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Canterbury's external links

Book-trade relations at the regional and national level in the eighteenth century

David J. Shaw

1. Canterbury printers and booksellers to 1800

As befits a town with a major ecclesiastical establishment, Canterbury has a long history of commercial booksellers and stationers. Table 1 shows a summary list of Canterbury book trade personnel up to 1800. The eighteenth century saw a great increase in activity, especially with the establishment of James Abree's press in 1717 and the production of the first Canterbury newspaper, the *Kentish Post and Canterbury Newsletter*.¹ Sarah Gray has already outlined the career of William Flackton as a successful bookseller, stationer, auctioneer and music seller in the city and beyond in the mid-century. By the second half of the eighteenth century there were a number of competing firms of booksellers, printers and newspaper proprietors in the city, supplying what must have been a healthy local market.

It is well-known that many of the printers newly set up in provincial towns in the early eighteenth century had as their *raison d'être* the production of a newspaper.² This was intended to provide a more regular income than reliance on jobbing printing and production of the occasional book. The example of James Abree shows that even a town like Canterbury could not of itself provide a sufficient market to support a bi-weekly paper: Abree had itinerant newsmen who took the paper around the major towns in the county, a system which enabled him to obtain advertisements for the newspaper and to supply orders from his book shop.

In addition to selling locally printed items, provincial printers and booksellers used their London connections both to obtain books to sell to their local customers and also to provide a wider distribution for the books which they themselves produced. Provincial booksellers maintained (or even depended on) good links with the centre of the English book trade in London. John Feather called the provincial newspaper owners 'a ready-made system of deep market penetration' for the London publishers, a system that also made them ideal agents for the wholesalers of patent medicines and insurance.³ I hope to show that while this is largely true, it is not entirely true: there was a measurable trade at the national level in books printed in the provinces, though inevitably the Londoners had a large hand in it as wholesalers and distributors. Nicolas Barker has described the developments in transport which facilitated a national distribution system and the system of warehousing in London which supported it.⁴ The Worcester booksellers' London connections and delivery methods have been examined by

Margaret Cooper.⁵ Let us examine these external trade links for some of the Canterbury figures of the period.

2. The evidence of the books

The evidence which I shall examine is drawn from the files of the ESTC project, thanks to data provided by colleagues in the British Library, London. I retrieved two sets of data:

1. books printed in Canterbury and also sold through booksellers elsewhere;
2. books printed in London and offered for sale in Canterbury.

A small number of these books are from the seventeenth century, mainly cases of Canterbury booksellers offering London publications by local authors, such as

Cynthia: with the tragical account of the unfortunate loves of Almerin and Desdemona. Being a novel. ... Done by an English hand. London: printed by R. Holt, for R. Fenner book-seller in Canterbury, 1687. 8°. Wing C7710A.

There is another small group in the first half of the eighteenth century, representing James Abree's commercial contacts with book trade colleagues in nearby Kentish towns. By far the largest group of publications is from the second half of the eighteenth century.

It must be said that quite a number of the imprints in these lists are anything but informative. An imprint such as the following for an illustrated Bible

London : printed for C. Cooke; and sold by the booksellers of Bath, Bristol, Birmingham, Canterbury, Cambridge, [and 25 other towns in England] and by all other booksellers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, [1787?]. 2°. ⁶

tells us (according to John Feather's interpretation of the commercial significance of the precise wording of contemporary imprints in terms of wholesalers and distributors⁷) that Cooke is the copyright owner and financial backer for the work and that he anticipates wide national sales through his network of provincial distributors, but it is otherwise too unspecific to be of much use for investigating Canterbury's trading links.

Similarly, Daniel Prat's 1791 *Ode, on the late celebrated Handel, on his playing on the organ* has the imprint

Canterbury : printed and sold by Simmons, Kirkby and Jones, and all the booksellers in Kent

which tells us that Simmons hoped for sales throughout the county but gives us no details on specific colleagues with whom he was arranging distribution.⁸ In fact, about one third of the books printed in Canterbury with indications of outside distribution give only a general phrase such as this showing an expectation of collaborative distribution throughout the county. A later example, which details only the Canterbury distributors, is:

Noyes, Robert. *An elegy, (after the manner of Gray) on the death of the late William Jackson, Esq. of Canterbury, ... By Robert Noyes.* Canterbury: printed by J. Grove, and sold by W. Bristow, Flackton, Marrable and Claris, and Simmons and Kirkby, and all other booksellers in Kent, [1789]. 4°.

