

*The British Pamphlet Press
and the American Controversy,
1764-1783*

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GREAT BRITAIN'S response to the events that took place in North America from 1764 through 1783 was, to a large extent, determined by the way in which the issues were presented by the printers, publishers, and booksellers of London.¹ Although members of the government and merchants had access to reports from agents that kept them reasonably abreast of events in the colonies, a British reader without direct involvement depended almost entirely upon what appeared in print. At the beginning of the French and Indian War in 1754 the most readily accessible information about America was contained in histories, such as those by Nathaniel Crouch, Daniel Neal, John Oldmixon, and William Douglass, which had appeared thirty or more years before. After 1764, these

This paper, in various stages of its development, was delivered on the following occasions: the February 1969 meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society (see *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 81 [1969]: 31-45); the annual meeting of the Oxford Bibliographical Society, March 22, 1972; a meeting of the Review Club of Providence, Rhode Island, April 14, 1973; and the annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, October 16, 1974. I wish to gratefully acknowledge the fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation and the senior fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities, both of which were essential to my work. I am indebted to Nicolas Barker and Terry Belanger, in addition to the editor, for their comments on my manuscript.

¹ The publisher in the modern commercial sense did not yet exist, the printer and the bookseller being the two fundamental agents in the publication of a book. The former occasionally shared financially in the issuance of a publication, but under normal circumstances it was a bookseller who, by putting his name in the imprint, took the public responsibility for the appearance of the publication. The appearance of more than one bookseller's name in an imprint could mean joint ownership, or it could simply mean that more than one bookseller was offering the book for sale.

were replaced by newer works: Edmund Burke's *An Account of the European Settlements in America*, 1757; Thomas Jefferys's *The Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions in North and South America*, 1760; and Le Page Du Pratz's *The History of Louisiana or the Western Parts of Virginia and Carolina*, 1763. They were relatively expensive, selling anywhere from five to thirty shillings. They provided the reader with some idea of the opportunities offered within the newly enlarged empire, but only rarely did they hint at the political tensions between the colonies and the mother country. As yet, intimate information about America was available only to those who were able to go beyond what appeared in print.

Internal colonial affairs did not yet occupy a significant place in the modestly priced pamphlet and ephemeral literature where many of the issues of the day were debated. There was a flurry of pamphlets in the mid-1750s over the Pennsylvania Assembly's refusal to provide supplies for the British troops. These were published, no doubt, more because of their bearing on the prosecution of the war than because of any interest in the politics of Pennsylvania. Not until the Stamp Act did the internal affairs of the American colonies command any widespread attention in British newspapers, magazines, or pamphlets. An evaluation of the part played by each of these publications in the way the British people came to understand what was happening in America must depend in the first instance on a knowledge of the processes through which each reached the public and to whom it was addressed.

This is a study of the pamphlets. It stresses their external history rather than their textual contents. There are two parts to the study: an analysis of the factors that determined printing, publication, and distribution; and a summary narrative of how those factors operated in the case of some of the more notable pamphlets.

Some distinctions should be made at the outset between the pamphlets and the two periodical forms that operated in the

political arena, newspapers and magazines. Perhaps the most important distinction is an economic one. Under normal circumstances a bookseller would not undertake the publication of a pamphlet, regardless of how important it might be, unless he could be sure that his printing costs would be recovered either by subsidy or through sales. Periodicals had an already existing monetary base with subscriptions and, in the case of newspapers, paid advertisements. The decision to publish an author's work in a periodical was a good deal less dependent upon the cost of setting the text in type and a good deal more dependent on an assessment of the competing contributions and of the policies of the periodical itself. This is not, of course, to say that the columns of newspapers were not for sale. The point is that from a business point of view the only serious constraint on the publication of a pamphlet was the cost of its manufacture. Another distinction lay in how the different forms of publication could affect the way a writer expressed himself. Something that appeared in a newspaper, usually in the form of a letter, was less likely to be a finished piece of writing than a full-dress essay issued as a pamphlet that had to depend upon its merits alone to attract attention.² Essays in magazines fell between these two extremes but they tended to display the characteristics of newspapers more than those of pamphlets.

From the point of view of the consumer, the difference between the pamphlet and the periodical had additional significance. A reader who purchased a periodical or picked one up in a coffeehouse normally did so without knowing exactly what he was going to find. In the case of the pamphlet the title-page usually informed the reader of the nature of the contents and gave him the opportunity to make a choice before confronting the text. Newspapers cost only twopence, halfpenny, or threepence, in contrast to the normal price for a pamphlet, one shil-

² T. R. Adams, *American Independence: The Growth of an Idea: A Bibliographical Study of the American Political Pamphlets Printed between 1764 and 1766 Dealing with the Dispute between Great Britain and Her Colonies* (Providence, 1965), pp. xiv-xv.

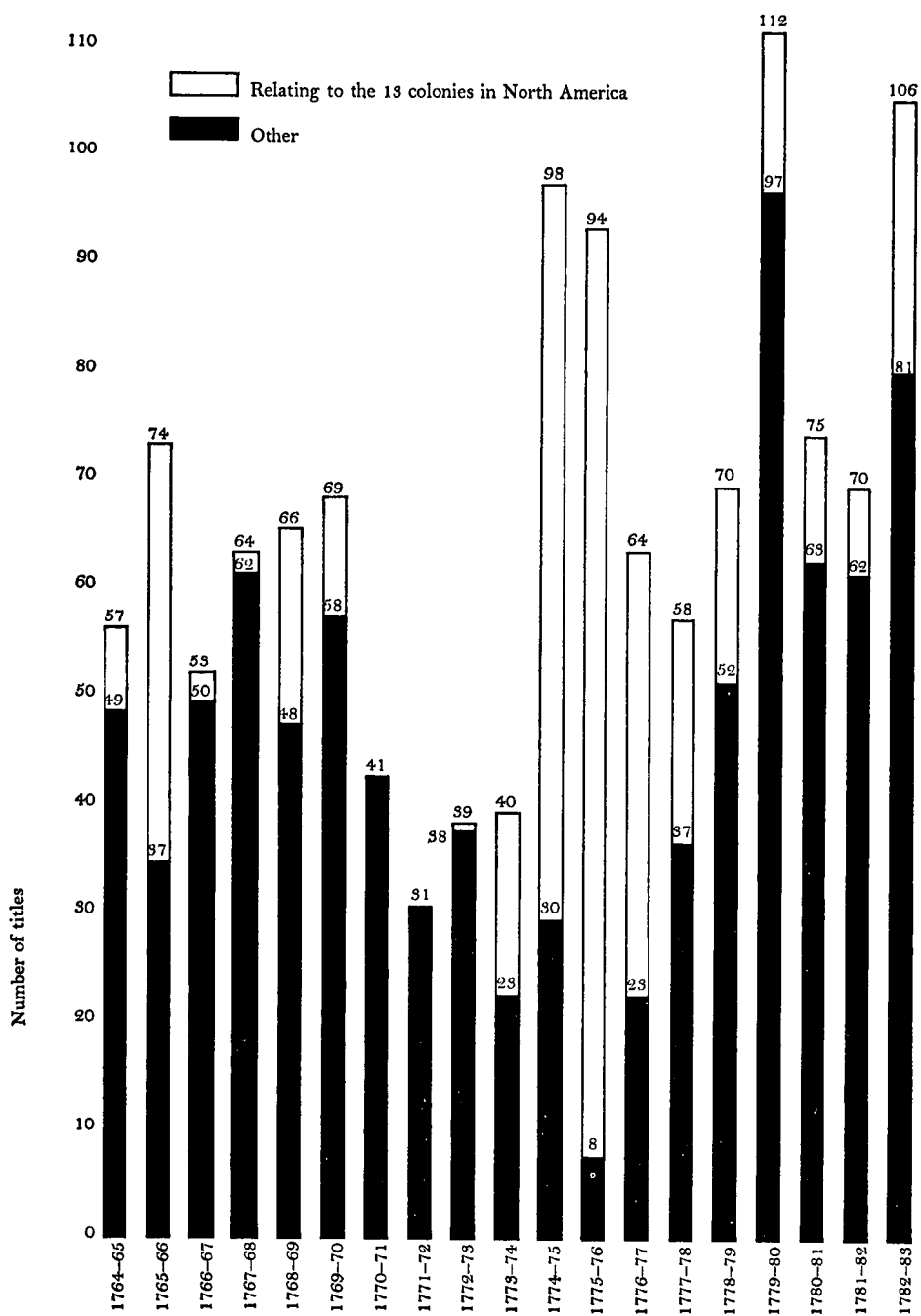
ling. Magazines were usually priced at sixpence during the 1760s and the early '70s but ran to one shilling by the 1780s.

The data for this study are drawn primarily from my forthcoming book *The American Controversy: A Bibliographical Study of the British Pamphlets about the Disputes in America 1763-1783*.³ In the course of preparing that work well over 2,000 titles were examined, from which about 1,400 titles in some 2,320 editions were selected for inclusion. Included are pamphlets relating to Canada and the West Indies, but they constitute only a small proportion of the total. The net was spread wide so that pamphlets with as little as a paragraph about American problems could be included. About 700, or half of the total number of titles, deal entirely or almost entirely with the subject. Unless otherwise indicated, it is this latter group that forms the source of the remarks that follow.

It is necessary at the outset to place the American pamphlets published during the years 1764-83 in the context of all the political pamphlets published in Great Britain during the same period. An analysis was made of the political pamphlets that received notice in the 'Monthly Catalogue' of the *Monthly Review*. The thoroughness with which this magazine, devoted exclusively to reviewing the new books and pamphlets, reported new publications can be assessed by studying its coverage of the pamphlets recorded in my bibliography. The imprints of 235 titles indicate that they were not intended for distribution through the London market, and thus were unlikely to be brought to the attention of reviewers. This leaves 1,165 that were available through the trade and would therefore have been candidates for review in the magazine. Of this number, 872, seventy-five percent, were in fact reviewed. This suggests that the contents of the *Monthly Review* give a reasonable picture of the entire pamphlet activity of the period. The accom-

³ In press, to be published by the Bibliographical Society of America and Brown University Press in 1980 or 1981. Documentation for statements without footnotes is to be found in the description in this book of the pamphlet in question.

THE NUMBER OF POLITICAL PAMPHLETS IN THE 'MONTHLY CATALOGUE'
OF THE *MONTHLY REVIEW*, BY PARLIAMENTARY YEAR



panying graph compares the number of political pamphlets dealing exclusively with American affairs with the number of political pamphlets devoted to other issues.

During the years under consideration American issues accounted for almost thirty percent of the political pamphlets reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, with the degree of activity varying, as might be expected, with events. During 1764-65, when the Stamp Act was being contemplated, few American tracts were published. Then in 1765-66 British readers were suddenly made aware that all was not well in the colonies. Over half the pamphlets published that year were devoted to resistance to the act. With its repeal, American tracts returned to their earlier position. The Townshend Acts caused a new flurry of interest in 1768-69 and 1769-70, but, with their repeal and the beginning of the ministry of Lord North, America all but disappeared from the pamphlet scene for the next three years. Then, beginning with the Boston Tea Party and the Boston Port Bill, the American controversy, during the next four years, reduced all other issues to a minor place, accounting for seventy-three percent of the total, with an almost complete monopoly in 1775-76. The defeat of Burgoyne and the entrance of France into the war resulted in a steady decline in the prominence of America, from thirty-six percent in 1777-78 to seventeen percent in 1781-82, followed by a brief resurgence in 1782-83, the year the peace treaty was signed.

