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Irish Periodicals in their Atlantic Context, 1770-1830: The monthly and quarterly magazines of Dublin, with comparison to those of Edinburgh and Philadelphia

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D

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Abbreviations

A.A.S.	American Antiquarian Society
Clyde, *I.L.M*	Tom Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines* (Dublin, 2003)
E.C.I.	*Eighteenth-Century Ireland*
H.M.C.	Historical Manuscripts Commission
H.S.P.	Historical Society of Pennsylvania
I.HS.	*Irish Historical Studies*
L.C.P.	Library Company of Philadelphia
L.O.C.	Library of Congress
N.L.I.	National Library of Ireland
Q.U.B.	Queen's University of Belfast
R.I.A.	Royal Irish Academy
Sullivan, *B.L.M.*	Alvin Sullivan, *British Literary Magazines* (3 vols, Westort, Conn., 1983)
T.C.D.	Trinity College Dublin

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Summary

This thesis focuses on the development of Irish periodical literature from 1770-1830. Irish periodicals have received relatively little attention in the historical literature of the period, beyond quantitative lists, and a handful of detailed studies of particular titles. Their basic history has been outlined in general surveys of the literature, though these have tended to be focused in either the eighteenth or the nineteenth centuries. The intention here is to examine the ninety monthly, bi-monthly and quarterly periodicals of a sixty year period which bridges both centuries.

These Irish periodicals did not evolve in a vacuum, but were shaped and influenced by the most successful English periodical titles of the day, namely the *Spectator* and the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which became the templates for hundreds of imitators in the English-speaking world. The Irish market was no different and this thesis seeks to examine the evolution of a distinctly Irish periodical from these models.

The interdisciplinary nature of the study is represented by the detailed bibliographical analysis which it presents on the physical characteristics and defining features of monthly and quarterly periodicals which were very relevant to cotemporaries. The visual features of magazines played an important role in how they were distinguished from the newspaper press as well as from other more ephemeral publications in the period.

This study also attempts to synthesize the general type of content that this broad group contained, and highlights the importance of the most universal aim of all such titles – to

instruct and amuse. Through a detailed examination of the content of the longest surviving periodical of the period, *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* (1771-1812), the different types of material included in Irish periodicals are discussed. When these magazines are assessed as publications of general interest and variety, it is clear that they were highly successful in their delivery of this type of content.

One of the most ignored aspects of the Irish periodical is the commercial benefits that they offer to their publishers. They provide a large amount of advertising space, either for the promotion of the other commercial activities of the publisher or for sale to external businesses and retailers. This type of advertising space was very attractive as periodicals, by their nature, were usually dispersed widely and read by several readers. Their presence in coffee-houses, reading rooms and library societies meant that the potential exposure they offered to advertisers was considerable. The commercial aspects of periodicals have rarely been considered as the wrappers which provide the main surviving evidence for this analysis are rare, and often discarded in the binding process.

The final part of this thesis contextualizes the Irish periodical in an Atlantic context, with particular attention to the trades of Philadelphia and Edinburgh, which provide a similar environment from which to base comparative discussion. The common debt to the *Spectator* and *Gentleman's Magazine* format will be analyzed as well as the evolution of distinct national periodical formats. Finally the broader cultural consequences of these developments will be thematically drawn out.

Introduction

Studies of the publishing, bookselling and printing trades in Ireland have principally concentrated on the *book* trade, with comparatively little attention given to the business of periodical production. Within these studies the eighteenth-century book trade has received significantly more scholarly attention than the nineteenth-century. Conversely it could be said that within the periodical trade, eighteenth-century periodicals have been comparatively understudied compared to a select few of the nineteenth century which have received at least some consideration, though it has been suggested that a serious body of Irish periodical titles was not formed until the 1830s, particularly marked by the establishment of the *Dublin University Magazine* in 1833.[1]

The year 1771 marks a significant development in the periodical press in Ireland as the *Hibernian Magazine* (1771-1812), probably the most successful title of the eighteenth century, (and the only miscellany to bridge the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), was first published. By this period members of the Irish book trade had been acting as importers and agents of the more successful British periodicals such as the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1731-1907) and the *London Magazine* (1732-85) for many years, and the market for monthly periodicals in Ireland was well established.[2] The *Hibernian Magazine* had been preceded by other Irish-published periodicals as

[1] Elizabeth Tilley, 'Charting culture in the *Dublin University Magazine*' in Leon Litvack and Glen Hooper (eds), *Ireland in the nineteenth century: regional identity* (Dublin, 2000), pp 58-65; Barbara Hayley, 'Irish periodicals from the Union to the *Nation*' in *Anglo-Irish Studies*, ii, 1976, pp 83-86.
[2] Edward Exshaw was an agent for the *London Magazine* in 1733. *Dublin Journal*, 25 Sept. 1733.

will be discussed in chapter three, though none had significantly impacted on the Irish market before 1770.

The *Hibernian Magazine* developed from initially being a typical provincial imitator of the English monthly miscellany format, into a publication that consciously attempted to offer a service to Irish readers. From the aggressive use of advertising to promote its publisher's other business interests, to the impressive number of engravings and musical scores it offered readers, and its political engagement during the patriotic politics of the late 1770s and 1780s, the *Hibernian Magazine* widened the scope of the periodical format in Ireland and contributed to the enlargement of the 'public sphere'.[3] By the 1790s its example was followed by several ambitious new periodical ventures such as *Anthologia Hibernica* (1793-95) associated with the Royal Irish Academy and the University of Dublin and the *Microscope or Minute Observer* (1799-1800), an anti-Union title published in Belfast. The *Hibernian Magazine* outlived both of these periodicals and by the early nineteenth century it had *adapted* to the new publishing environment of post-Union Ireland by becoming a smaller and more sedate miscellaneous periodical. The dramatic shift in the tone and content of the *Hibernian Magazine* reflected a broader transition in the Irish

[3] The arguments of German philosopher Jurgen Habermas on the evolution of a 'public sphere' in the eighteenth-century are based around access to information through the printed press and the creation of public institutions away from private courts. Despite challenges to aspects of this thesis, Habermas's work is seen as 'indispensable resource' (Fraser, 1990, p.57) in furthering debate on the notion of public space in this period. Jurgen Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere: an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society,* trans. Thomas Burger (Berlin, trans. 1989). Important responses to this work are found in Nancy Fraser, 'Rethinking the public sphere: a contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy' in *Social Text,* 25 (1990), pp 56-80; Colm Calhoon, *Habermas and the public sphere* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).

periodical market towards more specialised titles and away from the broadly conceived monthlies of the previous century.

The traditional narrative of the early nineteenth-century Irish book trade is one of depression and gloom. Writing in the first decade of the century (although published in 1818) Warburton noted that it was Irish readers who suffered most as a result of the change in copyright legislation and the eclipse of cheap Irish reprints, as the imported English books were 'beyond their attainment' and that the 'taste and inclination for literature has deteriorated'.[4] William Carleton, while addressing his introduction to his English audience and their 'many absurd prejudices ... against his countrymen', suggested that fellow authors were overly concerned with the English market for their texts, by working with London publishers.[5] Madden was consistent in blaming the Union and Westminster for the dismal state of the periodical trade during the 1860s.[6] While modern scholarship confirms some aspects of this view of the publishing trade, Benson's work on the Dublin book trade has demonstrated that areas such as medical and legal publishing of Irish texts increased significantly in the early years of the nineteenth century.[7] The development of the Irish periodical provides further examples of a more nuanced evolution of Irish publishing in the aftermath of the Union and the subsequent extension of British copyright legislation to Ireland.

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[4] John Warburton, James Whitelaw and Robert Walsh, *History of the city of Dublin* (2 vols, London, 1818), ii, pp 1156-57.
[5] William Carleton, 'Introduction' in *Traits and stories of the Irish peasantry* (2 vols, Dublin, 1843-4), i, pp i-v.
[6] Richard R. Madden, *History of Irish periodical literature* (2 vols, London, 1867), i, pp 80-2.
[7] Charles Benson, 'A dictionary of the members of the Dublin book trade, 1801-50', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Dublin, 2001.

Beyond the changing environment of the Irish book trade in the nineteenth century, the English-language periodical trade, pioneered in London a century earlier, became an Atlantic phenomenon. The establishment of the ambitious and hugely successful *Edinburgh Review* (1802-1929) in the Scottish capital in 1802 marked a significant shift of influence within the genre from London to Edinburgh. The periodical markets of Ireland, Scotland and America began to produce more specialised titles indicating a development in these markets which had been already evident in the London trade by the end of the eighteenth century. Specialisation in the Irish periodical market was represented by titles such as the *Methodist Magazine* (1804-10) and the *Theatric Magazine* (1806). The demise of *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* in 1812 left a gap in the Irish market that was filled by several short-lived monthlies, the *Dublin Magazine* (1812-13) and the *Monthly Museum* (1813-14). Despite the high-quality of many early nineteenth century general monthly magazines throughout the English-speaking world, very few matched the breadth of content of their eighteenth-century predecessors. The increasing use of monthly and quarterly periodicals to bolster political ideologies may have contributed to this situation with the examples of the Whig *Edinburgh Review* and the Tory *Blackwood's Magazine* (1817-1980) as the most obvious.

The growth in the number of Irish periodical titles published in the late 1820s reflects a shifting pattern of print consumption throughout the British empire and the Atlantic world. This trend was paralleled by an increasing number of printers and publishers, rising literacy abilities connected to increased educational opportunities and improved technology. The introduction of steam powered print presses in Ireland (1834)

removed the element of human craftsmanship from much of the print process which had been constant since the invention of moveable type in the fifteenth century.[8] Reductions in stamp duty in the same period were also responsible for the great increases in activity in the Irish trade from the 1830s onwards.[9]

In terms of the periodical trade these improvements were manifested by the unparalleled success of the *Dublin Penny Journal* (1832-6) and the *Dublin University Magazine* (1833-77) which each far surpassed their predecessors in the weekly and monthly categories for both their production qualities and their international circulation.[10] These developments mark a distinct change in the nature and scope of the Irish periodical, which was also reflected in the periodical trades of Britain and America, as the genre began to reach new and more diverse audiences. For these reasons, the range of this study is 1770 to 1830, as it offers a large number of monthly, bi-monthly and quarterly titles for examination, which, though quite varied, were all produced within an environment where the periodical format was still relatively limited in its production and circulation compared with the mass production environment which develops in the 1830s.

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[8] On increasing literacy rates in this period see Niall Ó Ciosán, *Print and popular culture in Ireland, 1750-1850* (Basingstoke, 1997); on education see John Logan, 'Sufficient to their needs: literacy and elementary schooling in the nineteenth century' in Mary E. Daly and David Dickson (eds), *The origins of popular literacy in Ireland: language change and educational development, 1700-1920* (Dublin, 1990), pp 113-37. For further discussion of the technological developments in the printing press see James Morgan, *Printing presses: history and development from the fifteenth century to modern times* (London, 1973).

[9] Robert B. McDowell, 'Administration and the public services, 1800-70' in William E. Vaughan (ed), *A new history of Ireland, vol. v. Ireland under the Union, i: 1801-1870* (Oxford, 1989), pp 538-58.

[10] For further discussion and full reprints of the *Dublin Penny Journal,* the *Irish Penny Journal* (1840-1) and the *Irish Penny Magazine* (1841-2) see Nicholas Lee (ed), Irish identity and literary periodicals, 1832-1846 (6 vols, Bristol, 2000). On the *Dublin University Magazine* and its contemporaries see Wayne E. Hall, *Dialogues in the margin: the Dublin University Magazine* (Washington, D.C., 1999).

Historiographical background

Despite a certain neglect of the periodical within histories of the Irish book trade produced in the last sixty years, these studies have laid the necessary foundations for an understanding of the environments in which the Irish periodical developed, and prompts the questions and themes which any study of print culture in Ireland must address. The bibliographical lists of scholars such as Séamus Ó Cassaide, Ernest Reginald McClintock Dix and Hugh Fenning have highlighted the extent of early Irish printing, particularly in the provinces. This work has created an avenue to investigate the print culture of under-represented readers through bibliographic analysis in the scholarly tradition of the Anglo-American book historians.[11]

These numerical and quantitative works have been bolstered by detailed considerations of the business of newspaper publishing, bookselling and publishing in Ireland in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Inglis's study of the freedom of the Irish press (1954) and Munter's *History of the Irish Newspaper, 1685-1760* (1967) remain remarkably current and comprehensive considering no major studies of these subjects have been completed since. Inglis, whose work spaned a large and varied period in the development of the newspaper press, provides detailed analysis of the publishing environment and Castle policies throughout the late 1780s, 1790s and into the nineteenth century.[12] Munter's study acts as a preface to Inglis, documenting the earliest evidence of the Irish newspaper trade in Dublin and the provinces and the type of publishers and proprietors who became entrepreneurs in the business. He set

[11] See bibliography for list of extensive titles by Séamus Ó Casaide, Ernest Reginald McClintock Dix and Hugh Fenning.
[12] Brian Inglis, *The freedom of the press in Ireland* (London, 1954).

the newspaper press within the context of the print trade in Ireland and then considers the financial structure of the newspaper; circulation figures; the effect of the communications system on the supply and dissemination of news, and the status of journalists, all of which provides significant context for the periodical press as will be discussed in chapters two and four.[13]

The Dublin book trade has been the subject of several exemplary studies, notably the posthumously published doctoral dissertation of Phillips, *Printing and Bookselling in Dublin, 1670-1800* (1998) and Pollard's *Dublin's trade in books, 1550-1800* (1989). The former focused on two distinct aspects of the trade, the environment in which it operated and the objects it produced, providing succinct accounts of such issues as copyright, the religious breakdown of the trade, and descriptive analysis of title-page design and printing paper.[14] Pollard's study, focusing on legislation, trade ledgers and the business records established for the first time the scale and success of the Irish publishing trade and suggested the importance of comparisons with cities such as Edinburgh and Philadelphia, as evaluations relative to any aspect of the London trade had masked the relative successes of the Irish trade up to 1800.[15]

Cole's *Irish booksellers and English writers, 1740-1800* (1986) also highlighted the importance of external connections within the Irish book trade, both in terms of the sources of its primary texts and the networks established by the movement of printers

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[13] Robert Munter, The History of the Irish Newspaper, 1685-1760 (Cambridge, 1967).
[14] James W. Phillips, *Printing and bookselling in Dublin, 1670-1800: a bibliographical enquiry* (Dublin, 1998).
[15] Mary Pollard, *Dublin's trade in books, 1550-1800* (Oxford, 1989).

and publishers to other print centres. His analysis of the reprints of several major British and Irish writers has highlighted the considerable role that Irish reprints played in the dissemination of Enlightenment culture throughout the Atlantic world. To broaden this analysis, Cole also identified and sketched the careers of Irish expatriates who entered the emergent American book trade. He demonstrated that their continued correspondence and business links with Ireland further strengthened the distribution networks for Irish reprints in the Atlantic market. Although his analysis was 'connective' rather than comparative, and was limited by a concentration on the reprinting of specific English writers of the century, it reinforced Pollard's point about the wealth of material evidence in the texts themselves of collaborative publishing that existed beyond the control and involvement of London.[16]

In the last decades of the twentieth century, Irish bibliographers have further complemented the earlier work of Ó Casaide and Dix; Tony Sweeney's *Ireland and the printed word* (1999) and Pollard's *Dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade, 1550-1800* (2000) have provided invaluable quantitative resources for the study of the Irish book trade to the end of the eighteenth century.[17] The most striking features of these studies, beyond the wealth of information they brought together, was their focus on Dublin and the emphasis on 1800 as a significant cut-off point chronologically as well as developmentally.

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[16] Richard C. Cole, *Irish booksellers and English writers, 1650-1800* (London, 1987).
[17] Tony Sweeney, *Ireland and the printed word* (Dublin, 1997); Mary Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade, 1550-1800* (London, 2000).

The nature of the Irish provincial book trade in the eighteenth century was the subject of detailed and broadly conceived work by Adams on popular literacy in Ulster.[18] Since Adams's study other works have greatly extended knowledge of provincial networks in Ireland, particularly in the various contributors to *Books beyond the Pale* edited by Gerry Long and the work of eighteenth-century scholars on the distribution of key texts and periodicals.[19] The early nineteenth-century book trade is by contrast distinctly less well served by the attentions of scholars. Adams was exceptional in dealing with provincial print culture spanning the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The paucity of scholarly attention to this period has begun to be redressed by the work of Kinane on the Dublin University Press, Ó Ciosán on popular print culture, and particularly Benson in his comprehensive extension of Pollard's *Dictionary*.[20]

In the last two decades the history of the Irish book trade has benefited from historical methodologies imported from social and cultural history which have encouraged and facilitated the investigation of more elusive aspects of print culture – such as the distribution networks for texts both within and beyond the traditionally elite

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[18] James R.R. Adams, *The printed word and the common man: popular culture in Ulster, 1700-1900* (Belfast, 1987).

[19] Máire Kennedy, 'The distribution of a locally-produced French periodical in provincial Ireland: the *Magazin à la Mode*, 1777-1778' in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, 9 (1994), pp 83-98; Gillian O'Brien, '"Spirit, impartiality and independence": *The Northern Star*, 1792-1797' in *ECI*, 13 (1998), pp 7-23; Geraldine Sheridan, 'Irish periodicals and the dissemination of French enlightenment writings in the eighteenth century' in Thomas Bartlett, David Dickson, Dáire Keogh and Kevin Whelan (eds), *1798: a bicentennial perspective* (Dublin, 2003), pp 28-51; Brian McDonald, 'South Ulster in the age of the United Irishmen' in Bartlett, Dickson, Keogh and Whelan (eds), *1798*, pp 226-42.

[20] Charles Benson, 'Some late 18th- and early 19th-century Dublin printers' account books: the Graisberry ledgers' in Peter Isaac (ed), *Six centuries of the provincial book trade in Britain* (Winchester, 1990), pp 139-50; Charles Benson, 'Printers and booksellers in Dublin, 1800-1850' in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds), *Spreading the word: the distribution networks of print, 1550-1850* (Winchester, 1990), pp 47-59; Charles Benson, 'Dublin printer's strike of 1840-41' in *Long Room*, 39 (1994), pp 43-47; Vincent Kinane, *A history of the Dublin University Press, 1734-1976* (Dublin, 1994); Ó Ciosán, *Print and popular culture in Ireland.*

readership, the methods of readership, the symbolic status of the printed object, and the impact of such exposure to print.[21] Issues relating to literacy and reader-response have raised further questions as to how bibliographical work can most usefully be discussed within a broader historical synthesis of the period.[22] In these debates the history of the Irish book trade and print culture have benefited greatly from exposure to thematic comparisons with other European and American environments.[23] Ó Ciosán's work has been the most comprehensive in attempting to exploit European methodologies for the examination of popular culture. More recently Joep Leersen brought his theoretical strengths to the issue of Irish print culture through a provocative essay on the nature of the public sphere in Ireland. Despite asserting that there were 'no booksellers' in Ireland, this paper did attempt to contextualise the history of eighteenth- and nineteenth- century Irish print culture with the European narrative on the development of a conscious and cohesive public sphere.[24]

Book history has gained international scholarly recognition over recent decades, manifested most obviously by the commissioning of national multi-volume histories of the book in England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, the United States and Australia, to

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[21] For example the work by Toby Barnard, 'Learning, the learned and literacy in Ireland, c.1660-1760' in Toby Barnard, Dathaí Ó Cróinín, and Katherine Simms (eds), *A miracle of learning: studies in manuscripts and Irish learning. Essays in honour of William O'Sullivan* (Aldershot, 1998), pp 209-35; Bernadette Cunningham and Máire Kennedy (eds), *The experience of reading: Irish historical perspectives* (Dublin, 1999); Raymond Gillespie, *Reading Ireland* (Manchester, 2003).

[22] The essays in Daly and Dickson (eds), *The origins of popular literacy in Ireland* are particularly useful in this as is Ó Ciosán, *Print and popular culture.*

[23] Paul J. Korshin (ed), *The widening circle: essays on the circulation of literature in eighteenth-century Europe* (Philadelphia, 1976); Peter Burke, *Popular culture in early modern Europe.* (New York, 1978); Roger Chartier, *The culture of print: power and the uses of print in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, trans. 1989); Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere.*

[24] Joep Leerssen, *Hidden Ireland, public sphere* (Galway, 2002).

mention but a few.[25] However the inconsistent nature of these projects detracts from their usefulness: the eighteenth-century volume of the *History of the Irish book* makes no attempt to address systematically the Irish periodical in the period, while the American and Canadian volumes address the subject in various sections. Interdisciplinary books history associations and conferences, 'Centres for the History of the Book' and print culture projects have fostered and expanded the scope of the discipline to encompass new methodologies from the humanities and the social sciences.

The development of digital resources over the last decade has also dramatically affected the scope of book history. Bibliographic information and fully word-searchable texts, previously uncollated or available only in distant libraries, are becoming available to be consulted, examined and compared in an entirely new way. The comparative aspects of this project were more limited before such resources as British Periodicals Online, American Periodicals Online, Internet Library of Electronic Journals and the Making of America resources became available as they provide full-text access to eighteenth and nineteenth-century periodicals, some of which would have been inaccessible. The extent of the electronic resources now available for British and American periodicals further highlights the lack of resources

[25] Volumes already published include Martyn Lyons and John Arnold (eds), *A history of the book in Australia 1891-1945: a national culture in a colonised market* (Queensland, 2001); John Barnard and Donald F. McKenzie (eds), *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain,* iv: *1557-1695* (Cambridge, 2002); Patricia Lockhard Fleming and Yvan Lamonde (eds), *History of the book in Canada* (Toronto, 2004), David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (eds), *The Edinburgh history of the book in Scotland*: iv, *Professionalism and diversity, 1880-2000* (Edinburgh, 2007).

for the Irish periodical.[26] However it should be noted that a reliance on electronic formats of periodicals is not ideal as experience has indicated that significantly varied copies survive which provide important evidence about how and why periodicals were read. A neatly bound set of an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century periodical is a very different cultural artefact than a dogged single issue in blue paper wrappers, a subject which will be discussed in further detail in chapter five.

Numerous quantitative lists of Irish periodicals survive which have been drawn on during this study, particularly the nineteenth century accounts and lists of Madden and Power.[27] An appendix by Sheridan of Irish literary periodicals with reprints of French Enlightenment texts in eighteenth century combined with the bibliographic information contained in the *Waterloo Directory of Irish Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800-1900* are valuable lists for a more comprehensive view of the range of Irish periodicals from 1770 to 1830. An unpublished B.A. dissertation also complements these sources with an appendix listing Irish monthly and quarterly periodicals from 1790 to 1820.[28] Clyde's most recently produced list, dealing specifically with the literary aspects of Irish periodicals from the early eighteenth to

[26] Access to the digital resources British Periodicals Online and American Periodicals Online has been limited as both only became available in the latter stages of the project. No Irish university library currently subscribes to American Periodicals Online. British Periodicals Online includes very selective material from the Irish periodical press such as Cox's *Irish Magazine* (1807-1815) and the *Monthly Panorama* (1810-11) which provide an excellent basis for comprehensive individual examinations of these titles. Freely available online resources of note include 'The Spectator Project', a hypermedia archive for the study of the *Tatler*, *Spectator* and the eighteenth-century periodical in general, the 'Internet Library of Electronic Journals' which includes full-text access to the most important English and Scottish periodicals of the period, and the 'Making of America', a resource which provides access to books and journals of nineteenth century America.

[27] Madden, *History of Irish periodical literature* (2 vols, London, 1867) and John Power, *List of Irish periodical publications (chiefly literary) from 1729 to the present day* (London, 1866).

[28] Thomas David Legge, 'Literary and political records: A study of the Irish monthly and quarterly periodicals, 1790-1830', unpublished B.A. dissertation, University of Dublin, 1996.

the twentieth century, is also useful for its bibliographic information, though his focus on the literary credentials of periodicals leads him to dismiss much of the periodical titles of the period for containing 'nothing of lasting merit', a comment which does not appreciate their value in other areas of historical study.[29]

Much of the work done on Irish periodicals has been produced in special interest journals or as part of broader texts on revolutionary politics or religious studies. *The Irish Book Lover* (1909-57) and the *Dublin Historical Record* (1939-date) contain numerous short notices and some longer pieces of note on Irish periodicals which have not been surpassed. Examples include Ó Casaide on Walter Cox mentioned above and Bowen's survey of Dublin's humorous periodicals of the nineteenth century.[30] Literary journals also featured some analysis of Irish periodicals. Hayley published a very useful survey of Irish periodicals from 1800 to 1843 in 'Irish periodicals from Union to the *Nation*' in *Anglo-Irish Studies,*[31] and she was later responsible with Enda McKay for a wide-ranging volume assessing three hundred years of periodicals in Ireland.[32] More recently, Geraldine Sheridan and Máire Kennedy have completed important work on the production and distribution of several mid to late eighteenth-century periodicals in Ireland which highlighted the influence and consumption of enlightenment ideas and French-language periodicals which was extensive in eighteenth-century Ireland.[33]

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[29] Tom Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines* (Dublin, 2003), for example, p. 80.
[30] For example, Seamus Ó Casaide, 'Watty Cox and his publications' in *Publications, Bibliographical Society of Ireland*, 2 (1935), pp 20-38 and Brian P. Bowen, 'Dublin humorous periodicals of the nineteenth century', *Dublin Historical Record,* xiii (Mar.-May, 1957), pp 165-76.
[31] Hayley, 'Irish periodicals', pp 83-108.
[32] Barbara Hayley and Edna McKay (eds), *300 years of Irish periodicals* (Dublin and Mullingar, 1987).
[33] Geraldine Sheridan, 'Irish literary review magazines and Enlightenment France: 1730-90' in

The most informative accounts of Irish periodicals are possibly those yet unpublished. B.A. dissertations by Kirwan and Legge survey aspects of the Irish periodical trade in detail from the most successful weekly agricultural periodical of the nineteenth century to a general survey of the medium in Ireland from 1790 to 1830. The latter work pointed to the limited readership and considered content of the Irish monthly and quarterly periodicals, and the concept of a national voice being developed by the end of the period.[34] This work in particular has provided the stepping stone for this more comprehensive assessment of the Irish periodical trade.

The lack of extensive research into the area of Irish periodicals is further compounded by a broad dismissal of the medium or its notice in a very peripheral manner. Munter noted in the introduction to his history of the Irish newspaper that scholars such as John Gilbert utilised the Irish periodical press for source material, which included newspaper and periodicals, but these sources were used primarily for general notices and biographical items.[35] Many later historians and literary scholars followed this pattern, as their main concern was not an analysis of the press. McDowell, Inglis and Hayley have not been particularly positive in their assessments of the success and usefulness of Irish periodicals, particularly those pre-1820.[36] McDowell passed off

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Geraldine Sheridan and Graham Gargett (eds) *Ireland and the French Enlightenment, 1700-1800* (Basingstoke, 1999), pp 21-46 and Kennedy, 'Readership in French: The Irish experience' in Gargett and Sheridan (eds) Ireland and the French Enlightenmen, pp 3-20.

[34] Legge, 'Periodicals' and Richard Kirwan, 'Fields of cultural production? The rise and fall of an Irish agricultural magazine, *The Irish Farmer's Journal and Weekly Intelligencer, 1812 to 1827*' unpublished B.A. dissertation, Dept. of Modern History, University of Dublin, 2001.

[35] Munter, *The history of the Irish newspaper*.

[36] Robert B. McDowell, *Irish Public Opinion, 1750-1850* (London, 1943); Inglis, *The freedom of the press in Ireland*, pp 244-6; Hayley, 'Irish Periodicals', pp 83-86.

the Irish magazines as mostly derived 'from the lighter English periodicals and newspaper press';[37] Inglis referred to the periodical output of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries as 'ephemeral, featureless, and dull' with exceptions such as *The Hibernian Magazine* and Cox's *Irish Magazine* credited with achieving 'very little'.[38] Hayley noted little content beyond the divisively religious in Irish magazines prior to the 1830s:

> Up to the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1820 [...] magazines were almost exclusively polemical, disseminating violently Protestant or Catholic, Unionist or Anti-Unionist propaganda and very little else. From about 1830, literary periodicals began to appear, often to disappear after a few issues.[39]

However, commentators more specifically interested in the periodical have been relatively consistent in their praise of the medium. In his introduction to *British Literary Magazines* (1983) Sullivan comments on the currency of periodicals as they were a training ground for new writers, an environment in which established writers had license to experiment, a forum for debate as well as a vital source for extracts reports, advice, sketches, advertisements, letters, reviews, obituaries and satires.[40]

The print culture spectrum

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[37] Robert B. McDowell, 'Ireland in 1800' in William E. Vaughan (ed), A *new history of Ireland*: v, *Ireland under the Union, i : 1801-1870* (Oxford, 1989), p. 693.
[38] Inglis, *The freedom of the Irish press,* p. 244.
[39] Hayley, 'Irish Periodicals', p. 83.
[40] Alvin Sullivan (ed), *British Literary Magazines* (3 vols, London, 1983-1984), i, p. xix.