Another category is where the book is published 'for the author'. For example, Daniel Dobel's *Plea for infants baptism, impleaded* has an imprint giving Dobel's house in Cranbrook as the main point of sale, together with the printing house in Canterbury:

Dobel, Daniel. *The plea for infants baptism, impleaded: or, remarks on a piece, intituled, a plea for infants: or, the scripture doctrine of water baptism stated.* By Daniel Dobel. Canterbury: printed for the author, and sold by him at his house in Cranbrook; and at the printing-office, Canterbury, 1742. 8°.

This is clearly a case of private rather than commercial publication, though it must have represented useful business for the printer, James Abree, as Dobell used his services in the same way on a number of occasions.⁹

3. Regional links

Another example of private publishing shows a wider range of commercial distributors in London and East Kent, presumably involving the trade associates of the printer Joseph Grove:

A brief vindication of the appointment of God, against the inventions of men, in baptism, &c. in a letter to Mr. Wm. Kingsford, Canterbury. Canterbury: printed for the author, by J. Grove, and sold by Mr. Scollick, London; Mr. Bristow, Messrs. Flackton, Marrable, and Claris, and Messrs. Simmons and Kirkby, Canterbury; Mr. Burgess, Ramsgate; Mr. Hall, Margate; Mr. Ledger, Dover; Messrs. Cocking and Son, Sandwich; Mr. Coveney, Faversham; and all other booksellers in Kent, 1789. 8°.

This imprint makes it clear that this is a privately produced book ('printed for the author') but it uses Joseph Groves's local and London trade connections to maximise its distribution. Several of the East Kent booksellers named here figure frequently in Canterbury imprints:

Burgess of Ramsgate 11 times,

Hall of Margate 13 times and

Ledger of Dover 5 times.

Others who appear frequently are Samuel Silver of Margate, Thomas Fisher of Rochester and his successor Webster Gillman, and Stephen Doorne of Faversham. The full list of Kentish booksellers acting as local distributors for books printed in Canterbury is given in Table 2. Most of these examples come from the second half of the century, with the firm of Simmons & Kirkby having particular prominence. The towns of Cranbrook, Smarden, Tenterden, which were involved in James Abree's partnerships in the first half of the century, do not figure later on: they are all at the further end of the county and no doubt developed their own more local links.¹⁰

There were a few cases of books printed in other south-eastern towns distributed through one or more Canterbury booksellers: details of these are presented in Table 3.

4. National links

The provincial book trade as described by John Feather was London-centred: 'The whole structure of the trade had evolved to take books from London to the provinces, not in the opposite direction'. It was a 'one-way flow of books' where the exception merely proves the rule.¹¹ While this is undoubtedly true as a generalisation, I hope to show that Canterbury was able to hope to insert some of its own products into the national distribution system and that this was also true for other provincial printing centres.

First of all, I shall look at the national pattern of distribution of Canterbury-printed books. A number of London booksellers acted as distributors; that is to say, they provided a central (London-based) facility for members of the trade in London and in other provincial towns to find out about and to place orders for Canterbury-produced books. There are a few cases of Oxford, Cambridge and York booksellers also acting as regional distributors,¹² but only as subsidiaries to a London tradesman. In this sense, it can certainly be said that the English book trade was centred on London. Many of these London figures acted only a small number of times for Canterbury colleagues, but a few had regular links with the Canterbury trade over long periods of time. Figure 1 shows the statistics for the major London distributors acting for Canterbury firms. I should like to look in further detail at the two principal cases: Joseph Johnson and Bedwell Law.