During the years under consideration no other single issue occupied so large a place in the output of the British pamphlet press. The debate went far beyond the more obvious approach to the issues that characterized the pamphlets published in the American colonies. Rather than treating the matter simply as a struggle between the rights of the colonists and the power of the home government, the British pamphlets debated a whole range of related topics. The Opposition seized the opportunity to attack the ministry for its domestic, colonial, and foreign policies. Political reformers saw the upheaval as a reflection

of an essential weakness in the existing system. Economic thinkers explored the significance of the colonies to the trade and commerce of the empire. Clergymen used the conflict to point out the low moral state of the nation. Poets and satirists found the topic a fruitful one for their talents. Indeed, with certain exceptions, such as the novel, there was hardly a literary form that was not employed in the debate between 1764 and 1783. An understanding of the impact of this substantial output is relevant to an understanding of what happened to both Anglo-American relations and to Britain itself during those twenty years.

FACTORS DETERMINING PUBLICATION

A good deal of evidence exists about the process a text underwent from the time the author completed his manuscript to the time printed copies reached the public. This evidence can be grouped around the four stages through which the text passed: the choice of the form in which the author presented his ideas, printing, publishing, and distribution.

The Form

The vast majority, ninety-two percent, of the core list of pamphlets took the form of prose essays. Although one verse publication, *Oppression, A Poem By an American*, appeared as early as 1765, most of the poetic contributions did not appear until the years 1778, 1779, and 1780. The earliest satire identified, *The Annals of Administration, Containing the Genuine History of Georgiana the Queen Mother, and Prince Colonies*, did not appear until 1775. The banner year was 1779, with the many imitations of Richard Tickell's *Anticipation* of 1778. Poetry and prose satire accounted for only eight percent of the total and did not appear in significant numbers until after the British defeat at Saratoga had led to a widening of the conflict to the rest of Europe, and to the weakening of the ministry.

One literary form not included in the core group of 700

should be mentioned: the fast day sermons. George III declared December 13, 1776, a day of 'General Fast and Humiliation' because of 'the just and necessary Measure of Force which We are obliged to use against our rebellious Subjects in Our Colonies.' In the years that followed, five more fast days were proclaimed, one in 1778, two in 1779, and one each in 1781 and 1782. The first, in 1776, produced forty-three printed sermons, and the others added a hundred more, only about one-third of which were preached in London. The rest were delivered and, in many cases, published elsewhere in Great Britain. Some were quite explicit in their discussion of the war while others contained the barest allusion. Primarily addressed to the comparatively unlettered, they were 'propaganda' in the eighteenth-century sense of the word. The church was being used to propagate a doctrine laid down by the state. They were not a part of the debate as it was carried on in the pamphlet literature, but they are a part of the total literature of the subject.

Political pamphlets usually appeared anonymously, and so it was with three-quarters of the American tracts. Earlier, during the seventeenth century, anonymity was more of a necessity than it was after the Licensing Act expired in 1695 although the practice continued throughout the eighteenth century. By the second half of the century the most serious threat a publisher faced was being charged with seditious libel, but prosecutions were erratic. In 1770 John Almon and five other printers were tried for the publication of *Junius Letter No. 35*. The results were inconclusive and resulted for all practical purposes in the suspension of the doctrine that the judge should decide as a matter of law whether the content was seditious, leaving to the jury only the question of whether the accused was responsible for publication. The climate that followed was such that the authorities doubted that they could get a conviction from a London jury. In 1783 Lord Mansfield reaffirmed the prior doctrine, which was not altered until Fox's Libel Act

of 1792.⁴ Meanwhile Parliament removed the prohibitions against the publication of its proceedings, the House of Commons in 1771 and the House of Lords in 1775.⁵ It would be a mistake to draw any broad conclusions from evidence provided by the American tracts alone, but between 1779 and 1783 the number in which the author's name appeared on the title-page increased from twenty-nine percent to forty-one percent.

Why did the custom of anonymity remain? Fear of prosecution certainly played some role in promoting anonymity, but other factors were also at work. Fear of displeasing influential men played a part. Israel Mauduit expressed concern about the reaction of General Howe to an anonymous pamphlet he had written about the Battle of Long Island.⁶ In other cases anonymity was apparently merely a matter of form. In the case of at least thirteen percent of the anonymous pamphlets in the bibliography, the identity of an author was known at the time of publication or soon after. It was no secret in London that Samuel Johnson wrote *Taxation No Tyranny*. Further investigation will no doubt increase the number of examples where an author's identity could have been discovered by contemporaries who wished to make inquiries. Also, booksellers might simply have hesitated to depart from the tradition of anonymity unless there was an advantage to be gained. Some of the authors held positions in the government, and the appearance of their names might have impaired the appearance of impartiality that pamphlet publishers like to foster. Other tracts were written by comparatively obscure men, whose names would add nothing to a pamphlet's salability. On the other hand, the circumstances surrounding the publication of Richard Price's *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty* in 1776 point to the importance of a known author. By that time Price was a recog-

⁴ F. S. Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776* (Urbana, 1952), pp. 385-92.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶ *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 44(1910-11):94-175.

nized writer of twenty years' standing. When Thomas Cadell, a respected and successful London bookseller, found that Price intended to put his name on the pamphlet, he persuaded him to increase the initial printing from 500 to 1,000 copies. In most cases, however, pamphlets seem to have been sold on the basis of their contents, not on the identity of the author.

The bulk of the American pamphlets were new works, written specifically to be published as pamphlets. Only 23 of the 700 titles had previously appeared in British newspapers. Another 64 were reprints of pamphlets originally written and printed in America. Interestingly enough, almost no pamphlets printed in America were imported and advertised in London. The only example found is the loyalist Joseph Galloway's pamphlet *A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great Britain and the Colonies*, printed by James Rivington in New York in March 1775, which was advertised for sale in London by Richardson and Urquhart in May.

An important element in understanding the form a pamphlet took is the author's perception of the audience he hoped to reach. He had to decide whether to use the normal commercial channels of the trade or to confine himself to private distribution. It was the practice among certain men interested in public affairs to write essays setting forth their views and to circulate them in manuscript to members of the government and others they hoped to influence.⁷ Some had their essays printed with an imprint clearly indicating they were not intended for sale. John Day's *Remarks on American Affairs*, of which he said he had only three copies printed, bears an imprint reading 'London: Printed in the Year MDCCLXXV.'⁸ Thomas Hutchinson's *Stric-*

⁷ Examples are James Abercromby's *De Jure Coloniarum; or, an Enquiry into the Nature and Rights of Colonies Ancient and Modern*, in the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, his *An Examination of the Acts of Parliament*, in the Henry E. Huntington Library, and William Smith's *Thoughts upon the Dispute between Great Britain and Her Colonies*, edited by Robert M. Calhoon, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser. 22(1965):105-18.

⁸ In fact, four copies have been located. See Adams, *American Controversy*, no. 74-27.

tures upon the Declaration of the Congress at Philadelphia, 1776, with a similar imprint, was printed in many more copies⁹ but without indication that it was ever offered for sale. More ephemeral were such leaflets as Israel Mauduit's *Mr. Grenville's Offer to the Colonial Assemblies*, 1775, and John Cartwright's *The British Legislature Hath the Right of Sovereignty and Legislation over British America; or It Hath Not the Right*, 1776, both of which were handed out at the doors of Parliament. Other publications not destined for the formal trade were the speeches that members had printed to be given away, such as those David Hartley distributed to his constituents in Yorkshire. Another class of material with restricted circulation are the official and quasi-official documents, frequently single-sheet folios with docket titles, printed as a part of the governmental process.

Most of the above cannot properly be regarded as part of the mainstream of the pamphlet literature published and distributed by the booksellers of London and carrying a commercial imprint, giving the place of publication, the name of one or more booksellers, and, in most cases, the year of publication. Pamphlets that depart from this pattern must be presumed to have been intended for a more limited audience unless circumstances suggest something to the contrary. Two such exceptions are pamphlets by William Bollan and William Knox, each of which exists in two editions. The first has a truncated imprint with place and date only, and the other a full commercial imprint. Both authors were in search of preferment and probably used copies without a full imprint for distribution where they would do them the most good. But such deviations from the normal pattern as these were rare. Usually the author wanted to be read as widely as possible and took all the available steps to insure that that happened.

⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 76-88, listing nineteen recorded copies.

Printing

By the third quarter of the eighteenth century separate roles for printer and bookseller/publisher had evolved in the London book trade. Printers' names sometimes appear in imprints along with booksellers', indicating they invested in the publication but this was a matter of individual choice, not an integral part of the printing trade.

Eighty percent of the American pamphlets appeared in an octavo format, the customary format for London-printed political tracts since the beginning of the eighteenth century. The quarto was used for poetry and pamphlets produced by provincial printers. Folio printing was used mostly for official government publications or documents concerned with the work of Parliament, such as petitions and proposed bills. A number of American tracts appeared as duodecimos. These were printed in small type, making it possible to crowd a substantial text onto one sheet. The savings in paper and presswork resulted in a less expensive publication that could be produced rapidly in large quantities. On occasion advertisements offered these in lots of 100 at a reduced price 'for those who would give them away.' John Wesley's *Calm Address to Our American Colonies* is the most notable example of a duodecimo political tract. He claimed that above 40,000 copies had been printed in three weeks, or an average of over 1,000 copies in each printing.

The normal size of a pressrun, for a pamphlet as shown in the account books of William Strahan and William Bowyer, the only two London printers of the time whose records have survived, was 500 copies,¹⁰ but it could run as high as 1,000 or as low as 250. By way of contrast a novel such as Sterne's

¹⁰ The largest part of the Strahan papers is in the British Library, Department of Manuscripts. There are a few in the American Philosophical Society. See P. Hernlund, 'William Strahan's Ledgers,' *Studies in Bibliography* 20(1967):89-111. The Bowyer ledgers are in the Grolier Club, New York, and the Bodleian Library. J. D. Fleeman, 'Eighteenth-Century Printing Ledgers,' *The Times Literary Supplement*, Dec. 19, 1963, p. 1056.

Sentimental Journey was printed in an edition of 2,750 copies, magazines in between 4,000 and 8,000, and school books in as many as 20,000.¹¹ Political pamphlets on the other hand dealt with much more transient matters and speed of production was essential in getting the product on the market in a timely fashion.

The price of a pamphlet was related to the number of sheets required and the size of the edition. The majority ranged in size from one and a half to four sheets, or twenty-four to sixty-four pages, with the norm being between two and a half to three sheets, or about forty pages. The majority of the American pamphlets, fifty-seven percent, sold for one shilling with another twenty-two percent selling for one shilling sixpence.¹² Until printers' records have been edited and published, it is difficult to correlate the size of a pamphlet with its price to determine the margin of profit, if any, but tentative tests suggest that it was not large.

The speed with which a printer could turn a manuscript into print was of no little importance to the author. Although the evidence is not extensive, there is enough to suggest that under optimum conditions a moderate-size publication of two to four sheets could be produced in from ten days to two weeks. It is sometimes possible to determine when a pamphlet was published from advertisements in daily newspapers. Similarly the date a manuscript was delivered to the printer may occasionally be learned from other evidence.

We know that Benjamin Franklin took the manuscript of Arthur Lee's *An Appeal to the Justice and Interests of the People*

¹¹ Strahan Papers, British Library; D. F. McKenzie, 'Printers of the Mind,' *Studies in Bibliography* 22(1969): no. 75.

