(DONE, DO NOT EDIT, REFERENCE ONLY) The Genre/City Intersections of the British Empire in 1771

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Introduction

Literary history is usually told as a linear, developmental narrative of a single genre over a conventional period or span of time, but two developments have begun to change this set of assumptions: the appearance of large-scale, searchable full-text facsimile databases for eighteenth century British writing like ECCO and EEBO, as well as a host of textual analytic techniques that have emerged from DH. These developments have allowed critics to vary the parameters of generic, geographic, and temporal scope to a far greater degree, and thus to elaborate new forms of literary history, in order to take full advantage of the digital tools and resources that have been available to scholars for the last 20-30 years.

The key change, however, has been the sheer quantity and variety of texts available to 21st century critics through databases, which allow multiple paths of development to be traced or juxtaposed, multiple genres to be compared or aggregated, or intensive analysis of as narrow or as broad a temporal range as the critic might desire. The quantity and density of available texts over even the smallest temporal frame, which far exceeds any possible number of reprinted editions, allows the researcher to vary both the scale and tempo of literary history, by gaining finer, more granular control over the temporal scope of what is studied, while also highlighting the mutability and thus the temporality of mid-level terms like genre as these emerge and vary and are sustained over time (Frow).

This project takes up these challenges to offer an inventory of the genres available to Anglophone writers and readers in three cities (London, Edinburgh, and Philadelphia) in a single year, the year 1771. The initial choices on view here (focusing upon a single year in three Anglophone cities, studying their respective and aggregate genre systems) are modeled upon David Mazella’s monograph in progress on 1771, with the important proviso that Kingston, Jamaica, which is featured in the book, is absent from this inventory because of the extremely limited numbers of published texts of any kind surviving from Jamaica from that year. Nonetheless, the target year 1771 does offer a little over 2000 items printed in the three featured cities. For the purposes of this study, the 2000+ items were sorted into 10 important categories of texts, with about 100? genres distributed across the three cities.

This essay is designed to lead the reader through the 10 available categories of text across the three cities, to gain a better understanding of both the reading environment and genre-systems experienced by writers and readers of those places during that year, as well as possible connections, flows, or other larger scale movements taking place in and around that time.

The city-by-city genre inventory for the target year, created largely through the cleaning, shaping, and supplementation of ESTC catalog entries and metadata, allows us first of all to outline the categorical and generic footprint of each city, which, along with the publishing, demographic, and social history of each place, should allow at least a preliminary description of the reading environment and its relation to the best known writers, printers, genres, institutions, and works prominent in place during that year.

The inventory should also enable us to identify the diffusion, transformation, or concentration of particular categories or genres geographically among the three cities, the gender and named/anonymous breakdown of authors, printers, genres, and categories, as well as the specific combinations or concentrations of various categories or genres specific to each city, in absolute numbers and also relative to its population size.

By altering the conventional parameters of literary history, in terms of chronological, generic, and geographical scope, this study hopes to create a new kind of literary history, one that is more attentive to the relations between the topical, the generic, and the everyday social dimensions of language and literature in this particular historical moment. We also hope this version of literary history will attend more closely to the local, institutional, or regional dimensions of writing and language use, as well as the cultural values these depend upon. By focusing upon the generic “dominants” of a very restricted historical range of texts, and without the distractions of teleology, we can also begin to understand terms like “literature” and “literary history” in very different ways, as we see the connections among disparate discourses and genres at this particular moment. Finally, this history of the collectively authored text of “1771” also gives us an irreplaceable insight into the social formations of the empire and these four urban centers, and how the experiences of life in each of these cities varied from place to place and within each location.

[KEY DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS FOR DESCRIPTION/ANALYSIS OF READING ENVIRONMENT:

1. What is estimated population of city in/around 1771? M/F ratio?

2. What is estimated literacy rate?

3. Occupational breakdown?

4. Number of printers, newspapers, published authors? (Can be taken from our own data, supplemented w/authorities on print etc for each city)

PRELIMINARY ANSWERS (Sources deposited in DRC “Demography” folder or requested from library)

cf. also Sher, Enlightenment and the Book for comparisons of London to Edinburgh]

What is available at this time

How these things relate to each other

all genres that dont get read, combining in a pervasive environment

a genre system for each city

something about reproducibility studies

This process can be thought of as useful in two senses: 1) we just reproducing past data

how the reading environment conditions of each place and talking about how the produciton reveals that

city as sections

genres as subsections

dominant first, least last

how the dominant sections lead into the the textual produciton of that city

adding set up pargaraphs that are representative of the reading environment of that city

Scope and Method (WJB 20190403):

The method and scope developed for the project takes on empirical digital techniques. The scope included one year, two genders, four cities, and ten categories of texts, for bre. The year chosen was 1771, an arbitrary year, but a paradigmatic year at a midpoint in the long eighteenth century that, as much as any other year, might be seen as an exemplary moment in the history of that century’s textual production. The three cities were London, Edinburgh, and Philadelphia. These cities were chosen as representative of the English speaking world at this time, but were also chosen for their differences relative to each other. London, the center of the British Empire, and largest metropolis and most prolific publisher of the time (REFERENCE). Edibourgh, a large Scottish city, incorporated into Britain, but with the unique cultural history of Scotland (REFERENCE). And Philadelphia, an American colonial city, and future revolutionary center of the soon to be independent United States of America (REFERENCE). The ten generic categories were chosen for their distinctiveness, each corresponding roughly to a different market and different cultural movement, including: addresses, commericial/organizational, historical, instructional/reference, legal, literary, periodicals, puzzles/songs/jests, religious, scientific/scholarly.