Joseph Johnson is described in Plomer's *Dictionary* as 'one of the leading booksellers and publishers in London in the second half of the eighteenth century'. 'His shop became the headquarters of the book selling of Protestant Dissent.' Born 1738, he was apprenticed to George Keith, worked from premises in Paternoster Row from 1760 to 1770, and in St Paul's Churchyard from 1770 to 1809. He was gaoled for nine months in 1797 for publishing the political works of Gilbert Wakefield.¹³

Johnson handled three books for William Flackton (in 1774, 1785, and 1789), four books for the printer Joseph Grove (in 1789–92) and five books for William Bristow (in 1791–98), but it was the partnership of Simmons & Kirkby and its successors which used his services the most over a period of a quarter of a century (on twenty-eight occasions from 1774 to 1800). We can look at the earliest example: the first edition of William Gostling's popular *guide book* *Walk in and around the City of Canterbury*, 1774, which was handled in London by Johnson and by R. Baldwin. William Flackton was also involved as a retailer of the book in Canterbury, and possibly also as a co-financer:

Gostling, William. *A walk in and about the city of Canterbury, with many observations not to be found in any description hitherto published. By William Gostling, ...* Canterbury: printed and sold by Simmons and Kirkby, and W. Flackton. Sold also by R. Baldwin and Joseph Johnson, in London, and by all the booksellers in the county of Kent, 1774. 8°.

Another more complex example is the fifth edition of George Berkeley's conservative sermon, *The danger of violent innovations in the state*.

Berkeley, George. *The danger of violent innovations in the state, ... exemplified from the reigns of the two first Stuarts, in a sermon preached at the cathedral ... Canterbury, ... By George Berkeley, ... The fifth edition, with notes, historical and political.* Canterbury: printed and sold by Simmons and Kirkby. Sold also by Flackton and Marrable, and T. Smith, Canterbury; J. Johnson, J. Robson, and J. Debrett, London; Fletcher and Prince, at Oxford; T. and J. Merrill, Cambridge; Todd, York; and Elliot and Creech, Edinburgh, 1785. 12°.

This was distributed by Flackton and Smith in Canterbury, by Johnson and several other booksellers in London, and also in both University towns and in York and Edinburgh. Johnson had been the sole London distributor of several of the earlier editions. Altogether, Johnson handled forty books printed by his colleagues in Canterbury.

The second London bookseller to act as wholesaler for a Canterbury firm was **Bedwell Law**, bookseller and publisher in Ave Maria Lane, 1756-98.¹⁴ Law acted for Canterbury publishers only half as often as Johnson in the same period of time (17 books in all). Interestingly, he acted only once for Simmons and Kirkby (in 1792) and only once for Joseph Grove (in 1798), both of whom seem to have preferred the services of Joseph Johnson. All of Law's other cases are for Thomas Smith & Son (1768 to 1785) and for William Bristow (1795 –97). William Flackton appears on both lists as an additional Canterbury distributor.

The pattern suggested here is one of long-lived trade alliances between a successful provincial publisher and a specific London wholesaler. The question arises as to how typical this pattern is. Did printers in other provincial towns make regular deals with London booksellers to act as wholesale agents for appropriate items from their output? Did Johnson and Law favour Canterbury printers, or did they act in the same way for printers from other towns as well?

The answer to both of these questions is 'yes'. Both Johnson and Law had an enormous clientele for this sort of trade, drawn from all over the country. Table 4 shows that Johnson acted at least once as London wholesaler for printers in over thirty towns, and on a regular basis for a dozen of them. He seems to have particularly strong midlands and northern connections, with Birmingham, Warrington and Leeds as his most frequent clients, but Canterbury's place in this list is a respectable fifth (with 6% of the total of these books handled by Johnson, to Birmingham's 19%, Warrington's 9% and Leeds's 8%).

Bedwell Law's scale of operations was not as large as Johnson's (perhaps one third of the number of books in this category) but it still amounts to nearly two hundred items. Law's geographic spread was much more southern and western than Johnson's, with the odd exception of Berwick which accounted for nearly 28% of the business which he did as wholesaler to provincial printers. Canterbury's proportion was just under 9%. Table 5 shows a comparison of Law's and Johnson's activities as wholesalers for the provincial press. They seem very rarely to have acted for printers in the same town. In fact, Canterbury and Exeter are the only significant cases where this is so and, in the case of Canterbury at least, this was because each dealt with a different printer or group of printers, Johnson with Simmons & Co. and Law with Thomas Smith. The significance of Johnson's trade with Simmons and Kirkby is underlined by David Stoker's ranking of the Canterbury firm as one of the seven most important nationally in his ESTC sample of provincial booksellers for 1784–85.¹⁵