¹² Table 1 in the Appendix, below, is an analysis of the retail prices of 380 octavos, for which prices could be found, drawn from the 700 American pamphlets. Omitted from the table are the 21 that appeared in between ten and fourteen sheets because they were few and an exception to the normal pattern. In cases where the last sheet in a pamphlet was a quarter or three-quarter sheet they have been rounded out to the next largest half sheet or full sheet. The different prices for the same number of sheets resulted, in part, from price increases that appear to have taken place in 1774, 1779, and 1783.

of *Great Britain* to John Almon, a London bookseller, on November 7, 1774, and that the pamphlet was advertised on November 26. In other cases, we know the date on which a manuscript was complete, because it was in the form of a publicly delivered speech. Edmund Burke's speech in the House of Commons on February 11, 1780, appeared ten days later in an unauthorized edition. A speedier case is Lord Chatham's speech given in the House of Lords on January 20, 1775, taken in shorthand and advertised three days later, a version that Chatham himself denounced. Such evidence is not perfectly reliable because the manuscript may have been in the hands of the printer before the speech was delivered or it may have been revised further afterward.

The appearance of a date as part of the text, as when a pamphlet was written in the form of a dated letter, may also suggest approximately when a manuscript was delivered to a printer but the date could be adjusted to suggest timeliness. However, in the seventeen cases where a comparison could be made, the average difference between the internal date and the appearance of a newspaper advertisement for the pamphlet was eleven days. The dates in preliminary matter—prefaces, dedications, and the like—are less reliable because they were usually the last part of the pamphlet to be set into type. In eleven cases, comparisons were made between the date of a preface, or other front matter, and the date of an advertisement. Seven, which appear to be most reasonable, range in time from one to four weeks. The other four, which suggest that only a week or less elapsed, are more suspect. This is especially true of Catharine Macaulay's *Observations*, dated May 7, 1770, which Thomas Hollis was preparing to distribute three days earlier on May 4.

The time necessary to publish a reply to a pamphlet is another useful measure of the time involved not only because it includes the writing as well as the publication but because it also suggests something of the capacity of the printers to respond to a controversy. The more lively exchanges were good

business and the need to publish promptly makes the timing of replies an index of how fast the trade could react when pressed. Assuming that the author began to write as soon as the first pamphlet appeared, the normal length of time between composition and publication was between three and four weeks. Six of the American pamphlets fall into that pattern. In two instances where the time is shorter, *A Reply to the Rev. Dr. Richard Price* (two weeks) and *A Reply to Lieutenant General Burgoyne's Letter* (one week), the authors may have had access to the first pamphlet prior to the announced date of publication.

The printing of most political pamphlets was contracted out by booksellers. Although there is some evidence that John Almon in Piccadilly had a press in his shop, he had much of his work done elsewhere.

We do not know how closely an author was involved in the actual printing process, but the existence of corrections and additions in various issues of some of the pamphlets seems to indicate that on occasion at least the writer oversaw the printing of his work with some care.

Publication

Political pamphlets were subject to the same forces as other objects in the marketplace: they could not have come into existence without a financial commitment. Although the bookseller whose name appeared in the imprint publicly assumed the responsibility for publication, the realities of the process were more complex.

In 1772 Edward Dilly wrote from London to Benjamin Rush in Philadelphia, 'Pamphlets in general will scarcely Pay the expenses of Paper, Printing and Advertizing, the latter being a very heavy expense upon a small book, so that unless the sale is pretty considerable it will not answer Publication.'¹³ Dilly's

¹³ L. H. Butterfield, 'The American Interests of the Firm of E. and C. Dilly, with Their Letters to Benjamin Rush, 1770-1795,' *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 45(1951):283-332.

attitude must be viewed in relation to his position in the book trade. His firm tended to publish theology, history, dictionaries, and other works of substance which sold at high prices yet required basically the same outlay for advertisements as pamphlets. Although Dilly's name appeared on a reasonably large number of the pamphlets in the American controversy, forty-six in all, forty-one percent were reprints of already popular titles, and in fifty-nine percent of the cases he shared the imprint with other booksellers. His shop, an old and established one, was near the Royal Exchange in the City, removed from the political activity in Westminster. In contrast, John Almon, who opened his shop in Piccadilly opposite Burlington House in 1763, was one of the first booksellers to establish himself between the Houses of Parliament and the growing residential area in the west of London. He and John Debrett, who succeeded him in 1781, issued 194 titles almost all of which were first appearances and eighty-two percent of which were published on their own account with no other bookseller in the imprint. Almon was known in his early days to have been subsidized by the Opposition in Parliament. Yet his business career of eighteen years was a successful one and he frequently published on both sides of an issue. Although we know no details about his financial affairs, Almon demonstrated that it was possible to conduct a successful publishing business in which the publication of pamphlets played a prominent part.

Not all pamphlets had to meet expenses out of sales, however. While its actual extent is not yet known, the subsidizing of political pamphlets was a well-recognized practice. There is evidence that perhaps forty percent of the 700 pamphlets had assistance of some kind in their publication. It is probable that the actual proportion is much higher. Some of it was done, openly, by the author, as in the case of some sixty of the American pamphlets in which the imprints read, 'printed for the author and sold by. . . .' Less obvious is the extent to which authors or other interested parties might have concealed their

support behind a normal imprint which recorded only the bookseller's name. A substantial proportion of the American pamphlets may in fact have been published under circumstances in which the bookseller was assured that at least a certain part of his costs would be recovered in some way other than through sale to the public.

The ledgers of William Strahan, Benjamin Franklin's friend and one of the outstanding printers in London, give some insight into the practice of the time. Between 1764 and 1776, Strahan's ledgers listed nine American pamphlets that appeared with an ordinary imprint. Five of these were the result of Franklin's own activities. In addition, Samuel Johnson paid for his *The Patriot* and *Taxation No Tyranny*, and the treasury secretary, William Robinson, paid for John Lind's *An Answer to the Declaration of the American Congress*. Another identified patron was Thomas Hollis, one of the most interesting figures of the period, who paid for the printing of *The Answer at Large to Mr. Pitts Speech*, which was sold by W. Nicoll. Hollis (1720-74), philanthropist and self-styled republican, devoted a great deal of time and money to commissioning and distributing books that supported his particular view of liberty.¹⁴ His detailed diary written between 1759 and 1770 is filled with references to transactions with booksellers and printers.¹⁵ He was involved in twenty-seven of the American pamphlets published between 1764 and 1771, usually buying a number of copies and distributing them gratis to his friends. In addition, he persuaded others to reprint certain American tracts, and on occasion paid for them. The best known was *The True Senti-*

¹⁴ Caroline Robbins, 'The Strenuous Whig: Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn,' *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser. 7(1950):406-53, and her 'Library of Liberty—Assembled for Harvard College by Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn,' *Harvard Library Bulletin* 5(1951):5-23, 181-96.

¹⁵ The manuscript is in the Houghton Library at Harvard. It was the basis for the *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis* (London, 1780) prepared by Francis Blackburne. I used the typescript of the manuscript at the Institute of Early American History and Culture in Williamsburg, whose director was kind enough to loan it to me for my work.

ments of America, 1768, a compilation of writings from American sources that he edited and published through Almon.

There are other cases where subsidies seem certain, although full documentation is not always available. Colonial agents such as Israel Mauduit clearly paid for tracts published in support of the colonies they represented. There was something peculiar bibliographically about one of these, Dennys De Berdt's publication of *An Appeal to the World; Or a Vindication of the Town of Boston*, 1769. De Berdt rendered a bill for 500 copies to the Massachusetts House of Representatives. Yet the copies bearing his name in the imprint consist of sheets of the pamphlet as it had been printed as an appendix to *The American Gazette*, a periodical published by George Kearsley. All De Berdt did, apparently, was to cancel the original title-page and substitute a new one.

The use of government funds, as in the case of the Lind pamphlet mentioned earlier, was also not uncommon. The *Monthly Review* openly labelled *A Short Appeal to the People of Great Britain; Upon the Unavoidable Necessity of the Present War with Our Disaffected Colonies*, 1776, as a 'ministerial hand bill.'

The vast majority of the authors published through the London market. The exceptions deserve a brief comment. A substantial number of the authors who chose to have their work printed by provincial printers saw to it that a London bookseller's name appeared in the imprint, so their work may be considered part of the London trade. The strictly provincial pamphlets tended to be either reprints of London publications or local fast day sermons which presumably had little general interest. There were many Irish productions, but they too tended to be reprints rather than original contributions. The Scottish press, on the other hand, did publish some original material, but often with a London bookseller in the imprint.

The appearance of political pamphlets was tied closely to the sessions of Parliament, which ordinarily ran from late autumn to late spring. During the years 1763-64 through 1782-83,

Parliament convened in the latter part of November or in early December, although on three occasions it met as early as the end of October and on four occasions as late as the first part of January. The publication of pamphlets usually began in November, and they appeared with increasing frequency through January, tapering off as the session drew to an end, which, until about 1777-78, was in May or early June. The notable exception was the summer of 1776 when pamphlets continued to come out in substantial numbers until the end of August. The dating of pamphlets must be related to the sessional rather than the calendar year. Therefore, the date in the imprint must be compared with the date on which the item was first advertised. Publications appearing in December and January have to be dated with some care, making use of newspaper advertisements to place the pamphlet in the proper sessional year.

The pattern of political pamphlet publication adheres closely to the general practices of the book trade. Few new publications of any kind were advertised during the summer and early autumn. Still, the politically literate population may not have been entirely deprived of reading matter when Parliament was not in session. Bath, between 1764 and 1775, boasted fifteen booksellers, and nearby Bristol, sixteen, the largest concentration of booksellers in England outside London. These two towns also led all other English towns in the number of American pamphlets with local booksellers in the imprint, eleven for Bristol and nine for Bath. There is every reason to believe that these shops also carried supplies of other London pamphlets. One may infer from this phenomenon that at least part of the audience to which American pamphlets were addressed was made up of people who moved from London to resorts such as Bath.

Distribution

How a pamphlet was distributed is an important question in assessing the part it played in helping shape opinion. Eighty

percent of the pamphlets bear only one name in the imprint, yet we know from newspaper advertisements and reviews in magazines that many of these were also offered for sale by other booksellers in London and in other places in England and Scotland. The existence of some kind of regular network of distribution is suggested by imprints with phrases such as 'all the Booksellers in town and country,' 'and All other Booksellers,' 'All Booksellers and News Carriers,' and 'all other Booksellers and at the Pamphlet Shops.' The last is intriguing because it reveals that there was a branch of the book trade devoted to selling pamphlets. Plomer's *Dictionary* of the London book trade for the years 1726-75 lists sixteen people as pamphlet sellers, of whom eight were clearly women, the sex of five unspecified, and three clearly men.¹⁶ They were not a major part of the book trade. Rather they were probably small family establishments akin to news agents, and not the sort of businesses that have left much evidence of their existence or their influence.