The importance of print in the early modern world is well appreciated by historians. Eisenstein's *The printing press as an agent of change* (1979) which explored the effects of movable type printing on literate elite of sixteenth-century Europe, initiated debate about the role of the printing press in the dissemination, standardization and preservation of ideas and modes of learning.[41] By the eighteenth century, the widespread use of print for public information and discourse fostered the emergence of a public space, known broadly as the 'public sphere'. This virtual cultural space, as forwarded most influentially by Habermas, was theoretically open to all citizens.[42] Periodicals constituted an important medium through which the evolving public sphere could carry on informed discussion from which emerged key cultural, social, political ideas and norms. Anderson has elaborated this Habermasian notion of public sphere in relation to nation states when he defined it as the 'imagined community', imagined because of the impossibility of the majority the people of any nation ever being in direct communication with each other, but it can still be considered a 'community' because each member imagines and feels part of a nationally distinct communion.[43] Periodicals and magazines represented a vital medium through which such 'nationalizing' debates could take place. Countering all encompassing ideas of communal associations or nationalism, periodicals also provided space to 'subaltern counter-publics', as identified by Fraser which occupy parallel discursive arenas

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[41] Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change: communications and cultural transformations in early modern Europe* (2 vols, Cambridge, 1979). Marshall McLuhan's *The Gutenberg Galaxy: the making of typographic man* (Toronto, 1962) also contributed toemerging ideas on the invention of moveable type as a decisive moment of cultural change.

[42] Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere* (1989).

[43] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London, 1991).

where members of subordinated or minority virtual groups circulated oppositional interpretations of their interests and identities.[44]

However during this period these 'imagined communities' or 'counter-publics', as realised through periodicals and indeed all printed media, were naturally stunted. Limiting factors such as affordability and distribution networks must be considered when assessing any aspect of the eighteenth-century 'public sphere' or utilising it as a framework for the study eighteenth-century print culture. Despite these restricting factors, growing numbers of coffee-houses, inns, private and circulation libraries, reading societies and book clubs increased access to print, particularly for those beyond the traditional elite readers.[45] Issues of pricing, circulation and readership are common problems when attempting to evaluate print trade productions within any society or movement, and will be discussed in further detail in chapter five.

Leerssen's work has furthered debate on the concept of an Irish public sphere by specifically applying Habermas' theories to Ireland. The emergence of an Irish public sphere in the mid-eighteenth century was suggested as the main facilitator of a cultural transfer between the Gaelic tradition and the urban English-speaking educated world. He argued that this transfer resulted in a complete re-orientation of Ireland's public space, especially after Catholic Emancipation, which culminated in

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[44] Nancy Fraser, 'Rethinking the public sphere: a contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy' in *Social Text,* 25 (1990), pp 26-7.

[45] Some work on the extent and influence of coffee-house culture has been done on a British or European basis, but the area has yet to be comprehensively studied in an Irish context. For most recent works see Brian Cowan, *The social life of coffee: the emergence of the British coffeehouse* (New Haven, 2005); Ellis Markman (ed), *Eighteenth century coffee-house culture* (London, 2006).

the Catholic part of the population coming to appropriate Ireland's public sphere.[46] While useful for initiating debate about Irish experiences within the wider European contexts, aspects of Leerssen's argument are overshadowed by the under appreciation of the vibrancy and developed nature of the Irish book trade in the eighteenth-century.

Periodicals played a part in this cultural transfer by encouraging a sense of cohesion amongst 'virtual groups' of individuals who may not be as simply defined as one nation in the Anderson model, but periodicals positioned their readers in a particular way which allowed them to view themselves as cohesive groups in society, defined by any aspect of their lives such as literary taste, gender, religion, occupation or age. As periodical titles became more specialised in the nineteenth century, this phenomenon was even more pronounced (as will be discussed in chapter three). This offered readers a sense of identity which they could relate to, and which gave them a way on interpreting the world. On a broader level, new and different assertions of group identities through print can also be viewed from the perspective of periodical print culture.

It is also important to note the distinctions between different forms of printed matter in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Each of these forms can be defined by the type of audience they were aimed at and, more importantly, the audience they were accessible to. Scholarly interest has tended to be more concerned with the opposite ends of this spectrum – books or newspapers. Books are the most tangible and lasting record of the trade. Newspapers, at the other end, are the most ephemeral

[46] Leerssen, *Hidden Ireland, public sphere*, esp. pp 11-13; 22-8.

format, while also being the most widely distributed. Pamphlets, which fall within the mid-range of the spectrum, are rarely considered independently of the major political controversies in which they played a crucial role. Newspapers, weekly periodicals and to a slightly lesser extent, monthly magazines would seem to have been the most price sensitive productions as their ephemerality meant that they were not seen as an investment.

Within the spectrum of print culture outlined above, definitions are complicated by transfer between the distinguishable levels and magazines and newspapers were one of the main facilitators of this process. The prolific reprinting of extracts from 'high' literature and of book reviews in periodicals and even newspapers compromises the distinct status of 'high' literature from books. For example the content of Droz's *Literary Journal* (1744-9) largely consisted of book reviews, which would mean that its readers would have become familiar with the concepts, ideas and themes of many more books than they were ever likely to read or be able to afford. Other research into less formal structures of reading, such as the Irish hedge schools, highlights the significance of cheap chapbook editions of successful literary texts which would, in some cases, have been less expensive that newspapers.[47] Readers of these editions would not have appeared on subscription lists or circulating library records, but were able to engage with versions of reputable works of literature.

[47] These chapbooks would have been cheaper to buy than newspapers. Ó Ciosán, *Print and popular culture*, p. 187.

These hedge schools also influenced Irish printers in the eighteenth century as they increased the demand for textbooks, a stable and relatively secure investment and source of income. Out of concern for the limited purchasing power of the parents of students of hedge schools, some printers employed cost-cutting measures, such as including two or three texts in the same binding.[48] These books were also likely to have been read by other family members, either through personal reading or oral reception. Ó Ciosáin has noted that such practices of 'vertical reading' are well attested in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Shaw Mason's account of life in a Kilkenny parish suggests:

> The writer has often known *Cox's Magazine* to be read aloud to a crowd of villagers on a Sunday evening, while the people swallowed down every word, and imbided every principle, more deeply instilled by the comments of the reader.[49]

That such a practice was widespread is evidenced by Parisian records which note that the illiterate could go to one of several reading places for six *sous* and listen to the latest news being read aloud.[50] The printers and publishers of these cheaper and more accessible elements of the print culture spectrum might be viewed as cultural mediators in the period, though it should always be remembered that their main motive was to make a profit.

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[48] 'J.J.M.', 'Irish chap books' in *IBL*, 1:12 (Jul., 1910), pp

[49] William Shaw Mason, 'Suggestions for improvement, and means for meliorating the condition of the people [Of Tullaroan, County of Kilkenny, and Diocese of Ossory], *A statistical account or parochial survey of Ireland* (Dublin, 1813), iii, pp 639-640. Also cited in Ó Ciosán, *Print and popular culture*, p. 188.

[50] Anthony Smith, *The newspaper: an international history* (London, 1979), p. 78.

The Atlantic context

An analysis of any aspect of the eighteenth-century Irish book trade would not be complete without viewing it within the context of the Anglo-centric cultural world in which it existed. The book trade has tended to be examined within national boundaries, or in a simple diffusionist model with London as the unchallenged centre of all development in the English speaking world. These approaches take no account of the transatlantic interactions between the peoples and societies of the Americas, Europe and Africa. Using the Atlantic as a unit of study helps to shift the traditional scholarly emphasis away from administrative borders. A historical unit such as the Atlantic Ocean creates an immediate and relevant framework for understanding and appreciation the interaction and networks between people, regions and nations. Studies on the colonial history of the American book have indicated the importance of such a context and have highlighted the value of comparative analysis in understanding the workings of trade and of reading cultures, exploring a system rather than comparing the histories of component parts.[51]

The concept of an abstractly as well as a physically connected British Atlantic world, as forwarded by Pocock's seminal article in the 1970s, has since been taken further by many scholars in various historical disciplines.[52] Contrary to previous assumptions

[51] Alan L Karras and John R. McNeill (eds), *Atlantic American societies* (London, 1992); Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (eds), *Colonial identity in the Atlantic world, 1500-1800* (Princeton, 1987); Hugh Amory and David Hall (eds) *A history of the book in America,* i: *the colonial book in the Atlantic world* (Worcester, 2000); Cole, *Irish writers and booksellers.*

[52] John G.A. Pocock, 'British history: a plea for a new subject', *Journal of Modern History*, 47:4 (1975), pp 601-21. See also for example Kenneth R. Andrews, Nicholas Canny, and Peter E.H. Hair (eds), *The westward enterprise. English activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America, 1480-1650* (Liverpool, 1978); Peggy K. Liss, *Atlantic empires: the network of trade and revolution, 1713-1826* (Baltimore and London, 1983); David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (eds), *The British Atlantic*

about the divisive role of the Atlantic, Steele has shown how the ocean acted as a vital, and generally successful highway for the expansion of English influence.[53] London was the undisputed centre of this British Atlantic world in the period under discussion, but there were also significant provincial centres of importance whose role in the Atlantic book trade (as much else) was crucial at various periods.

Ireland, America and Scotland were geographical (and to varying degrees, provincial) outposts of the British imperial world, and therefore it can be presumed that each experienced comparable forms of British influence in terms of legislation and financial and cultural dominance, though the significance of each fluctuated depending on the changing political and power relations within the Empire. The capitals of America and Scotland, had a comparatively important position to that of Dublin within the Irish trade. The most recent scholarly contribution of Sher further strengthens the basis for such a comparison as his examination of the creation and dissemination of enlightenment texts highlights the crucial role of Dublin and Philadelphian reprints in this Atlantic culture of enlightenment and the important personal connections of booksellers and publishers between these centres.[54]

There is little dispute that Philadelphia was the political and publishing centre of late eighteenth century America. Though officially only becoming the capital of the

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world, 1500-1800 (Basingstoke, 2002); David Armitage, *Greater Britain, 1516-1776: essays in Atlantic history* (Aldershot, 2004); John H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic world: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven, Conn., 2006); Jorge Cañizares-Esquerra and Erik R. Seeman (eds), *The Atlantic in global history, 1500-2000* (New Jersey, 2007).

[53] Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675-1740: an exploration of communication and continuity* (Oxford, 1986).

[54] Richard B. Sher, *The Enlightenment and the book*: Scottish authors and their publishers in eighteenth-century Britain, Ireland, and America (Chicago, 2006).

United States in 1790, the city was crucial as a centre for revolutionary and post revolutionary thought in which the new concepts of the country were being formed. Similarly, in publishing terms, its importance was unquestionable by the beginning of the Revolution, despite printing having been established earlier in both Boston and New York. Both cities boasted similarly dynamic publishing industries to Philadelphia in the late eighteenth century, but it has been argued that printers in Philadelphia produced the widest variety of printed matter throughout the colonies.[55] The trade was also expanding in Baltimore, Charleston, and Albany. Despite the proliferation of political material that was generated with the relocation of the capital city of the new republic from New York, the city's printers also engaged in a variety of non-political publishing ventures which made it distinctive and diverse. During the post-Revolutionary period Philadelphia was home to renaissance man Benjamin Franklin and many other literatures and has been described a contemporary as "the Athens of America".[56] For these reasons it is not unsurprising that the monthly magazine, considered by many such as George Washington as the marker of a culturally sensitive and enlightened society, experienced its most significant developments in Philadelphia in the late eighteenth century. Remer notes that this momentum did not falter until at least the late 1820s, when the publishing houses of New York and Boston gained ascendancy over Philadelphia's trade.[57]

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[55] Rosalind Remer, *Printers and men of capita: Philadelphia book publishers in the New Republic* (Philadelphia, 1996), p. 6.
[56] Nathaniel Hazard (NY) to Mathew Carey, 16 Feb. 1788 (HSP, Carey Papers, Autographed Letter Series).
[57] Remer, *Printers and men of capital,* p. 8.

Edinburgh was similarly central to the development of the Scottish book trade. Up to the mid-eighteenth century the Scottish capital was the main focus for printing and bookselling in Scotland, though the establishment of the Foulis Press in Glasgow in 1741 altered this situation slightly as the Foulises set the standard not only for Scotland but for the rest of Europe.[58] However the cluster of intellectually minded and entrepreneurial publishing houses in late eighteenth-century Edinburgh who were responsible for the world-wide reputation of Scottish Enlightenment, ensured that the capital retained a significant position.[59] With the beginning of the nineteenth century Edinburgh's ascendancy in the area of print culture grew to the point where it could be argued that it took the limelight from London and also became a great centre of social eminence too. The publishing axis between the two capitals which had been so strong in the previous century diminished in importance and Edinburgh, partly through the international reputation of its periodicals such as *The Edinburgh Review* (1802-1929) and *Blackwood's Magazine* (1817-1980).[60]

Another significant link between these centres was the movement of book trade personnel between these countries. This phenomenon was not directly influenced by any tie to the over-arching London print trade, though certainly indirectly affected by imperial expansion and policies. For example, during this period the numbers of London printers making the transatlantic journey was minute when compared with the

[58] For the early development of the Scottish book trade see Harold G. Aldis, *A list of books printed before 1700* (Edinburgh, 1904) and Alastair J. Mann, *The Scottish book trade, 1500-1720: print commerce and print control in early modern Scotland* (East Lothian, 2000).

[59] Sher provides the most recent and succinct account of this group in *The Enlightenment and the book*, particularly chapters 1-6, pp 43-442.

[60] Studies by Frank D. Tredrey, *The House of Blackwood, 1804-1954* (Edinburgh and London, 1954) and David Finkelstein, *The House of Blackwood: author-publisher relations in the Victorian era* (University Park, P.A., 2002) provide the best general background into the vast histories of these titles.

numbers of Irish and Scottish personnel.[61] From the 1780s these Irish immigrants began to be accompanied by growing numbers of political exiles who had become embroiled in opposition or radical movements. They included printer and newspaper proprietor Mathew Carey and John Nevin, a rebel commander during the 1798 rising.[62] Irish book trade personnel have a long history of involvement in the printing trade of the United States. Cole has identified over one hundred such people who left the Irish trade between 1750 and 1820, and that list is not exhaustive.[63] Other than Cole's work, no study has attempted to ascertain the importance of this group and their impact on the American publishing trade in its formative states of development. This thesis will address an aspect of this gap discussing the influence of Irish printers and publishers on the periodical trade.

Structure

Focusing on the development of the Irish periodical, this study locates this printed genre within the wider history of print culture in the Atlantic world, with particular attention to Scotland and America, and particularly to Edinburgh and Philadelphia, from 1770 to 1830. The structure and methodologies of this examination reflect the interdisciplinary nature of the academic strands which contributed to the project. Bibliographic examination and literary consideration of content are central to the analysis of the historical place of the Irish periodical. The comparative element of the assessment draws on the historical framework of Atlantic history.

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[61] Cole, *Irish booksellers*, Appendix 1.
[62] Kerby Miller, Arnold Schrier, Bruce D. Boling and David N. Doyle (eds), *Irish immigrants in the land of Canaan. Letters and memoirs from colonial and revolutionary America, 1675-1815* (Oxford, 2003), p. 4.
[63] Cole, *Irish booksellers*, Appendix 1.

Chapter one establishes the nature of the book trade in the English-speaking Atlantic world from the early eighteenth to the early nineteenth century. London was the centre of this trading network, but after the mid-century, the cities of Edinburgh, Dublin and Philadelphia became important focal points for the further distribution of London produced texts as well as points of origin for new printed products. London was also the dominant force in a wider sense as it dictated trends and fashions in printed matter which were imitated and transmitted, via the other major print centres throughout the Atlantic world. The peripheries of the British empire absorbed and adapted London fashion relative to regional and local abilities and tastes. Chapter two assesses the nature of the first periodicals to appear in Ireland, Scotland and America and the effect of these London imports on the regional print trade. The periodical format is one example of a process of cultural adoption from the metropolitan centre; it became a form that was initially successfully developed in London, and then adopted and adapted in the provincial parts of the empire.

This study is largely based on examinations of the surviving periodicals themselves, specifically the ninety Irish monthly and quarterly periodicals analysed in bibliographic terms in chapter three. Following on from this physical context, their aims and content are discussed in chapter four and the commercial aspects of the periodical trade are highlighted in chapter five. Chapter six includes a comparative physical, content and commercial examination of the Irish, Scottish and American magazines, with particular attention to titles published in Dublin, Edinburgh and

Philadelphia. The lists of titles on which all of these examinations are based are included in appendices. They were compiled from surviving lists, library catalogues, secondary sources and physical examinations and may be open to some revision, particularly in the case of the American and Scottish lists. Mott's *History of American Magazines* (1938), a 'Chronological list of periodicals in the Library Company of Philadelphia' available at the Library Company of Philadelphia, and Albaugh's work on religious periodicals and newspapers (1994) are the most instructive bibliographic resources on American periodicals. The quantitative work on the eighteenth-century Scottish periodical is less complete with Couper's two volume *Edinburgh periodical press* (1908) written a century ago as one of the main resources. The nineteenth-century Scottish periodical is well recorded by North's *Waterloo directory of Scottish newspapers and periodicals* (1986). These surviving periodicals form the single most important source, particularly for the Irish periodical, as virtually no manuscript materials survive from the Irish periodical editors or publishers included in this study.

Chapter One

The Atlanticization of the book trade

The Irish book trade has, since its origins, been deeply connected to the English, and specifically the London trade, operating for much of its first century of business as a direct offshoot of various London firms, thriving on London reprints for much of the eighteenth century and adapting in the early nineteenth century as a direct result of British legislation.[1] These associations linked Ireland to the widening British Atlantic commercial empire, and to the Atlantic book trade. This widening Atlantic print culture also encompassed the book trades of other print centres developing under the not insubstantial shadow of the London trade. This chapter will briefly outline the movement towards an integrated Atlantic economy and the nature of the book trade in this world. Unlike other Atlantic trades, the book trade remained focused on the major production and distribution centre of London where the major business interests and financial capital of the book trade were tightly embedded. However, the emergence of the provincial capitals of Dublin, Edinburgh and Philadelphia (U.S. capital from 1790 to 1800) as important regional and inter-regional outposts of production, consumption and book distribution, a broad comparative analysis of the Atlantic book trade, is possible. The reasons for the rise of these secondary centres will be examined, as well as the main issues that faced those operating within the Atlantic book trade, such as British legislation and

[1] For more evidence on early Irish printing in the sixteenth century see Donald B. Quinn, 'Government printing and the publication of the Irish Statutes in the sixteenth century' in *Proc. RIA*, 60C (1943), pp 45-129; Donald B. Quinn, 'Information about Dublin printers, 1556-1573, in English financial records' in *IBL*, 28, (1941), pp 112-5; Robert J. Hunter, 'John Gwillim and the Dublin book trade in 1614' in *Long Room*, 36 (1991), p. 17. For the seventeenth century see Gillespie, *Reading Ireland*.

censorship, the relative position of London, the dominance of British copyright holders, and the importance of reprints. Finally, this chapter will discuss the changing nature of the Atlantic world as a concept and as a book trade environment in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

London and the development of the Atlantic book trade

The economy of the Atlantic world was expanding, accelerating and integrating throughout the period of this study, and British interests were encouraging and capitalizing on these developments. From the late seventeenth century, integration of the American colonies had been a major feature of the British Atlantic system. By 1730 all but two of the chartered colonies had royal governors and the British administrative presence was entrenched by increased numbers of British officials in the colonies. The establishment of the intercolonial post office and the success in establishing regular trans-Atlantic shipping further integrated the North American and Caribbean colonies into the British Atlantic system.[2] Alongside the branches of government control were charitable groups who established strong communities and institutions which aimed to strengthen the Anglican presence in the colonies also.[3] The commercial potential of transatlantic enterprise was of great import to the original British motivations for trans-Atlantic exploration and by the eighteenth century the ocean had become an important conduit, not only for imperial ambitions but for business connections, international migrations and the transfer of capital,

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[2] David D. Hall, 'The Atlantic economy in the eighteenth century' in Hugh Amory and David D. Hall (eds), *The history of the book in America*: i, *the colonial book in the Atlantic world* (Cambridge, 2003), pp 152-3. Connecticut and Rhode Island were the only colonies without royal governors; Pennsylvania and Maryland were the sole remaining proprietorships.

[3] Some useful background to these issues can be found in Richard Vaudry, *Anglicans and the Atlantic world: high churchmen, evangelicals and the Quebec connection* (Montreal, 2003).

which together created an integrated transatlantic economy and communications network.[4] In 1729, Defoe articulated the importance of trade and international commerce in contemporary terms when he wrote that the '*Trading Nations* of the World are now becoming infinitely superior in Wealth and Power, to those ... *Fighting Nations*', a superiority which he claimed was gained not through government policy, prudent counsels, or the valour of troops, but through 'the *Increase of their Commerce*'.[5]

The economic integration of the Atlantic system was furthered by the increasing movement of people across the Atlantic after 1680. The American colonies proved a very attractive location for voluntary settlement for various groups of European migrants, as the economy was expanding faster than the British in this period, and immigrants were generally guaranteed freedom from religious persecution.[6] By the early eighteenth century, Pennsylvania had attracted thousands of Germans. Many other protestant immigrants also crossed the Atlantic from Ireland (mostly Ulster), Scotland and France.[7] Colonial immigrants were overwhelmingly economic

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[4] For detailed studies of London's central role in Atlantic business interests see Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675-1740: an exploration of communication and community* (Oxford, 1986) and David Hancock, *Citizens of the world: London merchants and the integration of the British Atlantic community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge, 1995). For more general consideration of the development of Atlantic commerce see Jacob M. Price, *The Atlantic frontier of the thirteen American colonies and states: essays in eighteenth-century commercial and social history* (Aldershot, 1996); Jacob M. Price, *Overseas trade and traders: essays on some commercial, financial and political challenges facing British Atlantic merchants, 1660-1775* (Aldershot, 1996); John J. McCusker and Kenneth Morgan (eds), *The early modern Atlantic economy* (Cambridge, 2000).

[5] Daniel Defoe, *The advantages of peace and commerce; with some remarks on the East-India trade* (London, 1729), p. 3. Emphasis from original.

[6] Hall, 'Atlantic economy', pp 152-3.

[7] See Annette K. Burgert, *Eighteenth century emigrants from German-speaking lands to North America* (Breinigsville, Pa., 1985); David Wilson (ed), *Ulster Presbyterians in the Atlantic world: religion, politics and identity* (Dublin, 2006); Douglas J. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic world, 1750-1820* (Manchester, 2005); Patrick Griffin, *The people with no name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, Scots, America's Scots Irish, and the creation of a British Atlantic world, 1689-1764*

migrants who were largely literate, establishing churches and educational institutions upon arrival. Despite fluctuations in the colonial economy for much of the eighteenth century, the wealth of the colonies and these immigrant communities steadily increased.[8] Although the dominant place of the West Indies as the richest source of colonial trade within the British Atlantic empire was not threatened in this period, the export trade from Britain to the mainland colonies continued to increase and by the eighteenth century the North American consumer market was an important facet of the British Atlantic economy.[9]

In the same period London secured its position as the centre of the British Atlantic empire through a mercantile system that increased imperial and political strength, as much as through military force.[10] London occupied a strategic position in English trade, and as the domestic market became more national through regional integration and overseas markets became more global, the scope for London's involvement increased. The city's ports were a junction for provincial and overseas markets, and through the re-export trade, for overseas producers and consumers. London's dominance can also be explained by the city's importance as the centre of trading capital for the British Atlantic system. The financial revolution of the late seventeenth century, which led to greater funding for expansion and government expenditure, was followed by a commercial revolution in the eighteenth century

(Princeton, 2001); Bradly G. Bond (ed), *French colonial Louisiana and the Atlantic world* (Baton Rouge, La. and London, 2005).

[8] For more general discussion of Protestant movement across the Atlantic see Colin Kidd, *The forging of races: race and scripture in the Protestant Atlantic world, 1600-2000* (Cambridge, 2006).

[9] See John McCusker and Russell R. Menard (eds), *The economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill, 1985), p. 39.

[10] The most recent and detailed analysis of the city's trade and economy can be found in Ian Gadd and Patrick Wallis (eds), *Guilds, society and economy in London, 1450-1800* (London, 2002).

which, accompanied by provincial industrialization, led to London assuming a more varied but still widely dominant position within the British Atlantic empire.[11]

For the history of the book, the story of the Atlantic's economic, political and social development and integration was one of varied development, with London remaining as the centre of production, exportation and influence in terms of legislation and fashion. By the early eighteenth century many manufacturing trades had removed the processing aspects of their work outside the city, but this trend was not replicated in the book trade or the related trades of binding or engraving. This pattern of remaining London-centred was replicated in many of the bespoke trades.[12] In terms of many Atlantic commodity exports too, London's central position was diluted throughout the eighteenth century, but the city was still the main point of export for books and printed materials.[13] This distinctive situation probably developed as a result of the dominant role of the Stationers' Company of London in the British book trade. Its charter of 1557, along with the Printing Act of 1662, ensured that printing in England and Wales was concentrated in London (and

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[11] A good summary of the development of London's ports can be found in Roy Porter, *London: a social history* (London, 2000), pp 164-75.

[12] By 1800, mining and textile industries created independent growth-centres in the Midlands and the North, in South Wales and Scotland. For a general overview of the Industrial Revolution in England see E.A. Wrigley, *Continuity, chance and change: the character of the industrial revolution in England* (Cambridge, 1988). For more specific studies of how the industrial revolution effected areas outside London see Norman Maccord and David John Rowe, *Northumberland and Durham: industry in the nineteenth century* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1971); S.R.H. Jones, *John English and Co., Feckenham: a study of enterprise in the West Midlands needle industry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (London, 1980); David Oldroyd, *Estates, enterprise and investment at the dawn of the industrial revolution: estate management and accounting in the North-East of England, c. 1700-1780* (Aldershot, 2007).

[13] The ports of Liverpool and Glasgow became very important export centres for various Atlantic trades. Particular studies of note on these Atlantic trading ports include Sheryllynne Haggerty, *The British-Atlantic trading community, 1760-1810* (Leiden and Boston, 2006) and Tom Devine, *The tobacco lords: a study of the tobacco merchants of Glasgow and their trading activities, c. 1740-90* (2nd ed, Edinburgh, 1990).

the learned centres of Oxford and Cambridge). The tight control of copyrighted texts by London-based interests in the trade was another significant factor.[14] London was also the source of legislation which impacted on the book trades of the British Atlantic world, either in the form of censorship directly from Westminster or as a result of hard lobbying from the main stake-holders of the London copyright monopolies.[15]

Paradoxically, London dominance of the English provincial book trade may have encouraged the growth of printing and publishing in the provincial capitals of the empire. Local, regional, and provincial print producers had the advantage over English provincial towns of different and often more advantageous legal and economic environments. These conditions enabled them to compete with and to rival London-based firms and their products. An integrated and connected Atlantic book trade resulted from this rising production in the peripheries of the Anglophone world. The ethnic and religious make-up of the colonies was particularly significant for the development of book trade markets as they were relatively wealthy,

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[14] For a general history of the London Stationer's Company see Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: a history, 1703-1959* (London, 1960). See also Laurence Hanson, *Government and the press, 1697-1763* (Oxford, 1936). For the effect of this centralized control on the Irish book trade see Mary Pollard, 'Control of the press in Ireland through the King's Printer's patent, 1600-1800' in *Irish Booklore*, iv, 2 (1980), p. 79. For detailed discussions of the role of the King's Printer in Ireland see Ernest Reginald McClintock Dix, 'Printing restrictions in Ireland' in *Ireland* (Feb., 1905), pp 589-99; Pollard, 'Control of the press in Ireland', pp 79-95; William J. Hammond, 'The King's Printers in Ireland, 1551-1919' in *Dublin Historical Record*, 11 (1950), pp 29-31, 58-64, 88-96.

[15] The preamble of the Stationers' Company charter reads: 'Know ye that we, considering and manifestly perceiving that certain seditious and heretical books rhymes and treatises are daily published and printed by diverse scandalous malicious schismatical and heretical persons, not only moving our subjects and lieges to sedition and disobedience against us, our crown and dignity, but also to renew and move very great and detestable heresies against the faith and sound catholic doctrine of Holy Mother Church, and wishing to provide a suitable remedy in this behalf' cited in Edward Arber, ed., *A transcript of the registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554-1640* (5 vols, New York, 1950), i, p. xxviii.

interested in education and improvement, and the printed word held an important place in their religious lives. The rise in patriot politics, coffee-shop culture, Enlightenment thought, improving societies and religious charities coupled with increasing populations and literacy levels also fuelled local demand for locally produced print and for further distribution networks.[16] These positive factors were tempered by the difficulties of colonial print production as printers suffered from tight credit, dispersed markets and poor transportation, as well as the scarcity of printing materials.[17] These factors coupled with the increasing interest of British book merchants and agents to respond to the demand for printed material arising across the empire, stimulated the integration and expansion of the Atlantic book trade.