Nor were Johnson and Law the only Londoners to engage in this aspect of book selling. The firms of White and Son and Dilly both had a huge trade as wholesale distributors, though they handled only a half-dozen books each for Canterbury printers. J. Marsom acted in only 18 recorded cases, half of which were for Canterbury clients (the other towns being Henley, York and St Ives in Huntingdonshire). Pitcher is recorded as London wholesaler for 9 provincial books, all of them printed in Canterbury, all anti-Unitarian tracts by George Townsend, for which Pitcher does not appear to have been a very important outlet, coming rather towards the end of a typical imprint:

Townsend, George. *A word of caution (or advice) against the Socinian poison of William Frend. Addressed to the inhabitants of Canterbury and its neighbourhood, ... By George Townsend, of Ramsgate.* Canterbury: printed and sold by Simmons and Kirkby. Sold also by Burgess, Ramsgate; Hall, Margate; and all the booksellers in Kent. Matthews; Pitcher, London; and the Rev. John Townsend, Rotherhithe, 1789. 8°.

This pattern of collaborative activity was not confined to England. Peter Isaac's recent article on the Edinburgh bookseller Charles Elliott shows Canterbury among the English towns with whose booksellers Elliott shared imprints: there are four cases, involving Simmons & Kirkby, Flackton & Marrable and Thomas Smith.¹⁶

Conclusion

Throughout the early-modern period, no printing centre other than London itself had a self-sufficient market. Local newspapers had their sub-regional distribution areas. Locally produced books also needed the revenue from additional sales at the regional or national level. Provincial booksellers needed supplies from elsewhere to cater for the range of demand from their local market. The London wholesalers provided the mechanism for much of this trade, taking their percentage for warehousing and distributing books to provincial trade customers. This paper had tried to show that part of this wholesale trade provided facilities for provincially produced books to seek to find a national market. Specialist wholesalers built up long-standing networks of trade with the more important of their provincial colleagues. There is scope for further detailed work in the ESTC database to pursue the analysis of these commercial patterns.

TABLE 1

John Barker	stationer	1485	BAR
William Ingram	binder, stationer	1485–1489	BAR
John Mychell	binder, printer	1533?–1556	STC
Thomas Kele	stationer	1548	BAR
Clement Bassock	bookseller, stationer	1557, 1571–76	Duff, BAR
Esdras Johnson	stationer	1594	BAR
Joseph Bulkley	bookseller	1609–1622	STC
Nicholas Johnson	stationer	1638	BAR
Rest Fenner I	stationer, bookseller	1651–1711	BAR, Plomer
Rest Fenner II	bookseller	1681–1711	Plomer
Enoch Fenner	bookseller	1703–1734	Plomer
Edward Burges	binder, bookseller	1714–1740	Plomer
James Abree	printer, bookseller	1717–1769	Plomer, Shaw
Thomas Reeve	printer (with Abree)	1717–1726	Wiles
Rest Fenner III	binder, bookseller	1729–1741?	Plomer
W. Aylett	printer (with Abree)	1727–1737	Wiles
William Flackton	bookseller	1739–1798	Plomer, Gray
Mrs Fenner	bookseller	1732–1741	Plomer
John Flackton	bookseller	1738–1790	Plomer
Thomas Smith	bookseller	1746–1788	Plomer
George Kirkby	printer (with Abree)	1764–1768	Plomer
Simmons & Kirkby	printer, bookseller	1768–1791	Plomer
Thomas Smith & Son	printer	1772–1781	
Simmons & Black	printer, bookseller	1780	
Thomas Smith II	printer	1782–1787	

Flackton & Marrable	bookseller	1785 –1789
Joseph Grove	printer	1788 –1794
Flackton, Marrable & Claris	bookseller	1789 –1797
William Bristow	stationer, bookseller	1789 –1800
Simmons, Kirkby & Jones	printer, bookseller	1791 –1796
W. Epps	newspaper	1792 –1795
Simmons & Kirkby II	printer, bookseller	1795 –1800

Key:

BAR: H.R. Plomer, ‘The libraries and bookshops of Canterbury’, *Book Auction Records*, 14, 1916–17.