By 1764 the book trade had extended westward from the Bank of England to Charing Cross. Of the 120 booksellers known to have been active in that year 109, or ninety-one percent, were to be found on or near the main thoroughfare from the Royal Exchange, along the Poultry and Cheapside to the dense cluster around St. Paul's Cathedral, then down Ludgate Hill to Fleet Street and along the Strand. Two extensions had also appeared. To the north and west of St. Paul's, particularly in Holborn, twelve booksellers had established shops. More important for the future were the nine shops to be found west of Charing Cross, particularly in and around Pall Mall and Piccadilly. Twenty years later, in 1783, the number of shops in this latter area had increased to thirty-seven, a growth of sev-

¹⁶ H. R. Plomer, *Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1726 to 1775* (London, 1932).

enty-six percent, while the number in the Holborn area had grown to twenty-six, or up fifty-three percent.¹⁷

During the years 1764–83, 383 booksellers were active in London. Almost half of them, 189, participated in the publication of at least one American pamphlet. A few were of special importance to the American controversy. John Almon was the leader, except for 1764 and 1771; he usually ranked first, second, or third in his annual contribution in the debate. Next was Thomas Cadell in the Strand, who frequently published government pamphlets. He did not, however, become active until 1774. The third figure was John Wilkie in St. Paul's Churchyard. Like Almon, with whom he often shared an imprint, he tended to publish for the Opposition. Other booksellers of note were John Bew in Paternoster Row, who specialized in popular and ephemeral material; Thomas Becket in the Strand, a few blocks from Temple Bar, who published a number of reprints; George Kearsley of Fleet Street, inside Temple Bar; James Dodsley in Pall Mall; and C. and E. Dilly in the Poultry near the Bank of England; John Stockdale, originally an employee of Almon, who set up business nearby in 1782 and in the next three years rivalled his former master in the size of his output; and Thomas Payne, St. Martin's Lane, near St. Paul's, who, like Cadell, did not become active until the American issue became prominent. These ten booksellers, together with six others who were only somewhat less active,

¹⁷ The full extent of the London book trade during the second half of the eighteenth century has yet to be fully explored. However, the publication of Ian Maxted's *The London Book Trades, 1775–1800* (London, 1977), which extends and supplements Plomer's *Dictionary*, made it possible to develop some preliminary statistics for this paper. During the years 1764–83, at least 503 people were active in the trade. Of these, 383 were booksellers and 120 were printers. Others in the trade, such as stationers, print and map sellers, and binders, were not included. Maxted and Plomer were analyzed to determine the years during which each person was active and the number each year whose name appeared on at least one American pamphlet. The results are in Table 2 in the Appendix, below.

accounted for almost forty percent of the total output of the London editions of all the American pamphlets.¹⁸

Falling outside the normal distribution pattern were some duodecimos, printed by men such as Robert Hawes 'At the Foundry in Moorfields' well to the north and east of the center of trade around St. Paul's. Often his imprint tells us that they were sold at 'Mr. Wesley's Preaching Houses in Town and Country' and sometimes were offered in bulk quantities 'to be given away.' These publications were not a part of the mainstream but rather were addressed to Wesley's regular following, a class of readers somewhat different from the audience for the octavos. Despite the large size of many of the duodecimo editions fewer copies seem to have survived than have copies of the octavos.

An advertisement in a newspaper was usually the first notice of publication. On occasion a pamphlet would receive advance notice, but normally the first advertisement coincided with the actual day of publication, and then was repeated in two or three later issues. Advertisements for about forty-five percent of the American pamphlets have been found in newspapers. This figure would probably be substantially higher if all the London newspapers, daily, triweekly, and weekly, had been searched. Booksellers also often advertised the same pamphlet in two or more newspapers.

It was, however, in magazines that pamphlets received the widest listing, as opposed to advertising. Seventy-eight percent of the American pamphlets were listed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *London Magazine*, or the *Monthly Review*. The latter often printed extended excerpts. Some of the triweekly papers, including the *London Chronicle*, also reprinted long portions of pamphlets within a day or so of their publication.

Word of mouth, too, played an important part in bringing pamphlets to the attention of potential customers. Scattered

¹⁸ They were Richardson and Urquhart; W. Nicoll; J. F., and C. Rivington; J. Williams; R. Baldwin; and W. Flexney.

through the correspondence of men involved in public affairs are references to pamphlets they had read. A systematic identification of these references would be helpful, as has been shown by C. C. Bonwick's study of the reading by English radicals of pamphlets that came from America.¹⁹

For whom were these pamphlets intended? An edition of 500 copies was meant for a fairly restricted circulation. (The House of Commons alone consisted of 558 members.) The principal audience comprised men who were concerned with government either as officeholders or outsiders whose interests were affected by government policies. Most of the surviving copies provide little evidence of who owned them, but one line of inquiry that deserves more investigation derives from the practice of some owners to bind up groups of pamphlets in uniform volumes. A number of these collections have survived, including George III's in the British Library, the pamphleteer John Lind's in the Codrington Library of All Souls College, and the loyalist Jonathan Boucher's in the Bodleian Library. Unfortunately, during the past century many collections have been broken up and sold separately, and there is little likelihood that any of them will be reassembled as Wilmarth Lewis has done with Horace Walpole's collection, which includes a substantial number of American tracts.

The existence of presentation inscriptions, the signatures of contemporary owners, and their annotations offer another line of approach in learning about the readership of these pamphlets. To be sure, an inscription of ownership does not necessarily mean that the recipient read the piece, but the presence of the name of a coffeehouse on a copy suggests that it was exposed to a larger group of people than a privately owned copy. Annotations, of course, are concrete proof that someone read a work, but in many cases it is not immediately possible to identify the owner. A passage in Jane Austen's *Northanger*

¹⁹ C. C. Bonwick, 'An English Audience for American Revolutionary Pamphlets,' *The Historical Journal* 19(1976):355-74.

Abbey affords a glimpse of how pamphlets were read by country gentlemen in order to keep abreast of events. Writing about 1798 she describes General Tilney at home one evening: 'When the butler would have lit his master's candle, however, he was forbidden. The latter was not going to retire. "I have many pamphlets to finish," said he to Catherine, "before I can close my eyes; and perhaps may be poring over the affairs of the nation for hours after you are asleep."' ²⁰

A reply to a pamphlet is a clear indication that an author had achieved his goal of having his ideas read. There were twenty-seven pamphlet exchanges involving twenty-eight percent of the American pamphlets. Most of these included only one or two replies, but eleven pamphlets produced from between four to twelve publications in response. John Wesley's *Calm Address* and Richard Price's *Observations* produced twenty-five and thirty-six respectively. It is plausible that a tract that inspired a response deserves more than casual attention when evaluating its significance in its time.

More complicated evidence regarding the circulation of a pamphlet is the number of editions in which it was published.²¹ About twenty percent of the American titles appear to have gone through more than one edition, but only half of these were multiple editions in a strict technical sense. Often what appears to be a later edition was actually printed from the same type as that preceding it. The interpretation of this evidence presents problems, and what follows is something of a simplification. At one end of the scale is the pamphlet that went through eight editions according to the edition statements on

²⁰ J. Austen, *Northanger Abbey and Persuasion*, ed. John Davie (London, 1971), p. 166.

²¹ In bibliography, the terms 'edition,' 'issue,' and 'state' have specific technical meaning. Here, their use has been avoided except to the extent that 'edition' is used to mean 'all the copies of a book printed at any time (or times) from substantially the same setting of type.' This definition is from P. Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1972), p. 313. For a more extended discussion, see F. Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton, 1949), pp. 37-113.

their title-pages. Upon examination of the actual copies one discovers that not only were all of these editions printed from the same setting of type, but evidence from pressmarks and the placement of type shows they were also printed at the same time, with the edition statement being changed as a stop-press alteration. Here obviously was an attempt to create an impression of popularity before the pamphlet appeared. A variation was the substitution of a cancel title-page, sometimes with a new title, on the sheets of an already existing pamphlet, occasionally adding new material at the end. Thus a first printing that did not sell well was presented as an entirely new publication. A pattern more difficult to distinguish was the use of type left standing, but removed from the press between printings. The practices regarding standing type at this period are not clearly understood, but in printing shops with limited supplies of type it was usual to distribute it as soon as possible. In larger establishments, possessing more flexibility, this was not necessarily true. The cost of distributing type was less than that of composition because comparatively less skilled labor could be used. If the circumstances were favorable a printer might allow type to remain standing for some time for any one of a number of reasons. One, of course, could be that the shop was particularly busy so the task was postponed. Still another might be the author's, printer's, or bookseller's belief that the book would sell and hence the type was kept standing for a further printing. The existence of more than one edition, then, can be used as an indication of popularity only after actual copies are inspected.

The American controversy occupied a major place in the political pamphlet literature for twenty years, producing more publications over a longer period of time than any other public issue of the period. They appeared when British politics were undergoing significant changes, not the least of which was the

relaxation of restrictions on parliamentary reporting.²² During this same period the London book trade was growing, with the increased activity in the West End. The narrative that follows is intended to suggest the external forces at work through which the ideas of the authors of some of the better-known pamphlets were presented to an audience that had long taken for granted the existence of the American colonies as a part of the British empire.

THE PAMPHLETS OF THE AMERICAN CONTROVERSY

The Preliminaries, 1764-73

The American pamphlet war in Britain began with the publication, sometime late in December 1764, of James Otis's *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved*. This pamphlet masterfully summed up what was to become the American view of the constitutional position of the colonies within the British Empire. The London reprint of the Boston edition of July 23 appeared just before Parliament met on January 10, 1765, to consider, among other things, the Stamp Act, which George Grenville had introduced the previous March. *The Rights of the Colonies*, which brought a new set of issues into British politics, was published by John Almon at his strategically placed shop, 'Opposite Burlington House in Piccadilly.'

Because of the importance of Otis's tract, the details of its publication deserve to be described. Three issues were printed from the same setting of type and one resetting. The first issue carried Almon's name in the imprint, but it bore no date because of its December publication. Parliament met almost two months later than usual and Almon may have been uncertain about the timing, but the work was listed in the December 1764 issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The second issue was

²² For the relation between the American pamphlets and internal political developments, see C. C. Bonwick, *English Radicals and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 1977).

printed in the same pressrun with the statement 'Second Edition' added to the title-page. Another issue, again using the same type and pressrun, bears an imprint reading 'London: reprinted, for J. Williams, next the Mitre Tavern, Fleet Street, 1766.' (The date must have been a printer's error because a number of copies exist with the last '6' altered to '5' in a contemporary hand.) The imprint probably reflects a sharing of costs. John Williams, who, like Almon, was associated with the Opposition, had a shop located nearer the center of the book trade. The fourth version is a close line-for-line resetting and is called the 'Third Edition,' dated 1766, with an imprint that includes the names of both Almon and Williams. The appearance of this 'Third Edition' would indicate a continuing demand for the pamphlet, were there not some special circumstances surrounding its printing. At some point after the Stamp Act was repealed (on March 18, 1766), Almon, possibly at the suggestion of Thomas Hollis, decided to bind together in two volumes the dozen or so pamphlets he had published with a collective title-page reading *A Collection of the Most Interesting Tracts, On the Subjects of Taxing the American Colonies and Regulating Their Trade*. It is reasonable to assume that one of his motives was to dispose of a stock that was no longer timely. The reprinting of Otis's pamphlet, which appeared first in the bound volumes, may have been done to make the collection complete.

The three best-known British responses to colonial opposition to the Stamp Act were published early in 1765, probably with government backing. *The Regulations Lately Made Concerning the Colonies, and the Taxes Imposed upon Them*, published on January 24 by John Wilkie in Fleet Street, was written by Thomas Whately and was based on material provided by George Grenville, to whom the pamphlet has been attributed. *The Objections to the Taxation of Our American Colonies, by the Legislature of Great Britain, Briefly Considered*, also published by Wilkie and advertised on February 16, was by the poet

Soame Jenyns. *The Claim of the Colonies to an Exemption from Internal Taxes Imposed by Authority of Parliament* was published by W. Johnston in Ludgate Street. A copy of the latter, annotated by Benjamin Franklin, makes clear that he, at least, knew the author to be William Knox, a landowner in Georgia, agent for that colony and East Florida, and a strong proponent of establishing a secretary of state for the colonies (which was done in 1768, Knox serving as undersecretary from 1770 to 1782).