The rise of Dublin, Edinburgh and Philadelphia

While London was the undisputed centre of publishing in the British Atlantic book trade in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the thousands of reprints which were produced in this period provide tangible evidence of the evolution of other print centres of some significance. Using the example of the spread and success of Scottish Enlightenment culture in the Atlantic world, Sher has identified Dublin, Edinburgh and Philadelphia as the next most pivotal print centres outside of London in terms of the Atlantic trade. Cursory figures on the location of imprints in the *English Short-Title Catalogue* for the second half of the eighteenth-century put

[16] The most succinct analysis for the increasing spread of print and literacy in colonial North America can be found in William L. Joyce, David D. Hall, Richard D. Brown and John B. Hench (eds), *Printing and society in early America* (Worcester, Mass., 1983).
[17] For a detailed analysis of the conditions, and particularly the difficulties of business, for colonial American printers see Laurence C. Worth, *The colonial printer* (2nd ed., New York and London, 1994).

Dublin just ahead of Edinburgh, with both cities producing c.14,000 items, with Philadelphia next producing approximately 9,000 items in the same period.[18] Despite the limitations of this resource in terms of coverage of reprints, these figures point out the relative similarities in the sizes of the Dublin and Edinburgh trades but not the type of material produced in each. Edinburgh, as the centre of the Scottish Enlightenment thought and publishing, undoubtedly produced more original material than Dublin. In practical terms the Scottish book trade may have been closer to the London trade, particularly considering the close and clannish Edinburgh-London publishing axis.[19] Dublin and Philadelphia were more similar in terms of the type of material they produced. Reprints of London and Edinburgh titles were their staple fodder in terms of book publishing, though each had a lively newspaper, periodical and pamphlet culture which focused on local and national issues.[20] The collective experiences of these secondary print centres can provide further evidence of the evolving and integrated nature of the Atlantic book trade in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, while separately they demonstrate the role of print in creating national identities which led to a very different and possibly disconnected Atlantic world (despite more and faster communications) by the end of the period.

There were several major issues which effected the development of the Atlantic book trade. Each print centre had to structure their trade to work within the imposed

[18] Sher, *The Enlightenment and the book*, p. 443. Sher notes that his initial count in 1997 did not differ greatly from one completed in January 2006. Present count taken August 2007 also showed little change in Sher's figures.
[19] See Sher's analysis of the Edinburgh-London publishing axis, ibid., pp 265-326.
[20] Ibid., pp 443-4, 503.

legislation which came from London as these issues determined the success of the reprint industry in that area and the development of national literatures. The Act for the Encouragement of Learning, passed by the British Parliament in 1710 as a result of intense lobbying by the book trade there, had the single biggest impact on the Atlantic book trade in the eighteenth century.[21] While it offered protection to copyright holders in Britain, it did not extend this privilege to Ireland or America. Despite a further 1739 Act which prevented cheap Irish reprints from being imported into England, a prosperous reprint industry began in Ireland serving mostly a local market. In 1778, trade restrictions were further reduced which led to significant new markets for the Irish export and reprint trade, particularly to the American colonies.[22] By the 1730s Scottish publishers had learned the importance of the reprint trade and began to reproduce British titles they no longer considered to be under copyright. These they sold locally and, more controversially, in the English provinces, much to the dissatisfaction of the London trade who objected, on the basis of what they saw as common-law rights and property which predated the Copyright Act.[23] The North American colonists had also began reprinting British copyright material, though it was not until after 1760 that this practice became a major feature of the colonial economy, with some evidence to suggest that this increase was due to the growing number of Irish and Scottish book trade personnel flooding the American trade who were well used to disregarding British

[21] John Feather, *A history of British publishing* (2nd ed., London, 2006), pp 70-76.
[22] Cole deals extensively with the Irish reprint trade and discusses the movement of Irish reprints to America. Cole, *Irish booksellers*, see especially, pp 41-61, 148-72, 173-93.
[23] The London copyright holders objected on the basis of what they saw as common-law rights which predated the Copyright Act.

copyright.[24] Robert Bell was an example of one such printer. He began in the Scottish trade and spent almost a decade in Dublin and then moved to British North America in 1768. His operations, and those of many other colonial printers and booksellers, ensured that the practice of reprinting British copyrighted material was well-established by the beginning of the American Revolution.[25]

Commercial connections between the colonies and the Irish and Scottish centres were cultivated and maintained by these immigrant booksellers through their commercial and family contacts across the Atlantic. These networks also created reliable trading networks for the distribution of Irish and Scottish reprints in the American market. Dublin bookseller Patrick Byrne sent an unsolicited package of books to Mathew Carey, an expatriate Irish bookseller in Philadelphia – an initiative which initiated a lengthy and profitable business network for the movement of Irish and American reprints.[26] Another example of an Irish bookseller producing material specifically for the American export market was John Chambers. In late 1792 Chambers sent copies of his quarto edition of Guthrie's *Geography* to the Irish publisher Mathew Carey in the United States. In an accompanying letter he sought feedback from Carey about improvement he could make to the next edition that he was proposing to produce specifically for the American market, as he was not certain of the standards and tastes of the American market.[27] Even after his move to

[24] 'Introduction' in Amory and Hall (eds), *Colonial book*; Feather, *British publishing*, pp 70-8.
[25] On Robert Bell, see Pollard, *Dublin's trade*, pp 109-10.
[26] Patrick Byrne to Mathew Carey, 18 Sept. 1788 (H.S.P., Lea and Febiger Papers). For an analysis of this relationship, see Vincent Kinane, '"Literary food" for the American market: Patrick Byrne's exports to Mathew Carey' in *Proc. of the AAS,* 104, pt. 2 (1994), pp 315-32.
[27] John Chambers to Mathew Carey, 12 Apr. 1792 (H.S.P., Edward Carey-Gardiner Collection, Mathew Carey Papers).

the United States in 1801, Patrick Byrne, another Dublin bookseller, continued to sell Irish rather than American reprints. He was importing from his warehouse in Dublin which he reported was more 'extensively stocked than any in Ireland'.[28] The success of this policy was proved by Thomas Jefferson's preference for Dublin editions of British law books; Jefferson's library had Irish editions in his library and over twenty were from Byrne.[29] Chambers and Byrne are just two examples of Irish booksellers' ability to adapt and innovate in order to continue in their trade. During a period of uncertainty and decline in the Irish book market they sensed an opportunity in the growing and prospering American book trade and invested considerable time and energy in this aspect of their business.

The concerns of the London trade over cheap reprints were certainly merited as the price difference was often quite significant. The increasing market in the colonies for printed reading material was also significant in this regard as Irish publishers could legally export and market their reprints to this audience. Throughout the eighteenth century Irish, Scottish and American printers and booksellers, and their counterparts in other print centres outside the British capital, repeatedly advertised the significant savings to be had from indigenous reprints and the London trade regularly acted to curb these advantages. Exemption for copyright payment coupled

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[28] *Aurora*, 28 Apr. 1802.

[29] Thomas Jefferson, E Millicent Sowerby, *Catalogue of the library of Thomas Jefferson* (5 vols, Washington, 1952-1959). This catalogue is made up from Jefferson's own handwritten catalogue which he began in 1783 and continued adding to until 1814. He had approx. 6,487 volumes with 4,889 separate titles. The library was sold to the Library of Congress in 1815 for $23,950. It can be interrogated online at www.librarything.com/profile/thomasjefferson and through the catalogues of the Library of Congress. Cole has suggested that 24 items from the Jefferson's library are identifiable as Byrne imprints, though the online catalogue suggests a higher number, though not all law books. See also Cole, *Irish booksellers and English writers,* p. 187.

with the availability of cheaper paper, leather and labour all enabled booksellers in cities such as Dublin, Edinburgh and Philadelphia to undersell their London counterparts.[30] However in the late eighteenth century, as the price difference between native and imported editions became a well-established fact among Irish book purchasers, advertising tended to appeal to potential buyers in a different way. The rise of patriot issues from the 1770s may have contributed to the increase in advertisements suggesting that:

> however inferior IRELAND may be in wealth and commerce to GREAT BRITAIN, Irishmen are not deficient in enterprize [sic] and industry, and that they need only encouragement to become as eminent in trade (for which Nature qualifies their country) as they have ever been renowned for valour and steady loyalty.[31]

These are the words that accompanied the Dublin reprint of the third edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* during the 1790s published by the Catholic bookseller James Moore. In his preface Moore went further suggesting that he was glad to serve 'a discerning and liberal Nation' of readers. He hoped that his readers would appreciate the 'merit and consequence of the work' as well as its 'intrinsic value and importance' to the country.[32] In this period, the key issue of economic patriotism was to identify where objects had been made and by whom, rather than to laud their appearance. Therefore the purchase of native manufactures could be a

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[30] For further details of the Irish trade's ability to manufacture cheaper goods see also *Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council, appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations ...* (Dublin, 1785) and John Holroyd, *Observations on the manufactures, trade, and present state of Ireland. Part the first* (London, 1785), p.19. Specifically relating to the book trade, Pollard discusses cheap Irish editions in *Dublin's trade,* pp 115-6 and cheaper printing costs in Ireland, pp 130-1.

[31] 'Preface', *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (20 vols, Dublin, 1791-98), i, (Copy B, T.C.D.); xviii, (Copy A, T.C.D.).

[32] Ibid. *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* xviii (Copy A, T.C.D.).

gesture of solidarity with the 'patriot' party, and it is to this rhetoric and sentiment that many Irish booksellers appealed in the latter decades of the century.[33] Another patriotic argument used by Irish publishers that of the economic value of an Irish-produced purchase. One such example comes from George Faulkner's advertisement for the Dublin edition of *A compleat History of England* by Tobias Smollett in 1758:

> Subscribers names will be printed as patriots to encourage this work, which is, and will be printed on Irish letter, Irish paper, and Irish ink; which manufactures have been encouraged and promoted by the parliament of this kingdom ...[34]

Similar tactics to remove the stigma of being a 'mere reprint' were developed in America. In Thomas Dobson's first advertisement for an American edition of the third edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in June 1789, he emphasised that the work was locally produced; 'every part' of his *Encyclopaedia* would be 'executed by American artists'.[35] Dobson was certainly following a precedent established by other American publishers who made a selling point of using American materials. His innovation was to particularly focus on his American produced engravings rather than simply his use of American manufactured paper which was more common among other publishers' advertisements. It was more usual for American publishers to note that they used British engravings as they were seen as a prestigious selling point in a work. By the end of his edition in 1803, which

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[33] For further discussion of 'patriotic purchasing' of many manufactured goods see Sarah Foster, 'Buying Irish: consumer nationalism in eighteenth-century Dublin' in *History Today*, 47 (Jun., 1997), pp 44-51.

[34] From the advertisement for George Faulkner's Dublin edition of *A compleat History of England* by Tobias Smollett in 8 volumes, *Pue's Occurrences*, 22-25 Apr. 1758.

[35] *Advertisement for the first American edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Philadelphia, 1789).

included 18 volumes and 3 supplemental volumes, Dobson pressed had employed more than fifteen American engravers.[36] In terms of patriotic publishing and purchasing, it is note worthy that both the Irish and American reprints of the third edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* became known by their native publishers: the Irish edition became known as Moore's *Encyclopaedia* and the American edition as Dobson's *Encyclopaedia*.[37]

The question of the duration of copyright intended by the 1710 legislation was finalized in 1774 in the legal proceedings and judgment that unfolded with the *Donaldson v Beckett* case. Alexander Donaldson was an Edinburgh bookseller who had been successfully selling his reprints in the provincial towns of mid and North England. His business became more of a threat to the London copyright holders when he opened a bookshop in London with a view to selling his Scottish reprints and also as a result of his bold move to issue his own edition of Thomson's *Season's* as soon as the twenty-eight year copyright ended. These moves pushed the London booksellers to press charges, but as the initial case was heard in a Scottish court of law under more loosely defined ideas of copyright, the metropolitan interests lost out. The British House of Lords ruled in favour of the Scottish trade that it was not in the public's best interest to have London publishers control books through copyright in perpetuity.[38] However this decision was not the explanation for the booming book trades in Ireland, Scotland and America in the last quarter of

[36] For individual analysis of each engraver see Robert Arner, *Dobson's "Encyclopaedia": the publisher, text, and publication of America's first "Britannica", 1789-1803* (Philadelphia, 1991).
[37] For use of 'Dobson's Encyclopaedia' see Samuel Gilman, *Contributions to literature; descriptive, critical, humorous, biographical, philosophical, and poetical* (Boston, 1856), p. 13 and Thaddeus William Harris, *A treatise on some of the insects of New England which are injurious to vegetation* (Boston, 1862).
[38] Feather, *History of British publishing,* pp 80-2; Sher, *The Enlightenment and the book,* pp 28, 313-6.

the century, for it is quite evident that there was significant growth in these markets before 1774.[39] Freedom from the restrictions of British copyright law had never meant an uncontrolled press in Ireland, Scotland or the American colonies. The British and local administrations flexed their muscles several times during the eighteenth century, with varying degrees of success. One of the main weapons used to control the press was the practice of subsidising newspapers in exchange for a positive attitude towards the administration.[40] In Ireland press involvement in the opposition to Wood's Halfpence between 1723 and 1725 made Dublin Castle fearful of the power of the newspaper press, and it was this genre of the book trade that was to be most restricted throughout the century. Nevertheless the 1720s and the late 1740s brought forth a new crop of printers, publishers and editors in Dublin willing to test the limits of editorial freedom by including critical articles and publications. Polemical newspapers, notably *The Censor* (1749-50) edited by Charles Lucas, changed the face of Irish newspaper printing by demonstrating that newspapers could deal with political issues despite government disapproval.[41] Their success in gaining and fostering an Irish audience for domestic news also proved that the newspaper press could be a dynamic forum for political debates which were previously limited to the pamphlet press. This development was also positive for the book trade as newspapers provided a more secure and regular income for publishers that was significantly supplemented from advertising revenue, which was an

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[39] Sher, *The Enlightenment and the book,* p. 29.
[40] Munter, *History of Irish newspapers,* pp 148-50.
[41] Seán Murphy, 'Charles Lucas and the Dublin election of 1748-49' in *Parliamentary History,* 2 (1983), pp 93-111; Seán Murphy, 'Charles Lucas, Catholicism and nationalism' in *ECI,* 8 (1993), pp 83-102; Jim Smyth, 'Republicanism before the United Irishmen: the case of Dr. Charles Lucas' in D. George Boyce, Robert Eccleshall and Vincent Geoghegan (eds), *Political discourse in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ireland* (Houndmills, 2001), pp 240-56.

important development in the commercialization of the trade. Sales of pamphlets, although more easily produced in times of heightened political tensions, were more unpredictable in their sale than a regularly appearing newspaper.

The rise of patriotic feeling in the colonies in the 1760s and 1770s and in Ireland in the 1770s and 1780s fuelled all aspects of the book trades and ensured further participation in the trade. These environments also made the business of printing and publishing more precarious as legislatures and administrations became more sensitive to subversive print materials. Boston publisher Isaiah Thomas was forced to relocate his printing business to Worcester, many miles outside the city, three days before the Battle of Concord, in order to ensure the safety of himself and his equipment.[42] The treatment and forced exile of Dublin newspaper publisher Mathew Carey in 1784 was a clear indicator to the Dublin trade that the Castle was willing and capable of silencing its critics. Carey, having already once fled Dublin following his announcement of an inflammatory pamphlet, was finally forced to emigrate for good when his newspaper the *Volunteers' Journal* (1783-6), published an illustration of John Foster, the then Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer, hanging from a noose for his crimes against Ireland.[43] After days of hiding in a room to avoid detection arrest for seditious libel, Carey was forced to flee to Philadelphia, allegedly in the guise of a woman.[44] This episode led to Foster pushing a libel bill

[42] Isaiah Thomas, *The history of printing in America, with a biography of printers & an account of newspapers,* edited by Marcus A. McCorison from the second edition (New York, 1970), pp 165-8.
[43] *Volunteers' Journal,* 5, 9 Apr. 1784.
[44] James N. Green, *Mathew Carey. Publisher and patriot* (Philadelphia, 1985), p. 4.

through the House of Commons which was described by opponents as a bill of resentment for his personal grievances against Carey's newspaper article.[45]

Despite the bitter and harsh nature of Foster's Libel Act and other attentions of government ministers, it could be argued that the printing trades in Ireland, Scotland and America in this period aimed to maximize their clientele through non-partisan publishing policies as long as possible. This was evident in the years before the American Revolution and the period of Irish patriotic politics. Isaiah Thomas was an example of this attitude in the American sphere, as was Patrick Byrne in Ireland.[46] Byrne was one of the most successful Catholic booksellers of the 1790s, who once wrote: 'I have but one principal in trade, which is to make money of it'.[47] This attitude was likely fostered by the ever-increasing public appetite for news of political debates, reform, war and general reading material.[48]

'The war which is desolating this sanguinary quarter of the globe' was how one Dublin bookseller accounted for the general decline of the Irish and British book trades in the 1790s.[49] More specifically, the war had caused a shortage of paper, as

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[45] For a discussion of Foster's official career see A.P.W. Malsomson, *John Foster: the politics of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy* (Oxford, 1978), pp 32-110.

[46] In his history of printing in American Thomas noted that it was originally his decision that his paper should be free to both parties which agitated in the country; it would impartially lay before the public their respective comments. Thomas, *The history of printing in America,* p. 164.

[47] See Kinane, 'Patrick Byrne's exports to America', p. 329.

[48] Recent works relating to the amount and importance of printed materials in the 1790s demonstrate this point, particularly W.J. McCormack, *The pamphlet debate on the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, 1797-1800* (Dublin, 1996); O'Brien, '*The Northern Star,* 1792-1797', pp 7-23; Danny Mansergh, 'The union and the importance of public opinion' in Dáire Keogh and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Acts of Union: the causes, contexts and consequences of the Act of Union* (Dublin and Portland, OR, 2001), pp 126-39.

[49] John Chambers to Mathew Carey, Mar. 1794 (H.S.P., Edward Carey-Gardiner Collection, Mathew Carey Papers).

France was the largest paper supplier for the trade.[50] The Irish book-trade was further impeded by a tax imposed by the Irish parliament on imported paper in 1795; this was intended to encourage domestic paper manufacture, but the indigenous paper producers could not produce enough of the right quality to sustain demand.[51] For both the Irish and American book trades war, coupled with local tensions such as the success of the Volunteer Movement and the growing popularity of the Society of United Irishmen in Ireland, Shays' Rebellion (1786-7), the Whiskey Rebellion (1794) and divisions over the national debt in America in the 1790s, led to increasingly repressive measures. In both cases the newspaper press, the principal agents of these public controversies, suffered from government attentions as a result.

The organs of the United Irishmen became targets for Dublin Castle as the government dealt with the potential threat of a French invasion. In January 1792 the *Northern Star* newspaper was established in Belfast and aimed to reflect the political viewpoint of the United Irishmen and within four years the paper had the largest circulation of any newspaper in Ireland.[52] The British government lost a court case against the newspaper in its opening year, and the newspapers barrister John Philpot Curran went on to defend several prominent United Irishmen in high

[50] Phillips's study of 500 books for watermarks found extensive use of French paper, p. 186.
[51] Evidence of the complaints of Irish booksellers and publishers can be found in *Exshaw's Magazine* (Feb., 1778), pp 124-5 which reported that John Exshaw and seven other prominent Irish book trade personnel presented a petition to the House of Commons against the lack of quality Irish paper and high taxes on imports. See also Phillips, *Printing and bookselling*, pp 170-1.
[52] Despite the fact that newspaper sales fell in the south-west Ulster catchment area of the *Northern Star*, the circulation figures, when compared with rivals such as the *Belfast Newsletter* are impressive. See MacDonald, 'South Ulster in the age of the United Irishmen', pp 226-42.

treason throughout the 1790s.[53] After running for over five years, the *Northern Star* was suppressed by the military in 1797, an event which led to the matter being raised in the British House of Lords.[54] In Dublin, another newspaper, *The Press* (1797-8) was started to fill the gap left by the cessation of the *Northern Star*. It was immensely influential, but it lasted only five months before its printing press was destroyed in March 1798. In Cork the *Harp of Erin* had a life of fourteen days.[55] The introduction of another Stamp Act in March 1798 resulted in the closure of numerous other Irish newspapers; only one opposition newspaper was left in Dublin, the *Morning Post*, and it ceased publication four days later. For a city that had supported up to ten newspapers in the 1780s, the loss of all but five titles in the space of one year, was exceptional. Two of the surviving titles existed in subdued neutrality, and three were supported by government proclamations.[56]

Despite gaining independence in 1783, the American colonies remained connected to the British Atlantic trading world and that of the Atlantic book trade. Haggerty has argued that the War of Independence was 'just another [economic] disturbance', in the long list of financial crises of the eighteenth century Atlantic world.[57] The difficulties experienced by the New Republic in dealing with press developments

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[53] Francis Larkin (ed), *The trail of William Drennan on a trial for sedition, in the year 1794 and his intended defence* (Dublin, 1991).
[54] The Earl of Moira, *Parliamentary register; or, history of the proceedings of the debates in the House of the Lords and Commons,* iv (London, 1798), 241.
[55] Inglis, *The freedom of the Irish press,* pp 92-113.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Haggerty, *British-Atlantic trading community,* p. 8. This is not to say that the relationships between the United States and Britain did not change at all; they did, but gradually. The United States was unable to substantially develop its manufacturing industry until the early nineteenth century, and so continued to be reliant upon English manufactures. Many goods such as spices, groceries, tea and silk also continued to be distributed to the US through Britain. During the early years of the new Republic, attempts were made to move away from this reliance, by soliciting trade with France but the credit conditions offered by the French merchants were unattractive.

also offers interesting parallels to the situation in Ireland in the same period. In the early post-Revolution years the increase of partisan newspaper titles (the majority of which did not support the incumbent administration) fuelled the creation of a two-party system.[58] Less than seven years after the enactment of the Bill of Rights (1791), which had guaranteed the right to freedom of speech, the Alien and Sedition Acts were passed in the American congress. These acts provided for fines and imprisonment for any person convicted of uttering, writing or printing any 'false, scandalous and malicious' statements with intent to defame or bring the Government of the United States into contempt or disrepute. These acts may also have been motivated by the influx of United Irishmen into America after the 1798 Rebellion, many of whom would have supported Thomas Jefferson over the Federalists.[59]

About twenty-five editors, writers and others were arrested under the Alien and Sedition Acts, for criticism of Adams' Federalist administration, and ten convictions were recorded.[60] Among those arrested was Benjamin Franklin Bache, grandson of Benjamin Franklin and editor of the most successful anti-Federalist newspaper of the period in Philadelphia, the *Aurora.*[61] Bache's newspaper was largely successful and was openly hostile to the revolution hero George Washington

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[58] Christopher M. Duncan, *The anti-Federalists and early American political thought* (Illinois, 1995); Richard N. Rosenfeld, *American Aurora: the suppressed history of our nation's beginnings and the heroic newspaper that tried to report it* (New York, 1997).

[59] John M. Smith, *Freedom's fetters: the Alien and Sedition laws and America's civil liberties* (Ithaca, 1966); James Miller, *Crisis in freedom: the Alien and Sedition Acts* (Boston, 1952). This point is also raised by Wilson, *United Irishmen, United States,* pp 42-57.

[60] On John Adams and the American newspaper press see Walt Brown, *John Adams and the American press: politics and journalism at the birth of the Republic* (Jefferson, N.C., 1995).

[61] For full details of Bache's career see James Tagg, *Benjamin Franklin Bache and the Philadelphia 'Aurora'* (Philadelphia, 1991).

and the Federalist Party in general. His writings resulted in destruction of his newspaper office – events which pose striking similarities to the fate of the *Northern Star* newspaper in Belfast. Abijah Adams, publisher of the *Boston Chronicle*, was jailed for thirty days forced to give a bond for a year of good conduct for libelling the Massachusetts legislature.[62]

The severity with which the Federalists prosecuted the newspaper press suggests that for a time in the last years of the eighteenth century, the book trades, and particularly elements of the newspaper press, in both Ireland and America were seen as hugely subversive and were severely restricted. These circumstances resulted in the loss of an effective opposition forum for public discussion and debate. Similar measures were enacted against the English press the following year – an unusual instance where the imperial peripheries preceded the metropolis in such developments.[63]

The integrated nature of this Anglophone Atlantic world in the eighteenth century enabled the dominant print centres of Dublin, Edinburgh and Philadelphia to supply and influence their national book trades while maintaining connections and networks across the British Atlantic empire. These connections and networks were enhanced by a significant movement of book-trade personnel from Ireland and Scotland into the American market. Thousands of other immigrants who were literate and willing citizens of the New Republic also crossed the Atlantic creating an unusually informed and interested market for print. These themes will be

[62] Wilson, *United Irishmen, United States,* p. 42.
[63] Jeffrey Black, *The English press in the eighteenth century* (London, 1987), pp 183-96.

addressed in later chapters, with particular attention to the effect of immigration on the development of the American periodical market and the wider consequences for the role of the periodical in the English-speaking Atlantic world.

The Atlantic book trade to 1830

The changing environment of the British book trade mirrored changes in the Atlantic world in the nineteenth century. The Atlantic became ever more integrated as the circulation of goods, technologies, capital, ideas and people reached levels that dwarfed pre-1800 connections.[64] These dramatic changes must also be considered when examining print usage and print culture in the period. In the eighteenth century the print trade of the American colonies were considered to be the outer periphery of the British Atlantic world and print production was largely limited to Philadelphia, Boston and New York. By the end of the 1820s the business of printing was much more widespread in physical, numerical, geographical, technological and demographical terms. The expanding United States focused less on the Atlantic east and more on the reaching its western coast. New urban centres such as Cincinnati, Charleston, and Savanna all became important political and cultural focal points of print production and consumption with little or no connection to the Atlantic world. 'Manifest Destiny', the term coined by Jackson Federalists around 1845 to promote the annexation of much of the Western United

[64] José C. Moya, 'Modernization, modernity, and the trans/formation of the Atlantic world in the nineteenth century' in Jorge Cañizares-Esquerra and Erik R. Seeman (eds), *The Atlantic in global history, 1500-2000* (New Jersey, 2007), pp 179-97.

States including the Oregon, Texas and Mexican Territories, became a strong force in American thought.[65]

At the start of the nineteenth century Britain was the world's leading industrial and financial power and dominated international commerce. London was the world's largest port, the centre of international finance, and the heart of an expanding empire. After the loss of the American colonies, British imperial designs focused on Asia and the South Pacific, while strong trading relations developed with the US.[66] Although the Napoleonic Wars (1802-15) were a short-term obstacle to the growth of London's international trade, the domestic economy boomed and the increased demand for news of war.[67] This public interest in the military successes of the empire galvanised all aspects of the book trade.[68] Improved banking systems also played an important role in early nineteenth-century business development. The Scottish banking system created a strong financial centre in Edinburgh which made more investment capital available outside London, a situation which greatly the Scottish book trade as a whole.[69] The financial culture of the United States

[65] This changing American mindset is discussed in Kris Fresonke, *West of Emerson: the design of manifest destiny* (California, 2003).

[66] See for example Peter James Marshall, 'Britain without America – a second empire?' in Peter James Marshall (ed), *The Oxford history of the British Empire, ii: the eighteenth century* (Oxford, 1998), pp 576-95 and Rajat Kanta Ray, 'Indian society and the establishment of British supremacy, 1765-1818' in ibid., pp 508-29 and Glyndwr Williams, 'The Pacific: exploration and exploitation' in ibid., pp552-75.

[67] See discussion in Kevin H. O'Rourke, *The Worldwide Economic Impact of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005).

[68] One aspect of this public debate is examined in Simon Burrows, 'The struggle for European opinion in the Napoleonic Wars: British francophone propaganda, 1803-1814' in *French History*, 11:1 (1997), pp 29-53. Linda Colley discusses state responses in 'The reach of the state, the appeal of the nation: mass arming and political culture in the Napoleonic wars' in Lawrence Stone (ed), *An imperial state at war: Britain from 1689 to 1815* (London, 1993), pp 165-84.

[69] The strength of the Scottish banking system was not unsurprising considering the success of the note exchange system that developed there during the 1760s which enhanced the acceptability of the bank notes of both large and small banks. Both the English and Irish joint-stock banking systems from the 1820s onwards were built on this Scottish model, often using Scottish personnel, and the legislation

experienced a similar boost in 1816 as the Bank of the United States finally received full support after losing its charter 1811.[70] Despite short crises such as the one in the mid 1820s which saw at least 60 English banks fail, reform of the banking systems ensured that investment capital was continuously available for enterprising businesses.[71] For the book trade as a whole these developments had profound consequences which were mirrored in varying degrees throughout the Atlantic world. The deeper penetration of print into society created a greater demand for literacy and education. The steady growth of domestic Scottish and American publishing industries, and the slow but noticeable increase in the number of books printed in provincial English cities, signified a waning influence of the London publishers. The increasing abilities of these native or local printers and publishers to cater for demands forced the once dominant London trade to re-focus and re-assess its publishing ventures, which led to further technological advancements in terms of speed and quality as a means of retaining commercial advantage.[72]

In the early nineteenth century more distinctive national literatures began to develop, particularly in America as a response to changing attitudes towards Britain, the old European powers and the eighteenth-century Atlantic past. Writers

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designed to bring about changes in the Irish banking system was also later adopted by England. See S.G. Checkland, *Scottish banking: a history, 1695-1973* (London, 1975).

[70] For further discussion of the developments in the American economy in the nineteenth century see Curtis P. Nettels, *The emergence of a national economy, 1775-1815* (2nd ed, Armonk, N.Y., 1989) and Charles Sellers, *The market revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York, 1991).