The corpus of textual meta-data used were collected from the entries in the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC). This accumulated metadata was sorted, filtered, and cleaned using a combination of digital processes, including ESTC’s internal search engine, Google Refine (OpenRefine?), Microsoft Excel, and customized code developed in R Studio. They were arranged according to year, gender, city, categories, and genres. Year was determined by publication date. Gender was determined by author name. City was determined by publication location. Category was determined according to title and subject matter (categorical ESTC data?). The genres of which each category consists were extracted from a word-frequency analysis of the meta-data using a technique which determined the most common words occurring in the titles. These word-frequencies, as textual indicators of importance, were used to structure organizational decision-trees (Figures #-#), according to which the textual instances were categorized.

Once the numbers of texts per year per gender per city per category and per genre were tabulated, this data was plotted on three scales across genders, cities, and categories (Tables 1-3, Figures 1-3): 1) the absolute numbers of texts were plotted according to their actual numbers of entries in the ESTC; 2) the relative numbers of generic texts to total texts were plotted, as a fraction of texts of a specific category in a city divided by the total number of texts in that city; 3) the relative numbers of generic texts per capita were published, the number of texts of a specific category in a city divided by the population of that city per approximate census data

LONDON: Between 675,000 (1750) and 900,000 (1800) (Wrigley, “A Simple Model,"

44)

EDINBURGH: Between 48,815 (1750) and 65,544 (1801) according to Youngson, Making of Classical Edinburgh, drawing on Alexander Webster, Enumeration, 40-1, 299, nn. 41, 42, 43. Cf. Also Youngson, Alexander Webster and his Account.

PHILADELPHIA: Between 23,566 (1769) and 27,645 (1772), according to Salinger, et al., “Notes and Documents,” 372.]

Based on an algebraic interpolation based on a Malthusian population model of exponential growth, the projected populations for 1771 were:

London: 762,000 capita

Edinburgh: 55,113 capita

Philadelphia: 26,212 capita

(REFERENCE). Each of these plots lends a different perspective on the corpus of texts. The absolute numbers show the actual numbers of texts produced and the magnitude of that city’s textual footprint. The relative numbers show the weighted importance of each category relative to the other categories and the relative size of the generic markets.

Comparative analysis of the data was focused on observing whether some of the same types of theoretical generalizations can emerge from digital distant-readings of wide populations of texts as can emerge from a more conventional deep-readings of small samples of texts conducted by traditional textual studies. Sixty different data sets were compared, each set constituting an intersection between gender/city/genre. In as much, Each cross-section offers its own empirically-verifiable proposition about the conditions and relationship of that textual intersection. For example, the importance of the intersection between women, London, and Literature (women inhabiting London composing literature) might be inducted from the weight of that cross-sectional magnitude of texts relative to other magnitudes. Taking a step further down this theoretical path, the relative proportions of texts in any city can be understood as corresponding to the power distributions among institutions of a given city (REFERENCE). For example, if the legal output of texts is higher than religious output of texts in a given city, it might be said that legal institutions are exerting more influence by volume than religious institutions in that city. Of course, the relationship between instituional power and textual production is approximate, not exact, with significant potential for misintepretation. Perhaps the most salient source of error for this method involves survivorship bias. The extancy of texts in a library database might be attributed to survivorship bias. The preferential selectivity rates of different texts for preservation and inclusion in libraries determines the relative proportions of categories of those surviving texts. For example, if religious texts have a longer shelf-life than legal texts, then religion will appear to dominate the textual landscape of that historical moment, even if religion was relatively less powerful at the time. Acknowledging this source of error, we might mitigate it by pointing out that survivorship bias, rather than corrupting conclusions about the historical power of institutions, might rather itself, counterintuitively, be a further exertion of the power of those institutions. The survivorship bias of extant texts can be understood as the enduring power and importance of those text, thus inadvertently supporting the claim that proportions of categories are reflections of power dynamics in given cities. For example, the high survivorship of literary texts in a given city may attest to the enduring shelflife of influence of literary authors, but that shelflife might itself attest to the originary power of literature in that city. From this analytic framework, conclusions from the data might be drawn, which might affirm or negate various historical arguments about the cultural landscape of the time and place.

Results

The following represents the various results and their analytic interpretations that can be drawn out from the methodologies described above. The results can also be seen in tabular form and graphical form (Tables A 1-3; Graphs B 1-3)

Overall

The most trivial result discovered was the relationship between city population and textual production.

In absolute numbers, the more populous the city, the more textual production. London had the largest number of texts, followed by Edinburgh, followed by Philadelphia.