The debate on the repeal of the Stamp Act in the 1765–66 session of Parliament produced a major pamphlet response. During January, February, and March, thirty-two titles were published. Among them is a striking eighteen-page octavo with the short title *Political Debates* and the imprint 'A Paris. Chez J. W. Imprimeur, Rue du Colombier Faux bourg St. Germain, à Hotel de Saxe. M.DCC LXVI.' With its transparently false imprint, the pamphlet proved to be a somewhat garbled report, issued while Parliament was still sitting, of William Pitt's speech on the act's repeal. In 1766 the same imprint was used on a list of the members of the House of Commons who voted against the repeal of the Stamp Act and on the protests in the House of Lords against the repeal. The *Monthly Review* attributed those two publications to John Almon. After adjournment in May another printing of *Political Debates*, done from standing type, appeared using the more daring title *The Celebrated Speech of a Celebrated Commoner* with an imprint reading 'London: Printed for Stephen Austin, in Ludgate-Street, MDCCLXVI.' Stephen Austin had been apprenticed to George Kearsley, a bookseller, but there is at present no other evidence that he functioned as an independent bookseller in London. Kearsley, who was imprisoned in 1763 for publishing John Wilkes's *North Briton No. 45*, went bankrupt in 1764. By late 1766 or early 1767 he was back in business. It has been suggested that Austin helped to keep Kearsley's business going during this period. This pamphlet may have been part of that

effort.²³ Austin later opened his own business in Hereford where he had a successful career.

The passage and repeal of the Stamp Act took place during two sessions of Parliament, 1764–65 and 1765–66. The controversy it set off produced sixty-four pamphlets. In contrast, passage and repeal of the Townshend Acts, the second attempt to increase the tax revenue from the colonies, involved four sessions of Parliament, 1766–67, 1767–68, 1768–69, and 1769–70, and produced only forty-one separate pamphlet editions of which only eleven were original texts and the rest were reprints. The most prominent came from America—John Dickinson's celebrated *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania, to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies*, which emphasized the practical shortcomings of the British policy. It had first appeared in colonial newspapers in late 1767 and early 1768, followed by six pamphlet reprints from Boston to Williamsburg. John Almon published the first British edition in June 1768, and added to it an introduction by Benjamin Franklin. In this case, Franklin may not have subsidized the printing, for Strahan's account books show that Almon paid the bill. Earlier, in 1765, Almon had reprinted Dickinson's Stamp Act pamphlet *The Late Regulations Respecting the British Colonies*. Perhaps he felt that his second effort had a good chance of attracting attention. In any case, *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania* was the first pamphlet of American origin to be reprinted in Dublin (1768) and to be translated into French (1769).

An early example of a comparatively inexpensive edition appeared in April 1769 with the second printing of Joseph Priestley's *The Present State of Liberty in Great Britain and Her Colonies by an Englishman*. The publisher, Joseph Johnson, whose shop was headquarters for Protestant dissenters, opposed 'the growing taste for luxurious books, which enhanced

²³ J. Moran, *Stephen Austin's of Hereford* (Hereford, 1968), p. 5.

the price and formed an obstacle to the study of good literature.²⁴ He issued the first edition of Priestley's tract as a conventional octavo of thirty-two pages for sixpence, a low but not unheard-of price for a pamphlet in two sheets. The second edition, however, was a duodecimo of one sheet with an imprint that read, in part, 'Price three-pence, or twenty shillings a hundred to give away.'

The few American pamphlets that appeared in the parliamentary year 1769-70 were concerned with the troubles in Boston. In the autumn there appeared London reprints of Gov. Francis Bernard's letters criticizing local officials and of Boston's reply, *An Appeal to the World; or a Vindication of the Town of Boston*. Then in the spring of 1770 came the odd set of circumstances surrounding the publication of *A Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre in Boston*. Although it had been printed in Boston in March, copies were withheld from sale because of the trial of the soldiers. The town meeting, however, voted to send copies to certain people in England.²⁵ Thus it was that the first general publication took place in London where two different editions were published in May, the first by William Bingley near St. Paul's. Within a day or two John Almon and the Dillys came out with a rival edition. Both had a frontispiece copied from Paul Revere's engraving *The Bloody Massacre*. Thomas Hollis made sure that copies reached his correspondents and later persuaded Almon to issue a supplement containing additional material. Echoes of the event were *A Fair Account of the Late Unhappy Disturbance at Boston*, a rebuttal to the Boston pamphlet published a month or so later in July, and a reprint, issued probably sometime in 1771, of the Boston edition of *The Trial of William Wemms*, describing the acquittal of the British soldiers. The latter apparently attracted little attention. No notice of it has been found in newspapers or maga-

²⁴ Plomer, *Dictionary*, p. 141.

²⁵ Adams, *American Independence*, no. 75.

zines. The first Boston Massacre sermon, *Innocent Blood Crying to God from the Streets of Boston . . . by John Lathrop, A.M. Pastor of the Second Church in Boston*, was also first published in London, rather than Boston, by Almon & Dilly at the same time they issued *A Short Narrative*. Lathrop's sermon was not reprinted in Boston until the following year. Copies of the Bingley printing of *A Short Narrative* got back to Boston, where its title-page was imitated and substituted on some Boston copies being withheld that were then sold as the London reprint. The other copies presumably were released soon afterward and the process of turning a riot into a massacre had begun, a phenomenon in which the London book trade played a part.

Little American material appeared from the spring of 1770 to the winter of 1774. Edmund Burke in his *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents*, published in April 1770, deliberately avoided the subject. The repeal of the Townshend Duties and the quiet politics of the early years of the North ministry removed America from the political scene. The only discordant note came in the spring of 1773 when John Wilkie published *The Votes and Proceedings of the Freeholders and Other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston in Town Meeting Assembled . . . the Whole Containing a Particular Enumeration of Those Grievances That Have Given Rise to the Present Alarming Discontents in America*. It turned out to be a dated reprint of an account of actions taken eight months before in a dispute with Gov. Thomas Hutchinson over crown salaries. Incorporating sweeping statements about the town's rights and grievances, it addressed issues the ordinary English reader might have assumed had been settled. The Boston origin of the piece may well have not commanded much respect. That town had last been heard from three years before, harassing a royal governor by publishing private correspondence and protesting about a street riot. The 'Preface of the British Edition' was by Benjamin Franklin, but Parliament adjourned about the time the

pamphlet appeared, suggesting that it may have attracted little attention.

The Crisis 1774-76

With the parliamentary year beginning on January 13, 1774, the American colonies returned to center stage. The events of the next five and a half months, which were thoroughly aired in the press, brought the crisis to a head. On January 15, sixty-two-year-old Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester and respected author of numerous works on history, theology, trade, and finance, published *Four Tracts, Together with Four Sermons, On Political and Commercial Subjects By Josiab Tucker, D.D. Dean of Gloucester*. Five of the pieces were reprints of some of Tucker's earlier writing, but 'Tract IV, The True Interest of Great Britain Set Forth in Regard to the Colonies and the Only Means of Living in Peace and Harmony with Them,' was new. The author pointed out that the colonies had always caused trouble, and went on to 'propose to separate entirely from the North-American Colonies, by declaring them to be free and independent people, over whom we lay no claim; and then by offering to guarantee this Freedom and Independence against all foreign invaders whatever.' His proposal must have been viewed with some seriousness because the pamphlet received a review of ten pages in the *Monthly Review* for February 1776. The work was then reprinted, without the sermons, and later in a 'Third Edition' of 1776. It also prompted two replies in the spring of 1774 and another in December 1775 directed specifically at 'Tract IV.'

Within a week of the appearance of Tucker's radical suggestion the news of the Boston Tea Party reached London. February saw comparatively little activity except that on the fifteenth there appeared a publication that further confirmed the impression that Boston was the center of the troubles in America. It was *The Letters of Governor Hutchinson, and Lieut. Gov-*

ernor Oliver, &c. Printed at Boston which had been gradually leaked to the Boston press beginning in June. Like the publication in Boston of Governor Bernard's confidential correspondence four years earlier, this attack on colonial officials did not soften the ministry's attitude toward Massachusetts and its representatives in London. Three different issues of the *Letters* exist. The latter two were created by the insertion of new material during the three weeks between the appearance of the earliest printing and that of the 'Second Edition' of February 24. One of these addenda was Benjamin Franklin's admission of responsibility for sending the letters to America.

Punishment for Boston was some weeks in preparation; it was therefore not until the second week in March that the pamphlet press responded to the drastic measures being contemplated. The Coercive Acts were passed during the following twelve weeks, beginning with the Boston Port Act on March 31 and ending with the Quartering Act on June 2. During the same period nineteen pamphlets were published in twenty-two editions, a rate of about one pamphlet publication every four days. Eleven attacked the colonial position and eleven defended it. Most of the pro-America pamphlets came from the colonial agents; the circumstances surrounding two of these pamphlets suggest the atmosphere in which they had to work. *A True State of the Proceedings of Parliament of Great Britain, And in the Province of Massachusetts Bay Relative to the Giving and Granting the Money of the People of That Province and of All America, in the House of Commons, in Which They Were Not Represented* (London: Printed and sold by W. Bingley, opposite St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet Street) was a folio work advertised for sale on May 17, 1774. The imprint is clearly false. Actually, Arthur Lee, the agent for Massachusetts, wrote it, and Benjamin Franklin paid for its printing. He ordered 500 copies from Strahan without a title-page and fifty separate title-pages bearing William Bingley's name. However, Bing-

ley went bankrupt in 1771, left for Ireland, and did not return to England until 1783.²⁶ Although the piece was intended primarily for private distribution, Franklin apparently thought that some public sale would be desirable. It was advertised in a newspaper and listed in the *Monthly Review*, but the risks of offending Parliament by publishing its proceedings were too great to publish over a normal imprint. An octavo pamphlet that appeared about the same time, with a title reading, in part, *The Report of the Lords Committees, Appointed by the House of Lords to Enquire into the Several Proceedings in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in Opposition to the Sovereignty of His Majesty*, also bore the same dubious Bingley imprint. It was a reprint of the official report, which had previously been printed in folio. The octavo had an additional six-page preface defending the colony. This second tract has not been associated with Franklin, but whoever published it used the same false imprint.

The developing crisis in America accounted for two-thirds of the pamphlets published during the parliamentary year that began November 29, 1774, and ended May 26, 1775. The total number of political pamphlets on all subjects was double that of the previous year. The autumn months were dominated by pro-American tracts such as Arthur Lee's *An Appeal to the Justice and Interests of the People of Great Britain, in the Present Disputes with America*, published by Almon at Franklin's suggestion. It had more than a passing popularity. A second edition was issued from new type in January 1775, and it was again reprinted in 1776 in both London and Newcastle-upon-Tyne editions. November and December 1774 saw the publication of the proceedings of the First Continental Congress, which had adjourned on October 26. In retrospect, the most striking pamphlet appeared on November 4, when George Kearsley published *A Summary View of the Rights of British America. Set Forth in Some Resolutions Intended for the Inspec-*

²⁶ Plomer, *Dictionary*.

tion of the Present Delegates of the People of Virginia Now in Convention. The 'Second Edition' advertised on November 22 was in fact printed in the same pressrun as the first, but the advertisement carried the interesting additional information that 'the Author is now known to be a Mr. Jefferson, a very respectable merchant of Cumberland County Maryland.' Containing as it did much of what was to be embodied in the Declaration of Independence, some Englishmen may have doubted Mr. Jefferson's respectability. In any case, this was almost the last of the English reprints of pamphlets originating in America presenting the colonial position. In January the press was hard at work, producing twenty-two tracts in thirty-seven editions. On the tenth appeared Edmund Burke's *Speech on American Taxation*, which he had delivered nine months before, on April 19, 1774. The manuscript of the speech had been circulating for some months and a good sale was anticipated. The first printing was a handsome quarto selling for two shillings and sixpence. The 'Second Edition,' which came out ten days later and was in press when the 'First' appeared, was an octavo priced at two shillings. 'Third' and 'Fourth' editions were from the same setting of type but different pressruns. These were followed by a second 'Fourth Edition,' reset. The *London Chronicle* published excerpts within a week.

