1771 Genre/City Article Draft

Introduction

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Introduction

Literary history is generally 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 these parameters: the availability 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 digital humanities, including a variety of methods of “distant reading” (FN). These developments have allowed critics to control 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.

For our purposes, however, the key change remains the sharply increased quantity and variety of texts available to 21st century critics through databases or digitizations of previously inaccessible sources (FN). These developments now permit multiple paths of development to be traced or juxtaposed, multiple genres to be compared, aggregated or disaggregated, or intensive analysis of as narrow or as broad a range, temporal or otherwise, as a critic might desire. The quantity and density of available texts over even the smallest temporal frame , which far exceeds any possible number of physical reprinted editions in particular libraries, allows the contemporary researcher to vary both the scale and tempo of literary history, by gaining finer, ever 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 and reading environments) are modeled upon David Mazella’s monograph in progress on the year 1771, with the 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 (FN). 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.

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, institutional, and social history of each location, should allow at least a preliminary description of what we are terming the city’s reading environment and its relation to the best known writers, printers, genres, institutions, and texts prominent in that place during that year (FN).

This essay will analyze the distribution of the ten available categories across the three cities, to gain a better understanding of both the reading environment and genre-systems experienced by writers and readers during that year, as well as possible connections, flows, or other larger scale movements taking place in and around that time.

The inventory should also enable us to identify the distribution, 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; finally, 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 shifting the conventional parameters of literary history, in terms of chronological, generic, and geographical scope, this study hopes to pursue what amounts to a micro-history of literary and cultural production, one that is more attentive to the relations between the topical, the generic, the gendered, and the everyday social dimensions of language and literature in this very specifically delimited historical moment. We also hope this version of literary history will attend more closely to the gendering of local, institutional, or regional dimensions of writing and language use, as well as the cultural values these depend upon.

By focusing upon the generic configurations 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. This, too, represents a version of Cathy Davidson’s “inventory” method as it operates between literary analysis of genre and the history of the book (FN Davidson 297). Finally, this history of the collectively authored text of “1771” also gives us an irreplaceable insight into the social formations of the British empire as it is instantiated in these three urban centers, and how the experiences of life, writing, and reading in each of these cities varied from city to city and within each city’s geographical bounds.

Two additional points should be made about the implications of this study for further research.

From the perspective of gender, the inventories contained here should be able to reveal the categories, genres, and cities wherein female authors or printers are most prominently represented during this year. This should provide important, fine-grained evidence regarding the categories, genres, or locations most likely to contain additional, unrecognized female writers or printers for other years or contexts. It will also allow some degree of reflection on the sources and processes used to compile the entries that make up the ESTC catalog, and the areas where women and others are most likely to be under-counted at this point in time (FN).

Finally, from the perspective of future directions of literary studies, the cleavage between conventionally produced literary monographs, typically focused on single authors and genres, and the various projects of distant reading, which tend to feature multiple authors over extensive spans of time, have fostered an impression that these approaches are inherently incompatible. This is because most of the readily available corpora are either genre-undifferentiated or single-genre. Genre systems, as second-order categories emerging from the properties shared or contrasted within particular sets of works, tend to be most complete from the longest term or most static perspective. Consequently, any shift in temporal scale demands reconfiguring the relations of the genre systems available for a determinate span of time. Hence, creating corpora with multiple genres or briefer time scales demands that analysts reconstruct a plausible set of genre terms, however defined, for that particular corpus, to be applied in as consistent and defensible way as possible, given all the other constraints. For the purposes of this study, this seemed most readily accomplished by drastically reducing the chronological and geographic scope to a single year and a handful of cities. By focusing on a manageable chronological scope and mid-level terms like “genre” or “city,” we hope this project will demonstrate a way for conventional interpretive work in literary fields and larger, more DH-fortified projects to bridge, possibly accommodate, and ultimately aggregate and build upon their results together in useful ways.

Methodology

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). Edinburgh, 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.

For gender discriminations, authors/printers were not sorted on an individual basis, but on a systematic collective basis. Sources that supplied lists of common/uncommon female names in the 18th century were used to text filter and cross-reference. In order to insure minimal false positives, male authorship was assumed as default. By this method, individuals were not gendered, but the population of authors/printers at large was gendered.