[71] For further discussion of the changing economic environments of the nineteenth-century British empire see P.J. Cain, 'Economics and empire: the metropolitan context', in Andrew Porter (ed), *Oxford history of the British empire,* iii: *the nineteenth-century* (2nd ed, Oxford, 2001), pp 31-52 and R.B. Tomilson, 'Economics and empire: the periphery and the imperial economy' in ibid, pp 53-74.

[72] For the American market, Remer deals very particularly with the evolution of distinctly focused publishers in the American market in this period, Remer, *Printers and men of capital,* esp. pp 39-68.

such as Washington Irving, William Cullen Bryant, James Fenimore Cooper, and Edgar Allan Poe developed a unique American style which was promoted by American publishers and booksellers.[73] The 'national tale' emerged as a literary phenomenon in Ireland, particularly led by female authors such as Maria Edgeworth, Sydney Owenson, Charles Maturin, and the Banim Brothers and the 'historical novel' emanated out of post-Enlightenment Scotland, first in the works of Scott who inspired several writers such as Bulwer Lytton, Harrison Ainsworth and G.P.R. James.[74] Technologically, the book-trade machinery of production used in the eighteenth-century trade had not changed much from that used in the sixteenth century, but in the first half of the nineteenth century machinery was vastly improved, and this made the new literature cheaper to produce, distribute and sell. By the late 1820s the steam press was in widespread use in America.[75] With the rapid rise in the American population and the availability of cheap print, print culture fractured dramatically, particularly the magazine market where publications tended to specialize in their subject matter very quickly. This 'narrow-casting' of target audiences and the rise of denominational magazines are a specific and significant example of this trend. The Atlantic world of print still existed but it worked and communicated in a very different way. Americans were still importing significant amounts of British literature – such as *Blackwood's Magazine* – but it was a much altered audience from that of the previous century.

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[73] V. P. Trent, J. Erskine, S. P. Sherman, and C. Van Doren (eds), *Cambridge History of English and American Literature,* xviii, *1820-65* (Cambridge, 2003).

[74] For more details on these literary developments see Ina Ferris, *The romantic national tale and the question of Ireland* (Cambridge, 2002) and Ian Duncan, *Scott's shadow: the novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton, 2007).

[75] John Tebbel, *A history of book publishing in the United States:* i, *the creation of an industry, 1630-1865* (New York, 1972).

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This chapter has established that the eighteenth-century English-speaking Atlantic world was one which was centred on London as the metropolitan hub with developments in trade, finance, culture and fashions radiating out to the major provincial cities of the empire. The control of the London book-trade copyright-holders was considerable, though increasingly compromised by the business of reprinting, particularly in Dublin, Edinburgh and Philadelphia and by the loss of perpetual copyright in the last quarter of the century. In the nineteenth century the Atlantic world remained focused on London, though relations with the centre were altered by political, technological and social developments. The Irish book trade was integrated within the British Atlantic book trade, which highlighted the similar and contrasting patterns of growth in other provincial print centres within this system. Comparatively, the boom of the eighteenth-century Irish book trade built on the reprint business was quite exceptional, especially after the repeal of the Navigation Acts, though it should be noted that Edinburgh and Philadelphia also experienced a boom in this period, without the benefit of reduced legislation. In the early nineteenth century the patterns of development within the peripheries of the Anglophone Atlantic book trade diverged as new and external factors began to bear. The legislative union of Ireland and Britain had led to the extension of copyright to Ireland in 1801, removing the local advantage for Irish publishers and severely effecting the export trade to the Americas. This resulted in a more insular-looking trade. The change in pace of the Scottish Enlightenment and the end of several

Edinburgh-controlled London firms altered the dominance of Scottish interests in London and by extension in the Atlantic book trade. The Edinburgh book trade continued to develop in the nineteenth century on the basis of the strong business, family and religious networks criss-crossing the Atlantic. The removal of the American capital from Philadelphia to Washington D.C. in 1800, coupled with increasingly westward expanding economy, altered the American perceptions of the Atlantic though the intellectual and literary relationships survived and thrived. Despite these nineteenth-century alterations to the Atlantic environment, the book trades and print cultures of Ireland, Scotland and America continued to interact and be influenced by each other through the movement of people and texts. Movements for national literatures defined as distinct from imperial identities were evident in each country at some stage in this period and provide further material for a comparative analysis of these markets.

Chapter Two

Periodical Definitions and Models

Defining Periodicals

Typologies of printed formats can be based on many things. Periodicity is an obvious means of categorization, though the evidence of contemporary distinctions highlight the importance of physical determinants such as size, shape and general appearance in defining eighteenth-century printed formats. Lord Chesterfield's letter to his friend Dr. Chenevix, Lord Bishop of Waterford in 1757 provides one illustrative examples of such eighteenth-century distinctions which might not be so obvious to later commentators:

> Solid *folios* are the people of business with whom I converse in the morning. *Quartos* are the easier mixed company with whom I sit after dinner; and I pass my evenings in the light and often frivolous *chit-chat* of small *octavos* and *duodecimos*. This, upon the whole, hinders me from wishing for death, while other considerations hinder me from fearing.[1]

Lord Chesterfield's hierarchy of formats suggests one view of contemporary understandings of the diverse roles assumed by printed material in the life of a reader. The majority of periodicals, both weekly and monthly, tended to be in octavo format, with the weeklies more likely to be in the 'small octavo' format referred to by Chesterfield. Monthly and quarterly periodicals crossed the boundary between ephemeral and longer lasting printed formats: they were often elegantly bound in octavo or quarto format by their owners for permanent reference, by

[1] Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, *Miscellaneous works of the late Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield* (4 vols, London, 1779), i, p. 272.

booksellers for resale for many years, or in several editions after their natural publication life was over.[2] Such possible variations and manipulations of the periodical format highlights the multifaceted role that periodicals, particularly monthlies, could have played in the reading lives of contemporaries.[3] The validity of this conclusion will be examined through the course of this work which will examine some ninety periodicals that were published as monthlies, bi-monthlies or quarterlies between 1770 and 1830.[4]

The periodicals published in the English-speaking world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries brought together the work of several hands, were issued at regular intervals and in unbound printed sheets and they included daily, weekly, monthly and quarterly publications. From the late eighteenth century, newspapers were rarely included under the term 'periodical', (though R.R. Madden chose the title *History of Irish Periodical Literature* for his 1866 two-volume work which chronicled both newspapers and periodicals of the previous century; the Manchester historian Frederick Leary also used the term broadly, as his late nineteenth-century study titled 'History of the Manchester periodical press' included all serial publications from newspapers and magazines to commercial and trade directories and almanacs).[5] Most modern scholars consider the term newspaper to be etymologically distinct from periodicals, as demonstrated by John S. North (editor of the *Waterloo Directories of English, Scottish and Irish newspapers and*

[2] The sizes of monthly periodicals will be discussed in more detail in chapter three.
[3] The readers of monthly periodicals will be discussed in more detail in chapter five.
[4] See Appendix.
[5] Madden, *History of Irish periodicals*; Frederick Leary, 'History of the Manchester periodical press' discussed by Michael Powell and Terry Wyke, 'Manchester periodicals: some new readings. Charting the Manchester tributary of the golden stream: Leary's History of the Manchester periodical press' in *Manchester Region History Review,* 17, ii (2006), pp 43-62.

periodicals of the nineteenth century).[6] Such issues of definition and differentiation are more blurred given the format and content of early newspapers (often only appearing tri-weekly or weekly) and of early tri-weekly or weekly periodicals. However the newspaper format that became standardized by the early eighteenth century was clearly distinguishable from other ephemeral printing formats. Unlike printed proclamations, newspapers were printed on both sides of the page and, unlike pamphlets, they usually did not run beyond four pages of text and were of a much larger size. The main content of newspapers was designed to convey information about current news and events, while periodicals included material that was instructive, entertaining, descriptive, critical, narrative, biographical or literary. It was not unusual for newspapers to contain some literary material, particularly on the final page, though periodicals usually included more varied and lengthier literary contributions.

As a less expensive form of printing, newspapers and periodicals had the potential to reach a much wider readership than books. Their ephemerality and vulnerability tempers this reasoning as books generally survived longer and so might have reached more hands over time. However, if particular newspapers or periodicals were read for a number of months or years by the same reader, it is possible that the politics or cultural stance of the publication (whether explicit or implicit) could have had a more lasting effect on the reader than any one book or corpus of texts.

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[6] John S. North (ed), *Waterloo directory of English newspapers and periodicals, 1800-1900* (Waterloo, ON, 1988); *Waterloo directory of Irish newspapers and periodicals, 1800-1900* (Waterloo, ON, 1986); *Waterloo directory of Scottish newspapers and periodicals, 1800-1900* (Waterloo, ON, 1987).

While target audiences for both newspapers and periodicals overlapped, the periodical had a more defined readership due to such limiting factors as price, distribution networks and content. It is generally accepted that most newspapers enjoyed a wider circulation than periodicals though there are some interesting exceptions to this in an Irish context. In 1811 Watty Cox claimed a circulation figure of 'near 4,000' for each monthly issue of his *Irish Magazine.* Cox's boast appeared within an article denouncing 'the little influence the government [news] papers have on the public mind', and he estimated loyal newspaper runs did not pass 450 copies.[7] No doubt he exaggerated somewhat, but the survival rate of copies of the *Irish Magazine* would support the claims for high circulation. By 1830 the *Orthodox Presbyterian* recorded its circulation as 6,000, illustrating a trend among evangelical periodical publications for longevity which has the potential to impact their readership.[8]

The term 'periodical' appears to have been first applied, as an adjective, to the essay-type of journal, as distinguished from the general magazine. Essay periodicals, discussed in more detail below, were issued weekly, thrice weekly or even daily in a folio half-sheet format with double columns on both sides, but by the end of the eighteenth century the term periodical was being used to designate all regularly issued publications, except newspapers. Throughout most of the eighteenth century it was used as an adjective, as in periodical literature, periodical

[7] Cox asserted that the *Dublin Journal* published 150 copies every day of its publication but its name was not known outside of the public offices who 'even with reluctance ... allow it a place, among the rubbish of their desks'. The daily *Hibernian Journal* printed not more than 150 on any occasion, distributed in the same 'forced manner with 'not one number of it is ever purchased, not even by the servants and creatures of the government'. 'The Dublin Press', *Irish Magazine* (May, 1811), pp 196-7.
[8] Alistair A. Campbell, *Irish Presbyterian magazines past and present: a bibliography* (1919); *Bulletin of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland*, 1 (Dec., 1970), pp 4-8.

essay, and periodical publication. 'Magazine' was another term that became linked to periodicals; in this category newspapers would definitely not be included, though the term has evolved to be a comprehensive and representative term for the majority of weekly or monthly periodicals. Johnson derives the word from the Arabic word *machsan,* a treasure.[9] The first use of the word as applied to periodical literature seems to have been in the title of *Gentleman's Magazine* founded in London in 1731.[10] Therefore the term evolved from *magazine* as *storehouse,* as applied symbolically by Edward Cave in 1731, to be the generic term covering the whole class of *Gentleman's* imitators. Initially it only referred to content and had no connotation of form but by the mid eighteenth century it was dominant as the term for both. This label was used to represent weekly, fortnightly, monthly and quarterly publications throughout the period, with size and content being the main distinguishing factors between weekly and monthly magazines, as will be further discussed below.

The 'review' was another generic term which was popular in the early nineteenth century. By this time, the term magazine represented the general miscellaneous polite publications which placed strong emphasis on entertainment but not always on originality. A review indicated a higher status, and more academic and intellectual pretensions than a magazine, though the type and variety of periodical literature continued to fracture from the traditional *Gentleman's*-inspired eighteenth-century model. However the concept of a magazine providing 'reviews

[9] See Samuel Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language: in which the words are deduced from their originals, and illustrated in their different significations* ... (2 vols, 4th ed, Dublin, 1775).
[10] Madden also notes that it may have previously applied by Locke to describe the mind of a person of varied information. Madden, *History of Irish periodicals,* i, p. 26.

of literature' as the central function of a periodical publication had a long pedigree, as *A Literary Journal* (1740-44), a monthly published in Dublin indicates. The typical nineteenth-century review was a quarterly, though there were publications with that label in the eighteenth century that were weeklies or monthlies, both in Ireland and across the English-speaking world.

Newspapers have been defined here as outside the scope of the term 'periodical', it is important to recognise their influence on the content and development of the genre, particularly in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries when the various formats were emerging and the distinguishing characteristics of later years were not so clearly defined. The primary function of a newspaper was to relate current news and 'intelligence'. Frequently newspapers adopted political views that were divisive and alienating some potential readers while appealing to others. Periodicals in general and monthlies in particular, articulated the recurring intention to avoid partisan views in their pages, and thereby attract all potential readers. Many newspapers also aimed to provide some literary entertainment for their readers in the form of poetry, ballads, or regular columns on polite society. In areas where weekly and monthly periodicals were not yet published, local or regional newspapers played an important role in disseminating basic literature in this form and in fostering a broader interest in printed entertainment of this type. This was particularly the case in America, as will be discussed in chapter six.

Periodicals were also much more loosely defined than newspapers by the legislation which was imposed throughout the period to control the output of the press. The Stamp Act of 1712 marked a pivotal point in the development of physical and

practical distinctions between newspapers and periodicals, as taxes were heavily weighted against the newspaper format. The duty on a half-sheet periodical was ½ *d.*, 1*d.* on a full-sheet and 2*d.* on publications from one to six sheets. The flexibility and versatility of the periodical format allowed their producers to work around these new taxes in a manner which the newspaper format did not allow. For example, the *Spectator* (1711-14) raised its price upon the introduction of the Stamp Act and retained its readership. Daniel Defoe's *Review* (1704-05) changed its physical format in order to avoid the tax. Richard Steele also altered the format of his other weekly publications into twelve-page quarto pamphlets.[11] Each of these measures qualified these periodicals for a significantly lower rate of tax compared to newspapers, though the impact of intimidation and raids on printing establishments in the period should not be underestimated. The 1712 act did not create the magazine as a print form, but certainly accelerated its evolution.

By the last quarter of the eighteenth century the monthly periodical format began to be directly influenced by partisan party politics, a trait which was specifically avoided by the majority of titles in earlier decades. By the start of war with France in 1793 William Pitt had directed secret service money to establish the *British Critic* as a Tory journal, to oppose the existing London titles like the *Monthly Review, Critical Review, English Review* and the *Analytical Review*.[12] In 1795, Joseph Johnson, publisher of the *Analytical Review*, was jailed for publishing a

[11] On Defoe's *Review* see John J. Richetti, *Daniel Defoe* (Boston, 1987), pp 17-45 and the extensive references in Maximillian E. Novack, *Daniel Defoe: master of fiction* (Oxford, 2001).
[12] Sullivan, *BLM,* ii, pp. i-x.

seditious pamphlet and forced to give up his magazine.[13] Such examples of financial manipulation and prosecution also affected the Irish periodical trade in the 1790s. For example, *Bolg an tSolair* (1795), the Belfast Irish-language monthly periodical, was the most notable publication to end as a result of government pressure, though it was its shared printing press with the radical newspaper, the *Northern Star* (1792-7), that ended its life, rather than its contents.[14] In the aftermath of the 1798 Rebellion, policies to control the press became more sophisticated. The administration was concerned to appear conciliatory in the hope of building up of support for the proposed Act of Union.[15] The government's budget for press subsidies increased dramatically and included an enlarged Proclamation Fund as well as finance for the continued recruitment and payment of supportive editors. The former tactic appears to have been the most successful, as only those newspapers prepared to accept government commissions, and the consequent submission to government control, could afford to stay in business.[16]

The most notable Irish periodical to fall victim to government attentions in the period was Watty Cox's *Irish Magazine* (1807-11). Though the contents of this magazine are continuously used as proof of the sectarian and violent atmosphere pervading in post-Union Ireland, this publication was an exception in the sharpness and range of its sectarian content which included the vilification of English

[13] For more details of Johnson's career see Leslie F. Chard, 'Bookseller to publisher: Joseph Johnson and the English book trade, 1760–1810' in *The Library*, 5th ser., 32 (1977), pp 138-54.
[14] See Brendan Clifford (ed), *Bolg an tsolair, or, Gaelic magazine: containing Laoi na sealga, or, the famous fenian poem called The chase, with a collection of choice Irish songs translated by Miss Brooke, to which is prefixed an abridgement of Irish grammar, with a vocabulary and familiar dialogues* (Belfast, 1999).
[15] Inglis, The freedom of the Irish press, pp 108-12.
[16] See also Arthur Aspinall, *Politics and the press, 1750-1850* (London, 1973).

historical figures. Henry VIII was a 'memorable brute' and William III was depicted as a 'gloomy and fanatical Dutchman'.[17] In this case, Cox was paid to cease publication and emigrate to the US. This case did not set a precedent as it appears to have been an exceptional intervention in the periodical press in this period, and should therefore be viewed as a singular tactic to end the publication of an unusually popular and demotic periodical. Like the case of Mathew Carey in 1784, Cox's treatment demonstrated the ability of the authorities to assert control over the newspaper and periodical press when sufficiently challenged. The opening statement of *The Ulster Register* in 1816 alerted its readers to the continued policy of press control that the case of the *Irish Magazine* and other newspapers highlighted, when it condemned the clerk of the Irish treasury for paying public money 'to those base and unprincipled Proprietors of Newspapers and Magazines which are daily defaming the country that supports them'.[18]

In 1819 the freedom of the British book trade was encroached by legislation which was collectively known as the Six Acts.[19] These acts declared that every meeting for 'radical reform' was 'an overt act of treasonable conspiracy against the king and his government', and broadened the definition of treason, increased the severity of the punishment for such acts and thereby served as a warning to politically motivated writers, booksellers and publishers. Though not specifically directed at

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[17] *Irish Magazine* (Jun., 1808), p. 307; (May, 1812), p. 215.
[18] *The Ulster Register: a political and literary magazine* (9 Aug. 1816), p. 2.
[19] The Six Acts included the Training Prevention Act, the Seizure of Arms Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Blasphemous and Seditious Libels Act, the Misdemeanours Act, and the Newspaper and Stamp Duties Act. See Marjie Bloy, 'The Six Acts 1819', *The Victorian Web* www.victorianweb.org/history/riots/sixacts (Apr. 06).

the Irish book trade, these acts stunted the growth of the periodical trades in both countries.

Apart from the above examples of legislative control over the periodical press and government actions to silence unwanted titles, periodicals were also distinguished from the newspaper press in terms of their content. The relatively less constrained position they occupied in the print spectrum can largely be explained by their intentional avoidance of politically controversial and libellous content, a trait which was recognised in the parliamentary debates over press legislation. In the words of Foster's Press Act of 1784, periodical publications were not identified as the publishers of 'traitorous, seditious, false and slanderous libels' where pamphlet and newspaper printers sometimes were. These features, in contemporary eyes, were confined to the newspaper press and proved a crucial factor in shaping the periodical press of the period.[20]

Periodical Templates

The tradition of periodical publishing was French in origin, usually dated from the first appearance of the *Le Journal des Sçavans* (1665-1792), a monthly review of new books founded by Denis de Sallo, published in Paris from 1665.[21] It contained mostly scientific material, though its contents also included a proportion of non-

[20] 'An act to secure the Liberty of the Press..., *The Statutes at Large, passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland,* xiii, 666, known as Foster's Press Act.

[21] See Stephen Cole, 'The role of journals in the growth of scientific knowledge' in Blaise Cronin and Helen Barsky Atkins (eds), *The web of knowledge: a festschrift in honour of Eugene Garfield* (Medford, N.J., 2000), pp 109-42; Raymond Birn, 'Le *Journal des Savants* sous l'Ancien Régime' in *Jounal des Savants,* pp 15-35 cited by John Feather, *A history of British publishing*, p. 56 and David A. Kronick, *A history of scientific and technical periodicals: the origins and development of the scientific and technological press, 1665-1790* (San Francisco, 1978), pp v-vi, 81-7, 139-42, 245-7.

scientific pieces. This French titles was the inspiration for the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (1665-date) which began publication in the same year. Although *Philosophical Transactions* was broader in content that its title suggests, it could not claim anything but an elite readership, mostly confined to Royal Society members.[22] By the 1680s a number of periodicals began to appear in England which though more popular in approach, were still essentially reviewing journals. Some journals of this kind, notably *The History of the Works of the Learned,* maintained their popularity well into the eighteenth century.[23] The first British magazine which captured a wider market was the weekly *Athenian Gazette* (1691-7). It was published by John Dunton and included discussion of a wide variety of topics supposedly submitted by readers and answered by a 'society of gentlemen'.[24] Another important British periodical of the late seventeenth century was Peter Anthony Motteux's *Gentleman's Journal*, established in 1692. During its two-year life this publication showed the influence of its French periodical predecessors with similar epistolary articles as well as summaries of new books alongside original and translated poetry by Matthew Prior and Sir Charles Sedley.[25] In both its style and variety, this periodical set the precedent for the eighteenth-century general-interest magazine.

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[22] A.A. Manten, 'Development of European scientific journal publishing before 1850' in A.J. Meadows (ed), *Development of science publishing in Europe* (Amsterdam, 1980), pp 1-22.
[23] Walter Graham, *English literary periodicals* (London, 1930), pp 28-9.
[24] The *Anthenian Mercury* ran from 17 March 1691-1697; John Dunton, *The Dublin Scuffle* (1699) [notes and introduction by Andrew Carpenter] (Dublin, 2000). See also Urmi Bhowmik, 'Facts and Norms in the Marketplace of Print: John Dunton's "Athenian Mercury"' in *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 3 (Spring, 2003), pp 345-65.
[25] Margaret J.M. Ezell, 'The "Gentleman's Journal" and the Commercialization of Restoration Coterie Literary Practices' in *Modern Philology*, 3 (Feb., 1992), pp 323-40.

By 1770 the monthly periodical had developed a distinctive, familiar and effective template, which is best understood by considering its evolution. As has been noted above, the development of newspapers, the essay periodical and weekly periodicals affected the typical monthly model that emerged in the 1730s as the standard for the English-speaking world. It is being suggested here that this model was a composite of the essay-periodical format as spearheaded by Daniel Defoe, and more successfully Richard Steele and Joseph Addison, and the monthly-magazine format established by Edward Cave in 1731. The successful innovations of these publishers with regard to physical shape, format, content and target audience, exposed a niche in the print market for publications that could instruct, entertain, review, amuse and debate rather than simply inform. Therefore it can be said that content and format were the main differentiating points between early newspapers and periodicals, particularly as both could be published daily, thrice weekly or weekly. In London, the first daily newspaper, *The Daily Courant,* was published in 1702, but the tri-weekly newspaper was still common in the early eighteenth century, and particularly in provincial cities of England and the empire.[26] A daily newspaper does not appear in France until 1777 with the publication of the *Journal de Paris.* The *Pennsylvania Packet* was the first daily in the United States, published in Philadelphia from 1784. The marked delay in this innovation occurring elsewhere highlights the supremacy of the London print trade.

[26] Excellent general overviews of the development of the newspaper press can be found in George Boyce, John Curran and Peter Wingate (eds), *Newspaper history from the seventeenth century to the present day* (London, 1978) and Jeremy Black, *The English press in the eighteenth-century* (Philadelphia, 1987).

Within seven years of the *Daily Courant's* first issue, the first tri-weekly periodical was published in London by Irishman Richard Steele. The *Tatler* (1709-11), the first issue of which appeared on 12 April 1709, represented a new print format even though it drew on editorial techniques and printing technology already being used in London.[27] Its success was partly based on Steele's distribution policy which was based around the posts leaving London for the major provincial towns and cities. After giving the first four issues away gratis, the *Tatler* could be purchased for a penny an issue which was a very low price. The periodicals format, a folio half-sheet printed on both sides, allowed for this cheap cost as it was the most economical form of printing.[28] Surviving single issues of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* also show that a small amount of advertising was included in each number, though this was removed in later bound compilations of the periodicals.[29] Under the pen-name of Isaac Bickerstaff, Steele articulated the importance of the 'compilation format' to his success: 'the addition of the ordinary occurrences of common journals of news brought in a multitude of other readers'.[30] Within six months of publication the *Tatler's* format was established, with the lead article always in the form of a periodical essay followed by briefer miscellaneous pieces and literary criticism.[31] This main feature was the essay on literary or social matters, which gave the general name to this publication and its innumerable successors, the 'essay periodical'.

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[27] For general considerations of *The Tatler* see Calhoun Winton, '*The Tatler:* from half-sheet to book' in *Prose Studies,* 16:1 (1993), pp 23-33 and Alexander Lindsay, 'Some drafts by Richard Steele for *The Tatler, The Spectator* and *The Guardian',* in *British Library Journal,* 20 (1994), pp 163-73.
[28] Ibid.
[29] The RIA has several single copies of *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* from their original series.
[30] *Tatler* (1709), i, p. 8.
[31] See Richmond P. Bond, *The Tatler: the making of a literary journal* (Cambridge, 1971), pp 127-59.

Steele's next collaboration with Joseph Addison cemented the successes of the *Tatler* format. *The Spectator* aimed to be a conversation publication 'to enliven morality with wit, and to temper wit with morality', and it popularized the broad appeal of the format. Within issue number ten, penned by Addison, the goals of the *Spectator* were elaborated for the reader. These included promoting a stronger role for women in society as intelligent beings who should be respected; sparking discussion between people as part of an intellectual society; providing access to standard information and to a diversity of knowledge and philosophy; encouraging culture and mannerly behaviour in order to lead to a well-rounded society; supporting correct judgement in governors; helping to eradicate ignorance, prejudice and hatred; and sponsoring enlightenment in general.[32] Such sentiments from Addison became the most common feature of the eighteenth-century monthly periodical. Monthlies differed in periodicity but directly imitated the *Tatler* and *Spectator* format in terms of content and editorial ambition. Naturally, it was a pragmatic move by monthly periodicals to assume features of these successful formats, as profits from these titles were almost instantaneous. Profits continued to be associated with the title as collected volumes were reissued and reprinted throughout the eighteenth-century.[33]

Both the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* tended to shy away from politics in favour of 'courting general approbation', and subjects of literature, morality, and familiar life. The main editorial voice of 'Mr. Spectator' declared that he would 'observe an

[32] *Spectator* (12 Mar. 1711).
[33] Pat Rogers, 'Addison, Joseph (1672–1719)'in H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

exact neutrality between the Whigs and Tories, unless I shall be forced to declare my self by the Hostilities of either Side'.[34] This promise of political impartiality was also to become the generic rhetoric of Irish monthly periodicals for the 'long' eighteenth century. However, Steele and Addison, like later periodical producers, cultivated ways in which to facilitate political discussion and debate. For example, by the second issue 'a gentleman's club' was introduced to readers, a feature which allowed the authors to write from different view points under the guise of fictional members.

Steele and Addison ceased their publication efforts and went in politically different directions. The longevity of their influence was already ensured by the success and widespread popularity of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* that spawned hundreds of imitators. The particular longevity of the format as a worthy model for Irish periodicals was articulated by Walker's *Hibernian Magazine* in 1798:

> The secret charm of the Spectator consisted in interesting the reader in the characters and action of several members of the club, and consequently in the dramatic cast given to those essays.[35]

Later in the century the form was revived by Samuel Johnson. *The Rambler* (1750-2) and *Idler* (1758-60) were conscious imitations of Addison and Steele's titles, though they never achieved comparable popularity.[36] Many other writers were involved with magazines at various stages in their careers. For example, Henry Fielding, the author of *Tom Jones* (1749) and a large number of plays and political

[34] *The Spectator* (12 Mar. 1711).
[35] *Hibernian Magazine* (Feb., 1798), pp 126-7.
[36] *The Rambler* published twice weekly had a print run of five hundred copies. *The Idler* was published as a series of essays in a newspaper, *The Universal Chronicle.* See Robert DeMaris, *The life of Samuel Johnson: a critical biography* Davis (Oxford, 1993), pp 194-205.

satires co-founded *The Champion* in 1739, and was also involved in *The True Patriot* (1745) and *The Covent Garden Journal* (1752).[37] Tobias Smollett worked as a regular periodical journalist as well as a successful author. In 1756 he founded the *Critical Review,* and was involved in several other periodical titles throughout his career.[38] The political leanings of these periodicals were more obvious, in a way that the *Gentleman's Magazine* was not, which may help to explain its popularity and greater longevity.