Plomer: *Dictionaries of the printers and booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland, 1557–1775*, ed. H.R. Plomer, *et al.* (London, The Bibliographical Society, 1977).

Wiles: R.M. Wiles, *Freshest Advices: early provincial newspapers in England*, (Ohio State U.P., 1968).

Duff: E.G. Duff, *A Century of the English book trade*, (London, The Bibliographical Society, 1905).

Dates for the late-eighteenth century are taken from imprints in books.

A summary list of Canterbury book trade personnel to 1800

TABLE 2

<i>Town</i>	<i>bookseller</i>	<i>date books</i>	<i>Canterbury publisher</i>
Chatham	M. Towson	1768 1	Smith & Son
	J. Towson	1777 1	
Cranbrook	J. Maule	1739 1	Abree
Dover	R. Brydone	1777 2	Simmons & Kirkby
	G. Ledger	1786-87 2	Simmons & Kirkby
		1789-91 1	Grove
Faversham	S. Doorne	1794 1	Bristow
		1776 1	Flackton
		1777-79 2	Simmons & Kirkby
		1789 1	Grove
Folkestone	T. Page	1777 2	Simmons & Kirkby
Lewes	Burgess	1794 1	Bristow
Maidstone	Mrs Bailess	1748 1	Abree
	W. Mercer	1777 2	Simmons & Kirkby
	Chalmers	1794 1	Bristow
Margate	J. Hall	1777-89 11	Simmons & Kirkby
		1789 1	Grove
Margate	Crow	1776 1	Flackton
	S. Silver	1776 1	Flackton
	1777-81 3	Simmons & Kirkby	
Ramsgate	P. Burgess	1788-92 9	Simmons & Kirkby (— & Jones)
		1789 1	Grove
Rochester	T. Fisher	1772-79 4	Simmons & Kirkby
	W. Gillman	1787-90 2	Simmons & Kirkby
Rotherhithe	Rev. J. Townsend	1788-89 7	Simmons & Kirkby
Sandwich	J. Silver	1722 1	Abree
	W. Cronk	1777 2	Simmons & Kirkby
	Cocking & Son	1789 1	Grove
Smarden	J. Brown	1739 1	Abree
Tenterden	T. Winter	1739 1	Abree

Kentish booksellers acting as local distributors for books

printed in Canterbury in the eighteenth century

TABLE 3

<i>town</i>	<i>printer</i>	<i>date</i>	<i>Canterbury bookseller</i>
Chatham	Webster Gillman	1782	Simmons & Kirkby
Cranbrook	S. Waters	1791	W. Bristow
Dover	G. Ledger	1792	Simmons, Kirkby & Jones
Lewes	W. and A. Lee	1797	
Maidstone	D. Chalmers	1796	Bristow
Margate	J. Warren	1797-98	Flackton & Co.
Portsea	W. Woodward	1796	Simmons & Co.
Rochester	T. Fisher	1776-85	Simmons & Kirkby
	T. Fisher	1781	Smith & Son
	Webster Gillman	1787-90	Simmons & Kirkby
	Gillman & Etherington	1792-93	W. Bristow
Tunbridge Wells	Jasper Sprange	1785-1800	Simmons & Kirkby
		1795-1800	Bristow