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

(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

Reading Environments: City by City

London

Metropolitan dominance. When Evelina writes that she might visit London while it is still “in full Splendour” (in March) she notes that “two playhouses are open, – the Opera-house, – Ranelagh, – and the Pantheon. – You see I have learned all their names.” For Evelina, London is chiefly known through its unmatched amusements and cultural life—its existence as cultural center for the genteel or the Bon Ton through its music, theater, and recreational spaces. Though she receives some shocks in London, her experience nowhere resembles Matt Bramble’s curmudgeonly, anti-urban description of the city as “an overgrown monster; which, like a dropsical head, will in time leave the body and extremities without nourishment and support.” Nor would she share Bramble’s historical frame of reference when he says that the city “is literally new to me; new in its streets, houses, and even in its situation . . . What I left open fields, producing hay and corn, I now find covered with streets and squares, and palaces, and churches.”

What makes all these forms of domination and expansion possible is London’s sheer size in relation to the rest of England and therefore its role as an engine driving the whole national economy even as it reaches towards further shores. London’s population in the early 1770s lay somewhere between 675,000 (for 1750) and 900,000 (1801) (FN Wrigley). For our purposes, then, we’ll assume a number just over 760,000 for the year. This makes London almost fourteen times larger than Edinburgh, and twenty eight times the size of Philadelphia.

Occupations. Given the extraordinary size, density, and diversity of London, the city’s occupational ladder represented the fullest elaboration of most of the categories represented in other cities, while also reflecting the era’s “minute social distinctions” (FN George 159: Corfield “Class” 38-61). Nonetheless, the historian M. Dorothy George lists a huge list of occupations plied by London’s workmen, journeymen, artisans, apprentices and seasonal workers, and divides up its trades into three major sub-categories: those derived from its port activities (e.g, ship-builders, coopers, warehouse workers); those producing or servicing its high-class goods (e.g., clocks, jewelers, instrument-makers); and those who met the needs of its wealthiest inhabitants (e.g., chocolate-makers, taylors, milliners, etc.) (George 158-212).

Demography. Another way that London could be said to hold multiple populations was in its demographic mix. When a doctor surveyed 3326 patients at the Westminster General Dispensary, a charity hospital founded around this time, he discovered the following proportions among its patients:

824, or one fourth, were born in London.

1870, or four sevenths, were born in the different counties of England and Wales.

209, or one in fifteen, born in Scotland.

280, or one in eleven, born in Ireland,

53, or one in sixty, were foreigners (George 118; cf. also Landers 47 on demographic shortfalls between men and women in George’s acct of Dr. Bland).

In percentages and assuming the 760,000 number we arrived at before, that translates to:

25% London-born: 190,000

57% Born in other English or Welsh counties: 434,000

7% Scottish: 53,200

9% Irish: 68,400

2% Foreign: 12,600

These foreigners included Sephardic and increasing numbers of Ashkenazi Jews, whose poverty and associations with disease and criminality made them the target, along with the Irish, of official hostility and heavy policing. It’s unclear how these groups might affect the proportions just cited, but contemporary accounts placed the Jewish population (whose birthplaces would not have been known) between 5000 (1753) and 15,000-18,000 (1801) in this decade, which also saw a major anti-immigrant push from Sir John Fielding and the hanging of four Jews for their role in a gang murder in the target year (George 134). Many other European nations were represented in immigrant communities, but one of the most prominent and visible groups were the freed or enslaved Africans or African-descended West Indians, who were estimated by Somersett as numbering around 14,000-15,000 around this time, and inhabiting mostly eastern and riverside parishes of London (George 140). Like Philadelphia, London’s high mortality rate for children and adults alike meant that the only way for it to expand at this rate was through continued, plentiful emigration from the countryside and the rest of the world.

Literacy. As Houston observed, the gulf in literacy between urban and rural areas is a feature of early modern towns across Europe, because of the “type of people who lived and worked there and the ‘ hothouse effect of urban living, thanks to the concentration of cultural features associated with reading and writing” (Houston Early Modern Europe 156). Because of its size, density, and finely elaborated occupational structures, London has long been singled out as having the most literate population of any English city. Many trades, for example, like printing or clock manufacturing, required some degree of literacy or numeracy to be practiced, coffeehouses and other public spaces permitted plebeian literacy to thrive, the servants and shop workers catering to the well off had their own opportunities to improve themselves by contact with or proximity to the rich, and schools or schoolmasters were more generally available in London. So, for example, Houston has pointed out that even in the 1750s 92% of central London bridegrooms could sign their names for marriage licenses, along with 74% of brides (Houston 150).

