

Preserving the Ephemeral

Reading, Collecting, and the Pamphlet Culture of Seventeenth-Century England

MICHAEL MENDLE

In 1641, England experienced a culture shock—an explosion of small cheap books and broadsides reporting, commenting upon, and manipulating public events. That pamphlet culture waxed and waned until the Restoration, by turns more and less seductive. But it always remained a cultural presence, providing the greatest common denominator of public experience. Splitting the difference between high and low culture, pamphlets became the middlebrow point of contact of public life.¹ Peer and apprentice inhabited different material and mental worlds. So did conformist and sectarian, royalist and radical. Ostensibly defining their disagreements and differences, the pamphlet culture paradoxically brought the disparate voices together. In the Restoration, the press that royalists had learned to manipulate as well as the radicals ever had was put under greater control; but when the political thermometer soared in the later 1670s (and when the licensing act expired in 1679), the pamphlet reappeared as naturally as if it had never missed a step.

It may have been reflexive, but it was not un-self-conscious. From the earliest days of the pamphlet explosion, two vectors tugged on the pamphlet culture—"news" and "history." There is no mistaking that news drove the pamphlet explosion. Whatever their subgenre—"separates" of parliamentary speeches, copies of petitions, breathless reports of war news, the weekly newsbooks that began to appear in late 1641, or commentaries or satires upon public affairs—the little books of a sheet or less, usually costing 1d., were the core of the pamphlet culture. Weightier productions—the more learned tracts, treatises, and politically inspired sermons—consumed the little pamphlets as their daily bread, or better, their baguettes, fresh, cheap, and undemanding. By mid-1642 they often came day-dated as a sign of their newness. But like baguettes, news stales quickly. As one day's tracts were postdated by the next and the next, their marketability declined to the vanishing point. Those sold lost their value as news. The fate of nearly all of those penny texts—in runs characteristically of about 1,000 or 1,250 copies—was to be recycled. The commonest

remark about the subsequent use of quarto pages is too obvious to bear further comment. Less crudely, one reader compared tracts to “pinns and needles,” the archetypal throwaway objects of the age. But he also lamented that fate, wishing that someone would collect these books before they perished.²

He was not alone. As tracts ceased to be news, they became history; or, rather, some people perceived them immediately as incipient history and so to be *collected*. Thus the collection motto chosen by the greatest seventeenth-century pamphlet collector, George Thomason: “Actions y^t may be presidents to posteritie, ought to haue their records, & merit a carefull preseruatiōn.”³ So too the London turner Nehemiah Wallington made a personal collection of godly petitions to Parliament because they testified to the Lord’s hand in the stirring events of late 1641.⁴ Such sentiments speak not only to the primacy of public affairs in contemporaries’ sense of their era’s significance; they also speak to the centrality of narrative. What turned one moment into history was the succeeding moment; one needed to collect the record of the story.

Publishers saw opportunity in the nexus of news and history. Ephemera could be gathered and reprinted, providing documentary histories of recent events. William Cooke’s *Speeches and Passages* of parliamentary proceedings and Edward Husbands’s two compilations of the declarations (*An Exact Collection*) exchanged between king and Parliament before were early examples of the genre. Cooke’s compilation, Joad Raymond has shown, provided a spine for substantial stretches of John Rushworth’s *Historical Collections*, and Husbands’s first volume became almost scripture to the Leveller leader John Lilburne.⁵ The New Model Army’s declarations in 1647 were similarly gathered. An episcopal partisan in 1642 collected and published petitions designed to counter those so cherished by Nehemiah Wallington. Royalists later collected the scaffold speeches of their martyrs, and also published a collection of “moderate” declarations in favor of a Stuart restoration.⁶

These collections were one front of the contemporary war on ephemerality. The focus of this essay, however, is what can be gleaned of the efforts of individuals to gather and so preserve the record of their times as it first appeared in the press. Every tract existing today, it seems too obvious to state, has had a continuous existence since its publication. As Peter Blayney has sagely observed, while the odds of survival of any individual copy of a book are quite long, the chance that none at all will survive is small. What preserves individual copies of otherwise unremarkable items is that someone has seen fit to collect them.⁷ Newsbooks are a most telling example. Late seventeenth-century auction catalogues, when they do list newsbooks, list them in sorted groups (usually by title), often consecutive runs. Leading surviving collections intact from the seventeenth century tell a similar tale. Thomason, with his omnivorous habits and date-focused organization collected titles systematically. Sir Wil-

liam Clarke, like most others, sorted his newsbooks by title, with complete or nearly complete runs within; Anthony Wood did the like, although he also relied on the collecting of others. The first earl of Bridgewater, who acquired newsbooks actively in 1647, operated more like Thomason in sorting his newsbooks, grouping them chronologically. But the point remains: it is all but impossible to see how the serial runs or date-related groupings could have been assembled, if not contemporaneously with publication. The converse is also apparently true. One short-run serial publication collected by Thomason, *The Grand Politique Informer*, was bound in a volume subsequently lost.⁸ No other copies are known to have survived. The same point is attested by the vast holdings of the Folger Shakespeare Library. For all their richness, there are astonishingly few newsbooks of the civil war period. Apparently no newsbook runs were ever acquired, and as a consequence the few newsbooks that are in the collection seem to be strays, not unlike the odd copy of *Time* or *Life* to be found in a bargain box of books at rummage sale.