**Books distributed by Canterbury booksellers
for printers in other towns in the South East in the eighteenth century**

TABLE 4

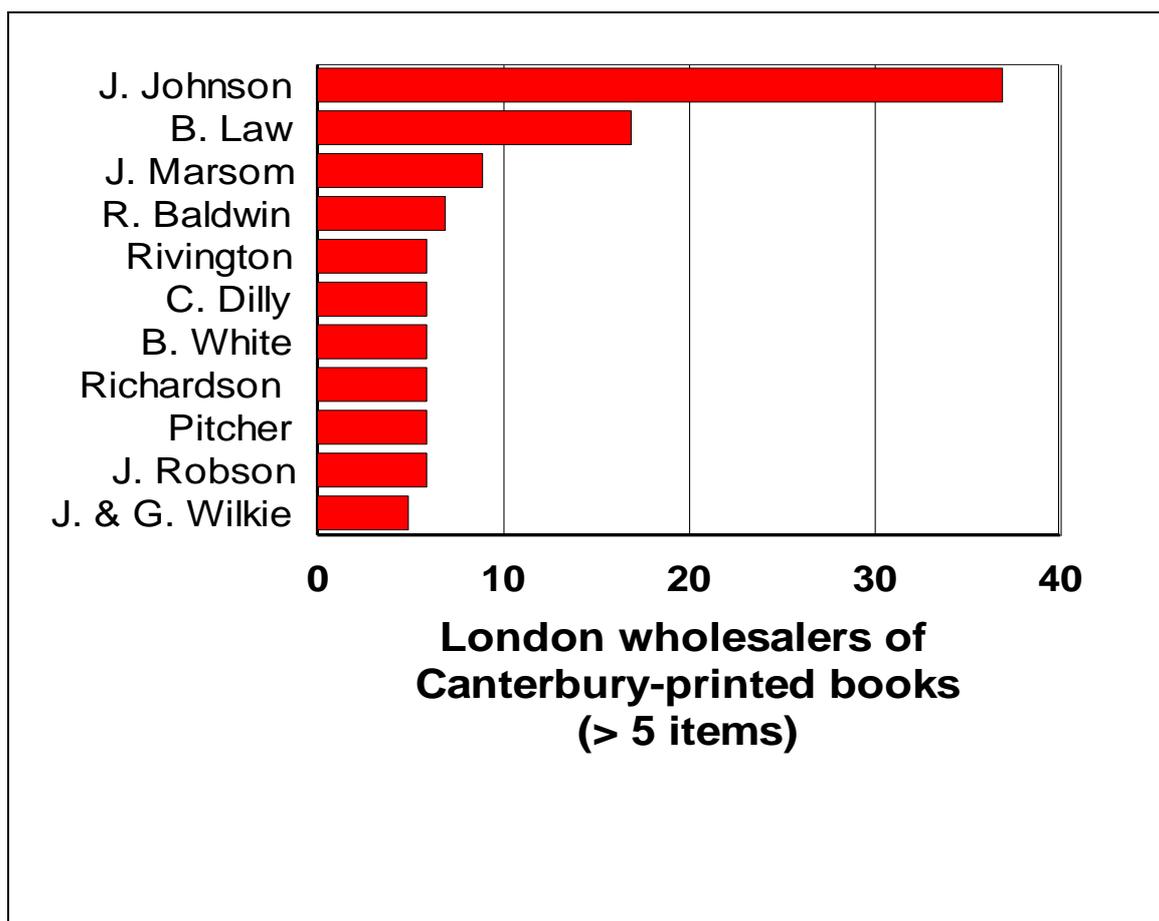
<i>books</i>	<i>town</i>	<i>dates</i>	<i>printer</i>
134	Birmingham	1764–1800	various
61	Warrington	1774–1795	W. Eyres
55	Leeds	1785–1796	T. Wright; J. Binns; T. Gill
44	Bristol	1790–1798	Bulgin & Rosser; N. Biggs
40	Canterbury	1774–1800	Simmons & Kirkby; Grove; Bristow
40	Edinburgh	1757–1800	various
37	Bath	1778–1798	Cruttwell; Hazard
32	York	1776–1800	A. Ward; and others
29	Cambridge	1767–1797	J. Archdeacon; and others
26	Newark	1787–1800	Allin & Ridge
20	Taunton	1781–1795	T. Norris; J. Poole
19	Newcastle	1758–1796	T. Saint; and others
17	Exeter	1787–1796	G. Floyd; and others
15	Norwich	1768–1797	various
11	Salisbury	1776–1781	Collins & Johnson
10	Oxford	1780–1795	J. Buckland; R. Watts
9	Manchester	1788–1800	various
9	Shrewsbury	1788–1795	J. & W. Eddowes
5	Bradford	1788–1800	G. Nicholson
4	Doncaster	1795–1796	W. Sheardown
4	Glasgow	1798–1800	various
4	Hull	1794–1796	Rawson
3	Lancaster	1785–1787	various
3	Lichfield	1780–1789	J. Jackson
3	Sherbourne	1792–1796	W. Cruttwell
2	Dublin	1788–1796	various
2	Derby	1789–1798	J. Drewry
2	Huddersfield	1794	J. Brook
2	Trowbridge	1789–1790	A. Small
2	Wakefield	1782	T. Waller