Proxies of literacy. Judging by our ESTC data, for London we have recorded 1606 items published in this year, featuring 967 unique authors, along with 746 unique printers or groups. Our data also shows 48 periodicals, with 25 magazines and 23 newspapers.

Reading Environments: London;

Edinburgh

Regional Dominance. The Edinburgh of 1771 is famously Matt Bramble’s “hot-bed of genius,” a haven for authors of the first rank that boasted a populace of greater dignity and civility than Londoners typically assumed. Nonetheless, Smollett’s Bramble concedes that the city, “from the nature of its situation [on a ridge situated on one side of a great rock on which Edinburgh castle stands, and a steep decline on the other side], can never be made either very convenient or very cleanly[;] it has, nevertheless, an air of magnificence that commands respect” (Humphry Clinker, ch. LVIII). At this point in time, Edinburgh still retained its primacy as the most populous city in Scotland, with a population that stood somewhere between the 48,000 recorded in the 1755 census and the 63,000 recorded in 1801 (FN). For our purposes, however, we’ll choose a rough midpoint and assume a population of around 55,000 for the target year.

Occupations. As R.A. Houston has noted, Edinburgh’s wealth and size were greater than any other town in Scotland around this time, though Glasgow was rapidly catching up in terms of both population and trade. Nonetheless, the prominence of professionals (chiefly lawyers, doctors, and academics) and servants in its occupational structures reflected both its relative wealth and the importance of its internationally-known universities (Houston 3). This concentration of the well-off and -educated also encouraged a lively local culture of musical and theatrical performance, and Smollett himself wrote to a friend in the 1750s that “all the diversions of London we enjoy at Edinburgh we enjoy at Edinburgh in a small compass” (qtd, Houston 216-17). [add role as center of kirk and moderates?]

Literacy. R.A. Houston has described the absence of basic literacy (defined as the ability to sign one’s name) among mid-century Edinburgh men as “uncommon” (just 9%) but quite common for women (66%) (FN “Enlightenment Edinburgh” 378; 376 tab. 2).

Proxies of literacy. For Edinburgh, we have recorded 337 items published in this year, featuring 269 authors and 84 unique printers or groups. We also find 6 periodicals, represented by 4 newspapers and 2 magazines. Cf. also Houston “Enlightenment Edinburgh” (FN).

Reading Environments: Edinburgh;

Philadelphia

A colonial hub of commerce. Philadelphia in 1771 is a busy colonial port city whose textures and rhythms of urban life rendered it quite different from the other two locations, and distinct from other cities in the North American and West Indian colonies as well. Though only about 3.5% the size of metropolitan London, it offers a comparable degree of ethnic, racial, linguistic, and religious diversity, while also experiencing significant inflows of immigration along with high mortality rates (FN Salinger et al.; Smith). Though the precise numbers in this pre-census era remain a matter of some debate, assuming a figure between Salinger et al.’s estimated total of 23,566 for 1769 and their estimated 27,645 for 1772, we arrive at about 27,000 for the target year. (FN Table 5, 382).

Occupations. As a port town, Philadelphia’s occupational structure in the pre-Revolutionary era remained squarely focused on commerce, particularly the shipping that swelled the city’s numbers and fueled its trade. The singular circumstances of Pennsylvania’s founding by the Quaker William Penn also gave Philadelphia the unique political structures and religious mix that continued through the pre-revolutionary era, encouraging a wide variety of immigrants, faiths, and creeds to settle in eighteenth-century Philadelphia. The city’s matter of fact acceptance of religious pluralism, along with other features typical of port cities (burgeoning international trade, swift and reliable transportation to and from the city, heavy immigration, tightly-knit business and credit networks with numerous ties to other cities and regions around the world) helped to foster a rich information environment with dense communication networks and a highly developed capacity rapidly to receive and act upon any information that came its way.

Literacy. Because of its population density, religious diversity, commercial concentration, and robust networks of informal and formal education, Philadelphia’s inhabitants reached 81.6% adult male literacy around this time (1773-5) (FN Grubb 454 tab. 1; Gordon and Gordon 37-54).

Proxies of literacy. For Philadelphia, we have recorded 88 items, including 71 authors and 18 unique printers or groups. We also find 5 periodicals, with 4 newspapers and at least one magazine.