The Gentleman's Magazine, established in January 1731 by Edward Cave as a digest of London newspapers and periodicals for country customers was the second seminal periodical of the era.[39] The original complete title was *The Gentleman's Magazine: or, Trader's Monthly Intelligencer.* It was not the first monthly periodical, but its success with this format was unprecedented. The *Monthly Miscellany* established by James Petiver in 1701, was the most ambitious of the early eighteenth-century scientific and literary periodicals, though it was not a commercial success. This periodical included more mathematical and scientific material than Cave's title and established the convention of including contemporary fiction in periodicals, such as material from Daniel Defoe and other contemporary literary figures. The *Gentleman's Magazine's* success was gained from its dedication to the publication of content on an impressive array of subjects, from commodity prices to Latin poetry. Therefore its contents had a broader appeal than

[37] Harold Pagliaro, *Henry Fielding: a literary life* (Basingstoke, 1998), pp 25-32; 189-90 and Thomas A. Cleary, *Henry Fielding: political writer* (Ontario, Canada, 1984), pp 207-72.
[38] Jeremy Lewis, *Tobias Smollett* (London, 2003), pp 163-98.
[39] An online archive of *The Gentleman's Magazine* from 1731 to 1750 can be found at the Internet Library of Early Journals http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/ilej/ (May 2007).

the *Monthly Miscellany* and its miscellaneous predecessors. The presentation of the material in short segments, ranging from one paragraph to several pages, meant that no subject was treated in detail or presented in a polarised way. In his introduction, Cave alluded to his intention to extract heavily from other publications through abridgement:

> It has been unexceptionally advanced, that a good abridgement of the law is more intelligible than the statues at large; so a nice model is as entertaining as the original, and a true specimen as satisfactory as the whole parcel ...[40]

In these opening remarks, Cave also suggested that his magazine was a storehouse or repository for literature that otherwise would be lost. By his own calculations it was not surprising that such a policy would prove profitable:

> Upon calculating the numbers of News-Papers, 'tis found that (besides divers written Accounts) no less than 200 half-sheets per month are thrown from the press only in London, and about as many printed elsewhere in the three Kingdoms ...[41]

In his first year Cave regularly extracted from newspapers such as *Fogs Journal, The London Journal, The Weekly Register, The Grubstreet Journal,* and *The Craftsman.*

Despite the clear appeal that this format had for contemporaries, Cave's biographer has suggested that the *Gentleman's Magazine's* success rested as much on the distribution network that Cave established with the provincial, as upon editorial

[40] 'Introduction', *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1731).
[41] Ibid.

policy.[42] However his business skill and acumen should not be disregarded, as his publication, at 6*d.* for seven and a half octavo sheets, was so popular that spawned hundreds of imitators. *The London Magazine* (1732-85) was established within a year, as a direct competitor to Cave's publication by a conglomeration of the powerful metropolitan bookselling and newspaper interests.[43] The appearance of this competition for Cave's magazine encouraged him to commission more original contributions and cultivate a wider circle of writers and correspondents. He began poetry competitions, which raised the quality of pieces appearing in the magazine and its public profile. As the magazine reached a circulation over 8,000 by the late 1730s, politics and current events began to gain greater prominence in the magazine. The ability to alter content to cater for public interests demonstrated the flexibility of the magazine format, and Cave and his successors continued to be innovative in the presentation of political and military news within the polite miscellany format. Cave pioneered the use of maps and charts to make sense of the various theatres of war, as well as to illustrate the patents and designs for new machines and to argue the case for improving finances and commerce.[44] Like almost all of its imitators for the rest of the century, the content of the *Gentleman's Magazine* was to vary greatly in standard in all departments throughout its publication history.

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[42] Thomas Keymer, 'Introduction' in *The 'Gentleman's Magazine' in the age of Samuel Johnson, 1731-1745* (16 vols, London, 1998), i.
[43] Sullivan, *BLM,* i, pp 202-6.
[44] Thomas Keymer, 'Introduction' in *The 'Gentleman's Magazine' in the age of Samuel Johnson,* i.

Both *The Spectator* and *Gentleman's Magazine* became templates for magazine publishing for the rest of the century, be it in a weekly, tri-weekly or a monthly format. The common recognisable characteristics of periodicals, other than newspapers evolved from these two publications. Features such as the periodical essay, the practice of abstraction, the dominance of polite literature and moral tales, the inclusion and popularity of theatrical reviews, subtle and satirical references to political events and controversies rather than direct commentary (with some notable exceptions), and content significantly and increasingly addressed to a female readership were the traits most imitated in the periodical format throughout the English-speaking world.

Other English, and some Scottish publications, should also be considered for their innovations in the periodical format. *The London Magazine,* mentioned above, has already been mentioned was also specifically mentioned as a model in a significant number of English, Scottish, American and Irish periodical prefaces in the eighteenth-century. The *British Magazine* (1746-51) named its first essay series the 'Occasional Spectator', as a direct acknowledgement of the original *Spectator*. Its energetic publisher John Hill then developed a hybrid *Spectator-Gentleman's* style by responding to audience demands for more original material instead of reprints and extracts. Hill boasted of 'procuring more Original Pieces than any Work of a like Nature cou'd ever shew'. While his claims of originality were not strictly accurate, he did move the process further.[45] The longevity of the *Universal Magazine* (1747-1815) can also be attributed to its continuation of the general

[45] Sullivan, *BLM*, i, pp 22-26.

miscellany format first established in the 1730s. It circulated throughout Britain and included material to suit broad tastes and included puzzles and colour illustrations.[46] A second notable *British Magazine* appeared in 1760 under the editorship of Tobias Smollett. Typically the contents were a mixture of extracted material, correspondence, translations and a monthly summary of news. However, in other ways this periodical marked a considerable departure from its predecessors in terms of content as the magazine included a large proportion of original material, much of it from Smollett himself. Particularly noteworthy was the publication of Smollett's *Life and Adventures of Sir Lancelot Greaves* in twenty-five instalments. Serialization was not uncommon, but Smollett's novel was the first considerable work of fiction to have been specifically written for serial publication. Smollett did not hide his associations with the titles which also marked a move away from the traditional conventions of anonymity in periodical publications of the period.[47]

Weekly periodicals ranged from openly partisan tracts to direct imitators of the *Spectator* style, with a general essay followed by verses and advertisements. Opposition periodicals, such as *The Craftsman* in the 1720s and *Common Sense* in the 1730s, heightened the use of the weekly magazine in politics, particularly during periods of high political excitement. Other tri-weekly, bi-weekly and weekly periodicals, as distinct from newspapers of similar periodicity, continued to be produced throughout the century, often being connected with recognised authors

[46] Ibid.

[47] It is likely that by the time the*London Chronicle* reported that Dr. Smollett had been granted a Royal License for the publication of *The British Magazine,* his association was well-known. This celebrity, cemented from his involvement with *The Critical Review*, was likely seen by Smollett as a commercial advantage for his magazine's success. Ibid. pp 26-8. On Smollett see also Lewis, *Tobias Smollett,* pp 163-98.

such as Henry Fielding, who edited *The Champion* as mentioned above and Oliver Godlsmith who edited *The Bee* (1759). Though *The Bee* only ran for eight issues, it is important as its failure further demonstrated the necessary ingredients for a successful miscellany. Goldsmith lamented:

> perhaps I was mistaken in designing my paper as an agreeable relaxation to the studious, or an help to conversation among the gay ... I should have written down to the taste and apprehension of many, and sought for reputation on the broad road. Literary fame I now find like religious [fame] generally begins among the vulgar.[48]

The magazine-review of the later eighteenth century began to evolve with the appearance of the *Monthly Review, Critical Review, English Review* and *Analytical Review's*. The *Monthly Review* was established by Ralph Griffiths in May 1749, when there was no regular literary review in Britain. Unusually, Ireland was ahead of London in this instance as it boasted a literary journal at this time published by the Hughenot Jean Pierre Droz, which marks one of the only times when the Irish periodical trade was ahead of the British. It is perhaps unsurprising that Droz was influenced by French periodical models, where the format had also bee successful. The *Monthly Review* was followed by the *Critical Review*, edited by Smollett in 1756 and both of these titles dominated the eighteenth-century monthly review market for almost thirty years before finding new competitors in the form of the *English Review* (1783-96) and the *Analytical Review* (1788-99).[49] Extracts from these publications, along with the *Gentleman's Magazine* and *London Magazine*

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[48] Oliver Goldsmith, *The bee, a select collection of essays, on the most interesting and entertaining subjects, by Dr. Goldsmith* (London, [1790]), pp 100, 146.

[49] For brief accounts of titles in this period see Sullivan, *BLM,* ii and Derek Roper, *Reviewing before the "Edinburgh", 1788-1802* (London, 1978), pp 19-48.

and the most successful British newspapers, were regularly reprinted in the Irish periodical and newspaper press.

The beginning of the nineteenth century marked a significant departure in the development of a new periodical genre. The academic-review type, embodied by the *Edinburgh Review* (1802-1929) became one of the most influential British magazines of the new century. Its scholarly tone established the quarterly format as the setting for intellectually rigorous critical review articles. The *Edinburgh Review* included review-essays on various subjects along with its numbered reviews in each issue. Its criticism took on new forms, moving away from the eighteenth-century techniques of extended abstraction, towards in-depth evaluations of arguments and their significance in broader literary, philosophical, intellectual and theological contexts.[50]

The *Edinburgh Review's* market soon became crowded with many competitors. The most successful rival titles were the *Eclectic Review* (1805-68), a non-conformist publication, the *Quarterly Review*, established (1809) by John Murray and Walter Scott as a tory rival, and the *Westminster Review* (1824-1914). Other notable reviews included the *Retrospective Review* (1820-26) established to review older works, particularly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the *Foreign Quarterly Review* (1818-27) which contained the first serious reviews of

[50] For more on the *Edinburgh Review* see John Clive, 'The *Edinburgh Review*' in *History Today*, 2:12 (1952), pp 844-50; John Clive, *Scotch reviewers: the Edinburgh Review, 1802-15* (Edinburgh, 1957); Bianca Fontana, *Rethinking the politics of a commercial society: the Edinburgh Review, 1802-1832* (Cambridge, 1985); Bianca Fontana, 'Whigs and Liberals: the *Edinburgh Review* and the 'liberal movement' in nineteenth-century Britain' in Richard Bellamy (ed), *Victorian Liberalism: nineteenth-century political thought and practice* (London, 1990), pp 42-57 and Duncan Wu (ed), *British romanticism and the Edinburgh Review: bicentenary essays* (Basingstoke, 2002).

foreign literature.[51] The political and religious biases of these publications, some more evident than others, ensured that such divisive and potentially controversial topics began to be considered more openly in other periodicals. Unsurprisingly, this type of material increasingly found a place in Irish, Scottish and American periodicals of the period.

Following the imitation of the *Edinburgh Review* format throughout the Atlantic world, it was not until the appearance of *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1817 that another significant model was established. After an unsuccessful start with Thomas Pringle and James Cleghorn as editors, William Blackwood, the publisher, took on the editorship himself. He pitched his periodicals as a serious tory rival to the Whig *Edinburgh Review* with a mixture of satire, reviews and criticism which was in tune with popular opinion. His exceptional commercial success and achievements of high-quality contributions must also have offered encouragement for those unsure of the financial security in periodical publishing.[52] Archibald Constable's *Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany* (1817-25) was another important periodical established in the same year. Though it was never as influential as Constable's other periodical, the *Edinburgh Review* or *Blackwood's Magazine,* its short-life, in such a competitive environment, proved that a neutral stance in politics, as adopted by this publication, was not generally part of the successful formula for early nineteenth-century monthly success. Coming again from the

[51] See C. J. Wright, 'Hugh James Rose, James Murray and *The Foreign Quarterly Revie* " in *The Electronic British Library Journal* (2007), 1-4.
[52] For detailed analysis of *Blackwoods* see David Finkelstein, *The house of Blackwood: author-publisher relations in the Victorian era* (Philadelphia, 2002). For more general consideration of the periodicals of the period see George Pottinger, *Heirs of the Enlightenment: Edinburgh reviewers and writers, 1800-1830* (Edinburgh, 1992).

Scottish capital these titles were a further indication of Scottish prominence in the republic of letters.

The provincial presses outside London were also notable for their increased volume of periodical production throughout the period. Edinburgh was obviously exceptional, though many cities throughout the British empire attempted to compete with the dominant London periodicals which were exported internationally. One such English example was the *Bristol and Bath Magazine,* which was a short-lived weekly from 1782 to 1783. The sentiments expressed in the first issue of this weekly were echoed in many cities where the successful and influential London and Edinburgh periodicals were available. It proclaimed that Bristol was a 'large and opulent city' that deserved a magazine of its own.[53] The common motivations of provincial periodical producers, whether in the English provinces or the imperial provinces, will be addressed more fully in the conclusion.

At the end of the period, the penny magazine was beginning to change the publishing environment for monthly and quarterly periodicals. New technology, which increased the speed and reduced the cost of production, enabled the process of mass production of printed material. High-quality periodicals with detailed illustrations could be produced in large quantities and very cheaply. The first periodical triumphs of the technological advancements Charles Knight's *Penny Magazine*, *Chambers' Journal* (the most successful and influential of all the low-priced weeklies), and the *Saturday Magazine*, published by the Society for the

[53] 'Preface', *Bristol and Bath Magazine* (Jan., 1782).

Propagation of Christian Knowledge.[54] These periodicals proved, by their unprecedented circulation, the existence of a vast reading public. As with all periodical innovations that began in the British capital in the period, these developments were imitated throughout the English-speaking world.

British Periodicals Abroad

Some commentators have suggested that non-London periodicals did not succeed because local booksellers were not willing to act as agents for them as they were already agents for imported metropolitan periodicals. Evidence of the activities of Irish agents for British magazines is quite common, though a broad view of the publishing activities of these agents offers a different interpretation of the situation. There are several examples of Irish periodical producers who also acted as agents for rival British titles. The early example of Edward Exshaw in Dublin offers a third slant on this narrative: he began his career in periodicals by acting as agent for the *London Magazine* in 1733, then moved to re-issuing direct reprints of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which evolved into the long-lasting *Exshaw's Magazine*.[55] John Ferrar, the Limerick newspaper proprietor was one of several Irish agents for the *Monthly Review* from the late 1760s and also became an agent for numerous Irish monthly periodicals in the last decades of the century.[56]

The Westminster Magazine was certainly circulating in Ireland, as both *Exshaw's Magazine* and *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* were reproducing unacknowledged

[54] See Robin Gilmour, *The Victorian period: the intellectual and cultural context of English literature, 1830-1890* (London, 1993) and Jerry Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel (eds), *Victorian periodicals and Victorian society* (Aldershot, 1994).
[55] Exshaw advertised his role as agent for the *London Magazine* in several Dublin newspapers, for example *Dublin Journal,* 30 Sept. 1733.
[56] Kennedy, '*Magazin á La Mode*', p. 89.

extracts from its pages in the early 1770s.[57] Dublin bookseller James Williams was importing both *The Lady's Magazine* and *The Town and Country Magazine* in 1775.[58] In the 1780s Thomas Walker was advertising *The Monthly Review* on the wrappers of his periodical, and his son was still advertising it in the magazine in 1791 when it could be had from both of his shops in Anglesea Street and Dame Street.[59] In 1793 R.E. Mercier advertised full sets of *The Critical Review* for sale at his bookshop in Anglesea Street. Its 'unrivalled reputation for impartiality, learning and judicious criticism' was, his advertisement claimed, 'particularly interesting to the Irish Nation, from a Department being now allotted to Irish Literature'.[60] That Walker and Mercier would act as agents for several different British periodicals that could have been viewed as direct rivals for their own budding Irish periodicals suggests that they were confident in the Irish market for all of these publications and that Irish periodicals were never going to fully replace the British ones.

In the nineteenth century it appears as if Irish booksellers and publishers were more likely to publish periodicals jointly with their British counterparts, than to simply act as agents for them. For example, the *Farmer's Magazine* and the *Edinburgh Medical Journal* were jointly published by Dublin booksellers Wogan & Cumming, with Archibald Constable & Co. in Edinburgh and associates in London. This trend may be explained by evidence suggesting that importing periodicals could be a

[57] See advertisements from its Irish agents in chapter 5.
[58] *Freeman's Journal*, 1 Apr. 1775.
[59] TCD, *Hibernian Magazine* (Jul., 1785), inside back wrapper.
[60] TCD, *Anthologia Hibernica* (Feb., 1793), back wrapper.

profitless exercise as transport costs consumed the trade discount.[61] Despite these difficulties the major British magazines and reviews of the nineteenth century were available in Ireland through Irish agents, with increasing interest in the serious review publications over the general miscellanies.[62]

A much smaller amount of British monthly and quarterly periodicals made it to the North American colonies in the eighteenth century. Their arrival was subject to the same difficulties of oceanic transportation as book shipments were and it is likely that some single issues would only have been sent in personal correspondence.[63] Bound volumes of periodicals also crossed the Atlantic as they were more durable and profitable for the importer. The survival rate of numerous bound editions of the *Gentleman's Magazine* in for example the Library Company of Philadelphia, a subscription library established by Benjamin Franklin in the mid-eighteenth century, suggests that this latter type of transatlantic distribution was most common. Despite a smaller and possibly more diluted exposure to the British periodical format of the eighteenth century, early American periodical publishers expressed the same admiration for Addison, Steele and Cave as is evident in their Irish counterparts. Colonial publishers expressed more esteem for Addison whose reputation was exceptional there due to the enormous success of his Roman tragic

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[61] *Third report of the commissioners of inquiry into the collection and management of the revenue arising in Ireland* (U.K. Parliamentary Papers. 1822, xiii, 1220), pp 16-20. Also cited in Benson, 'Dictionary', p. 67.

[62] See examples of newspaper advertisements in chapter 5.

[63] Caroline Nelson, 'Serials in America' in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds), S*erials and their Readers, 1620-1914* (Winchester, 1993), pp 27-44.

drama *Cato*. There were at least nine American editions before 1800, and another eight in the nineteenth century.[64]

The rising reputation of the Scottish and American periodical markets in the early decades of the nineteenth century altered the balance of power in the previously London-centred export market. Titles such as the *Edinburgh Review* from 1802 and the widely circulated *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* from 1817 emerging from Scotland, and *The Monthly Magazine, and American Review* and its successors under the editorship of Charles Brockden Brown from 1799 and *The Analectic Magazine* from 1813 established themselves in the United States as the purveyors of genuine American literature and culture. It was not until the establishment of the *Dublin University Magazine* in 1833 that an Irish periodical of such stature was established.

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As outlined above, the Irish, Scottish and American experiences, experiments and innovations in the periodical market offer a wider view of the dominance and influence of the British models. The general debt to Steele, Addison and Cave, particularly in the eighteenth century, is undeniable, though indigenous publications had an important role in defining the impact of the periodical format in their own societies as will be discussed further in chapter six. By the early nineteenth century, the miscellaneous polite magazine was seriously rivalled by the more scholarly

[64] See Fredric M. Litto, 'Addison's *Cato* in the Colonies' in *William and Mary Quarterly,* 23 (Jul., 1966), pp 431-49.

review-type periodical and other periodical publications became famous formats that were also imitated such as the Scottish titles of *Blackwood's Magazine* and later *Chambers' Magazine*. Despite a fracturing market, these periodicals still owed many of their features, as well as their cultivated and eager readership, to the early eighteenth-century entrepreneurs of the periodical market in London. After over a century of production, the main aim of the genre remained the same, to 'instruct and amuse' its audience.

Chapter Three

Irish periodicals, 1770-1830: development and character

By 1770 the standard format of the monthly miscellany was well established in terms of physical character, content and audience. *The Tatler* and *Spectator* had appeared in countless reprinted formats and compilation volumes and the *Gentleman's* and *London Magazines* had survived and thrived for almost four decades.[1] Both models had spawned hundreds of imitators. With these distinctive templates and characteristics, the basic role and functions of monthly and quarterly publications within eighteenth-century print culture was also well-established. The most common aspiration of such publications was to 'instruct and amuse', intentions which were universally declared in periodical prospectuses and prefaces throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This stereotypical 'miscellany' or 'magazine-review' format was established in London, but it was also the standard in the periodical trades of Ireland, Scotland and America, and particularly in Dublin, Edinburgh and Philadelphia which were the principal print centres of production in the British Atlantic empire. The influence of the London trade was spread by the impact of imported British periodicals, which remained significant throughout the period, and then by the indigenous imitators of these publications. This chapter will discuss early (pre-1770) Irish periodicals and titles,

[1] Some examples of the compilations of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* periodicals include Joseph Addison, *Notes upon the twelve books of paradise lost. Collected from the Spectator* (London, 1738) and Joseph Addison, *The papers of Joseph Addison, Esq. in the Tatler, Spectator, Guardian and Freeholder* (Edinburgh, 1790).

the patterns of periodical production, the physical characteristics, design, distribution and printing problems of the Irish periodical trade, thereby establishing a basis for cross-national comparison.

Early Irish periodicals

The first book trade names associated with periodicals in Ireland included some of the eighteenth-century's most innovative Dublin printers – James Hoey, George Faulkner and Edward Exshaw – alongside the century's most successful Irish authors – James Arbunkle, Jonathan Swift and Thomas Sheridan. Swift's *Examiner* (1710-12) has been identified as the 'missing link' between the purely political propagandist newspaper press and the literary newspaper which emerged as the first successful periodical format in early eighteenth-century Ireland. It presented a staunchly tory view in its politics and was largely aimed at an English audience, but it was also published and available in Dublin.[2] Swift's second periodical paper in Ireland was the *Intelligencer* (1728-9) which he edited with Thomas Sheridan in the late 1720s, which marked another significant development of the periodical press. Swift began this periodical in the hopes of providing a steady income for the widowed Dublin printer Sarah Harding, and cited lack of capital to employ 'some ingenious young man' to edit it as the cause of its failure.[3] Clyde has dismissed this publication as a forerunner of later Irish magazines due to its short-life and Swift's personal motivations in establishing the title, though it should be noted that

[2] A reprint of the *Examiner* was produced by Herbert Davis (ed), *The Examiner* (2nd ed, Oxford, 1957). For further discussion of *The Examiner,* its content and aims see Irvin Ehrenpreis, *Swfit the man, his works and the age* (3 vols, London, 1962), iii, pp 581-6; Sullivan, *BLM,* i, pp 113-9; Clyde, *ILM,* p. 59.
[3] Harold Williams and David Woolley (eds), *The correspondence of Swift* (4 vols, Oxford, 1972), iv, p. 30. A reprint of the *Intelligencer* was produced by James Woolley (ed), *The Intelligencer* (Oxford, 1992).

financial gain was the motivating factor for the majority of periodical publishers. Therefore Swift's specific pecuniary motives were not uncommon.[4] The *Dublin Weekly Journal* established by Arbuckle with the assistance of Viscount Molesworth on his move to Dublin in 1726, was another successful early Dublin imitation of the *Spectator* format. Writing as 'Hibernicus' Arbuckle contributed the majority of the essays to this periodical, with other contributions from Francis Hutcheson.[5] Even a short-lived periodical could be a financially rewarding venture as bound volumes could be reissued and sold regularly. Many of Arbuckle's contributions to the *Dublin Weekly Journal* were reprinted in London as a two-volume set, *Collection of Letters and Essays on Several Subjects* in 1729 and as *Hibernicus's Letters* in 1734.[6] This periodical was the first really successful Irish imitator of the *Spectator* and *Tatler* format; literary material was prominent in its contents and reprinted and reissued volumes of the periodical remained popular throughout the century.[7]

One of the most striking features of early Irish periodical publications was that many began as direct reprints of successful British periodicals. Gradually Irish material was added and independently recognisable Irish titles emerged. Both George Faulkner (and partner James Hoey) and Edward Exshaw entered the periodical trade in this manner, suggesting that their intention was to profit from an

[4] Clyde, *ILM,* p. 61.
[5] For more on Hutcheson's literary and philosophical writings see Michael Brown, *Francis Hutcheson in Dublin, 1719-30: the crucible of his thought* (Dublin, 2002).
[6] For example *A collection of letters and essays on several subjects, lately published in the Dublin Journal* (London, 1729) and *Hibernicus's letters: or a philosophical miscellany* (2 vols, London, 1734).
[7] James C. Beckett, 'Literature in English, 1691-1800' in William E. Vaughan (ed), *A new history of Ireland, iv, eighteenth-century* (Oxford, 1989), pp 424-70; Clyde, *ILM*, p. 60.

already proven publication and format. Hoey and his cousin Faulkner first issued a Dublin reprint of *The London Magazine or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* under the title *The London and Dublin Magazine* in 1734.[8] By the addition of 'Dublin' to this periodical publication, they acknowledged the importance of creating a specifically Irish publication that would include material of interest to an Irish reader, though this repositioning did not translate into a long-lasting publication. Francis Joy, another Dublin bookseller, reprinted a weekly British periodical, *The Publick Register* in the same year which had a similarly short life-span.[9] Exshaw first became involved in the weekly periodical trade when he published the *Weekly Miscellany* in 1734 and Hoey independent of Faulkner, issued the *Weekly Amusement* in 1735. Though short-lived, all of these periodicals indicated that the format appealed to Irish publishers and marked the start of concerted efforts to harness the benefits of the genre for their own publishing businesses.

Edward Exshaw found more success when he published a reprint of the *London Magazine* in 1741. He quickly began to include Irish news in each issue at an early stage, and gradually the publication established its identity as a distinct Irish periodical title. The title changed to the *Gentleman's and London Magazine* in 1755, an amalgamation of the successful London titles. By the 1740s it was widely known as *Exshaw's Magazine*. Another successful periodical in the 1750s was Andrew Welsh's Limerick reprint of the London title the *Magazine of Magazines*,

[8] In partnership Faulkner and Hoey published two newspapers, *The Dublin Journal* from 1726 and the *Dublin Post Boy* from 1727.
[9] For the most succinct accounts of these early periodicals see, Clyde, *ILM,* pp 62-3.

which lasted a respectable eighteen years until 1769. Despite being a reprint and including very little material of Irish interest or origin, this was a major undertaking for a provincial printer as each issue was over one hundred pages in length. Welsh also commissioned Irish paper for the project and imported a new type from Joseph Sexton.[10]

The most innovative early Irish periodical was *A Literary Journal*, established by the Rev. Jean Pierre Droz in Dublin in 1744. Droz, influenced by successful French periodical models, aimed to provide Irish readers with abstracts of important foreign books along with 'some short remarks of my own'.[11] Material of specifically Irish interest began to be included by Droz in the second volume, particularly in the 'Literary News' section which published notices from Irish publishers. His inclusion of abstracts from continental magazines marked a further development for specifically Irish-produced periodicals, as the readership of French-language material in Ireland was quite significant and was an audience not served by the many British periodical imports. The particular attention to 'foreign Books' in the *Literary Journal* was also a distinctive selling point for the periodical.[12] Droz's magazine is also important for tracing the development of the Irish periodical as his prospectus highlighted another issue that all publishers and editors faced throughout the period – the danger of publishing offensive or seditious material, or appearing to be politically partisan. Droz's determination to 'most

[10] Robert Herbert, *Limerick printers and printing* (Limerick, 1942), p. 9. Welsh's first issue was the equivalent of the London number for March 1751.
[11] 'Preface', *Literary Journal* (1744).
[12] Ibid.

industriously avoid whatever may directly or indirectly affect the Government' represented a common sentiment that would be uttered by almost all Irish periodicals that followed, though some would be more rigorous than others in adhering to such prudent promises.[13]

Exshaw's Magazine was the only Irish monthly periodical to survive the early initiatives of the 1730s and 1740s. It continued to expand the amount of material it added to the English reprinted text, and remained successful throughout the 1750s and 1760s alongside short-lived competitors such as *The Compendious Library* (1751-2), *The Dublin Library* (1761), and the *Dublin Magazine* (1762-5), all of which were published by established Dublin booksellers.[14] The latter periodical was published by bookseller and merchant Peter Wilson who had previously attempted to launch a periodical in the 1740s when he issued twenty-six numbers of *The Medler*.[15] His *Dublin Magazine* in the 1760s was considerably more successful and the most noteworthy rival to *Exshaw's Magazine*. It included significant contributions from Irish correspondents and contained numerous high-quality engravings and maps of Irish subjects such as a fold-out print of Rocque's map of Dublin.[16] Other Irish material in the early issues of this periodical included a well executed engraving of Dr Steven's Hospital, from an original drawing by John Aheron, accompanied by an account of that institution and poetry by Benjamin

[13] Ibid.
[14] For more detail on these titles see Clyde, *ILM,* pp 62-7.
[15] Noted in Robert Munter, *A hand-list of Irish newspapers, 1685-1750* (London, 1960), no. 139.
[16] 'Rocque's map of modern Dublin', *Dublin Magazine* (2nd ed, Apr., 1762).

Burton Doyle, a fellow of Trinity College.[17] The surviving correspondence of Charles O'Conor indicates that Wilson was also active in searching for original Irish material. O'Conor received a request for a description of Co. Roscommon to be included in the magazine.[18] The title-page for each volume of the *Dublin Magazine* was illustrated with a decorative vignette of the coat of arms of Dublin, further highlighting the Irish origins of the periodical. The success of this venture was confirmed by a second edition of the first volume printed by Wilson with a note attached that an increase of '500 in the impression' would be necessary for the second volume.[19] Despite these indications of success Wilson's *Dublin Magazine* ended in 1765, perhaps explained by the publishers other book trade commitments, including the *Dublin Directory* (which he began 1751). Wilson also became more involved in the city's Common Council and other political roles.[20]

These periodicals established the essential features that characterised Irish periodicals as their potential benefits to a publisher or bookseller. *Exshaw's Magazine*, and to a slightly lesser extent *Wilson's Dublin Magazine*, demonstrated that monthly periodicals could generate regular income and provide widespread exposure and recognition for the publisher, both highly beneficial characteristics for members of the book trade.