Per capita, textual output scaled differently. Edinburgh was the biggest, followed by Philadelphia, followed by London. If the Legal output of Edinburgh is removed though, Edinburgh becomes the smallest textual market. This shows that textual

Addresses

London, because of its populousness, produced the highest absolute number of addresses, however, relative to its own output, and per capita, it second to Philadelphia which dominated the category of addresses by a significant margin. The majority of addresses in London are political or polemical in tone, and consider the contemporary social issues: “Sentiments offered to the publick…” (T116978), “Free thoughts…” (T117150). Some of these addresses reinforce the governmental powers, for example “A defence of some proceedings lately depending in parliament” (T32244). But, many of these directly question and counter the powers of governmental and other institutions like“A collection of the protests of the Lords of Ireland” (T115216), others indirectly consider these institutions, for example: “A select collection of interesting political tracts” (N62304). These touched on social topics, often responding to each other in a public dialogue: For example, commentary on infrastructure was common, the improvement of the city streets: “Critical observations on the buildings and improvements of London” (T34424), “The late improvement of our streets by the new pavement, is evident . . . any proposal which tends to add to that improvement, will be thought to deserve some attention” (T171121). But these debates were not simply local, but global, reflecting London’s imperial interests. An example of which being, the Falkland Islands, a frequent topic of discussion: this contained a public debate, including “thoughts”, “examinations”, “justifications”, “refutations”, more “thoughts”, and “speeches”, (N14397, N50083, T213827, T214848, T50220).

Edinburgh Addresses seem to involve social/moral issues. These issues appear to be for the most part proposed by public figures/ministers as a criticism/commentary of public morality. For instance, one addresses “Theatre Licentious and Perverted” (T38170) while another, “Provisions to Widows and Children” (T129466). These also include what appear to be public interest stories about criminality/indecency. The titular William Pickworth might be an exemplary character of the morality that is being criticized or commented on. “A Short Account of the Behaviour of William Pickworth from His Condemnation to His Death” (N22409) considers the true crimes of its titular character. The small number of addresses in this city may be a reflection of (REFERENCE). This is in stark contrast to the ubiquitousness of Addresses in the other two cities, London, and Philadelphia.

Philadelphia addresses are largely comprised of exchanges between opposing addressors on various public issues. There seems to be a lively coterie of authors contributing a dialogue via address. One example, is an interchange of addresses reflecting a public/political scandal between Isaac Wickoff, Moore Furman, and Thomas Irwin. Wickoff is accused by Furman of “[selling] adulterated rum,” watering down the rum. An accusation to which Wickoff responds with counterarguments, and Irwin contributes a commentary on (W11120-W11122). A characteristic that these addresses have in common is the introductory appeals to the citizens: “an appeal to the citizens of Philadelphia…” Among the various appeals to the public in this city is the call for the capture of outlaw Lazarus Stewart, which is essentially an eighteenth century wanted poster. Three addresses from the Attorney General William Bradford regarded the “care of the pumps” for the nightly watch of the city of Philadelphia. Apparently this was an issue because the pump tax was deemed an act of “inequality and injustice” (W6729, W7053, W35772). It’s five years before the declaration of independence but there is no apparent revolutionary ferment. The closest example is a proclamation: “Proclaiming enforcement to a recent act against tumults and riotous assemblies on pain of death” (W31585), this indicates that there was public protest and authoritarian reaction. This tumultuous political climate may have been suggestive of the revolution to come. Furthermore, the large number of public addresses “to the citizens” show an increasing civil identity in Philadelphia. (REFERENCE?) The large number of addresses relative to low legal output implies a less formal, and perhaps more social, government structure.

Commercial/Organizational

The vast majority of the Commercial/Organizational entries in the ESTC for London are advertisements by way of catalogues: “A catalogue of a collection of prints, and books of prints, by the most eminent antient and modern masters; consisting of fine historical prints and foreign portraits, By the following, viz. Albert Durer, Raphael, Rubens, Vandyck, Rembrandt, Salvat” (N26965), “A catalogue of a valuable collection of books; containing about fifteen thousand volumes, in Greek, Latin, English, French, Italian, and Spanish, ... Which will begin selling this day ... by Joseph White, bookseller, at the corner of Lincoln's Inn” (N43842), “A catalogue of the genuine houshold furniture, china, fittings of the coffee room ... of Mr. Bateman ... which will be sold by auction, by Mr. Christie ... on Friday and Saturday the 4th and 5th of October, 1771” (T163310). The most prolific of the sellers of the items referred to in these catalogues is Mr. James Christie who is mentioned in 65 of the 142 entries in this category.

Edinburgh Commercial and organizational documents intersected with instructional and legal “The New Ready Reckoner” (T187087) was a traders guide to be used by commercial entities. The only other example of a commercial document involved the John Glassford Company and was part of an exchange between merchants and mariners of Glasgow (T212433). There are only two extant documents in this category for Edinburgh reflective of the relative absence off communication between commercial entities.

Philadelphia had a proportionately comparable commercial output to London. Four of the nine documents in this category for this city are advertisements for Pettie’s Cash Lottery (W2632, W2637-W2639). Other advertisements were a “performer in horsemanship” (W24226), and a “catalogue of drugs” (W42032). The most interesting entries of the nine Commercial documents in Philadelphia represents a through-line between the categories of Addresses and Commercial/Organizational: “the true art of mixing every kind of wine and spirits” which is a response to the Wickoff controversy publicized at time. This entry in particular appears to be making an attempt to capitalize on the publicity of the scandal involving Wickoff, Furman, and Irwin (W35894). The prominence of advertisements in Philadelphia bespeaks that the interest of the citizens were economically motivated (REFERENCE).

Historical

London’s historical works are tinted with the tendency toward rhetoric: “England's bloody tribunal: or, popish cruelty displayed. Containing a compleat account of the lives, religious principles, cruel persecutions, sufferings, tortures, and triumphant deaths, of the most pious English Protestant martyrs, Who have sealed” (N9232), is an example of a text champion the protestant denomination. A natural result of the tendency to fuse rhetoric into the histories was the need to relay impartiality when appropriate: “An historical essay on the English constitution: or, an impartial inquiry into the elective power of the people, from the first establishment of the Saxons in this kingdom. Wherein the right of Parliament, to tax our distant provinces, is explained” (T57976).