Among the twenty-two American publications that appeared in February 1775 were the first indications in the pamphlet press that not all Americans concurred in what was happening. The firm of Richardson and Urquhart in the Royal Exchange published reprints of loyalist tracts written by Thomas Bradbury Chandler and Samuel Seabury, originally published in New York. They formed part of a series of colonial pamphlet exchanges, of which only pamphlets presenting the British side were reprinted. Thus English readers were not introduced to young Alexander Hamilton, who attacked Seabury's *Free Thought on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress*.

Until March 1775, the pamphlet warfare had been notable for the large number of tracts, but there was yet no strong evidence of their influence. True, several had gone through two or three genuine reprintings and had elicited two or three responses. But this was nothing compared to the impact of the publication by Thomas Cadell on March 8, 1775, of Samuel Johnson's *Taxation No Tyranny*. Johnson himself paid the printer's bill at William Strahan's for 500 copies. Within the month he ordered a second printing of 1,000 copies with revisions, then a third printing of 500 copies, and in April a fourth printing of 500 copies—a total of 2,500 copies. The pamphlet's immediate impact is attested to by the six replies that appeared between March 30 and April 19, followed by six more during the parliamentary year 1775–76. Nor was this the end of its effect. In late September John Wesley published in Bristol, for twopence, a duodecimo tract entitled *A Calm Address to Our American Colonies*, which in his own words 'extracted the chief arguments from' Johnson's *Taxation No Tyranny*. Johnson approved of Wesley's condensation, which was reprinted in sixteen or seventeen different editions during the next three months in England, Ireland, and Scotland. Wesley later estimated that 'within a few months, fifty, or perhaps a hundred thousand copies, in newspapers and otherwise, were dispersed throughout Great-Britain.' The importance of the *Calm Address* may be measured by the twenty-five replies and counter-replies in thirty-three editions, most in duodecimo. Dr. Johnson and John Wesley thus initiated the most massive discussion of the American controversy to take place in the pamphlet press. One would like to know more about the long-range effect of Wesley's tract on the attitude of the ordinary Englishman inasmuch as the *Calm Address* was probably read by a large number of people who had little exposure to the bulk of the pamphlets in the dispute.

By the spring of 1775 the ministry itself had become active in the pamphlet market. When *The Address of the People of*

Great Britain to the Inhabitants of America was published by Thomas Cadell in reply to one of the resolutions of the Continental Congress, the *Monthly Review* not only identified the author as Sir John Dalrymple but also revealed that it had been 'printed at public expense, to be distributed in America.' There were two printings, the second from standing type, followed by a third with an imprint including the names of booksellers in Edinburgh and Glasgow. There was also a Dublin edition. Cadell appears to have been one of the publishers regularly employed by the ministry. His name appears either alone or in conjunction with other booksellers on 104 pamphlets. Of them, 53 openly supported the government, 38 were fast sermons, and only 13 favored conciliation. Political pamphlets were not Cadell's principal publishing interest. He leaned more heavily toward theology, travel, history, and science, and was involved in the American controversy only during the years it attracted the most attention.

One would like to know more about the origin of a broadside entitled *The Present State of Affairs between Great Britain and Her Colonies, Published by Joseph Hawkins, Jur*, whose imprint read 'Printed in Shire Lane.' Unfortunately, no copy has yet been located, but it was advertised in the *Daily Advertiser* on May 8, 1775, as 'A New Sheet Piece,' designed for the use of schools. This is not the only case to suggest that booksellers issued publications on the American controversy for the young. In 1771 Cadell brought out a compilation called the *Historical Miscellany*, described in the *Monthly Review* as 'for the use of schools.' The edition of 1776 includes a new five-page section 'On the Government and Civil Policy of the Americans' copied from the 1760 edition of Burke's *Account of European Settlements in America*. As with the duodecimos and the fast sermons it is another indication that the American controversy extended beyond the conventional market for pamphlet literature.

On July 6, 1775, the Continental Congress adopted its *Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms*, which

was reprinted in London in the *Public Advertiser* on August 17. Parliament was brought back into session on October 26, earlier than any other opening session in the previous thirty years. By then Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been captured, the British army was under siege in Boston, and George III had issued (on August 23) his proclamation declaring the colonies to be in a state of rebellion. During 1775-76 the American issue virtually eliminated all other subjects. October and November were largely dominated by replies to Wesley's *Calm Address*, but in early December the ministry came forward with its answer to the *Declaration of the Causes and Necessity*. It was *The Rights of Great Britain Asserted against the Claims of America; Being an Answer to the Declaration of the General Congress*, which was advertised on December 9 by Cadell. The *Monthly Review* again characterized it as a publication issued 'at the instance and expense of government.' The author, it is now generally agreed, was James Macpherson, the fabricator of the *Poems of Ossian*.

Although the title-page of Macpherson's pamphlet is dated 1776, an advertisement in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* makes it clear that it was on the market by December 9, 1775. The history of its some thirteen different editions and issues shows how printers and booksellers could respond to a crisis. A 'Second Edition' was printed in the same pressrun and advertised on December 15. There was another 'Second Edition' without a commercial imprint which may have been intended for distribution in America. Certainly copies reached the colonies because the work was reprinted in Philadelphia in 1776 with a tentative attribution to Lord George Germaine. Then there were three issues of a 'Third Edition,' the first published on January 2, 1776, from a completely new setting of type. The variations came from the insertion of additional material, including Franklin's proposal for the 'Articles of Confederation,' which the *London Chronicle* had published on January 6. The 'Fourth' and 'Fifth' are completely new set-

tings, the latter appearing on February 20. The 'Sixth,' which used the sheets of the 'Fifth,' was advertised on March 5, 1776, with, added at the end, a reply to Richard Price's 'State of the National Debt,' which had appeared with his *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty* about two weeks before. The 'Seventh' was a duodecimo, the 'Eighth' of March 22 used the type of the 'Sixth,' as did the 'Ninth' of May 13 but also with an expanded reply to Price. Then six and a half months later, on November 6, 1776, a 'Tenth Edition' was advertised. It used the same type as the 'Ninth,' adding advertisements on the last page suggesting that it was printed later, possibly to accompany John Lind's *Answer to the Declaration of the American Congress*, which appeared about that time. There were also one Edinburgh, two Glasgow, one Aberdeen, and two Dublin reprints. Macpherson's tract also reached a continental audience through a French translation published in The Hague. An Italian translation printed in Venice in 1777 is the only American tract known to have appeared in Italian.

There is a curious aftermath. In George III's library in the British Library is a fragment of forty-eight pages, without a title-page, the caption title of which reads *An Answer to the Declaration of the American Congress*.²⁷ It is the beginning of a condensation of *The Rights of Great Britain* that apparently was never finished. Where it fits into the sequence is not clear but it was probably being composed by the printer when the first reports of the Declaration of Independence arrived in England. A condensed version of a reply by mid-1776 to the Continental Congress's *The Declaration of Causes and Necessity* would have served little purpose. It is not now possible to determine whether the variety of printing of this, one of the two bibliographically most complex American pamphlets, was primarily the result of an active readership or whether it was the result of a decision by the ministry to use it as a vehicle for

²⁷ Press mark E228.6

presenting, by means of the alterations, its developing views on the crisis to the reading public. Certainly the frequent changes were costly. It would have been much simpler to have reprinted the first edition as it stood.

Although Macpherson's *Answer* was quoted and commented upon by other pamphlet writers, there was no formal reply despite its apparent wide circulation. By way of contrast the next major event in the pamphlet war occurred on February 14, 1776, with the publication by Thomas Cadell of Richard Price's *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government and the Justice and Policy of the War with America*, a substantial tract of 128 pages which concluded that the quarrel had reached the point where America would have the opportunity to establish 'a plan of government, and a growing power that shall astonish the world, under which every subject of human enquiry shall be open to free discussion, and the friends of Liberty, in every quarter of the globe, find a safe retreat from civil and spiritual tyranny.'²⁸

Within the next three months Price's pamphlet went through fifteen different editions and elicited thirty responses. Its printing pattern underscores its importance. The first seven editions were all printed from the same setting of type but in different pressruns with textual alterations in the 'Fifth,' 'Sixth,' and 'Seventh' editions. The price was two shillings, but by the beginning of April it became clear that there was a demand for a cheaper edition. There are in fact two different 'Sixth' and 'Seventh' editions. The first two were in part from the original settings of type, while the second two were reset in forty-eight pages and sold for sixpence, or one guinea per hundred. This lower price continued for the 'Eighth' and 'Ninth' editions. Then with the 'Eleventh' and 'Thirteenth' (there was no tenth or twelfth) the price was dropped to fourpence. Finally there was a 'New Edition,' with the price again lowered, to three-

²⁸ R. Price, *Observations* (London, 1776), p. 103.

penance. In 1777 the author brought out his *Additional Observations* which in 1778 he combined with the earlier work and published as *Two Tracts on Civil Liberty*. Price constantly revised and rewrote sections so that it was not until the publication of the *Two Tracts* on June 20, 1778, that we have the definitive text. There were also two Dublin appearances, one in Edinburgh, two Dutch ones, a French one in Holland, and five reprints in America. It took only seventeen days for the author of the first reply to have *A Letter to the Rev. D. Richard Price, On His Observations* published by T. Evans in the Strand and Wallis and Stonehouse in Ludgate Street. The letter had earlier appeared in the *London Review*. From then until Parliament rose on May 23, a reply to Price appeared on the average of once every six days. One was a satirical poem, *Bedlam, A Ball*. Only two replies appeared in June, but there were seven in July, among which was John Wesley's *Some Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, Occasioned by a Late Tract*, which itself produced two replies and a counterreply.

The significance that the author's alterations in this, the second most bibliographically complex pamphlet, has for assessing its impact is more susceptible to interpretation than was the case in the Macpherson pamphlet. The fact that an inexpensive edition appeared and there were so many replies show that it must have done well in the marketplace. Cadell's urging of Price to increase the first printing from 500 to 1,000 copies, mentioned earlier, suggests that the author paid for the initial printing. We do not know whether the proceeds from the sale of the pamphlet paid for the many alterations he made, but the changes did give him the necessary flexibility to carry on a dialogue with his opponents. It is doubtful that Price's *Observations* reached as broad an audience as Wesley's *Calm Address*, but the circulation certainly was exceptional.

During the latter part of the 1775-76 parliamentary session (March, April, and May) over seventy American pamphlets appeared, or more than five a week. A substantial proportion

of them, forty percent, were reprints of earlier pamphlets. Pamphlets on America had become profitable to booksellers. It is tempting to find some significance in the timing, soon after Parliament adjourned, of John Almon's publication of *Common Sense Addressed to the Inhabitants of America*. It had appeared in Philadelphia early in January, and copies must have arrived in England by at least the end of March. There were a number of objectionable passages deleted in the British printings, but there was still enough in Thomas Paine's pamphlet to give offense, which is probably why Almon published it bound with the only colonial reply available, James Chalmers's *Plain Truth Addressed to the Inhabitants of America*, published in Philadelphia the previous March. Although both were mentioned in the *Monthly Review*, no further general advertisement seems to have been undertaken. *Common Sense* inspired responses in Dublin and Edinburgh, but the only one to appear in London was of American origin, *The True Merit of a Late Treatise, Printed in America, Intituled Common Sense . . . By a Late Member of the Continental Congress*, published on October 15. Its author was probably Henry Middleton of South Carolina, president of the Continental Congress in 1774 and 1775, who resigned when more radical forces began to gain control. The decision to send it to England for publication was probably due, in part, to the limitations on printing in South Carolina, but one wonders what other circumstances led to its publication at all.