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[17] 'An account of Dr Steven's Hospital with a view of that building' and 'Ode on the King's nuptuals', Ibid. pp 38-40, 41-44.
[18] Charles O'Conor, *The letters of Charles O'Conor of Belangare* (2 vols, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1980), i, p. 187.
[19] 'Advertisement', *Dublin Magazine* (2nd ed, 1762). A very clean copy of the second edition of vol. I survives in the RIA.
[20] Pollard lists Wilson's progression within the guild and the city's Common Council, *Dictionary,* p. 626.

Periodical titles, size, structure and layout

Of the ninety monthly and quarterly periodicals, published in Ireland between 1770 and 1830, which constitute the quantitative base for this analysis, 'magazine' was the most common description used. It was used for over fifty titles and confirmed the continued influence of Edward Cave's original *Gentleman's Magazine*. The term also appeared in the 'half-titles' of a further three; for example, *Bolg an tSolair,* (the Belfast monthly associated with the Society of United Irishmen), was sub-titled *The Gaelic Magazine*, and the long-lasting *Christian Examiner* used '*Church of Ireland Magazine*' as its sub-title. When the figures are examined for the eighteenth century separately, it is clear that the term magazine was used in over seventy percent of periodical titles. By 1830 the dominance of this term in periodical titles was still evident, though it had dropped to fifty-five percent, which supports the suggestion that the periodical market had fractured somewhat by this stage as will be discussed further below. As printed matter further penetrated all levels of society and daily life, the periodical market correspondingly expanded to provide new forms of reading material.

'Register' appears five times, and 'journal' and 'examiner' each appear only three times in full titles; 'Register' was the most frequently utilised half-title name. Despite the original translation of the term 'journal' as 'daily', it appears to have departed from this association early on in the development of the periodical. Ireland's first literary periodical was *A Literary Journal* (1744-9), but the term journal was more commonly associated with newspapers, such as the long-running

Freeman's Journal (1763-1924) and the *Hibernian Journal; or Chronicle of Liberty* (1771-1821). Some short-lived periodicals used the term such as the *Belfast Magazine and Literary Journal* (1825). Surprisingly, given the appropriateness of the term 'miscellany' to the periodical format, it was only used in two titles, both published in Cork; *The Monthly Miscellany* published between 1796 and 1797 and *The Religious Miscellany* published between 1814 and 1815; 'miscellaneous' appeared as the half-title of a further three periodicals.

In the early nineteenth century the 'review' type publication, with its specific format traits, began to replace the eighteenth-century magazine as the model for some periodicals, though such publications were not a feature of the Irish periodical trade. This may be explained by the international audience of the successful reviews such the *Edinburgh Review* (1802-1929). It circulated widely in Ireland and its scholarly reputation could not have been matched by Irish periodical producers in this period. It was not until the 1830s and the establishment of the *Dublin University Magazine*, that the Irish market was able to produce and sustain a comparable scholarly review. This survey of titles suggests that by the mid-eighteenth century individual taste governed the choice of periodical titles. Titles cannot be said to have represented any common sense of periodicity, style or intent beyond the term 'magazine'. It was the only term that was never associated with newspapers and rarely with publications that appeared more often than monthly. This assertion is bolstered by comments in the *Hibernian Magazine* in the article 'Titles of Periodical Essays':

> The successors of the Spectator, even those that have been most popular, seem to have been unfortunate in the *Titles* they assumed. Who would suppose that the *Rambler* (il Vagabondo, as the Italian translator termed it) was a series of gravest and most moral essays? The *Adventurer,* it seems, alluded to its being a kind of *Knight-errantry* to attack the follies and vices of men. The *Connoisseur,* though you would naturally expect it from the title, yet contained nothing that related to the fine arts. The *World* was an appropriated and happy title, because it pointed out the chief design of touching on the topics of the day, and the living manners of the times ...[21]

No Irish periodical, including Walker's own periodical publications, used *World* in its title, despite the merit he afforded it.[22] This evidence further suggests that the eighteenth-century understandings of such terms were clear and that the *Gentleman's Magazine* format remained influential throughout the period.

Bi-monthly, monthly and quarterly periodical publications published in Ireland between 1770 and 1830 are considered in the quantitative analysis of this study. Weekly and fortnightly publications have been excluded from the statistical analysis, though several provide examples of high-quality content, production and illustration. The *Belfast Literary Journal* (1816) was a smart fortnightly magazine that has been excluded due to its periodicity, though it contained much original content that aimed to 'encourage virtue, correct vice, [and] enlarge the

[21] 'Titles of periodical essays', *Hibernian Magazine* (Feb., 1798), pp 126-7. Emphasis from original text.

[22] A fortnightly newspaper appeared in Belfast in the late 1820s titled *The World,* printed by Hugh Watson and a weekly of the same title appeared in Dublin from May 1840 to December 1851 which was issued with 40,000 stamps in 1850 indicating an very impressive circulation, possibly proving Walker's point. North, *Waterloo*, W: 3906.

understanding and refine the taste'.[23] Despite the quality of a handful of fortnightly titles, in general there was a notable difference in tone and physical appearance that distinguished them from bi-monthly, monthly and quarterly periodicals.

Bi-monthly publications have been included in this analysis. *The Ulster Register: a political and literary magazine* published in Belfast between 1816 and 1817, which began as a twice monthly magazine in 1816 and then became a weekly in 1817, is only considered in the statistical analysis of this study for 1816. In its opening statement 'To the people of the north', the magazine condemned 'those base and unprincipled Proprietors of Newspapers and Magazines' who were in the employ of the government, and presented itself as 'the *arena* where every sophistical [sic] gladiator may wield his sword'. It aimed to provide the 'enlightened' inhabitants of Ulster with:

> the opportunity of communicating their sentiments on all those subjects best calculated, in their minds, to advance the interests – to expose the wants and the wishes – to rectify the abuses – to obtain redress – to relieve the oppressed and protect the unoffending.[24]

Throughout its life, in both periodical formats, *The Ulster Register* retained its commitment to cultural and political material while avoiding polemical and divisive comment. Bi-monthlies and quarterlies comprise less than five percent of the quantitative material, but they have been included as they display similar characteristics to monthlies and were aimed at a similar section of the reading public. For example, *The Patriotic Magazine,* published in Cork between January

[23] 'Preface', *Belfast Literary Journal* (1816).
[24] 'Preface', *The Ulster Register: a political and literary magazine* (1816).

1808 and April 1810, has been included; it was first published as a fortnightly magazine but then changed to quarterly. Despite the periodicity, both stages of this magazine represent the common style of monthly for the period, in terms of physical size and content. Periodicals that appeared on an irregular basis, which also displayed the general characteristics of monthlies have also been included, for example *The Monstrous Magazine* (1770), *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* (1780-1786) and the *Milesian Magazine* (1812-17). The former has been included as the only surviving issue dated 'May 1770' was forty pages in length and included illustrations, both features of monthly titles, rather than weeklies. *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* was the journal associated with the Hibernian Antiquarian Society under the eccentric antiquarian Charles Vallancey, where Irish antiquarian controversies were played out during the 1780s. It has been included as it appears to have been sold in parts (though somewhat irregularly, which might be explained by the fact that the Hibernian Antiquarian Society was made up of only seven members) and later bound with a volume title-page as was the custom with other monthly and quarterly periodicals.[25] The final example of the *Milesian Magazine*, for which only fifteen numbers appeared between 1812 and 1817, has been included as these issues were monthly at first but became increasingly irregular in their appearance. It was revived briefly for one issue in 1825.

[25] Clare O'Halloran discusses Vallancey's journal and its involvement with Irish antiquarian controversies in *Golden ages and barbarous nations: antiquarian debate and cultural politics in Ireland, c.1750-1800* (Cork, 2004), particularly pp 166-168. For a full list of Vallancey's publications see William O'Reilly, 'Charles Vallancey and the Military Itinerary of Ireland' in *Proc. of the RIA*, 106C: 1, pp 125-217.

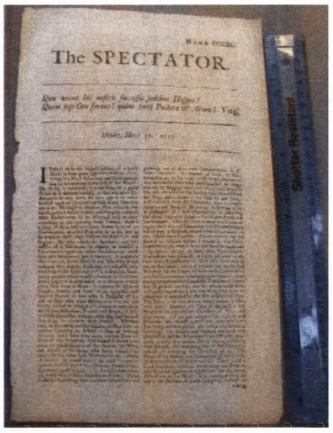
The Marvellous Magazine; or, entertaining pocket companion (1822) was physically quite similar to *The Monstrous Magazine*, but has been excluded as each of the thirteen surviving issues were numbered in the manner of weekly publications of the period. *The Parlour Window* (1795-6), an irregular publication has also been excluded because it was significantly smaller in page numbers than the average monthly and was dominated by a single periodical essay, which suggests a weekly publication pattern. Other periodicals were also excluded due to insufficient evidence of their production in Ireland. For example the *Edinburgh Medical Journal* (1805-55), *The Farmer's Magazine* (1800-25) and *The Naval and Military Magazine* (1827-8) all became open to inclusion when an examination of their volume title-pages indicated that there was some co-publication between Irish publishers and English or Scottish publishers. But in these cases, as distinct from other jointly-published titles listed in the appendix, it appears that none of these were produced in Ireland. It is likely that the Irish publisher's names included in the imprints indicated a broader publishing arrangement which commonly included adding names of associates to the colophon.

The common physical features of monthly periodicals played an important role in distinguishing the genre in this period. Such features translated into a contemporary understanding of the genre and acted as a visual indicator of the general type of content a reader would encounter in a particular publication. In the eighteenth century the size of printed material was more commonly derived from the number of leaves created from a standard sheet of paper, when each signature was printed.

The majority of periodicals in this study appear to have been octavo in format, resulting from the paper being folded three times to make eight leaves which became sixteen pages. The octavo format was also common for many books in the period. Chesterfield referred to 'small octavos' as his after-dinner leisure reading. This distinction between the types of octavo is even more specific. Some periodicals would be classed as small octavo, though generally these were the more specialist titles (as distinct from the larger general magazines), such as *Bolg an tSolair* (1795). Some periodicals were duodecimo; this format was most common among provincial titles such as *The Religious Repertory* published in Cork in 1814, and *The Clonmel Magazine* published in Tipperary from 1826 to 1827. Periodicals that retained the established layout and size of the eighteenth century magazine model throughout the period were almost universally octavo in their make-up.

The Patriotic Magazine, published by Daly in Cork between 1808 and 1810 was printed in a quarto format, a style larger than the average periodical. This magazine began life as a fortnightly publication using the octavo format, though it altered to a quarterly in 1810 (it is only included in this study for that year) and moved to the larger format. As quarterlies were generally more expensive than monthlies, Daly may have felt that the format should reflect this elevation, and so changed to the more lavish quarto format. Quartos, as Chesterfield noted, were considered heavier intellectual company. Figure 3.1 and 3.2 illustrate the size and layout of the original *Spectator,* which was considerably larger than the standard monthly format of the *Gentleman's Magazine* established by Cave in 1731 (figure 3.3). The *Spectator*

Figure 3.1and 3.2: *The Spectator,* 31 March 1712 (RIA)



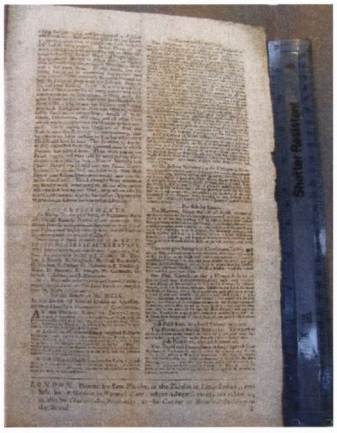
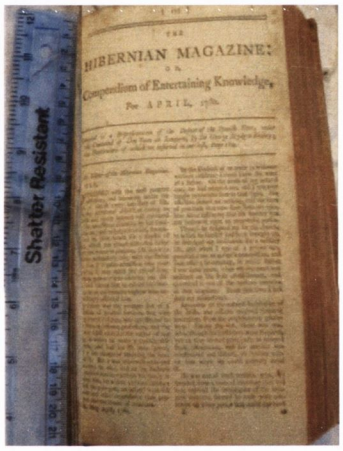
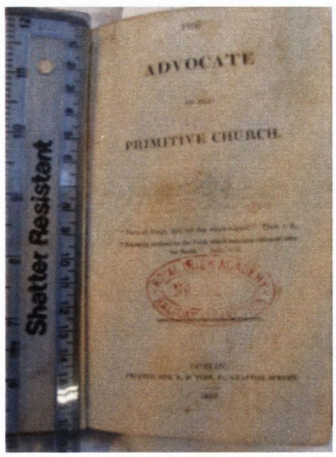
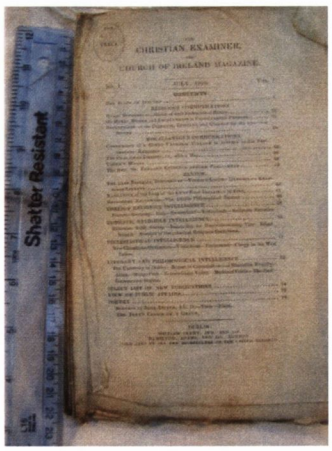


Figure 3.3 and 3.4: *The Gentleman's Magazine,* June 1817 (London) (RIA) and *The Hibernian Magazine*, April 1780 (Dublin) (RIA). These periodicals were very similar in size at c. 22cm in height. Both retained the two column format throughout their Lives and this form was the most common throughout the period.



Figures 3.5 and 3.6: *The Advocate of the Primitive Church,* 1823 (Dublin) (RIA) and *The Christian Examiner or Church of Ireland Magazine*, July 1825 (Dublin) (TCD). The volume title page of the former measuring only 17cm and unbound issue of the latter measuring c.22cm.





consisted of one page folio folded to make two leaves each of which had two columns of printed text. Its appearance was closer to the traditional newspaper than the magazine format, though there was much more of the printed page left blank than on traditional 'news' sheets of the period. Much of the back page consisted of advertisements, a feature which was not inherited by the monthly or quarterly periodicals. Figures 3.4-3.6 indicate that the Irish periodicals retained the general size of the *Gentleman's.* The title page of *The Advocate of the Primitive Church* for 1823 (figure 3.5) is an example of a smaller format at just 17cm in height, a size which became common among the many religious periodicals of the early nineteenth-century which were published in duodecimo format. The unbound issue of *The Christian Examiner or Church of Ireland Magazine* for July 1825 (figure 3.6) shows a slightly larger format at 23cm in height, though it should be remembered that when bound, the deckled edges were trimmed by the binder to create the standard size. The notation of book sizes in centimetres, often used in modern bibliography, by-passes important contemporary distinctions as noted above, but it can be surmised that octavos, the most common format for Irish periodicals, were generally 20-23cm in height.

The layout of periodical content remained relatively consistent throughout the period. It was almost universal to begin each issue with a periodical essay or a letter of several pages of length, followed by abstracts, letters, fiction, reviews, travel accounts, reports of inventions, mathematical problems, fashions, epitaphs, anecdotes, inventions, patents, poetry, parliamentary, 'foreign and domestic intelligence', and notices of births, marriages, deaths and promotions. Though the type of content varied little, the format of presentation of text altered around 1800. Figures 3.7 to 3.10 show the standard layout for periodicals throughout the period, with *The Monstrous Magazine* (figure 3.7) being a very early and unusual Irish example of the book format being used in a monthly. The *Hibernian Magazine* (figure 3.8), with its two-column text presentation and use of illustration, should be considered the most common model in terms of content, format and layout for the majority of the eighteenth-century Irish periodicals which followed. By 1799, when a large number of new periodicals were established in Ireland, the book format became very common. *The Microscope, or minute observer* (1799-1800) was a very elegant example of periodical production which favoured the book format. Despite a notable trend towards the book format, particularly in more intellectual periodicals, the two-column format was still used, for example in Cox's *Irish Magazine* (figure 3.9) and the many small religious publications. The book format was also adapted by the long-lasting Protestant magazines, such as the *Christian Examiner* and the *Christian Herald,* which began in the 1820s.

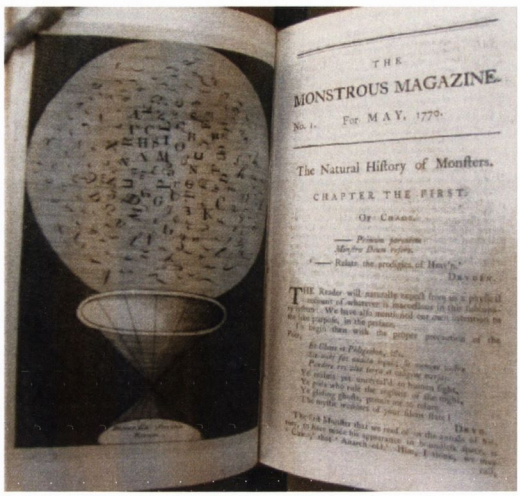

THE
MONSTROUS MAGAZINE.
No. I. For MAY, 1770.
The Natural History of Monsters.
CHAPTER THE FIRST.
Of Chaos.

Figure 3.7: *The Monstrous Magazine*, May 1770 (TCD). Full-page illustrations were placed before the first page, as they usually represented an image relating to the leading article. This is an unusually early example of the 'book' or single column text layout.

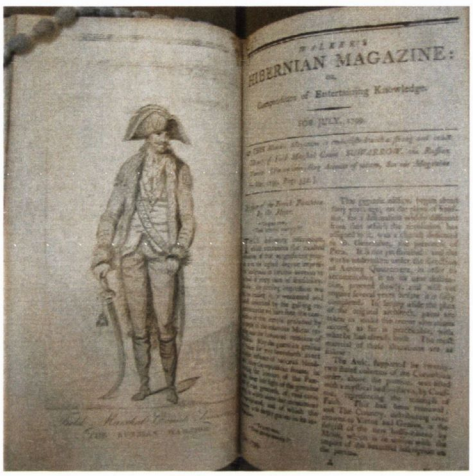

WALKER'S
HIBERNIAN MAGAZINE:
OR,
Compendium of Entertaining Knowledge.
FOR JULY, 1790.

Figure3.8: *The Hibernian Magazine*, July 1790 (TCD). The *Hibernian Magazine* used a two-column layout throughout its publication life, and was the standard model adopted by the majority of its eighteenth century contemporaries.

THE
IRISH MAGAZINE
AND
MONTHLY ASYLUM
FOR
NEGLECTED BIOGRAPHY.
For APRIL, 1808.
LIFE OF GENERAL SARSFIELD.
SIR PATRICK SARSFIELD
(Lord Lucan)
The Celebrated Irish General

Figure 3.9: Cox's *Irish Magazine*, April 1808 (RIA). This is a nineteenth century example of the two-column format which was less universal but still widely used.

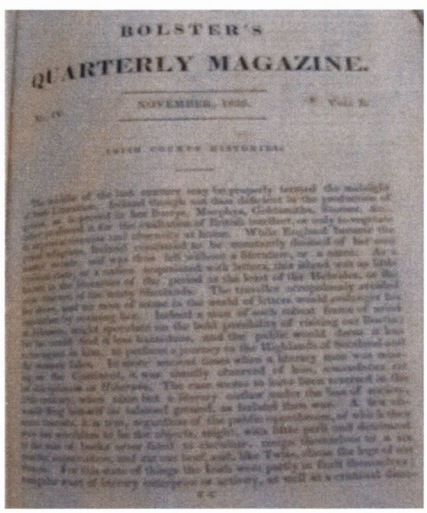

BOLSTER'S
QUARTERLY MAGAZINE.
NOVEMBER, 1826.

Figure 3.10: *Bolster's Magazine*, November 1826 (RIA). This magazine is an example of the nineteenth century 'book' layout that was common in the new general magazines which included high quality literary, historical and cultural material along with academic reviews.

Periodical wrappers were another a distinguishing visual characteristic of Irish periodicals, though their low survival rate makes general analysis difficult.[26] Wrappers for seventeen periodicals within this study's remit have been located, totalling eighty-nine separate wrappers.[27] The low survival rate can be explained by the traditional custom of removing outer wrappers during the binding process. It was also common practice for publishers to provide extra leaves with prefatory material to complete a bound volume such as title page, contents, index, and list of plates thereby making the information carried on wrappers obsolete. These covers were considered ephemera like other forms of printed wrappers common in the period which were used to protect or hold together pins, tobacco, snuff, or playing cards. This type of paper made purchasing more manageable and the name of the supplier or manufacture could be easily printed for display and advertising.[28] Although periodical wrappers had more diverse uses than the other printed wrappers listed above, they should be seen within this context of ephemeral printed paper. Wrappers provided protection to the printed text and particularly to the illustrations of the periodical which would have required relatively robust covers, especially if they were to be sent in the post. Several examples survive of single-page copper plates and multiple fold-out illustrations which were stitched into the

[26] The majority of periodical wrappers in this period were blue, and are often referred to as blue wrappers. Some examples of grey, beige, or salmon coloured wrappers also survive. Blue was the most universally used wrapper as coloured rags could make blue paper and indigo was commonly available to dye rags also. See also Irene Brückle, *'Historical Manufacture and Use of Blue Paper' in The book and paper group annual,* 12 (1998). Accessible online: http://aic.stanford.edu/sg/bpg/annual/v12/ (May 2007).

[27] It is likely that this figure will be augmented when all Irish libraries have been searched.

[28] Maurice Rickards and Michael Twyman (eds), *The encyclopedia of ephemera: a guide to the fragmentary documents of everyday life for the collector, curator and historian* (London, 2000), p. 242.

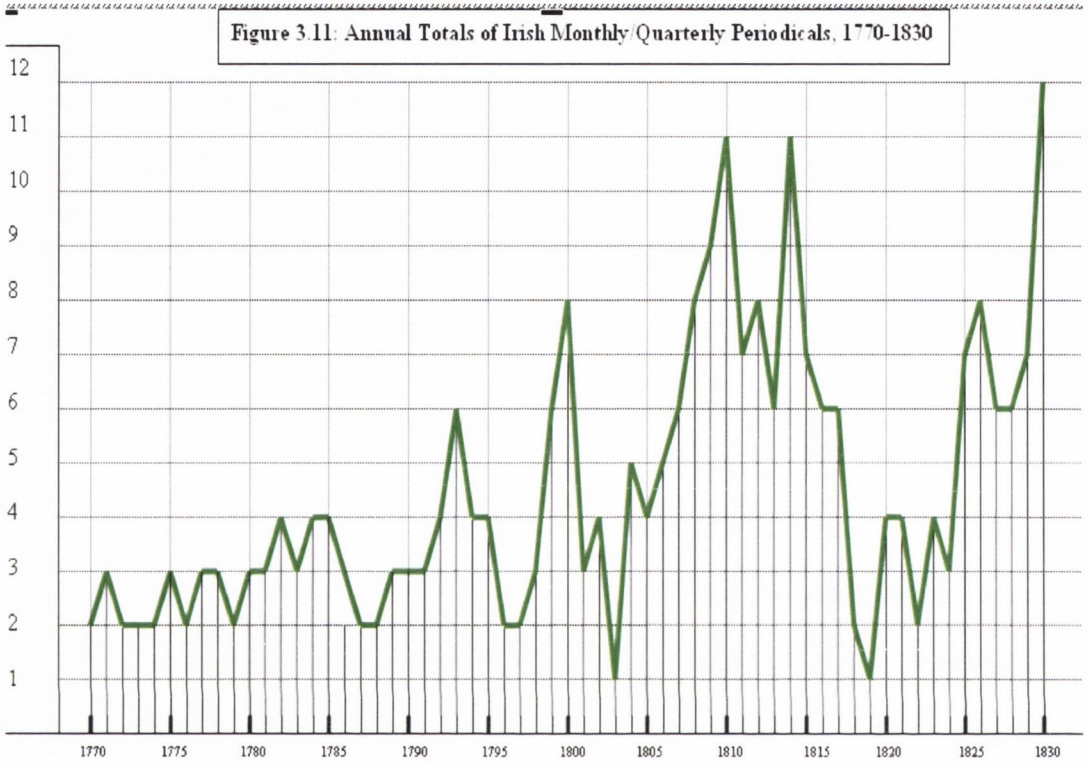
magazine wrapper before the text proper.[29] They also displayed publication information such as date, price, publisher, and place of publication. Sometimes more detailed publication information indicating publishing partnerships, multiple places of publication or selling agents were also recorded on the wrapper. Wrappers offered other commercial benefits to the periodical publishers such as advertising space, which will be discussed further in chapter five.

The number of pages included in any one issue of a periodical was another visual indicator of the style and tone of a publication. For example, although page numbers vary from twenty-eight to over one hundred in the sample from 1770 to 1830, the majority of the periodicals consisted of pages ranging from forty-eight to ninety-six pages. The *Hibernian Magazine*, the longest running title of the period, began with about fifty-six pages per month for the first decade of its production, rising to an average of ninety-six pages, by the 1790s. Before 1810, all of the thirty-seven publications had between forty-eight and ninety-six pages except the *Monstrous Magazine* (1770) and the *Theatric Magazine, or General Repository* (1806), the *Supernatural Magazine* (1809) and the *Political Guardian* (1810), each of which had between twenty-four and forty-four pages. It is worth noting that each of these titles were subject-specific and so were likely to attract a smaller number of subscribers. After 1810 there were proportionately more periodicals outside the forty-eight to ninety-six page range, though this trend is not particularly marked. Of

[29] When the periodical was bound at the end of the volume or the year, the binder would remove the wrappers and the illustrations, sometimes including the illustrations in the bound volume in the allotted places in relation to the text, though it was not unusual for illustrations to have been separated from the text and used as wall-hangings or as part of other decorative displays.

the remaining forty-eight periodicals, eight had slightly below the average, with half of these titles being specifically religious publications, such as the *Religious Miscellany* (1814-5), *The Immortal Memory Magazine, or Monthly Protestant Register* (1823), the *Bible Christian* (1830-1945) and *The Covenanter* (1830-1900). Significantly, the other half in this group of smaller than average monthly periodicals were all associated with provincial printing centres. These included *The Munster Olive Branch* (1814) published in Cork for only one issue, *The Juvenile Magazine* (1814-5) published in Ballitore, Limerick and Dublin, its successor *The Ballitore Magazine* (1820-1) (though this was also published in Dublin), and *The Clonmel Magazine* (1826-7) published in Clonmel. Of the three periodicals with more page numbers than the average range, the *Dublin Philosophical Journal and Scientific Review* (1825-6) was a quarterly published in Dublin, Edinburgh and London, and the *Limerick Monthly Magazine* which lasted for only two issues in 1830. *The National Magazine* (1830-1), with approximately one hundred and twenty-eight pages per issue was an exceptionally large periodical for the period.

Periodical publication rates and periodical geography



A graph representing the pattern of periodical publication for each year in the period is presented in figure 3.11. The peaks and troughs can be explained by many factors external to the trade, and demonstrate how periodicals were effected by the wider publishing and political environment. From this it is clear that the level of periodical publication did not vary much – from two to four a year – until the 1790s. Before that period *Exshaw's Magazine* and *Walker's Hibernian Magazine,* were consistently successful, easily co-existing with short-lived French language competitors, in the form of reprints, in the *Mercure de France* (1775) and *Le Magazin à la Mode* (1777-8). The 1780s produced five competitors for *Exshaw's Magazine* and *Walker's*, but they were each short-lived or specialist titles.

Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis could not be considered a typical miscellany as it published material very specifically associated with Irish antiquarian debate. Other titles in this decade such as *The Dublin Magazine and University Museum* (1782), Whitestone's *Town and Country Magazine and Irish Miscellany*(1785) and *The Ulster Repository* (1785), all lasted less than four months and had little lasting influence on the development of the Irish periodical. It was not until the end of the decade and the establishment of *The Universal Magazine and Review* (1789-93), that a successful new periodical was published. Its publisher was the enterprising bookseller Patrick Byrne, who was by then one of the most successful Catholic book trade members of the eighteenth century. Byrne maintained his periodical as one facet of a flourishing book-publishing business, and like Exshaw and Walker, utilised his magazine to advertise his book-stock nationally. The *Universal Magazine* was similarly priced to its more established competitors at one British shilling (1*s*.1 *d.* Irish), and regularly included three separate engravings, many of Irish interest. Each of these successful Irish periodicals continued to provide magazine readers with 'a fund of entertainment, a faithful register of public events, both foreign and domestic'.[30]

The 1790s marked a period of intense political upheaval, and this increased the demand for news and for public space for debate. It would appear that periodical production benefited from such environments as six different periodicals were published in 1793. New titles such as the *Sentimental and Masonic Magazine* (1792-5) and of *Anthologia Hibernica* (1793-5) added a further element of

[30] 'To the public', *Hibernian Magazine* (Mar., 1793), p. 193.

competition to the Irish periodical market. The former increased the standard of literary material in its pages and the latter included a significantly higher proportion of original Irish content than any of its rivals. In the same period one of the stalwarts of the previous quarter century ceased publication. In 1794 *Exshaw's Magazine* folded, marking the end of that publishing dynasty's fifty year connection with the Irish periodical trade.