Rome was a common subject ()“The roman history” (T71735, T72964). England saw itself as a type of inheritor of roman culture and civilization as is explicitly evident in works, for instance one by Andrew Henderson, which considers whether "the ancient Britons were indebted to the Romans for the art of writing, and the use of numbers" (T116389). Even the histories specifically of England usually begin with Rome, exemplified by “Elements of the history of England”, which starts “from the invasion of the Romans” (T108852). This demonstrates again that Rome is the point of departure for English historical identity.

A great many of the texts demonstrate the global presence of Britain through “travels”

These travels were meant to be informative, but also engrossing, as can be seen “A new universal collection of authentic and entertaining voyages and travels” or “The world displayed; or, a curious collection of voyages and travels” (N5663, T136003)

These were seemingly a type of pseudo-literary text, in as much as they directly acknowledged their entertainment value and the public interest interest in narrative adventures. One such text was “The life, strange voyages, and uncommon adventures of Ambrose Gwinett” (T107406), which shares all of the naming conventions of novels like Daniel Defoe’s “Robinson Crusoe” (REFERENCE).

The theme of “orientalism,” the exoticisation of the “other,” which becomes prevalent in the subsequent century can possibly be traced back to this vain of travel-literature. A good example of this being: “A voyage to China and the East Indies, by Peter Osbeck, rector of Hasloef and Woxtorp, member of the Academy of Stockholm, and of the Society of Upsal. Together with a voyage to Suratte, by Olof Toreen, chaplain of the Gothic Lion East Indiaman” (T172400).

Edinburgh The histories of Edinburgh are constituted by three interests: 1. The Roman Republic, 2. The local histories of Scotland, Ireland, and Britain, and 3. Public interest in the travel narrative. Except for local Scottish history, these histories do not seem specific to Edinburgh. Two documents that reflect the public interest in local histories are “Accounts of the Chamberlain of Scotland,”(T183248) and the travel narrative of “Hector Maclean, late sailor”(T186365).

Philadelphia histories are dominated by two topics, 1. Broad spacial and temporal European histories, and 2. Slave trade interests. For example, William Robertson’s history is a broad history of “the wars in Europe” (W1537) during the reign of Charles the Fifth, and ” David Hume’s “History of England” was also a sprawling history of that country (W42163). Two examples of anti-slavery rhetoric can be observe in the works of Anthony Benezet (W29454), and Granville Sharp (W32230). These are less histories, than they are moral tracts against the slave trade. What this shows is that Philadelphia had worldly interests as well as specifically American interests. Interests, not in local Native American histories but favoring toward histories of the slave trade, Philadelphia printed histories show a delocalized historical identity with pan-European and African interest… This shows the unique place in which Philadelphians saw themselves on the world/historical stage (REFERENCE), as part of a global and not just local history.

Instructional/reference

In London, the dominant categories of instructional works were guidebooks and grammars, London is characterized by extreme diversity of instructional texts; Anything from a guidebook for a ship pilot through a harbor (N25953), to a pharmacopoeia for a practicing pharmacist (N11357), to “practical observations on the art of war” for officers and battalion leaders (N12217).

division of labor

bustling mercantile city

lots of different jobs

huge diversity

(REFERENCE)

Edinburgh the Instructional/reference category is represented by a strong presence of both Educational texts and local almanacks of Scotland and Edinburgh. The Edinburgh almanack (T153799), and The universal Scotts almanack (N472084) are reflective of the local interest of the city. “Advice to a Daughter” by David Hume (T215413) and “Sure Methods of Attaining a Long and Healthy Life” by Luigi Cornaro (T178117) are examples of ethical texts on living “the good life.” These texts appear to be more philosophical than educational. Many other texts are explicitly educational, these are guides, grammars, letter writing guides, dictionaries, and other practical and instructional literatures in the arts and letters. Edinburgh had a local focus, but a strong emphasis on scholarly pursuits.

Philadelphia had some interest in quality of life literature, which is something like self-help literature, such as “The Ladies Friend” (W19377) and “Advice to the People in General Regarding Their Health” (W10156/W11955/W41480). But the preponderance of instructional literature in Philadelphia were almanacks: “Father Abraham’s Pocket Almanack” (W10028/W10035/W13111), “The American Calendar” (W553), “A Pocket Almanack” (W32650), “Poor Richard Improved” (W32665), “The Gentlemen and Citizens Pocket Almanack”(W32727), “Poor Will’s Almanack” (W36868), “The Universal American Almanack” (W36872), “Poor Robin’s Almanack” (W36896). Relative to Edinburgh and London, Philadelphia shows dramatically higher numbers of Instructional/Reference literatures which suggests the relative need for practical skill sets in the colonies. The heavy usage of almanacks in the Philadelphia colony shows the emphasis on practical knowledges and practices, presumably life in the colonies required the kind of skill sets and local practical knowledges conveyed through these almanacks (REFERENCE).

Legal

Legal was by far the largest category in Edinburgh and the greatest absolute number of texts overall. This confirms the original thesis that quantities of texts correspond directly to seats of power in cities. The government, as the most powerful institution in any given city, naturally corresponds to the most textually-productive institution in that city.