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We can see how contemporaries collected the little books in several ways. The most direct is to examine the great surviving collections formed at the time of issue and preserved as their compilers arranged them, notably Thomason's in the British Library and Sir William Clarke's in Worcester College, Oxford. Other collections can also yield important insights. Anthony Wood's pamphlets in the Bodley were formed partly after the fact, but are nonetheless interesting for his ways of categorizing and organizing. While the vast collection of the earls of Bridgewater (now in the Huntington Library) has been rearranged, informative traces of the original organization persist.

Other evidence is provided by the book auction and other sale catalogues of the seventeenth century. First attempted in England in 1676 with the sale of the library of the divine and bibliophile Lazarus Seaman, by the 1680s auctions of private libraries had become accepted and fairly common.⁹ While substantial learned works bulked largest in auction sale catalogues, from the Seaman sale onward, pamphlets, newsbooks, and contemporary tracts were also to be found, sometimes in considerable quantities. Then as now, auctioneers sometimes obtruded lots from other sources into these catalogues, so that it is risky to conclude *tout court* that the lots of pamphlets actually belonged to the featured former owner. But, obviously, this was not universally the case, and in any event these lots had to have been gathered from somewhere, so that these catalogues do provide a glimpse of the place of the rd.-6d. little books in the libraries of the learned, rich, and powerful.

Better to understand that place, we need to see how catalogues were compiled. English auction catalogues followed the pattern of general sales

catalogues. Books were sorted by format, language, and subject, though the order of the sortings differed. For example, the primary sort might be by format—folio, quarto, or octavo. Within each format books would then be arranged by language or by subject. Topically, theology or divinity had pride of place, followed by others according to the collection's contents and the cataloguer's judgment. While there might be a miscellaneous heading, "history" and "philology" (frequently loosened by an "etc.") often served as nontheological catchalls. Alternatively, the primary sorting could be by subject or by language, with format becoming a subcategory. Within the categories individual titles were listed, sometimes with place and date of publication. Though a composite volume of several items might be listed, the usual pattern was one entry for one work.

The more substantial works having to do with public affairs found a home within this scheme. But the little pamphlets were not easily accommodated. There was, first, the sheer bulk of their numbers. Listing each title individually would have been as commercially pointless as it was tedious. Auction catalogues, of course, were not intended as memorials for the ages, but onetime listings with an eye to profit; few catalogues attempted complete descriptions of the pamphlets they offered for sale.¹⁰ The overwhelming nature of the task can be glimpsed from the failure of the auctioneers of John Rushworth's very large pamphlet collection ever to make good on promises to describe it.¹¹ Another auction list stated that "besides the Books expressed in the Catalogue, there are to be sold at the said place, a Great Number of Sticht Books or Pamphlets, together with about an Hundred Volumes of Curious Tracts bound together."¹² Usually, even when lots were identified, only sketchy information was provided about lot contents.

No less to the point, both because of their variety and their nature, the little books were difficult to accommodate into the scheme that had served to pigeonhole the books of the learned world. In instances where separate items had been bound together, a solution was offered by volumization, especially if the volume was thematic, generic (e.g., fast sermons), or chronological in constitution. But more often than not pamphlets were not bound together. They were offered for sale in "bundles" of "sticht" or "stitched" pamphlets—groupings of separate pamphlets of one or a few sheets, with the cut pages of each title held together by nothing more than a knotted thread. These bundles, whether assembled by the owner or the auctioneer, are usually the most detailed breakdown of the tracts. Revealingly, they increasingly came to be category of their own—not another category's afterthought but a species in their own right. No less revealingly, they usually appear at the rear of the catalogues, an index of their lower standing.

The same uneasy attitude toward pamphlets can be seen in the ways in which pamphlets crept through the back door into the holdings of the Bodley. On the one hand, they were deemed inappropriate to a learned library, a factor that weighed heavily against the attempts later to acquire the Thomason collection. On the other hand, exuberance and engagement occasionally trumped learned prejudice. In 1646 John Milton, scanting the efforts of his left hand as he might, thought well enough of them to donate his prose works as well as his 1645 *Poems* to the Bodley. A bit earlier, in 1645, the Bodley made at least two purchases of pamphlets, even in its then extremely straitened circumstances. Eight "bundles of pamphlets . . . conteyninge the occurances of the times" were purchased in 1645–46 for £1 12s. The language suggests newsbooks or separates of news; at the going rate of 1d. per sheet the sum would have purchased 384 single sheets (or quarto pamphlets of eight pages), perhaps a little less because of carriage. Also, in June 1645, the Bodley purchased about two dozen significant tracts for £2 16s. 1d., with Prynne, John Goodwin, Henry Parker, Henry Burton, and John Milton among those represented.¹³ But with the provision that the Company of Stationers send on to the universities one copy of each publication in almost total abeyance, the overwhelming bulk of the Bodley's vast holdings of civil war pamphlets and newsbooks came later, most notably through the bequest of Anthony Wood (which Wood originally made to the Ashmolean Museum, with the Bodley only receiving them in 1860), and, more recently, the Fairfax deposit, which was partly withdrawn in 1993.