The late 1790s witnessed mixed fortunes for Irish periodicals, though they did not suffer from the same level of government attention as the newspaper press did. With the end of *Anthologia Hibernica,* the *Sentimental and Masonic Magazine* and *Bolg an tSolair* (ended after only one issue) in 1795, the total number of periodicals produced in 1796 and 1797 was reduced to only two. However, the first monthly to be produced outside Dublin in this period appeared when *The Monthly Miscellany, or Irish Review and Register* was published in Cork by James Haly from 1796 to 1797. The repression of the opposition newspaper press by government efforts in the late 1790s may have contributed to the increase in the number of periodicals published in the final years of the century. By 1800, eight periodicals were being published, several of a high quality and more from provincial presses. This number would not again be exceeded until the height of the Napoleonic Wars which was to see a flowering of periodical publishing.

The successful Dublin bookseller James Moore published his first periodical publication *The Dublin Magazine* in 1798. It was perhaps an opportunistic move as

it began during the summer months of the year when the long-running *Hibernian Magazine* had briefly ceased publication during the Rebellion. Moore's previous career as a bookseller already suggested that he was an astute businessman, willing to take risks as was evidenced by his impressive reprint of the third edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* from 1790, which he marketed for its Irish production, illustrations and paper to the 'patrons of art in Ireland'.[31] Moore's magazine was joined by other publications from outside Dublin in the period. *The Microscope or Minute Observer* and the *New Magazine* (1799-1800) which were both published in Ulster and signified the growing importance of Belfast as a centre for Irish intellectual activity and periodical production. Both titles included material of Irish origin and were anti-union in their views. The *Irish Agricultural Magazine* (1799-1801) was the first specialist bi-monthly title published in Ireland, which marked the beginning of more specialist titles in the following decades. Although each of these titles ceased shortly after the passage of the Act of Union, they showed promise in the standard of their presentation and content, as well as their attention to material of Irish cultural, social and political interest.

Despite general predictions of economic stagnation and ruin in the wake of the Act of Union, the Irish economy and the Irish book trade generally grew in the early decades of the nineteenth century. As figure 3.11 illustrates that the periodical trade suffered in the short term, with output dropping to a low of one in 1803 (*Walker's Hibernian Magazine*) but that decline was soon reversed. New titles which were established between 1802 and 1804 tended to have religious and institutional

[31] 'Preface', *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (20 vols, Dublin, 1790-1800), i, p. 2.

associations specified in their titles. This trend was indicative of a more conservative periodical trade that focused on coherent groups of subscribers, at a time when the print market was recovering from the effects of the copyright act of 1801. For example Charles Downes, publisher of the *Literary and Masonic Magazine* (1802), was a member of the Freemasons as well as their official printer in Dublin. He aimed his periodical at this community which he would have had access to through their own well-established communication and distribution networks.[32] James and John Carrick's *Hibernian Evangelical Magazine* published in the same year included content on moral anecdotes and missionary news which was aimed at the growing number of evangelical 'improving' societies and charities such as the Sick and Indigent Room-keepers Association, of which James Carrick was a trustee.[33] Bennett Dugdale and Robert Napper were both members of the Dublin Methodist community when they established *The Methodist Magazine* in 1804. Dugdale was a prominent member and headed the list of trustees when the Primitive Wesleyans acquired a building in South Great George's Street; he became proprietor of the Wesley Chapel.[34] Like the previous two publications, the title of this monthly associated it with a well-established and distinct audience which could have sustained its existence, even if the general public did not respond

[32] Charles Downes is referred to as Brother Downes, Printer to the Grand Lodge, in his 1804 edition of Laurence Dermott, *The constitution of Free-masonry; or Ahiman Rezon, to which is added a selection of Masonic songs, prologues and epilogues ...* (Dublin, 1804) and *A list of lodges of the most ancient & honorable fraternity of free and accepted Masons held under the sanction of the ... Grand Lodge of Ireland* (Dublin, 1804).

[33] George Austin, *Charity Sermon 19 Feb.* (Dublin, 1797) cited in Pollard, *Dictionary,* p. 90. The Sick and Indigent Room-keepers Association was established in the late eighteenth century and its board members and trustees included members from the trading and cross-denominational religious communities.

[34] Dudley Levistone Cooney, 'A pious Dublin printer' in *Dublin Historical Record* 46 (1993), pp 91-2. See also by the same author, *The Methodists in Ireland. A short history* (Dublin, 2001), p. 67.

enthusiastically. Dugdale and Napper were more selective and restrictive with their content than other religiously focused publications: their publication reproduced much of its content from the London edition of the same name published by Wesley, adding items of interest to the Irish Methodist community. This content included news of Methodist successes, brief biographies of distinguished Christians, episodes from church history, accounts of evangelical conversions, sermons, and other pious writings.[35]

After1804 it appears that the tendency toward market segmentation was reversed somewhat: no new titles after this date made any direct association with a group or institution in their title, besides a geographical one. Publications such as *The Ulster Magazine* (1804), *The Imperial Review* (1804-5), the *New Magazine, Ireland's Mirror* (1804-5), the *Cyclopaedian Magazine* (1807-9), the *New Magazine, Dublin Museum* (1807), the *Patriotic Magazine* (1808-10), the *Monthly Pantheon* (1808-9) and the *Belfast Monthly Magazine* (1808-14) moved away from religious associations and resembled the traditional miscellany format, albeit with more elegance and no doubt influenced by the scholarly standards of *The Edinburgh Review* (and its many imitators throughout England and Scotland). From 1806 the number of periodicals continued to increase, reaching a peak of nine per annum in 1810.

In this period periodicals could be grouped into political, religious, juvenile, literary and general categories which are an indication of the fracturing nature of the

[35] Cooney, *The Methodists in Ireland*, p. 80.

magazine market in the early nineteenth-century. Alongside the mature monthlies noted above, specialist titles appeared such as the *Irish Agricultural Magazine* (1799-1801), *Ancell's Monthly Military Companion* (1801-2), the *Theatric Magazine* (1806), *Dublin Medical and Physical Essays* (1807-8), *The Supernatural Magazine* (Jun.-Sept. 1809) and the *Dublin Satirist* (1809-10) were published. However it is important to note that each of these titles also included considerable 'miscellaneous' material as well as domestic and foreign news, letters to the editor and notices of deaths and marriages, as well as content related to the specific concerns. Together, this mix of traditional monthly publications alongside more specialist titles, paints a picture of a vibrant and engaged Irish periodical market at the end of the first decade of the nineteenth, an image which challenges the depressed and stagnant view often depicted in general narratives of the period.[36]

Despite a slight dip in the number of periodicals produced in 1813, there continued to be a number of good magazines which included Irish material and supported the idea that Ireland could and should sustain an indigenous periodical trade. These titles included the *Monthly Pantheon* (1808-09), the *Hibernia Magazine* (1810-11), the *Monthly Panorama* (1810), the *Dublin Magazine, or Monthly Memorialist* (1812-3), and the *Monthly Museum* (1813-14). Each of these publications professed their intention to serve a broad audience, while highlighting in their prefaces the difficulties still associated with the production of a periodical, a want of original

[36] In his manuscript notes for the unpublished third volume of his *History of Irish Periodicals,* Madden consistently blames the condition of literature and more specifically the periodical press on the English treatment of Ireland and especially the Union. (Gilbert Library, Madden Papers, MS 263-4). See also Hayley, 'Irish periodicals', pp 83-6.

material, limited distribution networks, problems of subscription collection and uncertain profits.[37] Madden commented on the *Monthly Museum* that it was 'not a first class periodical nor yet a bad example of a good second class one', not an inappropriate summary of these titles, if slightly dismissive of their achievements.[38]

As figure 3.1 illustrates, 1814 marked another significant peak for Irish monthly periodicals, with a total of eleven being published, a figure which would not be exceeded until 1830. 1814 was also significant in that it saw the highest number of provincial publications produced in the whole period. Four monthlies were produced in Cork by different publishers, including *The Religious Repertory* (1814), *The [Cork] Religious Miscellany* (1814-5), the *Psalter of Cashel* (1814), and *The Munster Olive Branch* (1814). *The Monthly Entertainer* (1814) and *The Juvenile Magazine* (1814-5) were also published from provincial centres, the former from Parsonstown and the latter in Ballitore, Limerick and Dublin. Though short-lived, these periodicals further attest to the popularity of the format among members of the book trade and to the growing confidence of provincial booksellers.

The monthly periodical suffered a marked decline in fortunes in the decade from 1815 to 1824 with comparatively small numbers being produced relative to previous years; there were never more than six periodicals published in any one year, more often only four or less. Of the titles published in this period, none survived to 1825. The majority were published in Dublin, and the various types

[37] See prefaces of *Monthly Panorama* (1810), *Hibernian Magazine* (1810), *Dublin Magazine, or Monthly Memorialist* (1812) and *Monthly Museum* (1813).
[38] Madden (Gilbert Library, Madden Papers, MS 264, 'Notes on *Monthly* Museum').

highlighted above are represented. Four were of a specifically evangelical character – the *Hibernian Evangelical Magazine* (1815-17), the *Dublin Christian Instructor* (1818-24), the *Immortal Memory Magazine, or monthly Protestant register* (1823), and the *Advocate of the Primitive Church* (1823-4). These periodicals did not have the broad appeal of the traditional miscellaneous monthly, though much of their content still consisted of biography, fiction, moral tales and intelligence.

The quality of weekly periodical titles increased significantly in the 1820s and this trend was particularly marked in the Belfast trade. *The Gleaner or Farmers and Tradesman's Weekly Miscellany*, published from December 1820 to April 1821 at a price of just 1½*d.* per issue, was a weekly newspaper which carried prices and commercial news but also aimed to include 'the choicest articles in prose and verse, from the most celebrated writers' and to encourage 'original genius in every department'. The purpose of this periodical as stated by the editor, echoed the universal statements monthly and quarterly periodicals, to be 'amusing and instructive to the bulk of mankind'.[39] Other examples include *The Mirror* (1823), a fortnightly miscellany including classic and polite literature, and *The Rushlight* (3 Dec. 1824-9 Sept. 1825). The latter was a Chartist weekly literary publication edited by the veteran periodical businessman Hugh Clark, who had previously been involved in several other periodicals. It was edited by journeyman printer Luke

[39] 'Prospectus', *The Gleaner or Farmers and Tradesman's Weekly Miscellany* (8 Dec. 1820).

Mullen Hope. It included extensive literary reviews and advocated radical reform in parliamentary politics.[40]

The Newry Register, then *The Newry Magazine; or Literary and Political Register* (1815-19) was a well presented, good quality periodical which was published every two months in the town of Newry. Its opening article 'Some account of Newry, from the earliest periods to the present time' and mixture of extracted material, anecdotes, travel literature and lists of new publications were typical of the Irish and miscellaneous material it included. At the end of the first year the publishers changed the name to *The Newry Magazine* so that the periodical 'may be better distinguished from newspapers and all other publications' and continued to publish in bi-monthly numbers, though with more irregular inclusion of copper-plates, etchings and wood cuts.[41] This type of content was mirrored by another provincial periodical, the short-lived *Literary and Political Examiner* (1818) published in Cork by John Bolster. Bolster's prospectus claimed his publication would include 'everything illustrative of the present or former state of Ireland in general, and of Cork in particular'.[42] This return to a national audience was also clear in the prospectus of the *New Hibernian Magazine* (1820-1), with the title also suggesting an intention to re-create the success of Walker's *Hibernian Magazine.* The *New Irish Magazine, and Monthly National Advocate* (1822-3), as its title suggests, was also aimed at a general national audience. This periodical was one of several short-

[40] Little work has been done on these titles, but they are briefly discussed in North's *Waterloo directory of Irish newspapers and periodicals, 1800-1900.*
[41] 'To the public', *The Newry register* (1815).
[42] 'Prospectus', *Literary and political examiner* (1818).

lived opposition monthlies established in the early nineteenth century which signified the growing political confidence of Irish Catholics and the utilisation of print material to gather support for the Catholic cause. Others included *The Dublin and London Magazine* (1825-8), the *Dublin Monthly Magazine or Irish Sentinel* (1826), and provincial titles, the *Irish Catholic Magazine* published in Cork in 1829 and the *Limerick Monthly Magazine* (1830). The only publication in this period to actually use 'national' in its main title was the tory and Protestant *National Magazine* (1830-1). Its content was focused on 'tales, legends, antiquities and history' which related to Ireland and included contributions from John O'Donovan and William Carleton.[43]

The geography of the periodicals in this study provides interesting evidence of the development of provincial printing centres. The patterns from this analysis support previous assertions about the development of the periodical market, such as the fracturing nature of the range of periodical titles, particularly in the early nineteenth century. However there is some consistency in the comparisons, as the number of Dublin titles increased in tandem with provincial titles. The majority of the ninety periodicals under consideration were published in Dublin (fifty-nine); in six of these cases, another place such as London, Edinburgh, Limerick, or Cork was mentioned in the imprint also. Dublin produced seventeen of this total before 1801 while Belfast published three and Cork and Strabane one each. Dublin's production increased in the second half of the period, but the proportion of monthlies being

[43] See John T. Gilbert, *On the life and labours of John O'Donovan, LL.D* (London, 1962); William Carleton, *William Carleton the autobiography* (Belfast, 1996); David Krause, *William Carleton, the novelist: his carnival and pastoral world of tragicomedy* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 66-99.

published in Cork and Belfast also grew, challenging but not breaking the capital's dominance. In the nineteenth century Parsonstown, Clonmel, Monaghan, Limerick and Ballitore each published a periodical. Though short lived, these provincial efforts reflect developments of the trade towards publications devoted to the interests of a special audience; some monthlies and quarterlies became regional in their focus, others focused towards a profession or confessional group. The last five years of the period, from 1825 to 1830, saw a general increase in the number and quality of monthly periodicals produced in Ireland as illustrated in figure 3.11. Of the twenty-one periodicals published in this five-year period, twelve were published outside Dublin and a further two jointly published in Dublin and another provincial town. These figures mark the decreasing influence of Dublin in the periodical market and add further weight to the argument that the market fractured in terms of content and geographical distribution.

Periodical title pages and illustrations

The development of title-page design in the Dublin book trade from 1670 to 1800, as analyzed by Phillips, reflects similar developments in England and on the continent.[44] It is not possible to determine whether title-page innovations were introduced directly from the continent or if they came to Dublin by way of London, though the latter is likely to be the case due to the heavy reliance on reprinting British texts in the eighteenth-century Irish book trade. Huguenot members of the Dublin trade may have introduced some continental practices between 1695 and

[44] Phillips, *Printing and bookselling,* pp 222-3. This text it the only evidence found with discussion of Irish title-page design, and little scholarly attention has been paid to this aspect of book design in Britain or on the Continent.

1720, although no particular evidence could be found exclusively indicative of continental influence.[45] The example of Droz's periodical has already been noted as an example of French influences in the Irish periodical market as the format of his periodical predated similar publications in England.

In the early eighteenth century title-pages tended to be designed within a rule-frame, though this convention was less common by the mid-century. Non-rule framed pages offered significantly more space to publishers for text and engravings, and became widely adopted from the 1720s onwards in both books and periodicals. It suffered somewhat, both in books and periodicals, by the tendency to overcrowd the page, which caused it to lose a certain clarity and crispness which the rule-frame page always retained.[46] The space for rubrication and engravings allowed many periodicals to adapt conventional scenes and motifs to an Irish setting which represented a visual attempt to 'nationalise' or brand their publication as specifically Irish.

Walker's Hibernian Magazine was the most famous eighteenth-century Irish periodical to use the non-ruled title-page as well as engraved vignettes. As figures 3.12 – 3.14 illustrate, the initial title-page engraving used by the *Hibernian* was a simple harp representing Ireland, surrounded by elaborate script text that does not appear elsewhere in the periodical. This exact image was adopted by another Irish periodical in the 1790s, *Bolg an tSolair* (1795). By 1780 the title-page illustration

[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.

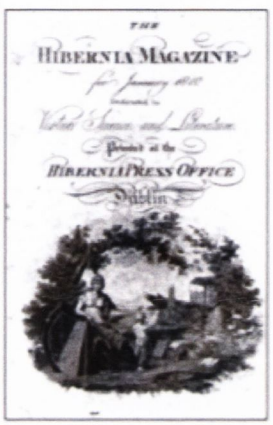
was more elaborate; the harp was surrounded by a country landscape and a book was also included, representing learning and enlightenment. By the end of the century the decorative text had been pared down, which improved the visual impact of the title in script and the illustration remained relatively similar, though it had been re-engraved with the harp and book on raised ground within the rural landscape background. These illustrations would have reminded a reader that they were reading a specifically Irish periodical as the harp is a distinctly Irish symbol.

Figures 3.12 – 3.14: *Walker's Hibernian Magazine,* 1771, 1780, 1799 (RIA).

Other title-pages with printed vignettes or illustrations that indicated the periodicals intentions to educate and enlighten, but which did not include specifically Irish symbolism include the *Sentimental and Masonic Magazine,* Moore's *Dublin Magazine* and the *Cyclopaedian Magazine* (figures 3.15-17). The former represents Apollo playing the lyre. As the god of music, truth, light and healing, Apollo taught man medicine and it is unsurprising that this image is adopted by a periodical which

sought to provide 'novelty and instruction' for their readers. Moore's magazine depicts a woman and child sitting on large books in a rural scene in front of a beehive which likely represents activity and energy.

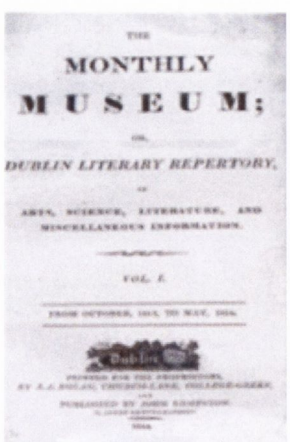
Figure 3.18: ***The Hibernia Magazine*, January 1810 (NLI).**



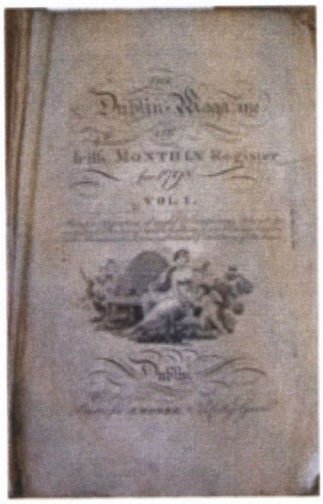
The volume title-page of the *Cyclopaedian Magazine* represented a more elaborate depiction of these themes using objects lying upon a classical plinth such as an artist's pallet, a globe, musical instruments and a drama mask, surrounded in the foreground by farming equipment, weapons of war and a beehive. A painting of a woman sits on the plinth with a shamrock on her shield. This image is almost identical to the volume title-page of *The Hibernia Magazine,* 1810 (figure 3.18).

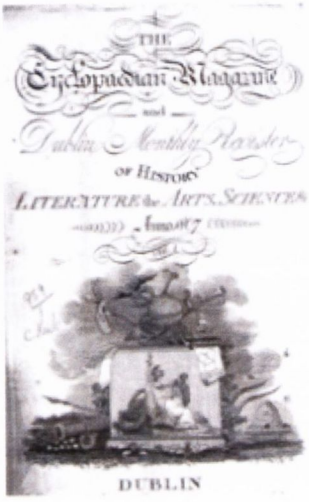
The volume title-page for the *Monthly Museum* (figure 3.19) is a later example of the pared down title-page vignette that was more common in the nineteenth century, with the only decoration appearing in a small engraving around the

Figure 3.19: ***Monthly Museum*, 1814 (NLI).**

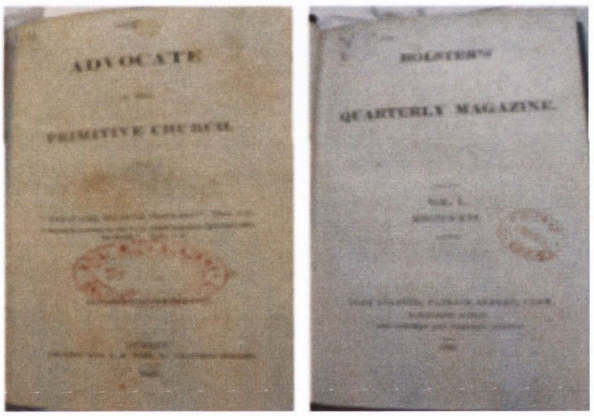


Figures 3.15-3.17: *Sentimental and Masonic Magazine,* 1792 (NLI); *Moore's Dublin Magazine* 1798 (TCD); *Cyclopaedian Magazine,* 1807 (NLI).





world 'Dublin' in the publisher's colophon. The title-pages of the two later volumes in figures 3.20 and 3.21 represent the more common type of title page found in later nineteenth-century periodical volumes. They are in the non-ruled style with no illustration, though neither of these titles offered illustrations to their readers in any form. The majority of general religious periodicals of the latter quarter of this period did not include any illustration either on the wrapper, volume-title page or accompanying the text. Decorative wrappers were rare in the period and will be discussed in chapter four as their engravings provide interesting examples of Irish-related content.



Figures 3.20-3.21: ***The Advocate of the Private Church,*** **1822 and** ***Bolster's Quarterly Magazine,*** **1826 (RIA).**

Illustrations, as part of a decorative wrapper, volume title-page or as an accompaniment to text, were an important selling point for bi-monthly, monthly and quarterly periodicals, and distinguished them from newspapers and weekly and fortnightly magazines which rarely included such features before 1830. Newspapers regularly employed an elaborately wood-engraved header and by the mid-eighteenth century their pages often included crude woodcuts of ships or insurance

banners which broke-up the text. Some weeklies also included a small wood-engraved vignette on their wrappers, but in general the monthly and quarterly publications of the period offered the most elegant and technically advanced illustrations of the ephemeral press. Intaglio, usually etching, was the principal technique, especially for separate prints which appeared in books and magazines, from the late eighteenth century until the 1830s at which time, this process began to give way to the cheaper lithography.[47] Any colouring in the period was added by hand. Illustrations were generally engraved from paintings, which would explain the number of portraits, landscapes and historical or fictional scenes that were produced, as these subjects would have been the regular fodder of eighteenth-century artists.

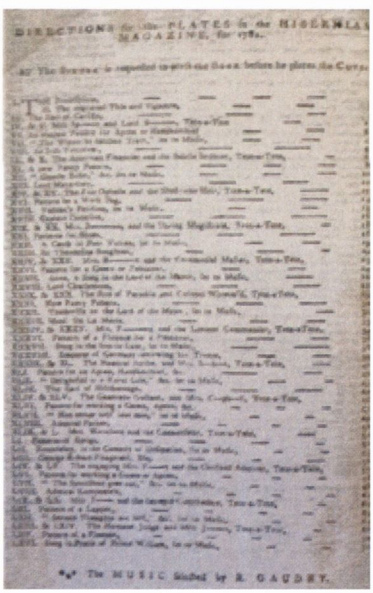
Full-page illustrations which separately accompanied periodical issues played an important part in the success of Irish monthlies as they could easily be removed and hung as decoration or pasted into scrap-books. *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* was by far the most energetic title producing up to seven illustrations its early issues in the 1770s.[48] Previously *Exshaw's Magazine* had included the most illustrations, usually two or three per issue, which might typically include a portrait, landscape or architectural view, a lady's pattern or printed music. Although the *Hibernian* did not retain this level of illustration throughout its history, it continued to include

[47] For more detail on these techniques see Anthony Gross, *Etching, engraving and intaglio printing* (London, 1970). Contemporary accounts of these processes can also be found in the *Dublin Penny Journal* (10 May 1834), pp 353-60.

[48] On the surviving wrappers for the *Hibernian Magazine* for September 1774 (TCD), four engravings are included, for June 1776 seven illustrations accompany the issue and for July 1778 six are listed. All are announced as 'beautifully engraved by *Irish Artists*'. (editor's emphasis).

high-quality illustrations and to offer as many, if not more, than its competitors. After a period of including only one illustration per issue in the early 1790s, the *Hibernian* settled on a format of two or three illustrations by the last years of the decade; the leading illustration accompanying the first article, a second representing a fictional scene or fashion trend or lady's pattern, and the third usually a printed music sheet. Figure 3.22 is an example of the directions given to binders for the insertion of illustrations within a complete volume. Listing sixty-six separate engravings for 1781, it demonstrates the quantity of prints the *Hibernian Magazine* provided readers in any given year.

Figure 3.22:
'Directions for plates', *Hibernian Magazine*, 1781 (TCD).



Figures 3.23 – 3.35 represent the general types and themes of illustrations that featured Irish periodicals from 1770 to1830. Colour illustrations, particularly representing fashion and botanical sketches, survive in small quantities but

highlighting the high quality productions and attention to detail of some periodical publishers.

Figure 3.23: 'The great sea serpent', *Hibernian Magazine,* February 1771 (NLI)
Nature illustrations or landscape views were common subject of Irish periodical engravings.

Figures 3.24-3.26: 'Mr. Mathew Carey, Printer', *Town and Country Magazine*, March 1784 (Marsh's Library Dublin); 'Mrs. Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, *Hibernian Magazine*, April 1798 (NLI); 'Mr. H. Johnstone, in the character of Rugantino', *Cyclopaedian Magazine*, January 1807 (NLI). Portraits of political figures, subjects of biographical articles, particularly members of European monarchies and military figures, authors, comedians and actors, were all subjects of periodical engravings.

Figures 3.27 and 3.28: 'Beauty Conducted by the Graces and Crowned by Love', *Hibernian Magazine,* February 1800 (TCD) and 'Diana preparing for the chace', *Hibernian Magazine,* April 1800 (TCD). These figures represent the 'polite' type of illustrations contained in the *Hibernian Magazine,* when it began to regularly include only two illustrations around 1799-1800. It was common for the second engraving to be a representation of a fictional scene or female fashions.

Figure 3.29: 'Paris Dress: Straw Hat and Salieter, *Hibernian Magazine,* September 1800 (TCD). This is one of the first instances when a fashion illustration was used for the lead article and engraving by the *Hibernian Magazine.* In the nineteenth-century, fashion illustrations increasingly became the subjects of Irish periodical engravings.

Figures 3.30 and 3.31: 'View of the west front of the Dublin Society's house, in Hawkin's Street', *Hibernian Magazine,* August 1801 (NLI) and 'St. Doulagh's Church, Co. Dublin', Cox's *Irish Magazine,* February 1808 (RIA).

Figure 3.32: 'Burning of Moscow by Order of the Governor', *Irish Magazine*, November 1812 (RIA). Political events were regularly the subject of periodical illustrations, and in the fold-out format represented above they vividly captured their subject matter.

Figure 3.33: 'The Budget!', *Hibernian Magazine*, November 1799 (TCD). This illustration is another fold-out political cartoon commenting on government actions during the Union debates. The treasury coach is being robbed while a senior figure is caught in the wheel saying 'Aye I'm at the bottom of it'. There is also an allusion to the bribery that was used to ensure the passing of the Union on the second vote.

Figures 3.34 and 3.35: 'Description of an ice life boat', *Hibernian Magazine*, January 1810 (RIA) and 'Mermaid', *New Irish Magazine and Monthly National Advocate*, December 1822 (RIA). It was uncommon for illustrations to be included on the same page as text, due to the more complicated nature of copper-plate engravings. These are two rare examples, and in these instances the quality of the illustrations are poor, most likely from wood-cuts, possibly used in chapbooks originally.

Figure 3.36: ***Anthologia Hibernica*, February 1793 (TCD).** First Illustration. 'Round Tower of Roscrea, Co. Tipperary' from a drawing by Mr William Beauford, Athy, engraved by Brocas, with accompanying historical account.

Figures 3.36 – 3.38 are examples of the typical illustrations included with one issue of *Anthologia Hibernica,* one of the most original and highly-regarded eighteenth-century Irish periodicals. Two-thirds of these engravings were of Irish origin and subject, which highlight the importance of factoring illustrations into assessments of the relevance of Irish periodicals to their readers. If included the percentage of 'Irish' content would rise considerably, a point which will be further discussed in chapter four.

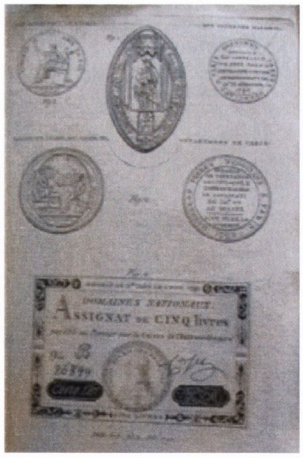
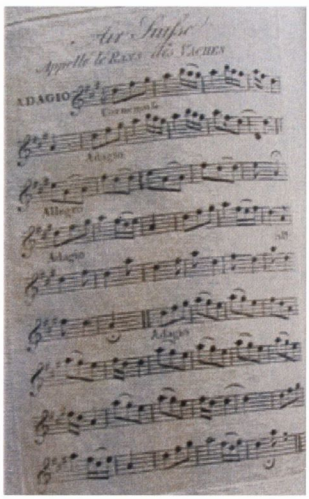


Figure 3.37: ***Anthologia Hibernica*, February 1793 (TCD).** Second Engraving, 'An Ancient Seal of one of the Bishops of Dromore; two of the copper coins now currents in France; and fac simile of an Assignat', engraved by Brocas.

Figure 3.38: ***Anthologia Hibernica*, February 1793 (TCD).** Third Illustration 'The notes of the celebrated Swiss Air, called Rans Des Vaches'.