London specifically has an enormous number of “bills” and “acts”. This corresponds to London as the seat of Parliament, where legislation was actively occuring. More than half of the documents were published by England (Parliament), Wales, or Great Britain itself, more than two-thirds of the extant texts. No other legal author published more than once. The other texts were (REFERENCE).

Edinburgh was exponentially overrepresented by legal texts compared to Philadelphia and London. The legal system was either exceptionally prolific in its output of records, or significantly more successful at maintaining their records over time than the other cities in this study. Generally, trial proceedings make up the majority of the documents; of the trial proceedings, “memorials” and “information for…” documents occur in high numbers. A “memorial” functioned as the basis for a petition. This is in contrast to London, where legislative documents dominated, in Edinburgh most of the documents were of sepcific cases and trials being adjudicated at the time. There are three prominent document types: petitions, answers, and replies. There are also descriptive documents regarding various cases. In summary, the large number of legal documents attest to the fastidiousness and highly systematized characteristics of the legal system in Edinburgh. (Reference)

Philadelphia had a number of assembly minute documents, and bylaws. Two acts are included: “An act for the relief of the poor” (W19322), and “An act for preventing tumults and riotous assemblies” (W34781). As these documents suggest, the Philadelphia community was interested in both the establishment and control of assemblies. The only prominent political commentator published in Philadelphia was William Blackstone. His “commentaries on the laws of England” had circulation in Philadelphia. Blackstone was famous for translating legal vernacular into common speech, which was apparently necessary for the lay public in the colonies.

Literary

London had the most diverse and wide-ranging textual landscape of literary texts. London is the center of commerical publishing for Britain and takes in all of the other types of publishing that exist. It was the largest range of genres and absolute numbers of works, with dominance across the categories. Of course, thi is primarily due to population size and density. The largest category was poems, novels, and plays. Many of the poems had local, but not long-lasting. There were a lot of periodic, parodic, or weakly imatative poems. There were also diverse poetic categories. Phillis Wheatley, a woman of African descent, “naval lyrics”, “harlequinades”, generated by the theatre as promotional and commemorative ephemera. Many poems were specifically about “Mother Shipton”, for instance, a poem about a prostitute and abortionist (N35371). The plays in London were roughly broken evenly into tragedies and comedies. Many of the shakespeare adaptations

not much becomes canonical. Fiction and the long form novel were another popular category. Sentimental novels have a strong presence, mostly focused on courtships and seductioins, often with epistolary form. There were also adventures and histories and ramble novels, the picaresque and the allegory, like “life and adventures of common sense” (). There were also many other minor genres that still had major footprints on the cultural scene: letters, operas, essays, satires, conduct books, fables, etc. Letters were published as media of political commentary. For instance, a major letter writing campaign was the “the letters of Junius”, which had poltiical content of the letters. Lots and lots of examples of letters of Junius and Junius-like imitations were published in the year. Operas also had a large publication, the institution of the opera house facilitating this cultural production. Opera writers like Bickerstaff had significant prestige in the community. Several satirures were published, a genre specific to the 18th century. Many were commentaries on the laws of England, like Swift’s or another which describes the haning of a dog for murder. Many were in verse form, often based on classical references, a “burlesque translation of Homer” and a “saphhick epistle” (N24165, T47073). There were also essays, even essays on literature itself. For example, “an essay on the revolutions of literature” was an essay on history and criticsm, literature. Furthermore, there was a growing category of juvenalia, most of which were heavily didactic. Conduct books were another common genre for young people, for example “the new polite instructor”. These were types of reading for the guidance of people and their personal lives, usually young people. THere were also a variety of Fables, in the tradition of Aesop, similar to the conduct book in their didactic character, often explicitly targeting an audience with the lessons, for example, “for women”. Overall, in London’s literary community, lots of things were existing side by side, an extrememly diverse market and textual landscape. This was the largest category in London and the most diverse, a whole universe of poems, novels, and plays. By virtue of this diversity, market is not attached to an institution as much as the other places are, thus obtaining a type of marketplace self-sufficiency. The literary market has shown a typeits own type of existence as an indepdnent ecosystem with a great deal of things going on.

Edinburgh had a lively and diverse literary culture including poems, plays, and novels. They even had theoretical texts on aesthetics and other topics, tantamount to literary criticism: “Heads of The Lectures On Rhetorick, and Belles, and Lettres” published by the University of Edinburgh, by Hugh Blair, D.D. (N17312), “The Orator: or, English Assistant. Being an Essay on Reading and Declamation” by Francis Gentlemen (T180262), Also published were “The Works of Shakespeare” including a commentary by Pope, Warburton, and Dodd (N26007/T138860); this is representative of the growing trend toward incipient literary criticism. Henry Fielding in general, and his novel Tom Jones was a very popular publication in this year (N25484/N2585/N2588/T226817). Also present are philosophical self-help/quality-of-life works. These include: “Night-Thoughts on Life Death and Immortality” (T27221/T222221), “An Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth, in Opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism” by James Beattie (T138977), “Essays and Dissertations on Various Subjects Relating to Human Life and Happiness” by John Bethune (T185624). The remainder is mostly a variety of poetry and plays. The literary community in Edinburgh was so robust in fact, that it had a budding literary criticism community, which is exhibited by the data. (REFERENCE)

Included among the five literary texts in Philadelphia are: “The Deserted Village” by Oliver Goldsmith (W29858), and “A Pensylvania Sailor’s Letters” by John Macpherson (W27298), “The Economy of Human Life” allegedly written by an ancient Bramin; this text is likely another example of the mock “found-text,” or a false antiquity, in actuality penned by Robert Dodsley (W21373). There are two prospectuses by the printer Robert Bell promoting upcoming publications of English literary works. These advertisements indicate a growing interest and marketplace for literary works. (REFERENCE)

Periodicals

Because of the way that periodicals are catalogued in the ESTC they represent a significant source of sampling error. Because periodicals are clumped together based on the first, and last listed years of publication, all years in-between are not represented in the data.