Despite the prejudice against them and the bibliographical and descriptive complexities involved in selling them, pamphlets figured largely in the auction sales of private libraries. The evidence provided by the auction catalogues is at once frustratingly vague in particulars and overwhelming in the aggregate. It is never possible to give a precise count of the pamphlets available even as it is impossible to ignore the bulk of them. There was a fair sprinkling of 1640s pamphlets in the Lazarus Seaman sale, distributed amongst "Philologie, &c. in English." Another early sale, of the library of Thomas Manton, contained freestanding items of polemical divinity of the 1640s and 1650s within the category of "Divinity in English" as well as seventy bound volumes of pamphlets (primarily from the 1640s and 1650s), and some thirty-seven "Bundles," mostly from 1641–60 and 1660s and 1670s.¹⁴ Benjamin Worsley's books yielded thirty-six volumes of fairly miscellaneous bound volumes, as well as 105 "Bundles," including those devoted to public papers, public sermons, William Prynne (seventeen of his own tracts and one devoted to replies to him).¹⁵ Gabriel Sangar's and Lord Brooke's libraries offered thirty-eight bundles of "Tracts Sermons and Pamphlets" including a good number of newsbooks, as well as numerous similar items mixed in with the denominated

categories.¹⁶ An omnibus sale of the libraries of several divines in 1680 yielded large collections of civil war polemical divinity, a set of Engagement tracts, and runs of leading newsbooks.¹⁷

These examples are in the middle range of pamphlet collections by size. More remarkable was Dr. Richard Smith's library, which may have contained as many 1641–60 tracts as Sir William Clarke's library, including perhaps 1,800 newsbooks.¹⁸ Bishop Brian Walton's library contained eighty-two thick-looking bound volumes (perhaps 2,000–3,000 items) heavily concentrated in 1641 to 1653, and sixteen "bundles" with a balancing thrust for the 1650s and 1660s.¹⁹ The collection of Arthur, Lord Anglesey, sold in 1686, was composed in part of libraries he purchased whole, including a "*vast Collection of Pamphlets of all sorts, containing all the remarkable Ones relating to Government, &c.*" "All" was too strong, of course, but the 118 bound volumes in octavo and folio show signs of careful arrangement, including a volume of 36 items for 1647, another for ship-money. Most items were from 1640 to 1660. The "bundles" held even more: 11 in folio, 162 in quarto; 16 in octavo, ranging across the century, and including hundreds of newsbooks.²⁰ An anonymous citizen of London's library, sold at auction on 12 March 1687/8, included amongst many other holdings of pamphlets a remarkable single lot, a ten-volume "Collection of Letters, Speeches, Remonstrances, Declarations, Orders, Ordinances, Diurnal Proceedings, Occurrences, Depositions and Articles, Votes, Messages, all relating to English, Scottish, and Irish Affairs in the time of the late Civil war, &c."²¹

No collection dispersal by auction was greater than the mountain of tracts heaped up by a London bookseller, William Miller. It was twice offered for sale after Miller's death in 1695,²² first "by Retail, or otherwise" in *The Famous Collection Of Papers and Pamphlets of all Sorts, from the Year 1600. down to this Day, commonly known by the Name of William Miller's Collection*.²³ Since most items remained unsold, the catalogue was reworked as an auction catalogue, *A Curious Collection of Books and Pamphlets: Being the Stock of Mr. William Miller*, which announced that the sale would continue "until the Number of 1500 Bundles are Sold off."²⁴

Miller, the son of a London printer active in the days of the first civil war, indicated his special field in an advertisement he placed in an auction catalogue of 1684: "All gentlemen, etc. may be furnished with most sorts of Acts of Parliament, as also the King's, and Chancellor's and Speaker's Speeches, with other Speeches, Declarations, Proclamations, Commissions, Orders, Ordinances, Remonstrances, Votes of Parliament, Letters, Articles of War and Peace, Of Religion, viz., Visitations Articles etc., with Books of Divinity, viz., of Church Government, Sermons on most Occasions, with Variety of School Books, History, Husbandry, Arts and Sciences, Poetry, Plays, Collections of

Gazettes, and all sorts of other News.”²⁵ At some point Miller’s business became an obsession; it was said that Miller “had the largest collection of stitched books of any man in the world.”²⁶ The collection, first described in the *Famous Collection* through the efforts of Charles Tooker, consisted of both bound volumes and stitched bundles. The “Hundreds” of bound volumes were not listed, though they were on view at Mrs. Miller’s.²⁷ The unbound bundles covered many fields, and were in Latin and the principal languages as well as English. Overwhelmingly, though, they were concerned with public affairs, even those in French. There were 240 folio entries, including seven bundles of state acts from 1648 to 1659, a bundle devoted solely to Titus Oates and another to last speeches of those sentenced to die for their parts in the popish and “presbyterian” plots, sixteen alphabetically sorted bundles of miscellaneous tracts of the time of Charles II, sets of gazettes and other newsbooks. The quartos comprised 1,123 entries. Only the first forty-one bundles were in Latin. Bundles 42–509, broadly categorized as “Divinity English,” focused upon the public issues of the day. For example, bundles 60–71 were court sermons, while lots 62–97 held parliamentary sermons of 1640 to 1660 (again sorted alphabetically), with other sermon categories treated in lots 98–209. The remaining three hundred lots were tracts and pamphlets treating matters of public concern such as the liturgy, episcopacy (for and against), liberty of conscience, further treatments of church government, sectaries, popery, sabbatarianism, New England, and the Jews; only lots 403–57 treated “Practical Divinity.” Much of the remainder of the quartos were news and political controversy. John Lilburne rated three bundles, William Prynne, seventeen and one devoted to replies to him. The 297 lots in octavo were similarly arranged, with a format-related category for almanacs. *A Curious Catalogue*, the list of the remainder put to auction, adds an important detail: some indication of lot sizes.²⁸ While many of the more numerous lots of single sheets were not indicated, most lots had ten or more items. One single page described twelve lots amounting to over one thousand items.