News of the Declaration of Independence arrived in London in mid-August and its text was immediately printed in newspapers. There was a broadside printing with no imprint, but the Declaration never appeared as a pamphlet. The earliest response, with an imprint reading 'London, printed in the Year 1776,' was *Strictures upon the Declaration of the Congress at Philadelphia* by Thomas Hutchinson, but there is no evidence that he ever attempted to market it. The official government response, from the pen of John Lind, did not come until Novem-

ber 1, when *An Answer to the Declaration of the American Congress* was published by Cadell. It was printed by William Strahan, whose account books contain an entry showing that William Robinson, the treasury secretary, had placed an order for 'Answer to the Declaration of the Congress. 10 sheets [no quantity] 21/-/.' In the John Carter Brown Library there is an edition of 137 pages, one of the three copies located, in ten sheets, with the following inscription on the title-page in the hand of Jeremy Bentham, a close friend of Lind, 'This is the work in the original state. A considerable part of this was left out at the desire of the Ministry in the published copy.' Following the first entry in the Strahan account book is a second reading, 'Do. altered and reduced to 8 ¼ sheets. No. 8000 6/ per sheet.' This clearly refers to a 132-page edition, which was printed in an unprecedented quantity of 8,000 copies, in eight stated editions, making use of standing type and producing the 'Third' and 'Fourth' in the same pressrun.²⁹ Not published till November, two and a half months after the news of Independence had arrived in England the work, despite the large number of copies printed and apparently sold, it can hardly have affected the mainstream of the pamphlet literature. It was reprinted in Aberdeen and Dublin, and the government appears to have decided to use it for propaganda on the continent. Cadell and J. Walter published a French translation prepared in England. The following year a second French translation appeared in The Hague.

The War, 1777-81

During 1776-77, although America still occupied the largest place in the total pamphlet literature, comprising sixty-four percent, the tenor of the discussion changed. The thrust shifted from debating political issues to seeking support for the war

²⁹ I am most grateful to Patricia Hernlund, who is editing the Strahan Ledgers, for her interpretation of the ambiguous entry in the Strahan account books which at first glance seemed to suggest that Robinson's order for the *Answer* was dated May 1776. It is her opinion that the entry was probably made sometime in August.

effort. The number of fast sermons preached on December 13, 1776, equalled that of all the other pamphlets on the American contest published during that sitting of Parliament. Aimed at a more popular market were the fourteen publications concerning the trial, conviction, and execution of James Hill, accused of attempting to set fire to a rope walk in the Portsmouth Navy Yard at the instigation, it was alleged, of Benjamin Franklin and the other American agents. Most of them were inexpensive and were printed near Plymouth where the trial took place. In April and May John Almon was misled into printing spurious letters of General Montcalm in which the French general was supposed to have predicted the American rebellion. A month later J. Bew published letters purportedly written by George Washington that placed him in an unfavorable light. Although some readers were deceived, the British press treated both publications with a good deal of skepticism. That the Opposition was using the mismanagement of American affairs to attack the ministry is indicated by the comparative popularity of the *Letter from Edmund Burke . . . on the Affairs of America*, which in May and June 1777 went through four printings involving different pressruns and excited enough attention to produce ten replies. The pamphlet literature was no longer concerned with the merits of the political and constitutional issues of colonial relations. The American controversy was now seen primarily as an internal matter involving how best to prosecute the war on the one hand and, on the other, how to use the situation to embarrass the government.

By 1777-78 America ceased to be the dominant topic, although it was still prominent, accounting for about a third of the total of pamphlets published. At first practically nothing appeared; then in December came the news of General Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga in October. By January the question of conciliation was being widely discussed. The most prominent pamphlet on the subject was *Thoughts on the Present State of Affairs with America, and the Means of Conciliation*,

published on January 24. Both Jonathan Boucher and Horace Walpole were aware that the author was William Pulteney, an independent-minded member of Parliament who belonged to no particular faction. The work was published in five editions in February, March, and April, including revisions and additions. There was one reply. With Lord North's Conciliatory Bill in February, which softened Britain's position and created the commissioners under the Earl of Carlisle to treat with the Americans, discussion of political relations with the colonies almost disappeared. The military aspects of the subject, however, gave rise to debate over the competence of the army.

In February Israel Mauduit issued his *Remarks upon Gen. Howe's Account of His Proceedings on Long-Island in the Extraordinary Gazette of October 10, 1776* through Fielding and Walker, in two editions but from the same pressrun. General Burgoyne defended himself in the House of Commons in May 1778. On June 16 *The Substance of General Burgoyne's Speeches* was reprinted from the newspapers in six 'editions' also from the same pressrun.

On this note the era of American preeminence on the British pamphlet scene ends. It lasted for five years, and during it all various aspects of the issues were thoroughly discussed for the benefit not only of the traditional pamphlet audience but also for a much broader segment of the population. Whatever course events might take thereafter, one could not say that they occurred because the pamphlet audience was uninformed.

During the final period, the five parliamentary years from 1778 to 1783, America occupied a subordinate place much as it had during the passage and repeal of the Townshend Duties. When Parliament met on November 26, it was greeted by the most successful satires of the era, *Anticipation: Containing the Substance of His M——y's Most Gracious Speech to Both H——ses of P——l——t, on the Opening of the Approaching Session*, published by T. Becket at the Corner of the Adelphi in the Strand. Although primarily an attack on the ministry, the pam-

phlet used the problems presented by the American war as one of the points of attack. Its popularity was immediate among readers familiar with the workings of Parliament. All eleven editions involved separate pressruns and one a complete resetting. Imitations began to appear at once with titles such as *Anticipation Continued* and *Deliberation*. The author of *Anticipation* was immediately revealed to be Richard Tickell, just embarking on his career as a satirist, poet, and playwright. Tickell attempted to repeat his success six months later with *The Green Box of Monsieur De Sartine, Found at Mademoiselle Du The's Lodgings*, published again by Becket but this time jointly with R. Faulder in Bond Street. The title-page carries the further statement that it was 'From the French of The Hague Edition,' which purported to be a pamphlet published at the same time entitled *La Cassette Verte du Monsieur de Sartine* with the unlikely imprint 'A La Haye: Chez La Veuve Whiskerfield.' Its typography is clearly English and reviewers immediately identified the piece for what it was. The five stated editions in English were all printed in the same pressrun; there was also a Dublin edition. The French version became popular on the continent, where it was reprinted four times.

The most vigorous writer on the American cause during the 1778-79 session was David Hartley, member of Parliament for Kingston-on-Hull and a close friend of Benjamin Franklin. A defender of colonial rights, he was later to serve as one of the peace commissioners. Beginning in 1775 he made it a practice to have certain of his speeches in the House of Commons printed as ephemeral leaflets, usually without a title or imprint, which he then distributed. They can hardly be considered a part of the mainstream of political pamphlets. In December 1778 appeared his most important contribution, *Letters on the American War*, published by Almon and Dilly in London, Crutwell in Bath, and Mullet in Bristol. Although intended as a commercial venture, it had the characteristics of a subsidized publication. It was imposed as a quarto, and, in some copies at least, Hartley

personally signed the 'Introductory Address.' The first four stated editions were from the same setting of type. Hartley made some revisions in the 'Fifth Edition,' which was imposed as an octavo. In this edition, Kearsley in Fleet Street joined Almon and Dilly in the imprint, thus providing an additional outlet halfway between Dilly's establishment in the City and Almon's in Westminster. In this form it went on to an 'Eighth Edition' using the same type. The circulation it achieved was not due to the normal workings of the book trade. No newspaper advertisements have been found, and the *Monthly Review* printed only a brief notice of its appearance.

By 1778 the war in America had created enough interest to justify a more comprehensive treatment of the subject. Starting in July, R. Baldwin in Paternoster Row joined with booksellers in York, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Edinburgh, and Glasgow in issuing in thirty-one monthly parts *An Impartial History of the War in America* by the Reverend James Murray of Newcastle. The circumstances of its publication history suggest that the inspiration for its appearance came from Newcastle. The *Impartial History* was the first of the many histories of the American Revolution to be derived in large part from the *Annual Register*.³⁰ The second, using the same basic material, was issued in one volume as *A Complete History of the Present Civil War Between Great Britain and the United Colonies of North America . . . By the Rev. Doc. T. Ferguson, F.R.S.* The imprint reads, 'London: Printed for J. Hayes, Bookseller in Hollourn [*sic*], 1779.' The misspelling of Holborn is probably explained by the fact that printing was done in Dublin. The sheets, with new material added, were used for Volume I of the two-volume *The History of the War in America*, Dublin, 1779. The transition of the American controversy from the ephemeral genre of

³⁰ The heavy dependence of contemporary historians on the *Annual Register* was first noted by O. G. Libby, 'Some Pseudo Histories of the American Revolution,' *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters* 12(1901):419. The present state of investigation is to be found in R. K. Newmyer, 'Charles Stedman's *History of the American War*,' *American Historical Review* 63(1958):924.

political pamphlets to bound books appears to have been the work not of the London book trade, but of provincial book-sellers.

The session of Parliament that met on November 26, 1778, and did not adjourn until July 3, 1779, saw a new dimension to the war in America. The news of Burgoyne's surrender, which arrived early in December 1777, was followed in February 1778 by news of the Franco-American treaty. The report of the rejection of conciliation taken to America by the commission headed by Lord Carlisle was followed in early August by the announcement of the British army's evacuation of Philadelphia and its retreat to New York. For all practical purposes British operations in the northern colonies had failed. The report in the latter part of February 1779 of the capture of Savannah opened the way for a new campaign in the southern colonies. It was in this atmosphere that the pamphlets of the 1779-80 session appeared. Almost fifty percent of them dealt with criticisms of the conduct of government and about twenty percent with the conduct of the war.

In April 1779 the question of British military competence was again raised by Israel Mauduit with *Observations Upon the Conduct of S—r W——m H—e at White Plains, As Related in the Gazette of December 30, 1776*. Three more such pamphlets appeared within one week in July: *A View of the Evidence Relative to the Conduct of the American War, The Examination of Lieutenant General Cornwallis . . . upon Sir William Howe's Papers*, and *The Examination of Joseph Galloway . . . on The American Papers*. Galloway himself ordered the 750 copies printed of the last-named from Strahan, and eight months later he ordered another 500.