In London, the sixteen registered periodicals for the most part consist of assorted newspapers, such as “The London Packet” (P180), and general interest magazines an example of which being “Every Man's Magazine, or, the monthly repository of science, instruction and amusement” (P2560).

No periodicals occur in Edinburgh in the year 1771, this could however be a misrepresentation due to the potential sampling error/clumping of periodical beginning/ending years for publication.

In Philadelphia there are three type of periodical represented. They include “The Pennsylvania Packet,” a general newspaper (P5183/W23038), “The Royal Spiritual Magazine” a Calvinist theology magazine which, written “by several divines, [was] a religious magazine which defended the doctrines of Calvin” (P5181/W42289), and two courier addresses, a distinct genre unto itself, “The New Year Verses,” and “The News Boys Verses,” consisting of poetry in verse dedicated to New Years greetings (W11113, W39273).

Puzzles/music/jests

A diversity of Puzzles/music/jests is represented in London. Of the 21 works in this category for London in the year 1771, the majority of them are song books. Many of these were books of songs, operettas, and musical entertainments comprising the majority of the text. There were also “jesters”, a genre of jokebooks that were also common. London had an opera house, so “musical entertainments” were a significant part of the publication culture (REFERENCE). The institution of the the opera house dominated the music scene. (REFERENCE)

Edinburgh registers one single work under the Puzzles/music/jests category: “Democritus or The Laughing Philosopher” (T140070). Seemingly a false antiquarian, or a mock version of a “found text.” The text was claimed to have been recovered from the ruins of “Herculaneum, an ancient Roman city,” but was apparently written by a Mr. Price of Cardiganshire, however “the imprint is fictitious and is likely printed in Edinburgh” (SOURCE). WHY IS THIS IMPORTANT? WHAT IS IN LONDON?

Philadelphia has two anonymously written, nondescript, songs: “A New Ballad” (W24311) “A New Song” (W36699), both of which were intended to be set to well known tunes; “A Cobbler There Was,” “Bold Sawyer.” Interestingly, both songs appear to have political content, and perhaps be polemical in rhetorical tone. “A New Ballad” concerned the excise law (a law regarding import/export taxation of alcoholic beverages), and “A New Song,” likewise, commences with the line “this province has been famous for most excellent laws.” These were songs “fit to be sung in the streets” and had a proto-revolutionary content (W24311/W36699).

Religious

London registered the largest output of religious works of all three cities in absolute numbers, surpassing Edinburgh by more than 200 titles, and Philadelphia by more than 250. Relative to its overall output, however, religious works were nearly commensurate across all three cities; the margin of difference was under 2% (Table A 2). Isabel Rivers places the religious text into three distinct categories throughout the long eighteenth century: doctrinal or speculative works “concerned with establishing the truth of specific doctrines,” controversial works “concerned with demolishing on rational or historical or scriptural grounds the beliefs and practices of rival denominations,” and practical literature “concerned with helping the individual to practise the Christian life,” and “didactic and devotional in the widest sense” (127, 579). The importance of the data gathered in this study of the year 1771 becomes most pronounced when it is interpreted against traditional, qualitative, analyses like River’s chapter, in which she claims that “none doubted that the [practical literature] category was the most important” (127). We find ourselves in possession of data to either corroborate or refute interpretive claims such as these. The data collected in the course of the study indicate the practical sermon was a pervasive genre throughout London in this year; a common title appeared in the following form: “Sermons on the most useful and important subjects, adapted to the family and closet. By the Rev. Samuel Davies, ... In two volumes” (N24122). Rivers writes that “the subject matter and method of practical literature varied a good deal; it included guides for the individual’s private or ‘closet’ devotions, and warnings to the drunkard or fornicator to abandon his favorite sin under threat of damnation.” Beyond a scholar’s general awareness of a specific genre, the empirical data can be referenced and compared against statements of this kind. “An admonition to unconverted sinners: In a serious treatise, shewing, I. What conversion is not, and correcting some mistakes about it. II. What conversion is and where in consisteth. III. The necessity of conversion. IV,” is a work that is described as being “First published in 1673 as 'An alarme to unconverted sinners'” (29311). This title, which refers to the practicality and conversional use of the text, also confirms another of River’s assertions that the three major categories of religious publications, though distinct, “ in some ways they overlapped…or reinforced the identities” (599) of one another. According to Rivers “sermons almost certainly constituted the largest category of religious publishing” (591), the data reinforces the claim; the word “sermon” occurs 27 times throughout the ESTC data for the religious works in London published in the year 1771. The remainder of the titles span a variety of religious genres: conversion treatises, experimental spiritual biographies and autobiographies, letters, handbooks (containing rules and domestic and social duties, and a guide to devotional and spiritual life), catechisms, educational textbooks, hymns, commentaries, miscellanies combining entertainment with instruction, religious magazines (religious magazines served a wide array of functions, much the same as practical religious books), and religious directories (bibliographies/reading lists) (Reference Rivers).