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It remains to consider the great collections still intact. Four are particularly notable: the Bridgewater tracts at the Huntington Library, Wood’s pamphlets in the Bodley, Sir William Clarke’s at Worcester College, Oxford, and greatest of all, George Thomason’s behemoth at the British Library.

The Bridgewater tracts cannot currently be counted. Apart from books retained by the family after acquisition of the main body by the Huntington, re-shelf-marking and disbinding early in the twentieth century of many original volumes, particularly the quartos, make even loose estimates impossible. Fortunately, the original Bridgewater shelfmarks have been preserved in the

Huntington's catalogues; the completion of the general Huntington catalogue in electronic form will allow a reliable count to be taken and may even permit reconstruction of the original library. However, most folio volumes were kept intact. By means of them, some intact quartos, and a few records of the original organization, the collection's richness and the care by the first and second earls (the two collectors of the seventeenth century) are readily apparent.

Huntington Library volumes of bound pamphlets (with the shelfmark prefix "P[art]V[olume].") have many Bridgewater items, easily spotted by the second earl's own part number written inside a box at the top right-hand number of the title page; many volumes are composed entirely of Bridgewater titles, though only the bulk of the folios and a few volumes in quarto remain untouched. A rough count of the folio items can be obtained, serving broadly to indicate the collection's substantiality. About 600 folio items date from 1640 or earlier, about 1,400 date from 1641–60, about 3,300 from 1661 to 1686 (the year of the death of the second earl), about 1,260 from 1687 to 1700.²⁹

Numbers aside, something can be gleaned about the collection process from surviving intact volumes and from collection records. A set of contents pages from disbound and redistributed newsbooks reveals the care taken with newsbooks of 1647 and 1648 by the second earl, who gathered them in volume-sized chronological runs, and then divided them by title.³⁰ The second earl's intense concern for his pamphlets is best seen in the occasional quarto or smaller volume to escape disbinding,³¹ and the vast number of accounts, trials, and tracts in folio purchased by the second earl, when in the late seventeenth century that larger format became *de rigueur* for items presumed eventually to be bound together in hefty volumes resembling the manuscript miscellanies of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.³² The folio volumes are tightly chronologized, and for most of them the earl supplied a contents list and the "box numbers" that are his hallmark.³³ His fastidiousness is seen in his treatment of large items (generally broadsides) folded into these volumes: the earl always placed the box number so as to orient it vertically on the first surface facing the reader. Items inserted and folded horizontally had their box numbers written diagonally, so as to be equally legible vertically and horizontally.³⁴

Anthony Wood's tracts range across the century.³⁵ By one count there are 6,400 items in 1,000 volumes.³⁶ Duplicates, overlapping of volumes, and differing collection formats suggest that Wood expanded his collection through bulk purchase of other collections; Wood was an avid collector of book sale catalogues, including a very large set of auction catalogues.³⁷ Along with Wood's numerous comments, his categorization scheme, so far as it was actually achieved, bears attention. Volumes that Wood definitely supervised or established had an initial table of contents outlined in red ink, which also allowed for a volume heading. Wood occasionally cross-referenced to other

volumes. For example Wood 209 contains three items having to do with either the regicides or royalist victims; Wood noted two others elsewhere, one in duodecimo (thus unsuitable for binding amidst the quartos) and another already bound “in my vol. of pamphlets entit [*sic*] *Tryalls, & Executions of Regicides*.”³⁸ Wood 373, a volume of little news pamphlets of 1641–42, noted that pamphlets pertaining to Strafford were in another, distinct volume.³⁹ Such cross-referencing aside, Wood preferred topical or thematic categories wherever possible, except for the little news pamphlets, which tended to be placed in chronological series as tight as Wood could make them.

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Two great contemporaneous, intact collections of civil war era pamphlets will always attract special notice, for they were formed in what might be described as the heroic age of pamphlet collecting. Sir William Clarke’s books at Worcester College are certainly such a collection. A protégé of John Rushworth, Clarke later became an army secretary and secretary to the general of the army in Scotland, George Monck.⁴⁰ As such, he was peculiarly well placed to gather a great collection of news pamphlets. Along with his extraordinary set of army manuscripts, including the famed Putney debates, the books were bequeathed to Worcester College by his son, Sir George Clarke. While a few of Sir George’s books mingle with the volumes assembled by Sir William, nearly one hundred volumes (some quite massive) preserve almost entirely their collector’s original design. Apart from some utterly miscellaneous volumes, newsbooks were sorted by title and date, news separates were assembled chronologically, and political-constitutional, theological, and homiletic items were kept together. One exceptionally well-conceived volume gathered tracts from 1641 to 1660 about the successive oaths (the Protestation, Solemn League and Covenant, the Engagement) taken by or imposed upon the public.⁴¹ Characteristically Clarke signed the first page of the first item in a volume, and often provided a table or contents list at the front or the back.