Reading Environments: Philadelphia;

Mapping the landscape of a reading environment at a specific intersection in space and time has been undertaken by scholars; Withers’ and Ogborn’s Geographies of the Book, and Edwin Wolfe’s Book Culture’s of a Colonial American City, John Carter’s Printing and the Mind of Man follow the model of the Grolier Club in their endeavor to compile catalogues of books that would represent and elucidate the reading environments these works existed in. Concerning Philadelphia during the long eighteenth century, Edwin Wolf remarks that “it was cheaper to import than to print” (170). One instance where the printing environment is out of phase with the reading environment in Philadelphia is regarding sea borne commerce. Although the importance of the Caribbean trade, according to Wolf, manifested itself in the extant literatures of eighteenth century Philadelphia, no works on coastal piloting in the West Indies were actually printed in Philadelphia in the year 1771. In London, however, we know from the data that “The West-India pilot,” which “contain[ed] piloting directions for Port Royal and Kingston Harbours in Jamaica, ... The true courses and distances through the windward passages, ... Certain directions for running down to Jamaica from the eastward, ... Course” was published, and then made its way to Philadelphia (N25953). Wolf points to the difficulties with attempting to effectively convey the quality of a specific historical reading environment when he writes of Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s Progress that “it was the kind of work that individuals were expected to buy and keep and read over and over again, hard usage being evidenced by the absolute rarity today of most early editions” (170). The obstacles impeding the survival of the most used and read books poses a challenge for any attempt at comprehensively representing a given reading environment. This study, in order to circumvent this particular challenge, turns to the year 1771 publication data. We are able to observe that Bunyan’s works were, if likely read, then certainly printed in the year 1771; The Pilgrim’s Progress (T58920, T58943) alone was published twice in London, as well as five other works by Bunyan, also in printed in London and Edinburgh. Although the relationship between what would have actually been on the shelf in the average colonial Philadelphian’s home and what was being printed is tenuous, the relationship between the other major cities and the book is significantly more correlative.

Where a complete representation of Philadelphia’s reading environment might not be within the scope of this project, an accurate and comprehensive reflection of its print culture is made expressly available by the metadata we have gathered. An accounting of the works printed in the year 1771, and the relationships between genres, will shed light on the aspect of the reading environment in Colonial Philadelphia constituted by books which were physically printed in that city. There is no risk of over-stressing the fact that in eighteenth century Philadelphia “the chief reading-matter for the majority of the people was the Bible” (35), according to Wolf. Although the vast majority of what was being read, and what was occupying the private citizen’s ‘closet’ was The Bible, this is not necessarily reinforced by the publication information for Philadelphia in the year 1771. What we do know from the metadata is that despite the fact that most of the religious works being read in Philadelphia in the year 1771 were bibles, because of the licensing act which prohibited the printing of any bible in the colonial city, the vast majority of those bibles were necessarily an imported good: “no New Testament in English was printed in America until a year after independence and no complete Bible until 1782” (37). As for those religious works that are not bibles and are catalogued with the ESTCT, the metadata for the year in question indicates that there were fourteen texts printed in the city. The fourteen religious works that were published in Philadelphia indicate the relative presence, and predominance, of certain religious denominations. 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. A recurring theme among the Quaker texts is the group’s dissension from the Anglican Episcopacy. Two of the documents were concerned with the reasons why “Quakers do not pay tythes" (W10219, W1139, W23318, W28438, W39443). The prominent Quaker publisher was Joseph Crukshank.

Literary, although not the dominant category for Philadelphia in 1771, was significant. Shakespeare, Tillotson, Locke, Homer, Virgil, Horace, Addison, Prior, Otway, Congreve, Dryden, Pope, Swift, Young, Milton, Thompson, Cambray, Fontenelle, Voltaire, Rollin, Shaftesbury, Spencer, and Waller, all “represented a cross-section of Philadelphians’ literary reading… In the early part of the eighteenth century essays, poetry, and drama dominated the choice of literary works” for Philadelphians (Wolf pp.164-165). Although seminal authors, classical through the Renaissance, already appeared to have a foothold on a substantial readership by this time, “English literary works were not respected historically as they are today” (165), and this is supported by the metadata. “With respect to Chaucer, Shakespeare, or Donne, lesser poets are oftener mentioned” (165). Included among the five literary texts in Philadelphia are: “The Deserted Village” by Oliver Goldsmith (W29858), and “A Pennsylvania Sailor’s Letters” by John Macpherson (W27298), “The Economy of Human Life” allegedly written by an ancient Bramin; this text is likely an example of a 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.