Edinburgh, too, was a prolific publisher of religious literature. The majority of what was published in the Scottish city was, like London, practical in its intended use. There was also a significant amount of correspondence by the Church of Scotland. What is made clear by the works listed for this city is that there was a large number of varying denominations of religious communities, all of which were dissenting against one another. For example: “A Narrative of the Tortures by the popish bloody Inquisition” by William Lithgow (N49130) appears to be in direct contrast or dissension against the “Memorial For the Suffering Catholics” by George Hay (T173996). In particular, the persecution of Catholics was an issue in contention. Interestingly, a seeming doomsday-soothsayer called the Reverend Master Judis Juggler published a work “concerning the approach of the present fatal and impending comet” (T186691). “The Marrow of Modern Divinity” by Edward Fisher (N64994/T226837/T195764/N472003) was a prominent text in Edinburgh during this time. “The Works of the Late Reverend James Hervey” was also a quite prominent work (N72043-N72046). There were many sermons, and many psalms. Also, there were “accounts” which possibly fall into the genre of experiential/sympathetic practical literature. A number of the texts refer to a scandal involving the Church of Scotland.

What the fourteen religious texts in Philadelphia indicate is the relative presence of certain religious denominations over others. For the most part, the religious literature was associated with the Quaker presence in the city. “The Religious Society of Friends” crops up in the data as the formal title for Quakers in Philadelphia. The Quakers, Society of Friends, were a prolific group. Two of the documents were related to the reasons why “Quakers do not pay tythes" (W10219, W1139, W23318, W28438, W39443). The salient theme throughout these texts is that the religious identity of the Quakers was strongly tied to their dissension from the Anglican Episcopacy (REFERENCE). The prominent Quaker publisher was Joseph Crukshank.

Scientific/Scholarly

London contained the largest absolute number and relative number of scientific/scholarly works. Of all cities surveyed, London was the only one with the well-established scientific community necessary to produce any number of scholarly works (REFERENCE). Evidence of this community can be seen in the interchanges, for example, a popular tract, William Cadogan’s “dissertation on the gout” (N28566/N28568) was responded to by an anonymous commentator “Some remarks on Dr. Cadogan’s Dissertation on the gout” (N26686). This was the only city where science had a notable footprint on the cultural scene. The scientific works were dominated by medical treatises, most of which were related to the cure of various diseases: “scurvy” (N10729), “syphilis” (N11856), “elephantiasis” (N3809). The number of texts surely related to the historically well-established position of the doctor in the community (REFERENCE). London is even more notable for its diversity of texts. There are quite a number of natural histories, including: “a new and accurate system of natural history”, “Remarks upon the nature of the soil of Naples”, “Micrographia illustrata: or the microscope explained”, and even a “natural history of the human teeth” (T118916/T70125/T53472/T54045) . There are also a number of natural philosophies, including: “lectues on mechanics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, pneumatics, electricity, and astronomy”, a “description and use of a new constructured equatorial telescope”, and “a lecture on perpetual motion (T10174/T229912/T111674). After the publication of Newton’s “Principia Mathematica” in London in 1687, London became the cultural center for natural philosophies (REFERENCE). This was the only location where such a diversity of texts could be found on scientific subjects. Unlike Philadelphia and Edinburgh, where science was always exclusively the domain of the local Philosophical Society, London seemed to have a decentralized scientific community producing a range of works independently, but still engaging in textual cross-reference centered around scientific topics of focus (REFERENCE).

Scientific and scholarly texts in Edinburgh was dominated by the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh. The Society published various “Essays and Observations.” These publications were mostly medical, but also, “physical and literary” (T132163, T136786, T136788).

Scientific and scholarly texts in Philadelphia were dominated by the “American Philosophical Society.” The society published “transactions.” Worth noting, is that “promoting useful knowledge” was the society’s credo, which is consistent with the known industriousness of the American Colonies (P5182, W15742). Also, of interest to the American Colonies, made apparent by the entries in the ESTC, was treatises on diseases. Two such treatises were published in the year 1771, one on small pox, and another on the gout (W23056, W30883). This might represent the Colonial anxieties regarding the various new world diseases they were necessarily being exposed to in the Americas.

A Note on the West Indies

Although no extant texts from Kingston, Jamaica survive in the archives, one address survives from Kingstown, St. Vincent, the largest island of the Granadines. The island of St. Vincent was originally a French colony, but passed into British control at the end of the Seven Years War according to the Treaty of Paris (1763). At the time of 1771, St. Vincent was still a relatively new colony for Britain. Indeed, civil unrest between native Caribs and British colonists resulted in the First Carib War, a conflict that began in 1769 and raged until 1773. The extant text from St. Vincent, entitled “Dominica”, regards “the substitution of English for French place names in Dominica” (T34820). This text is especially interesting because of its content and context. Its subject matter pertains directly to the transfer of power, its abdication by the French and its consolidation by the British. The text shows demonstrates that, amidst the conflict with the Caribs, the British were attempting to officiate their power by renaming their colonies. The policing of borders was concomitant with the policing of language. The legitimacy of a power is concomitant with the appellation of that power. The belonging of a place is concomitant with the naming of a place. Publishing such a document seems to be important only because it acknowledges and enacts that power in the region of its dissemination. Of all the texts that could have been published in that place at that time, the one text was a text that reasserts the importance of language as a means of teroritorial conquest.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the extant texts and their genres demonstrate various facts about the cultural landscape of the micro-period 1771 across the English speaking world. In particular, the uneven distributions of these genres speak volumes about the cultural priorities of various locales.