Clarke was cost-conscious. In some ways this has not served the collection well. Some volumes are thicker than the strength of binding will tolerate—one volume has 264 separate items.⁴² Generally Clarke economized by folding large-format items into his quarto volumes, a practice that accelerates wear. But Clarke’s close eye on his purse also produced one of the largely untapped resources of the collection: frequent, and, in a few volumes, systematic reporting of prices. Routinely the determinate of price was length; tables in some volumes simply count sheets, as if the sheet count equated to cost (at the usual 1d./sheet, although this was not invariable). However, Clarke acquired many items for free, noting on the copy or in an end-of-volume table “ob” (with a macron line of contraction drawn over the “o” and through the “b”),

which stood, it seems likely, for “obtentus gratis.”⁴³ In other cases he dickered, noting, usually on the last page of an item, the amount asked and the amount agreed upon, which was often less. In one instance he waxed triumphant: “preciu[m] 6d con: 3d valet 1s.”⁴⁴ The hand of Clarke’s early mentor John Rushworth is to be found at intervals, and one whole volume, in which Clarke as usual wrote his name on the first page of the first item, was in fact assembled and listed by Rushworth.⁴⁵

The most intimate, largest, and most thoroughly organized of all collections is that of the London bookseller George Thomason. Given Thomason’s and his partner Octavian Pulleyn’s niche as vendors of learned books—they were prime suppliers to Oxford University⁴⁶—Thomason’s soul- and fortune-draining devotion to his pamphlets reveals again how the little books created a zone of commonality for otherwise separate, even fissiparous cultural strains. Thomason collected Hobbes’s *Leviathan* along with a nonpareil assemblage of single sheets, puritan wranglings thick with distinctive idiom of the godly beside crude pornographic satires, writings with which he passionately agreed and those with which he as vehemently disagreed. The result was about 22,000 titles, arrayed originally in 1,955 volumes, almost all from 1641 through 1660.⁴⁷ Though Thomason’s interests were obviously catholic, he never aspired (as is sometimes thought) to collect “one of everything” published. But within the realm of public affairs, save for a spell when he nearly gave his collection up, he assiduously bought nearly every newsbook to appear in London, a vast array of little pamphlets which have survived in no other collection, and a fair number of provincial printings as well. As he aged and as his views hardened, he “passed” on some items that by his own principles he ought to have collected—notably Quaker writings, not surprising for a man who judged George Fox a “Goose.”⁴⁸ The lapses and lacunae, however, pale before the achievement.

No other major collector took greater pains in organizing his pamphlets, a fact that looms larger as the enormity of the collection dwarfs the others. Early on, he decided upon a chronological principle of organization (the “Method . . . is Tyme,” as he put it), simply putting one item behind the other in its format category, without regard for contents.⁴⁹ Volumes were then formed as convenient.⁵⁰ Thomason did two other things that provided his collection with much greater utility than others. From mid-1642 onward, Thomason noted his date of acquisition on items where the publication date was not obvious, as it is, for example, with newsbooks.⁵¹ He also constructed a twelve-volume manuscript catalogue (in two copies); every item was listed in order in its appropriate volume, with its date given. Of necessity, five different format categories had to be used: folio single sheets (broad-sides), small quartos, large quartos, octavos and other small formats, and “Acts and Ordinances etc.,” a category that essentially amounted to folios printed on both sides of the page.⁵²

Like other collectors, Thomason scribbled attributions and comments on his books. Perhaps he did so less often than others—Anthony Wood and Narcissus Luttrell come readily to mind—but the sheer volume of the collection leaves much to captivate the modern reader. And it was principally through his collection that the pamphlet world of the seventeenth century was rediscovered in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His manuscript catalogue guided early readers through the collection in the absence of a printed one. Despite the unwieldiness of twelve manuscript volumes in the five formats, readers could soon fathom the design. They learned the first lesson of the collection: browse. So successively William Godwin,⁵³ Thomas Carlyle, the Miltonist David Masson, and the great S. R. Gardiner came to rely on it. For Carlyle the “whole secret of the seventeenth century” was contained in that “hideous mass of rubbish.”⁵⁴ Masson appreciated the immediacy of the collector as much as the value of the collection.⁵⁵ Gardiner’s heavy use of the collection established it as a resource as fundamental to the period as the archives, a position that the microfilm and recent digital editions have enhanced.

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The two great waves of pamphleteering (and pamphlet collecting) of 1641–60 and the later 1670s and 1680s are both continuous and discrete phenomena. Clearly, late seventeenth-century collectors did not discriminate between periods, except insofar as chronological principles of organization dictated separation. Recent tracts jostled those of a generation past in the auction catalogues; the availability of the earlier tracts and news accounts in the later age doubtless reinforced the dialectic of past and present. Nevertheless, there was a huge difference between the eras. In the 1640s and 1650s, worried collectors like Thomason, Clarke, and Rushworth thought that only their lonely heroics would preserve the ephemeral. But in the era of exclusion, the plots, and the Revolution of 1688, the exceptional had become normal. Catalogues were issued to keep them abreast. In 1680, one could find at the Green Dragon in St. Paul’s Churchyard virtually every publication from every publisher having anything to do with the popish plot and its aftermath: a careful catalogue, issued serially in three parts, kept track of it all, even to the publication details of the serials, so collectors knew which titles had ceased publication and at which issue.⁵⁶ Similarly, in 1689, the recent victory of the Protestants was celebrated by a bibliography of their recent polemics: *The Catalogue of All the Recent Discourses Published against Popery, during the Reign King James II by the Members of the Church of England, and by the Non-Conformists*.⁵⁷ Publishers assumed that the “prints” of show trials were being collected; formats were uniform to assist in binding, and one trial’s errata was corrected in another trial put out by the same publisher.⁵⁸

One generation's Promethean labor had become another's routine expectation. At an auction in 1689, a scant thirteen years after the first one ever in England, amidst a collection rich in tracts and newsbooks, lot 80 was a collection of fifty auction catalogues.⁵⁹ Perhaps forty of them would have offered substantial numbers of the little pamphlets. The world of George Thomason and William Clarke was succeeded by the world of Anthony Wood and Narcissus Luttrell, when pamphlet collection had become a recognized hobby for some and a business for others. That indeed is one result of the English Revolution.

