of David Simple (1744)

The Governess; or Little Female Academy (1749)

The Cry: A New Dramatic Fable (collaboration with Jane Collier) (1754)

Henry Fielding (1707–1754)

Considered to be the founder of the English novel, along with Samuel Richardson

Most notable works:

An Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews (1741)

The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews and of His Friend Mr. Abraham Adams (1742)

The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling (1749)
Who published the Fieldings works?

Stationers most connected with Henry Fielding:
- MILLAR, Andrew
- WATTS, John
- ROBERTS, James
- CADELL, Thomas
- COOPER, Mary Mrs
- LONGMAN, Thomas Norton
- STRAHAH, William
- ROBINSON, George I
- FAULKNER, George
- LOWNDES, Thomas
- BLADON, Samuel

Actors connected with Sarah Fielding’s works:
- MILLAR, Andrew
- CADELL, Thomas
- DODDLET, James
- DODDLET, Richard
- LEAVEL, James
- SMYYS, Richard
- JAMES, Richard
- INVESTON, Charles
- DAVIES, Thomas
- CONGER, Daniel
- LAW, Edward
- VERNER, Thomas
- WRIGHT, Thomas
How many actors were involved in the publishing of their works?
Eliza Haywood
(1693?-1756)
Main publishers of Haywood
Where were women published?
Gender mapping – who published where?

- For actors in the book trade who we know sold or published female authors, roughly 8% were women.
- James Roberts published most authors in total (904), of these 21 were female (2.3%).
- William Lane was the most prolific publisher and seller of female authors (~ 20 %)
- Female authors are more likely to be associated with Grub Street
Differences in publishing opportunities

Left: Publishers of 147 female authors (blue) vs. all publishers of the data (red).

Right: Publishers of 147 female authors by publication years. 1700-1750: blue, 1751-1799: red
Conclusion and further research
Current Issues

- The data continues to need refinement:
  - Geo-location coordinates needs further human verification
  - OCR is problematic for textual analysis
  - Some data points are missing in our extraction (Chetwood, W. R.; Alsop, E.)
  - Genre classification can be standardized and expanded

Further Research

- Texts which do not have publisher data are worth investigating further
  - For instance, Haywood’s most scandalous political writings do not include exact publisher data (“printed and sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster”); another example is David Hume’s Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion.
- The application could have numerous further features added and refined
References


Wikipedia (George Berkeley, Thomas Cadell, Common Law Copyright, Henry Fielding, Sarah Fielding, Bernard Mandeville, Andrew Millar, Jacob Tonson)