In summary, each city had a different cultural profile defined by a differential importance of different text-producing institutions.

Philadelphia was high on addresses, historical, commerical, instructional, periodicals, musics. They were middling on scientific and scientific. It was low on legal, literaty. What might be observed is that the less formal genres dominated the Philadelphia scene. Specifically, the impoverished legal discourse shows that the weight was picked up by other sectors of the culture. The high presence of practical literature shows the pragmatism of colonial culture.

Edinburgh was very very very high on legal. Middling on religious and literary. Low on other categories. They were the city with the most unequally distributed profile of genres, showing a sheer hierarchy of cultural priorities. Apparently, Edinburgh had an extremely well-establish legal system with consistent means of documentation and preservation. The religious and literary scene there also implies a very religious culture, but a culture with significant literary interest.

London was high on commercial, historical, literary, religious, scientific. They were middling on addresses, instructional, legal, puzzles. London had the largest discourse but also the most diverse discourse of any city. Although legal and religious literature still dominating the city, literary literature actually claimed the highest cultural presence, making London first and foremost a city of letters.

Appendix A: Tables

Table 1: Absolute Category Counts

| Count of Category | Column Labels | | | |

| ------------------------- | ------------- | ---- | -- | ----------- |

| Row Labels | E | L | P | Grand Total |

| Addresses | 4 | 107 | 16 | 127 |

| Commercial/Organizational | 2 | 142 | 9 | 153 |

| Historical | 5 | 81 | 4 | 90 |

| Instructional/Reference | 11 | 179 | 16 | 206 |

| Legal | 213 | 295 | 9 | 517 |

| Literary | 35 | 311 | 5 | 351 |

| Periodicals | | 16 | 6 | 22 |

| Puzzles/Music/Jests | 1 | 21 | 2 | 24 |

| Religious | 56 | 284 | 14 | 354 |

| Scientific/Scholarly | 5 | 139 | 4 | 148 |

| Grand Total | 332 | 1575 | 85 | 1992 |

Table 2: Relative Category Counts

| Count of Category | Column Labels | | | |

| ------------------------- | ------------- | ------- | ------- | ----------- |

| Row Labels | E | L | P | Grand Total |

| Addresses | 1.20% | 6.79% | 18.82% | 6.38% |

| Commercial/Organizational | 0.60% | 9.02% | 10.59% | 7.68% |

| Historical | 1.51% | 5.14% | 4.71% | 4.52% |

| Instructional/Reference | 3.31% | 11.37% | 18.82% | 10.34% |

| Legal | 64.16% | 18.73% | 10.59% | 25.95% |

| Literary | 10.54% | 19.75% | 5.88% | 17.62% |

| Periodicals | 0.00% | 1.02% | 7.06% | 1.10% |

| Puzzles/Music/Jests | 0.30% | 1.33% | 2.35% | 1.20% |

| Religious | 16.87% | 18.03% | 16.47% | 17.77% |

| Scientific/Scholarly | 1.51% | 8.83% | 4.71% | 7.43% |

| Grand Total | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% |

Table 3: Per Capita Category Counts

| Count - Category | City | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| ------------------------- | ----------- | -------- | -------- | ------------ |

| Category | E | L | P | Total Result |

| Addresses | 7.26E-05 | 1.40E-04 | 6.10E-04 | 127 |

| Commercial/Organizational | 3.63E-05 | 1.86E-04 | 3.43E-04 | 153 |

| Historical | 9.07E-05 | 1.06E-04 | 1.53E-04 | 90 |

| Instructional/Reference | 2.00E-04 | 2.35E-04 | 6.10E-04 | 206 |

| Legal | 3.86E-03 | 3.87E-04 | 3.43E-04 | 517 |

| Literary | 6.35E-04 | 4.08E-04 | 1.91E-04 | 351 |

| Periodicals | 0.00E+00 | 2.10E-05 | 2.29E-04 | 22 |

| Puzzles/Music/Jests | 1.81E-05 | 2.76E-05 | 7.63E-05 | 24 |

| Religious | 1.02E-03 | 3.73E-04 | 5.34E-04 | 354 |

| Scientific/Scholarly | 9.07E-05 | 1.82E-04 | 1.53E-04 | 148 |

| Total Result | 0.004742857 | 0.00225 | 0.003036 | 1992 |

Appendix B: Graphs

Graph 1: Absolute Category Counts

![](https://paper-attachments.dropbox.com/s\_796C65C2799DBBF28A9FACAF4D50C23131920CFE06BC15E45758A9B096FC7C48\_1554410976982\_image.png)

Graph 2: Relative Category Counts

![](https://paper-attachments.dropbox.com/s\_796C65C2799DBBF28A9FACAF4D50C23131920CFE06BC15E45758A9B096FC7C48\_1554410986947\_image.png)

Graph 3: Per Capita Category Counts

![](https://paper-attachments.dropbox.com/s\_796C65C2799DBBF28A9FACAF4D50C23131920CFE06BC15E45758A9B096FC7C48\_1554692418159\_image.png)

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