Notes

1. Arguably, the press supplanted the pulpit as the primary vehicle of a common national culture in the years in the ecclesiastically fissiparous 1640s and 1650s. For a current general survey of the news culture in early modern Europe, *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Alcorn Baron (London: Routledge, 2001).

2. *The Correspondence of Bishop Brian Duppa and Sir Justinian Isham, 1650–1660*, ed. Sir Gyles Isham, Northamptonshire Record Society 17 (Lampert, 1955), 117.

3. Thomason inscribed this in the margin of the first page of entries of the first volume of his manuscript catalogue (in two copies) of his collection [BL C. 38 h. 21 and BL C. 37. h. 13]. The source was Thomas Nabbes's continuation of Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*. Thomason apparently used the 5th ed. (London, 1638); see sig. SSSSSS^r.

4. Nehemiah Wallington, *Historical Notices of Events Occurring Chiefly in the Reign of Charles I*, ed. R. Webb, 2 vols. (London, 1869), 2:1–22.

5. *Speeches and Passages of this Great and Happy Parliament* (London: for William Cooke, 1641). Cooke published a continuation: *The Diurnall Occurrences . . . of Both Houses* (London, 1641). Edward Husbonds, comp., *An Exact Collection of All the Remonstrances* (London, 1642/3) and *A Collection of All the Publike Orders* (London, 1646). Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 302–10. Andrew Sharp, "John Lilburne and the Long Parliament's Book of Declarations: A Radical's Exploitation of the Words of Authorities," *History of Political Thought* 9 (1988): 19–44.

6. Army declarations were gathered in *A Declaration of the Engagements, Remonstrances, Representations* (1647). The conformist petitions are gathered in Sir Thomas Aston, *A Collection of Sundry Petitions* (1642). The royalist martyrology, including the late king's trial, was *England's Black Tribunall* (London, 1660). The irenic declarations were collected in *A Happy Handful* (London, 1660).

7. Peter Blayney, *The Texts of King Lear and Their Origins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 1:38.

8. No such title is to be found in Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Secombe, *British Newspaper and Periodicals, 1641–1700: A Short-Title Catalogue* (New York, 1987), a point made to me by Carolyn Nelson in a personal communication. See BL C. 37. h. 13, vol. M, no. 12, marginal note of 1893 noting doubt that the volume containing the four issues of *The Grand Politique Informer* was ever received.

9. A still useful survey is provided by John Lawler, *Book Auctions in England in the Seventeenth Century (1676–1700)* (London, 1898; rpt. Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1968). Lawler, however, does not have a special interest in the pamphlet literature. Even as early as 1680, ordinary booksellers showed some concern that auctions were eating into their own trade: Robert Clavell's *General Catalogue of Books* (London, 1680), "To The Reader," claimed that "most Books bought in an Auction, may be had Cheaper in Booksellers Shops."

10. An interesting exception to the rule, since it contains Narcissus Luttrell's noting of the prices of the lots (though not the individual tracts within them), is the BL copy of *Catalogus Librorum ex Bibliotheca Nobilis cuiusdam Angli . . . Accesserunt Libri Eximii Theologi, D. Gabrielis Sangar* (London, 1678), 77–80. The anonymous nobleman was Lord Brooke.

11. *Bibliotheca Generalis ex Bibliothecis Duorum Doctissimorum Theologorum & Eximii cuiusdam Medici, Nuper Defunctorum, . . . Tom's Coffee-House . . . Octavo Decemb. 1690* (London, 1690). To the reader on the verso of the title page: that inter alia the sale will include "*the Industrious Rushworth's Famous Collection of Tracts and Pamphlets, Bound as well as Stitch'd.*" But none is to be found and there is a later notation that "*The Remaining Part of this Catalogue, from Page 68 near Printed* [this copy ends at p. 68], *will be suddenly distributed, viz. The English, Libri Omissi, and Manuscripts.*" The additional part of the catalogue appeared as *The English Part of the Bibliotheca Generalis . . . As, also, a Collection of Stitch'd and Bound Tracts and Pamphlets, which Pamphlets were Chiefly Collected by Mr. Rushworth . . .* But at p. 114 of this addendum, the auctioneers reneged on the promise of the title page: "The entire famous Collection of pamphlets, and State Trials of the late ingenious and most industrious Mr. Rushworth, Author of the Collections in four Volumes, being above 300 Volumes bound, and as many others in bundles unbound. A particular account whereof will be exhibited a part [*sic*] to be perused 4 days before and at the time of Sale."

12. *Bibliotheca Selecta: sive Catalogus Vartorum Librorum . . . 21 Die Mensis Maii, A.D. 1688* (London, 1688). "Advertisement" on the verso of the title page.