Galloway was one of the most prominent figures in the pamphlet literature during the last five years of the conflict. Between 1779 and 1782 he wrote sixteen separate pamphlets which were printed in thirty-one editions, almost all of which he paid for himself. Twenty years earlier he had been a political

ally of Benjamin Franklin in the Pennsylvania Assembly and later a delegate to the First Continental Congress. Although it was clear as early as 1775 that he could not support independence, he remained in Philadelphia until 1778, and was forced to emigrate to London when the city was evacuated. The publication of his *Examination* was followed by *Letters to a Nobleman, on the Conduct of the War in the Middle Colonies* on August 18 in an edition of 500 copies. The later editions of November 24, 1779, February 10, 1780, and December 26, 1780, were all from new settings of type. John Wesley prepared an abridgement of the work, entitled *An Account of the Conduct of the War in the Middle Colonies*, issued in duodecimo, which itself went through four editions. On November 1, 1779, General Burgoyne came forward with his *A Letter . . . to His Constituents, upon His Late Resignation*, which went through six editions, three of which were produced in the same pressrun and three from type left standing. It elicited enough attention to inspire two replies. At the end of the year Galloway turned his attention to a more serious problem for himself and fellow loyalists, the growing desire to end the war. *Cool Thoughts on the Consequences to Great Britain of American Independence*, although dated 1780, was issued on December 24, 1779. In the spring Galloway returned to military affairs when he ordered 750 copies of his *Historical and Political Reflections on the Rise and Progress of the American Rebellion*, for which Wesley also prepared an abridgement. Only one edition of each appeared. Nevertheless Galloway persevered until the end, writing and publishing pamphlet after pamphlet, pleading for the more effective prosecution of the war and greater concern for the plight of the American loyalists. In March 1782, the month the North ministry fell, Galloway placed an order with William Strahan to print a series of letters to Cornwallis. It was set in type but never printed. In November the provisional Treaty of Peace was signed. Joseph Galloway abandoned the struggle only when nothing more could be done. Although he appears from

the Strahan account books as the purchaser of the printing of all the pamphlets he wrote, it is unlikely that he bore the whole financial burden. Rather, it is likely that the money came from American loyalists in England, who by this time were numerous and well organized.

The exploits of John Paul Jones in Scotland and the north of England attracted little attention in the London pamphlet press. Theophilus Smart, who apparently had been a prisoner on board the *Bonhomme Richard* and who had escaped 'a few minutes before she sank,' was the source of *Authentic Memoirs of Captain Paul Jones, the American Corsair*, a forty-page pamphlet published on October 26, 1779, a month after the battle, by A. Hogg, to be 'sold by all Booksellers in Town and Country.' It received no notice in any of the magazines. Six months later, in April 1780, the *London Magazine* listed *Elegaic [sic] Epistles on the Calamities of Love and War, Including a Genuine Description of the Tragical Engagement between His Majesty's Ships Serapis and Countess of Scarborough and the Enemy's Squadron under the Command of Paul Jones*. It was 'Printed for the Authors.' When the *Monthly Review* commented on it in June it completely ignored the part dealing with Jones. The only other British pamphlet to be inspired by his exploits had come out the previous October: *Paul Jones: or the Fife Coast Garland. A Heroi-Comical Poem . . .* (Edinburgh: Printed in the year M,DCC,LXXIX). There is no evidence that it ever reached the London market. Jones was, however, a prominent subject in more popular publications such as broadside ballads and caricatures, but his activities were not deemed to be important enough to attract the attention of that part of the press that dealt with the question of the outcome of the war with more apparent gravity.

The changing attitudes toward the war and America can be measured by the appearance of Benjamin Vaughan's collection of Franklin's writings, *Political Miscellaneous, and Philosophical Pieces*, published by Joseph Johnson on December 7, 1779, in

both a quarto and an octavo edition. Johnson had earlier published Priestley, and his identification with dissenters made him a logical person to issue a publication of this kind. But to come forward with a substantial volume costing ten shillings and sixpence in boards two years after Franklin had negotiated the American treaty of alliance with France could only have meant that Johnson felt assured of a market for the American's writings.

During the next two years, America's place in the pamphlet market dropped to fourteen percent of the total number of pamphlets published, with the conduct of the war attracting the most attention. During 1780-81 Joseph Galloway continued to be a major figure in the controversy over the conduct of military campaigns. General Howe, stung by Galloway's *Letters to a Nobleman*, published on September 14 his *Narrative*, which went through three editions, each with its own setting of type. On November 16 Galloway responded with his *A Reply to the Observations of Lieut. Gen. Sir William Howe*. Wesley prepared an abridged duodecimo of this title as he had done of other works by Galloway.

In June 1781 there appeared a publication that suggests a shift of attitude, to a somewhat broader view of the implications of the events in America. It was an English translation of an excerpt from the 1780 edition of the abbé Raynal's *Histoire Philosophique et Politique, dans Établissements & du Commerce des Européens dans les Deux Indes*, published by Lockyer Davis, an established bookseller in business since 1753, who had heretofore taken no part in the American controversy. Issued in June 1781 under the title *The Revolution of America*, his excerpt takes the position that the separation of the colonies was not only proper but inevitable. A French original and the English translation had appeared in London simultaneously. The French version was reprinted ten times on the continent, the English four times in London, twice in Edinburgh, and once in Dublin. The title given to the pamphlet may have been the first time

that British readers were presented in a title with the idea that the events in America could be called a revolution, and not simply a local rebellion on the part of discontented Englishmen overseas.

The Peace, 1782-83

The news of the British surrender at Yorktown arrived two days before Parliament sat in November 1781, and brought to an end all discussion of the merits of trying to retain the American colonies. Two weeks later appeared Josiah Tucker's *Cui Bono? Or, An Inquiry, What Benefits Can Arise Either to the English or the Americans, the French, Spaniards, or Dutch, from the Greatest Victories or Successes, in the Present War?* The two later editions, in January and June 1782, were completely new reprints. The odd exception is the rather pathetic piece *The Recovery of America Demonstrated to be Practicable by Great Britain*, published on December 21. Accepting American independence as an all but accomplished fact, most of the pamphlets analyzed the fall of the North ministry or assessed Britain's military failures. The final British military success, Rodney's defeat of De Grasse at the Battle of the Saints in April 1782, received no discussion in the London pamphlet press. The only full treatment appears to have been A. Tweedie's *The Naval Achievements of Admiral George Lord Brydges Rodney*, a small, 150-page book issued in Edinburgh. The imprint reads simply 'Printed by W. Darling, Advocates Close,' suggesting that the author paid for the printing. No evidence has been found to suggest that any attempt was made to sell the book in London. Even Galloway reflected the changed state of affairs as he turned his attentions to the needs of the loyalists. In July he issued *Political Reflections on the Royal Proprietary, and Charter Governments of the American Colonies*, the sheets of which he reissued in April 1783 with a title-page reworded to reflect the . . . *Unfortunate Termination and Dismemberment of the British Empire.*

The peace negotiations of 1782–83 increased the share of the pamphlet market devoted to America to twenty-five percent, with the Clinton-Cornwallis controversy over the surrender and other military matters as leading topics. On February 24, 1783, Samuel Bladon issued, with his name and address in the imprint, *A Full and Faithful Report in Both Houses of Parliament, on Monday the 17th of February, and Friday the 21st of February, 1782, on the Articles of Peace*. The contrast between this and John Almon's attempt to conceal his part in the publication of a portion of the parliamentary proceedings on the repeal of the Stamp Act points up the growing feeling of security with which pamphlet publishers felt they could address public issues. Earlier the publication of speeches in Parliament were either like Edmund Burke's carefully revised literary works delivered to the publisher by the author, or like Lord Chatham's garbled shorthand versions published with some sort of protective covering. In 1777 and 1778 John Wilkes published his speeches made since 1774 in three volumes; by 1781 David Hartley was distributing copies of Wilkes's speeches almost as soon as he had delivered them. Since 1775 debates in Parliament had been regularly reported in Almon's *The Parliamentary Register*, and some members were coming to treat what they said on the floor of the House as being addressed as much to those 'out of doors' as to those in the House itself.

The approximately 1,400 publications in 2,300 editions relating to America that appeared between 1764 and 1783 did a good deal more than debate the American controversy. It exposed the people of Great Britain to more information than they had ever had available before about America and its people. Three histories appeared, all by loyalists: Hutchinson's of Massachusetts in 1765 and 1768, Alexander Hewatt's of South Carolina in 1779, and Samuel Peters's of Connecticut in 1781. Another important work was not by a loyalist. Hector Saint John de Crèvecoeur was an American of French origin. His

Letters from an American Farmer, Describing Certain Provincial Situations, Manners, and Customs, Not Generally Known; and Conveying Some Idea of the Late and Present Interior Circumstances of the British Colonies in North America portrayed the colonies in idyllic terms which were to become a part of the national myth. Yet this book, which was fundamental in forming the new country's image of itself, was first published not in Philadelphia or Boston but in London, on March 28, 1782, just as Lord North's ministry was giving way to Rockingham's. There was also a Dublin edition the same year and in the following year another London edition and a Belfast printing. In May or June 1783 a reply was published by Samuel Ayscough, an assistant librarian in the British Museum, *Remarks on the Letters from an American Farmer; or a Detection of the Errors of Mr. J. Hector St. John; Pointing Out the Pernicious Tendency of These Letters to Great Britain*. That same month there was a more explicit response to the threat posed by Crèvecoeur's book. *A Plain Letter to the Common People of Great Britain and Ireland, Giving Fair Warning against Transporting Themselves to America* was priced at twopence or fourteen shillings 'per Hundred to those who give them away.' It was followed by a second printing in Bristol with the title slightly altered so that it was addressed to Welshmen. It was clear that America was going to continue to be a factor in British social and political affairs even after the question of how it was to be governed had been resolved.

On December 30, 1783, the *Public Advertiser* carried an advertisement by John Stockdale, at one time an employee of John Almon, using the same address 'Opposite Burlington House Piccadilly,' for a new work: *History of the Dispute with America, from Its Origin in 1754. Written in the Year 1774*, by John Adams, Esq. It was in fact both an abridgement and the first separate printing of Adams's celebrated 'Novanglus Letters,' which had first appeared in the *Boston Gazette* in 1775. The war of American pamphlets in Great Britain opened in

December 1764 with a reprint of the work by a cantankerous Yankee, James Otis's *The Rights of the Colonies Asserted and Proved*, published by John Almon, 'Opposite Burlington House Piccadilly.' It closed almost exactly nineteen years later to the day with the reprint, done at the same address, of the work of another crusty New Englander, Adams.

APPENDIX

Table 1

COMPARISON OF SIZE AND PRICES OF
380 PAMPHLETS IN OCTAVO

<i>Sheets</i>	<i>Pages</i>	<i>6d.</i>	<i>1s.</i>	<i>1s. 6d.</i>	<i>2s.</i>	<i>2s. 6d.</i>	<i>3s.</i>	<i>Total</i>
1	1-16	2	1					3
1½	17-24	5	26					31
2	25-32	18	19					37
2½	33-40		51					51
3	41-48		55					55
3½	49-56		30	10	1			41
4	57-64		22	11	2			35
4½	65-72		11	6	1			18
5	73-80			13	1			14
5½	81-88			21	2	1		24
6	89-96			12	4			16
6½	97-104			3	3			6
7	105-112			5	6			11
7½	113-120			2	7	2		11
8	121-128				9	1		10
8½	129-136				7	1		8
9	137-144				3	5	1	9
		<u>25</u>	<u>215</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>380</u>

Table 2

BOOKSELLERS AND PRINTERS ACTIVE IN
LONDON 1764-1783 AND THE
NUMBER ASSOCIATED WITH AMERICAN PAMPHLETS

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of booksellers</i>	<i>Number whose names appear on an American pamphlet</i>	<i>Number of printers</i>	<i>Number whose names appear on an American pamphlet</i>
1764	120	11	32	1
1765	135	19	38	3
1766	131	25	36	1
1767	136	10	36	0
1768	143	19	37	1
1769	143	12	39	1
1770	149	16	42	2
1771	149	5	40	1
1772	159	5	39	4
1773	164	10	41	3
1774	192	36	57	7
1775	221	58	57	7
1776	209	67	50	12
1777	193	56	48	1
1778	188	42	51	9
1779	198	40	55	6
1780	197	35	56	6
1781	204	47	59	8
1782	199	52	57	6
1783	197	49	60	2

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