**Printing towns for which Joseph Johnson
acted as London wholesaler
(omitting single occurrences)**

TABLE 5

<i>town</i>	<i>Law</i>	<i>Johnson</i>		<i>town</i>	<i>Law</i>	<i>Johnson</i>
Berwick	54			Norwich	1	15
Aldershot	29			Edinburgh		40
Eton	19			York		32
Canterbury	17	40		Taunton		20
Plymouth	17			Newcastle		19
Southampton	12			Oxford		10
Exeter	9	17		Shrewsbury		9
Bath	4	37		Bradford		5
Birmingham	2	134		Doncaster		4
Northampton	2	2		Hull		4
Ipswich	3			Glasgow		4
Manchester	3	9		Lancaster		3
Reading	3			Lichfield		3
Salisbury	3	11		Dublin		2
Stafford	2			Derby		2
Warrington	2	61		Huddersfield		2
Bristol	1	44		Sherbourne		3
Cambridge	1	29		Trowbridge		2
Leeds	1	55		Wakefield		2
Newark	1	26				

**Comparative figures for printing towns for which
Bedwell Law and Joseph Johnson acted as London wholesaler
(omitting single occurrences)**



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- [1] David J. Shaw and Sarah Gray, 'James Abree (1691? – 1768): Canterbury's first "modern" printer', in: Peter Isaac and Barry McKay [ed.], *The Reach of print : Making, selling and reading books* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1998), 21–36.
- [2] John Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 16.
- [3] Feather, *Provincial book trade*, p. 65 and 83–85. On patent medicines, see also Peter Isaac, 'Charles Elliot and Spilisbury's antiscorbutic drops', *The Reach of print*, 157–74.
- [4] N.J. Barker, 'The rise of the provincial book trade in England and the growth of a national transport system', in F. Barbier, S. Juratic and D. Varry [ed.], *L'Europe et le livre: réseaux et pratiques du négoce de librairie* (Paris, Klincksieck, 1996), 137–55.
- [5] Margaret Cooper, *The Worcester book trade in the eighteenth century* (Worcester Historical Society, Occasional Publications, no. 8, 1997), 23–24.
- [6] *The Christian's new and complete family Bible: or, universal library of divine knowledge. ... Illustrated with notes ... By the Rev. Thomas Bankes* (London: C. Cooke, [1787?]).
- [7] Feather, *Provincial book trade*, p. 59–62.

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- [8] Daniel Prat, *An ode, on the late celebrated Handel, on his playing on the organ: composed by Daniel Prat, ... Printed partly on occasion of the grand musical festival at Canterbury, 1791, ...* Canterbury: printed and sold by Simmons, Kirkby and Jones, and all the booksellers in Kent, [1791]. [4], 10, [2] p. ; 4°.
- [9] Abree printed books for sale by Dobell at his house in Cranbrook in 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745, having had a presumably unsuccessful attempt at wider commercial distribution in 1739: *The seventh-day sabbath not obligatory on Christians*. Canterbury: printed for the author, and sold by J. Noon, London; by the author, and John Maule in Cranbrook; Tho. Winder at Tenterden; James Brown at Smarden, 1739. 8°. Maule worked as a bookseller in Cranbrook from 1737–56 and had already published Dobell's *Seventh day Sabbath* in 1737 (Plomer, *1726 to 1775*, p. 166).
- [10] Richard Goulden, 'Print Culture in the Kentish Weald', *The Reach of Print*, 1–20.
- [11] Feather, *Provincial book trade*, p. 115.
- [12] T. and J. Merrill in Cambridge, Fletcher and Prince in Oxford, and Todd in York.
- [13] H.R. Plomer, *Dictionary of printers and booksellers, 1726 to 1775* (London, The Bibliographical Society, 1932), p. 141.
- [14] Plomer, *Dictionary, 1726 to 1775*, p. 151.
- [15] David Stoker, 'The English country book trades in 1784–5', in Peter Isaac and Barry McKay [ed.], *The Human face of the book trade: Print culture and its creators* (Winchester, St Paul's Bibliographies, 1999), p.25.
- [16] Peter Isaac, 'Charles Elliott and the English provincial book trade', in *The Human face of the book trade*, p. 98 and 114.