13. Gwen Hampshire, "An Unusual Bodleian Purchase in 1645," *Bodleian Library Record* 10.6 (1978–82): 339–48; *The Bodleian Library Account Book*, ed. Gwen Hampshire, Oxford Bibliographical Society Publication, new ser., 21 (Oxford, 1983), 144, 150, 190–92. Other un- and ill-described purchases made of Thomas Robinson and Michael Sparke could conceivably be pamphlets as well. See also Ian Philip, *The Bodleian Library in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 42–43.

14. *Catalogus Vartorum et Insignium librorum . . . Thomae Manton. 25 Mar. 1678* (London, 1678).

15. *Catalogus Librorum . . . D. doctoris Benjaminis Worsley . . . Maii. 13. 1678* (London, 1678).

16. *Catalogus Librorum ex Bibliotheca Nobilis cuiusdam Angli . . . Accesserunt Libri Eximii Theologi, D. Gabrielis Sangar* (London, 1678).

17. *Catalogus Vartorum Librorum in Selectissimis Bibliothecis Doctissimorum Vrorum* [H. Stubb, Dr. Dillingham of Oundle, Dr. Thos. Vincent, Dr. Cauthon of Westminster] . . . 29 Nov. 1680 (London, 1680).

18. *Bibliotheca Smithiana . . . Maii Die 15. 1682* (London, 1682). Smith, an obsessive bibliophile, amassed a great many learned and historical works; however impressive, the tracts were hardly the core of the collection.

19. *Bibliotheca Waltoniana* . . . 30 *Die Aprilis* (London, 1683).

20. *Bibliotheca Anglesiana* (London, 1686).

21. *A Catalogue of Books Viz, Divinity, History, Philology, Poetry and Plays, Romances, and Novels, Voyages, and Travels, &c. together with Volumes of Bound Tracts and Sermons, Contained in the Library of a Learned, and Eminent Citizen of London . . . the 12th Day of this Instant March, 1687/8* (London, 1687–8).

22. On Miller see H. R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers . . . from 1641 to 1647* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1907, rpt. 1968), 129, and *A Dictionary . . . from 1668 to 1725* (Oxford, 1922), 206–7. But the dates given of Miller's death (1698 in the first instance and 1696 in the second) both seem to be in error.

23. ([London, 1695?]). Wood dated his copy 10 May 1695.

24. (London, [1695?]). The total number actually listed was closer to 1,300.

25. Cited in Lawler, *Book Auctions*, 147–48.

26. Plomer, *A Dictionary . . . from 1668 to 1735*, 206.

27. *Famous Collection*, sig. N2^v, "Advertisement."

28. Though the lot categories are similar to those used in *The Famous Collection*, they appear in some spots to have been reworked, presumably in light of the earlier sale.

29. I am reluctant to be more specific because (1) exact counts depend on arbitrary decisions on how to treat works issued in parts or with multiple title pages but continuous signing; (2) I have simply distributed most undated items according to appearance, topic, and, where appropriate, volume contents, without checking standard bibliographical resources; (3) Huntington cataloguers were inconsistent in their own counting methods. I have made no effort to count post-1700 items. Non-PV Bridge-water items are not included. With these caveats, I suspect that my results would be within 5 percent of any other's.

30. A good many pseudo-mercuries (one-off pamphlets in the form of news-books) are also to be found. These pages are in a packet kept in the office of Alan Jutzi. This file is apparently the "catalogue" said to be compiled by the earl in *Guide to British Historical Manuscripts in the Huntington Library* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1982), 22.

31. Wholly or largely intact volumes include, for example, E-PV 8277-84, E-PV 8763-70, E-PV 11266-69, E-PV 60984-92, E-PV 62701-03, E-PV 77911-16, E-PV 95922-24-95926-30 [*sic*], E-PV 112702-707, E-PV 135336-53, E-PV 135703-24, E-PV 141042-49, E-PV 141299-310, E-PV 141327-43. Though a number of them are stamped "Miscellanies" on their spines, these volumes seem to have been undisturbed because they are fairly tight topical groupings or group together more loosely connected tracts in the smaller (and rarer) formats.

32. Manuscript items found their way into such volumes as well. Like the occasional intact volume in quarto or smaller, many of the folio volumes are labeled "Miscellanies" on the spine, a poor description of their often tightly chronologized contents, but an index perhaps of their connection to manuscript miscellanies common earlier.

33. The earl numbered his tracts within a box in the upper-right-hand corner of the title page or first page, or used the corner itself as two sides of the box. Occasionally a similar parallelogram was used.

34. Diagonal numbers are found, for example, in E-PV 133308-53, items 43-45., and E-PV 133826-82, items, 19 and 51.

35. We await the full presentation of Nicholas Kiessling's research into Wood

and his collection. For the present see "The Location of Two Lost Volumes of Ballads, Wood 399 and Wood 400," *Bodleian Library Record* 15 (1996): 260–91; "Anthony Wood, Thomas Gore and the Use of Manuscript Material," *Library* 21 (1999): 108–23; and, most importantly, "The Library of Anthony Wood from 1681 to 1999," *Bodleian Library Record* 16.6 (1999): 470–91, which I have only been able to use to correct my own much less thorough research into Wood's collection.