Philadelphia addresses are largely made up of exchanges between opposing partisans on various public issues. There was 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 (W11120-W11122). Characteristic of these addresses is the introductory appeal 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). Despite the relative proximity to the Declaration of Independence in 1776, there is no apparent revolutionary ferment to be found in the Philadelphian addresses for the year 1771. The nearest thing being a proclamation: “Proclaiming enforcement to a recent act against tumults and riotous assemblies on pain of death” (W31585) which indicates the presence of public protest and authoritarian reaction. This tumultuous political climate may have been a forecast of the revolution to come. Furthermore, the large number of public addresses “to the citizens” reflect an increasing civil identity in Philadelphia. The large number of addresses relative to low legal output implies a less formal, and perhaps more social, government structure.

Philadelphia had a proportionately comparable output of Commercial/Organizational documents to London. Four of the nine commercial documents printed in Philadelphia are advertisements for “Pettie’s Cash Lottery” (W2632, W2637-W2639). Of the remaining five documents, one is an advertisement for a “performer in horsemanship” (W24226), and a another, a “catalogue of drugs” (W42032). A unique advantage to studying publication data in this way is the unique ability to recognize relationships between categories, genres, and the major cities, that are not hitherto or otherwise obvious to the scholar. An interesting connection between the Addresses, and the Commercial/Organizational categories, was made apparent through the analysis of the metadata; An advertisement titled “the true art of mixing every kind of wine and spirits,” appears in the Commercial/Organizational category and is a response to the late Eighteenth Century Wickoff controversy which was first noted in the Addresses category. This entry in particular appears to be making an attempt to capitalize on the publicity of the scandal involving Wickoff, Furman, Irwin and the alleged adulterating of rum (W35894). The prominence of advertisements in Philadelphia bespeaks the economically motivated interests of the citizens of Philadelphia in the year 1771.

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 in opposition to the slave trade. The historical titles indicate that Philadelphia had worldly interests as well as specifically American interests; not in local Native American histories but histories of the slave trade. Philadelphia’s printed histories show a delocalized historical identity with pan-European and African interest, which reflects the unique place in which Philadelphians saw themselves on the world/historical stage as part of a global and not just local history.

Philadelphia had some interest in quality of life literature, which is akin to contemporary “self help” literature. One such title printed in Philadelphia in 1771 is “The Ladies Friend” (W19377), and another being “Advice to the People in General Regarding Their Health” (W10156/W11955/W41480). Despite the clear interest in the “quality of life,” or “self help,” genre, 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 supports an assertion that the relative need for practical skill sets in the colonies was significant. 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.

For the Law category, 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 make apparent, Philadelphian society was interested in both the establishment and control of assemblies. The prominent political commentator published in Philadelphia was William Blackstone. His “commentaries on the laws of England” was circulated in Philadelphia. Blackstone was famous for translating legal vernacular into common speech, which was apparently necessary for the lay public in the colonies.

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The listing of periodicals in Philadelphia is brief. There are three types 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, which constitute a distinct genre unto themselves, “The New Year Verses,” and “The News Boys Verses,” consisting of poetry in verse dedicated to New Years greetings (W11113, W39273).

Philadelphia has two anonymously written songs: “A New Ballad” (W24311), and “A New Song” (W36699), both of which were intended to be set to well known tunes; “A Cobbler There Was,” “Bold Sawyer.” Despite their nondescript titles, both songs appear to contain political rhetoric. “A New Ballad” concerns 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 proto-revolutionary sentiment (W24311/W36699).

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 reputed 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). The treatises on diseases could be interpreted as being representative of anxiety regarding the various new-world diseases being introduced to the peoples of the American colonies.

Footnotes, References, etc:

[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

For authors, we have 45 items with female authors (1 of these has both a male and female author which I've listed as M/F since they are a collection of love letters between husband and wife), and among the 45 items with female authors 37 of them are unique.

There are significantly less female printers from what I can tell so far with only 15 items being printed by women (2 of which were also printed by men), and of these 15 items there are only 5 unique female printers.

Conclusion

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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