36. Kiessling, "Anthony Wood, Thomas Gore and the Use of Manuscript Material," 108. Cf. *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632–1695*, ed. Andrew Clark, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891–1895), 1: 6–21, lists 959 volumes. Clark's methods and schemes of categorization are sometimes odd. Wood's books (not including those in the Wood A–E collections) are also cataloged in a manuscript volume, "Hand List of Wood Printed Books," made October–December 1922 by R. T. Milford. The list is kept on F Floor in the Bodley. Kiessling, "The Library of Anthony Wood," 470, estimates there were originally about 7,000 items.

37. While sale catalogues are found passim amidst the volumes, the auction catalogues constitute a tight chronological series in the volumes Wood E. 13–23. Wood's collection practices are briefly but entertainingly described in Kiessling, "The Library of Anthony Wood," 471.

38. From the list at the beginning of the volume; an abbreviation silently expanded. But see Kiessling, "The Library of Anthony Wood," 482–84 and for a 1681 shelflist, 473–75.

39. Here Wood did bind in and fold large sheets amidst the tracts in quarto. The several numbering schemes also reveal prior ordering. Wood's comments on many of the tracts are a gold mine.

40. On Clarke, see Leslie Le Claire, "The Survival of the Manuscript," *The Putney Debates of 1647: The Army, the Levellers, and the English State*, ed. Michael Mendle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

41. Worcester College AA. 8. 18.

42. Worcester College BB. 8. 11.

43. In Worcester College A. 1. 13, the items so marked are carried in the price list as 00.00.00. AA 1. 15, item 27, *A Second Remonstrance or, Declaration of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, concerning the Commission of Array* (London, 1642[43]), Clarke noted (sig. F4^v) the price as 3d. but added "ob [with the macron] gratis."

44. Worcester College BB. 1. 11, item 1.

45. Worcester College AA. 2. 6.

46. *Bodleian Library Account Book*, 92, 100, 105, 109, 112, 117, 121, 125, 130 clearly show Thomason and Pulleyn as the Bodley's principal supplier of books in from 1632 to 1641 (when the library nearly stopped purchasing). A Thomason sale catalogue of 1647, *Catalogus Librorum Diversis Italiae Locis Emptorum*, makes clear that learned books remained a central part of Thomason's business. On this see also I. Abrahams, "The Purchase of Hebrew Books by the English Parliament in 1647," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 8 (1915–17): 63–77.

47. I derive the volume count from Thomason's original manuscript catalogue; since some volumes were later split (and some in the catalogue never made it to the British Museum), the current volume total will differ. There are several items not listed in G. H. Fortescue, *Catalogue of Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers, and Manuscripts* . . .

Collected by George Thomason, 1640–1661, 2 vols. (London, 1908) from the 1630s, and some from 1640, but Thomason apparently did not collect until spring 1641. Some news serials continue beyond 1660.

48. In addition to BL E. 916 (4), *A Declaration of the Ground of Error & Errors* (London, 1657), which is cited in Fortescue, ed., *A Catalogue*, 1:xxiv, Thomason did the like in BL E. 812 (2), *A Message from the Lord, to the Parliament of England* (London, 1654).

49. Thomason described his method in a prefatory note bound into the first volume of small quarto entries of BL C. 38. h. 21. Initially Thomason segregated separates of parliamentary speeches and the first newsbooks but gave that practice up by 1642. The treatment of Acts and Ordinances also proved difficult; see n. 52 below. See Michael Mendle, "The Thomason Collection: A Reply to Stephen J. Greenberg," *Albion* 22.1 (spring 1990): 85–93; there are, however, a few errors of detail in that account.

50. Small-format volumes, for reasons of binding efficiency, were handled differently, but Thomason's chronological principle was rigorously maintained in the manuscript catalogue.

51. In this Thomason continued by hand a publisher's practice that was very common in the news-dense months of summer 1642. At that time day-dated imprints were common. Thomason seems to have begun his hand dating to fill out the record, and continued to do so for nineteen years. Some octavo items only bear month dates.

52. Thomason battled conceptual uncertainty with the Acts and Ordinances category. He used three different numbering schemes for the volumes, preserved his original segregation of Acts and Ordinances as a subject category in his catalogue, but let consistency prevail in the binding, transferring broadside acts to the single sheets, a fact he noted in the margin of each transferred entry.

53. William Godwin, *The History of the Commonwealth of England*, 4 vols. (London: H. Colburn, 1824–28), vol. 3, "Advertisement" comments upon the increasingly central role Thomason's pamphlets played in the writing of his history.

54. *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Constitution of the British Museum; with Minutes of Evidence* (London, 1850), Minutes, 274, cited in *Catalogue of Pamphlets*, ed. G. K. Fortescue, 1: xx and n. Carlyle made similar remarks in his *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, 4 vols. (London, n.d.), 1: 8, 109.

55. David Masson, *The Life of John Milton*, 7 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1859–94), 2: 239, n. 1.

56. *A Compleat Catalogue of All the Stitch'd Books and Single Sheets* (London, 1680) and its *Continuation* (London, 1680) and *Second Continuation* (London, 1680).

57. (London, 1689).

58. At the conclusion of *The Tryal of Lawrence Braddon and Hugh Speke* (London, 1684), the publisher Benjamin Tooke advertised that his Hampden trial was shortly to be published, and also made a correction to the trial of Sir Samuel Bernardiston, which he had earlier published.

59. *Bibliotheca Selectissima seu Catalogus Variorum . . . Librorum . . . Sams Coffee-House, Octavo Die Mensis Maii, 1689* (London, 1689).