In the late 1790s some periodicals, particularly *Walker's Hibernian Magazine,* Moore's *Dublin Magazine* and Cox's *Irish Magazine*, included more political illustrations, cartoons and caricatures. The appearance of these engravings in the late eighteenth century marked a significant turning point for the periodical, and further suggests that the format had developed beyond polite instruction and amusement to encompass political debate and provide a forum for serious public controversy. This is not to suggest that political illustrations were not common in the period of the Irish patriot movements in the 1770s and 1780s and the American and French Revolutions, but in the monthly periodicals they became more common, more satirical and pointed. However it is interesting to note that the periodicals which specifically focused on political matters such as the *Political Guardian* (1810) and the *Political Register* (1810-12) included no illustrations at all. Political, theatrical and religious titles tended not to include illustrations. This suggests that the appearance of illustrations had also fragmented; illustrations were more likely to appear in the general periodicals, those closest to the traditional eighteenth-century miscellany format, such as the *New Magazine, Ireland's Mirror* (1804-5), the *New Magazine, Dublin Museum* (1807), the *Cyclopaedian Magazine* (1807-9), the *Hibernia Magazine* (1810-11) and the *Dublin Magazine and Monthly Memorialist* (1812-13), though never in the same profusion as had appeared in the *Hibernian Magazine* of the 1770s.

It was also common for the themes of illustrations of the nineteenth-century general magazine to be lighter than the portraits of politicians, military leaders and political scenes which had dominated in the previous century. Internal illustrations also began to relate more regularly to broader subject areas, including inventions, fashions and mathematical problems. The *Cyclopaedian Magazine* usually included only one illustration, which accompanied the lead article and a higher proportion of these were of women, such as Sydney Owenson, Lady Morgan, Her Royal Highness the Crown Princess of Denmark and Mrs. Clark, under the late protection of the Duke of York, or of men from the world of the arts such as the travel writer Sir John Carr, Mr. Alexander Rae the comedian, or Mr. Robert Bradbury of the Theatre Royal, Crow-Street.[49]

The identity and careers of these periodical artists and engravers is difficult to discuss as the majority of pieces are unsigned, as was the convention for much of the textual content in periodicals. Henry Brocas Sr. was possibly the finest engraver in Dublin for much of the period, and with his four sons who all became artists and contributed to periodical engravings, he played an important role in the print trade in Ireland.[50] In March 1785 he signed a cartoon entitled 'Loves of the fox and the badger' in *Exshaw's Magazine*. Between 1792 and 1794 he signed various plates in Patrick Byrne's *Universal Magazine,* the *Sentimental and Masonic Magazine, Anthologia Hibernica* and the *Cyclopaedian Magazine.* After using Brocas

[49] *Cyclopaedian Magazine* (1807-9).
[50] The Brocas family have received some attention, notably from Patrick J. Rafferty, 'Brocas Family', *Dublin Historical Record*, 17 (1962), pp 27-8; Walter G. Strickland, *A dictionary of Irish Artists* (2 vols, Shannon, 1969, reprint of 1913 ed.), i, pp 89-90 and Pollard, *Dictionary,* pp 53-4.

engravings for its first four issues, the *Anthologia Hibernica* began to advertise its engravings by 'the promising young artist, Samuel Clayton'.[51] Clayton, son of engraver Benjamin Clayton, signed the plate of 'Church of Castle Dermot' in *Anthologia Hibernica* for October 1793 and was announced in the previous issue as a sixteen-year old lad.[52] He also signed the frontispiece of *Sentimental and Masonic Magazine* in 1794.

In 1810 the *Monthly Panorama* announced its plan to give 'a Print of some celebrated character, engraved by the first artists in Ireland'. For the first four issues from January to April each of these prints were supplied and signed by Brocas, for which he received 'double the usual price' in advance. A handbill stitched into the April issue of this magazine describes the disputes that arouse between Brocas and the publisher over the issue of engravings, and highlights the importance placed on this feature of the periodical.

> It is with pain that we have to present, instead of a finished portrait of one of our first political characters, a half wrought sketch which would disgrace a caricature. But we shall take especial care, in future, that as no expense is spared on this Magazine, so shall it be worthy of the time and labour expended on it by the conductors, as well as of the distinguished patronages which it has experienced from the Public.[53]

[51] TCD, *Anthologia Hibernica* (Oct., 1793), wrappers.
[52] *Anthologia Hibernica* (Sept., 1793), p. 240. Also cited in Pollard, *Dictionary*, p. 107.
[53] Handbill, *Monthly Panorama* (Apr., 1810).

From May 1810 Brocas's work does not appear in the magazine, being replaced thereafter by anonymous engravings bar one signed 'Byrne'. Despite moving to an unknown engraver, the proprietors continued to promote the quality of their illustrations in an address to the public, as they were 'highly creditable to the state of the arts in this country, and which, we doubt not, will contribute to encourage that emulation'.[54] They also announced that they were keeping their promise 'with regard to the ornamental part of this Magazine, at the commencement of our enterprise', with the inclusion of four plates by this date. They also appealed to any who had the opportunity to view original portraits of figures who had been subjects of the magazine's engravings to give public testimony as to their quality and likeness to the original. One of the Brocas family also signed several plates in Cox's *Irish Magazine* from 1807 to 1815 though, given the noticeable stylistic simplicity and crudeness of these pieces, it is possible that one of Brocas' younger sons who also became engravers, John Henry (1790-1846) or Henry Jr. (1798-1873), may have been responsible for them.

The new periodicals which emerged in the last fifteen years of the period provide little evidence of magazine illustrations. The increasing percentage of religious and provincial titles partly explains this trend as they rarely included such features, but it is more striking that the large general miscellanies of the era such as *Bolster's Quarterly Magazine* (1826-30) and the *Dublin Monthly Magazine* (1830) did not include illustrations either. Technological changes that affected the production and price of illustrations in periodicals were slowly adopted, but the cheap penny

[54] Ibid.

magazines were published in Ireland by 1832. *The Dublin Penny Journal* was launched under the editorship of Philip Dixon Hardy in this year and included over one hundred and fifty high-quality engravings mainly of Irish topics in its first volume. *The Irish Penny Magazine* and *The Irish Penny Journal* were also established in this decade and greatly broadened access to the periodical format.[55] Through the technological developments of this period and the adaptation of steam to the printing process, the largely craft industry of the engraver was dramatically altered, and enabled mass production on a scale unimaginable in previous the previous century.

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Irish periodicals were distinguished from other contemporary print formats by their distinctive generic models as well as by physical factors such as wrappers, size and layout, and content. Illustrations formed a significant part of that content, particularly up to 1815. The distinguishing physical features of Irish periodicals as highlighted here will be the basis for their comparison with periodicals in the markets to be considered in chapter six.

[55] On these titles see, Philip Dixon Hardy, *Pic nics from the Dublin Penny Journal* (Dublin, 1836), '*Dublin Penny Journal*' in *Dublin University Magazine,* 15 (1840), pp 112-28; *James* Hayes, 'Old popular pennyworths' in *IBL*, 2 (1911), pp 149-51; Hayley, 'Irish periodicals', pp 99-102; Hayley, 'From Union to Nation', p. 38 and Clyde, *ILM,* pp 100-5.

Chapter Four

Irish Periodicals: contents and contributors

By 1770 the type of content included in monthly periodicals throughout the English-speaking world was well established. The remarkable similarity in content was principally due to the continued imitation of early eighteenth-century periodical templates and the legislation enacted against the newspaper press which by default defined the periodical magazine genre. Periodicals, specifically monthly, bi-monthly and quarterly publications, were exempted from the legislation which was enacted to curb the appearance of 'traitorous, seditious, false and slanderous libels' associated with the newspaper press.[1] The exemption of the periodical genre from this oppressive legislation was in large part the result of the strong associations the format had developed with enlightenment and 'improvement'. These sentiments were articulated by Joseph Addison when he remarked that the reading of 'useful and entertaining authors' was the most pleasing diversion of life.[2] Preoccupations with 'improvement' are unsurprising in this period, as English, and more broadly, Anglo-Atlantic society experienced an intense interest in education, moral betterment and enlightenment.[3] There was a broadly accepted belief in the power of education to 'improve' all men and women, and periodicals provided one public

[1] Foster's Press Act of 1784: 'An act to secure the Liberty of the Press', *The statutes at large, passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland,* XIII, 666.
[2] Joseph Addison in Robert J. Allen (ed), *Addison and Steele: selections from "The Tatler" and "The Spectator"* (2nd ed, London, 1970).
[3] See Anand C. Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment and early Victorian English society* (London, 1986); John Gasgoine, *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment: useful knowledge and polite culture* (Cambridge, 1994); Gillian Russell and Clara Tuite (eds), *Romantic sociability: social networks and literary culture in Britain, 1770-1840* (Cambridge, 2002); John Dwyer and Richard B. Sher (eds), *Sociability and society in eighteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1993).

platform for encouraging and fostering improvement through reading in general, and exposure to enlightened texts in particular.[4] The ability to provide useful and entertaining material was seen as the greatest advantage of the periodical, as content could be presented in varied and brief formats which could be easily absorbed by a reader in a short time.

The content of Irish periodicals followed these established conventions: the emphasis on instruction and amusement was an almost universal trait of prefatory remarks, and grandiose expressions of pride in the advantages the periodicals offered were common. The preface to *Anthologia Hibernica* asserted these latter sentiments in 1793:

> The advantages which arise to the community from periodical publications, properly conducted, are certainly great, and manifest to every capacity. They circulate through almost every class of mankind; diffusing, at the same instant, information and amusement: they are read with equal avidity by all; and seem to be the happiest medium yet discovered, for conveying knowledge to the palace or the cottage.[5]

A later articulation and summary of the same notion appeared in *The Belfast Magazine, and Literary Journal*:

> Periodical publications introduce many individuals, in different classes of society, to an acquaintance with subjects to which they would not otherwise attend ... It is pleasing of late to see them descending even to the lower orders of society ... a plain man [may] shrug his shoulders in despair at the view of a large library, and even a large volume, whose eye has glistened at

[4] Linda Lunney, 'Knowledge and enlightenment: attitudes to education in early nineteenth-century east Ulster' in Dickson and Daly (eds), *The origins of popular literacy in Ireland*, pp 97-111.
[5] 'Advertisement', *Anthologia Hibernica* (1793).

> the sight of a magazine, a news-paper, or a tract, as something more within his reach ... Their flexibility allows them to assume so many forms, that they ultimately bring all classes under their influence.[6]

In 1793, after running for over twenty years, the *Hibernian Magazine* announced its intention to 'redouble our efforts to render [the magazine] a fund of entertainment, and a faithful register of public events, both foreign and domestic'.[7] In 1799 the editor of the *New Magazine* (Dublin) announced that 'I shall make it my study, to admit nothing into my Magazine, but what shall either afford profitable Instruction or rational Amusement'.[8] In the same year another new publication, *The Microscope, or Minute Observer,* published in Ulster announced its intention 'to diffuse knowledge and virtue, more extensively, and thereby to better our present state'.[9] In January 1800 *McKenzie's Loyal Magazine* also announced its intention to adhere to these important virtues: 'A magazine ought to be a register of such matter only, as can be both *useful* and *amusing*.' This concept was elaborated to describe the intended contents of the magazine: '[Contents will] enlarge the mind, inform it of facts unknown or unheeded before; improve its taste, and add to its amusement'.[10] In 1803 the editors of the *Literary and Masonic Magazine* aimed to include material they considered would provide the most 'improvement and amusement of their readers'.[11] In 1808 the *Monthly Pantheon* announced that 'general instruction and amusement shall be sedulously aimed at'.[12] In 1815 the

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[6] 'On periodical publications,' *The Belfast Magazine, and literary journal,* (Feb., 1825), pp 1-8.
[7] *Hibernian Magazine* (Mar., 1793), p. 193.
[8] 'Introduction', *New Magazine* (1799).
[9] 'Introduction', *The Microscope, or minute observer* (1799).
[10] 'Preface', *McKenzie's Loyal Magazine* (1800). Emphasis from original text.
[11] 'To the public', *Literary and Masonic Magazine* (1803).
[12] 'Prospectus', *Monthly Pantheon* (1808).

Newry Register advertised a plan to lay before its readers 'a great variety of useful and entertaining matter' and *Grana Uille's Monthly Journal* announced on its wrapper an intention to include all 'amusing and instructive articles as the nature of a monthly publication will admit of'.[13]

Some religious titles of the period also echoed these basic ideals. In its preface, the *Hibernian Evangelical Magazine* noted that it would introduce such pieces as would afford 'solid entertainment, particularly to our young friends, to unite duty with happiness'.[14] *The Covenanter*, published in Belfast in 1830, assured its readers of its 'increased diligence in providing for them...useful and interesting instruction'.[15] In the last decade of this study, these general statements of purpose were more unusual. By this time specifically religious publications tended to publicize narrower aims which were influenced by the spread of the Second Reformation movement in Ireland and the use its proponents made of printed material.[16] The *Orthodox Presbyterian* (1829-40) announced that it was to be a religious periodical particularly adapted for circulation among the Presbyterians of Ulster, the content of which would uphold the Gospels, vindicate the principles of the Reformation, and explain and defend the 'distinguishing tenets of Presbyterianism'.[17] The sub-title of the *Bible Christian* (1830-1845) also indicated a move from general miscellaneous content to very focused religious content –

[13] 'Preface', *Newry Register* (1815); NLI, *Grana Uille's Monthly Journal* (Jul., 1817), front wrapper.
[14] 'An address to the reader', *Hibernian Evangelical Magazine* (1802).
[15] 'Address to the supporters of *The* Covenanter', *The Covenanter* (Nov., 1831).
[16] Irene Whelan, *The bible war in Ireland: the 'Second Reformation' and the popularization of Protestant-Catholic relations, 1800-1900* (Dublin, 2005), part. On print pp 62-75; Desmond Bowen, *Protestant crusade* (Dublin, 1978), pp23-4; 260-1.
[17] 'Preface', *Orthodox Presbyterian* (1829).

'designed to advocate the sufficiency of scripture and the right of private judgement in matters of faith'.[18] In this atmosphere of overtly religious titles, publications such as the *Ballyhullan Register* (1828) and the *Ulster [Monthly] Magazine* (1830-31) specifically focused on their non-religious affiliations in their opening addresses. The former declared '[We will] neither be Protestant sycophants or Catholic flatterers...' and the latter's purpose was to further 'the advocacy of civil and religious rights, and the union of Irishmen of every condition'.[19]

Useful and entertaining content was represented in periodicals through the standard content features of the genre which for the purposes of quantitative analysis can be broken into four main categories. The first category is history, biography, antiquities and topography which also includes sketches of public figures, antiquities, and some travel narratives. Content related to social economy, science, natural history and the useful arts is the second category includes lists and/or descriptions of patents, agricultural information and medical discussion as well as folk or popular anecdotes and cures. The most general and miscellaneous material of the genre is under the *belles lettres*, fine arts, theatrical and literary criticism and reviews category which includes fiction, moral tales, anecdotes and poetry. The final category for analysis is the 'intelligence' field which covers foreign, British and domestic information including lists of births, marriages, deaths and promotions, trials and political and religious essays. These almost universal departments varied in size, layout and composition from periodical to periodical but

[18] *Bible Christian* (1830).
[19] 'Preface', *Ballyhullan Register* (1828); 'Preface', *Ulster Magazine* (1830).

could usually be described as either useful or entertaining depending on the tone. This stereotypical list of contents was summarised by an anonymous American periodical contributor: 'The Magazine admits into its pages an almost endless variety of subjects ... An article on any subject, under any title, and in any form may be admitted into a Magazine ... topics can either amuse or instruct mankind'.[20]

An analysis of the content of *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*, the longest surviving Irish periodical of the period, allows for the trends in its content to be examined chronologically and provides comparative material for other short-lived titles. As figure 4.1 demonstrates each of the four content categories varied in size throughout the magazines run. Figure 4.2 illustrates the same material in a format that allows the percentage of each category to be clearly identified. From this graph the dominance of the dominance of the *belles lettres*, fine arts, criticism and review content confirms the broadly miscellaneous nature of Irish periodical content, though each decade saw fluctuations in the patterns of content which offer evidence of the format adapting to its publishing environment which was influenced by political and social issues of the age.

[20] 'On magazines', *American Monthly Magazine* (Jan., 1824), pp 1-10.

Figure 4.1: Contents of *Hibernian Magazine* 1712-1812 related to History, Biography, Antiquities and Topography (red); Social Economy, Science, Natural History and the Useful Arts (blue); Belles Letters, Fine Arts and Literary Content, Criticisms and Reviews (green); News, Political and Religious Essays, Intelligence and Trials and BMD (yellow).

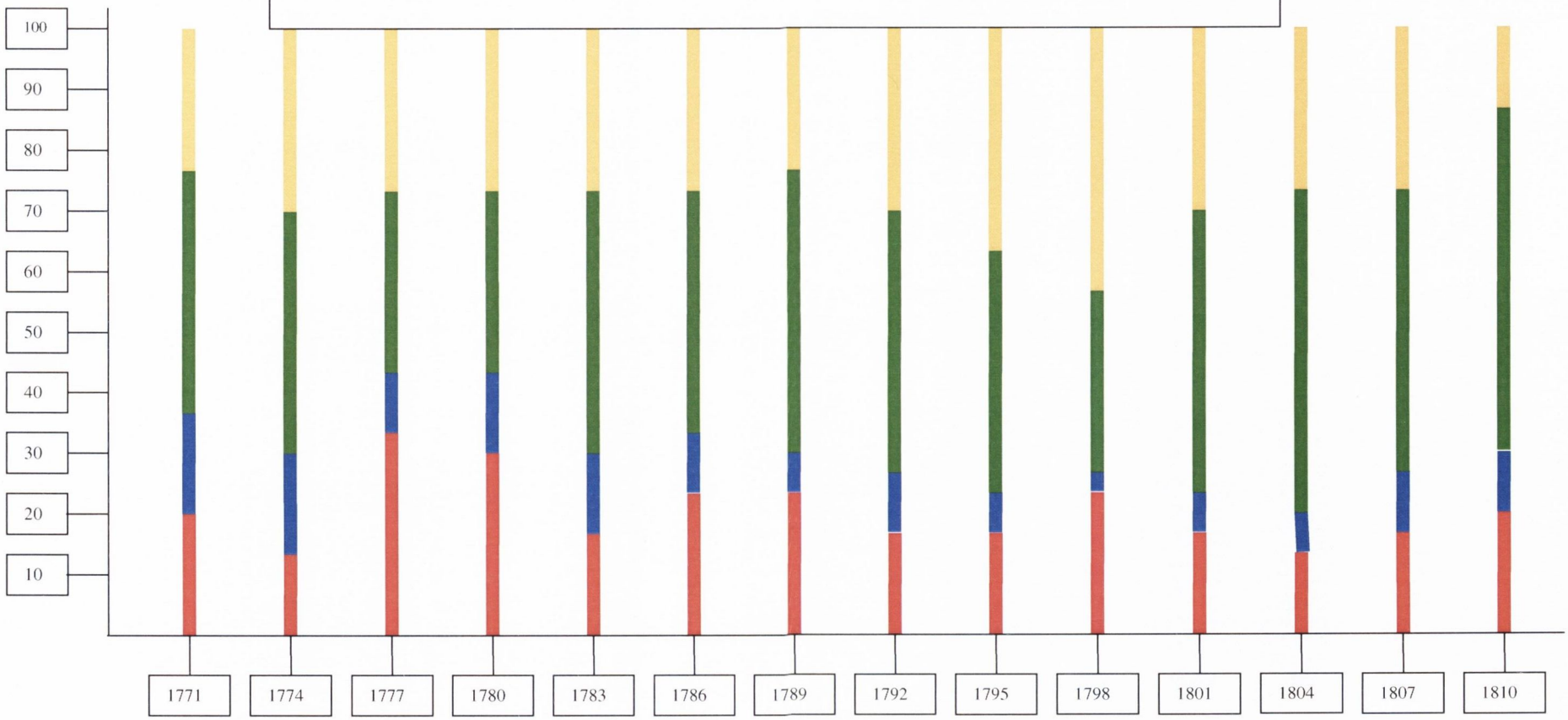
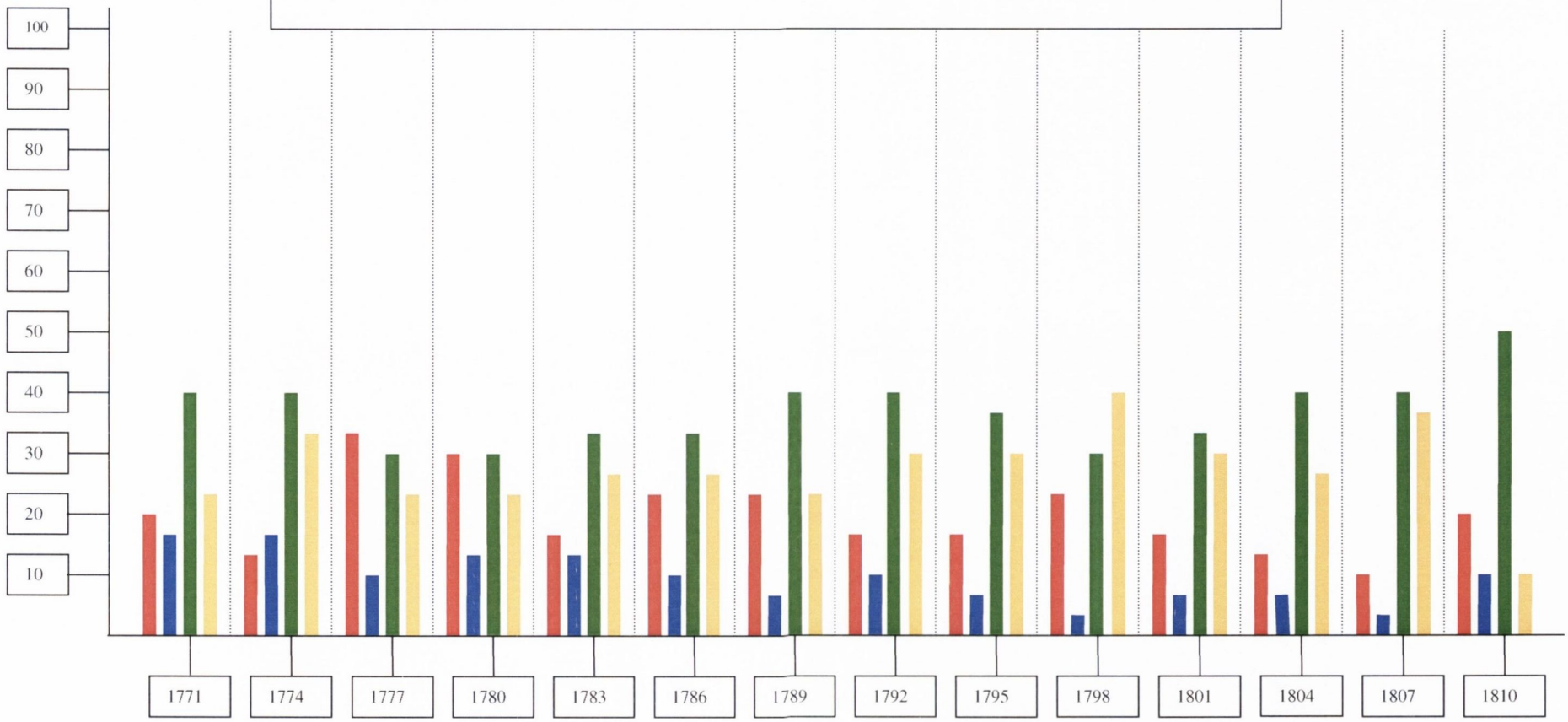


Figure 4.2: Contents of *Hibernian Magazine* 1712-1812 related to History, Biography, Antiquities and Topography (red); Social Economy, Science, Natural History and the Useful Arts (blue); Belles Letters, Fine Arts and Literary Content, Criticisms and Reviews (green); News, Political and Religious Essays, Intelligence and Trials and BMD (yellow).



The highest proportion of content for the first decade of the magazine's life related to the *belles letters*, fine arts, criticism and review category with an average of thirt-five percent of all content in this field. The first category of history, biography, antiquities and topography and the third category of news, political and religious essays and intelligence also featured strongly averaging at about twenty-five percent of the content. In the second decade of the periodical's life, the levels of each of the four categories evened out, with the two major areas of history and biography, and *belles lettres* and literary content averaging around thirty percent. Surprisingly the figure for the *belles lettres* and literary category dramatically increased relative to the other categories between 1789 and 1804, a period of intense political events in Ireland and abroad. Given the corresponding increase in the 'news, intelligence and trials' category in the same years, the increase in both of these areas was at the loss of material in the history and biography and social economy and natural history areas.

In the early nineteenth-century the *belles lettres* and literary content increased significantly as demonstrated in figures 4.1 and 4.2 as the *Hibernian Magazine's* contents returned to an even more polite state than before the years of patriotic politics and the American Revolution in the 1770s. Significant amounts of news, political and religious essays and intelligence related to the Napoleonic wars which were followed with great interest in Ireland, though the wide fluctuations in this category in the last five years of the period suggest that material was not always easily available. The history, biography and topography category appears from the

graphs to have suffered the most as a result of the *Hibernian Magazine's* turn away from Irish political matters with never more than twenty percent of content in the 1800s related to this subject. The social economy, science and useful arts category remained under ten percent throughout this period, though several other periodicals began to provide considerable content in this category such as the *Cyclopaedia Magazine.*

Biography

Biographical sketches were a common and visible feature of the periodical genre. They provided obvious scope for instruction and improvement as a character was either to be seen as an example or a warning to the reader. Irish periodicals, tended to begin each issue with a biographical sketch or memoir, and could include several other biographical pieces throughout each issue. The subjects of these biographical articles included historical figures, European royalty, military leaders, clergymen, politicians, authors, and actors, some examples of which can be seen in figures 3.24 to 3.26. In periods of political tension, particularly in Europe, the biography of a military leader in the news often provided the basis for military intelligence on the conduct of the war or for a condemnation of enemy personnel or tactics. The account of Roger O'Connor in *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* for March 1798, then in prison on charges of high treason in Cork, neither condemned nor supported him but offered a detailed analysis of his character; he was described as descending from a family that 'ranks amongst the first' of Ireland and as 'the best of fathers'.[21] During the trials which followed the 1798 and 1803 rebellions, the *Hibernian*

[21] *Hibernian Magazine* (Mar., 1798), pp 193-4.

Magazine altered the format of leading with biographical sketches for direct transcriptions from the trials, but continued with the practice of including fine engravings of those on trial.

In the early nineteenth century the patterns of the eighteenth century were not followed to the same extent. The *New Magazine* (Strabane) which began in December 1799 included numerous ballads and tales in its early issues in the place of biographical sketches, such as 'Norwegian Ballad, translated from *La Nord Literature,* by A.A. Cottle', 'The suspicious wife, a moral tale', and 'Osman: or the Rise and Progress of Sedition. An Eastern Romance'.[22] Long accounts of Lord Charlemont and General George Washington were also published as biographies in this year and an extract from *A sketch of the Life of George Washington* by John Corry was reprinted in April 1800.[23]

As well as a change in the type of biographical sketches in the nineteenth century *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* became less rigid in the style of its opening articles by including increasing amounts of topographical descriptions and engravings which did not necessarily relate to any text. The December 1804 issue provides an example of this trend; three engravings were included, none of which relate to Ireland. The first is a view of the River Amstel in Amsterdam, the leading article is a memoir of the Marquis of Wellesley, Governor General of Benegal, accompanied

[22] *New Magazine* (Jan., Feb. 1800).
[23] John Corry, 'A sketch of the life of the late General Washington', *New Magazine* (Apr., 1800), pp 172-77.

by a portrait later in the text, followed by another landscape view of the city of Valletta in Malta.[24] International figures such as Cobbett, Washington, Wesley and various European military leaders and aristocracy were just as likely to feature in nineteenth-century periodical biographies as Irish figures, suggesting a trend of reduced Irish material within this category in the latter part of the period, possibly to avoid controversial material. This trend was also accompanied by less frequent use of engravings to illustrate biographical pieces. Other periodicals established in this period followed this move, with the exception of Cox's *Irish Magazine* which used this feature to lambaste establishment figures.

Politics

Despite assertions to the contrary by the majority of editors, political discussion took up a significant portion of periodical content. External events such as the disputes in the North American colonies, the French Revolution and the political excitement surrounding the writings and speeches (only recently legally reported in the public domain) of British reformers and radicals, were all represented. By comparison to pamphlets and newspapers, particularly the newly established *Hibernian Journal* (1772) and the *Dublin Evening Post* (1778), Irish periodicals were relatively more modest contributors to the expanding printed political sphere but they did reprint important documents and writings on the subjects.

[24] *Hibernian Magazine* (Dec., 1804), pp 705-9.

Both *Exshaw's Magazines* and *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* included extensive amounts of material relating to events in the colonies in the early stages of the conflict. By the summer of 1774 the *Hibernian Magazine* had established a regular column on American affairs and the November and December issues of *Exshaw's Magazine* for 1775 were almost completely dominated by the issue. The *Hibernian Magazine* was more broadly sympathetic to the colonists' position until the early 1780s. Morley's book-length study of Irish attitudes to the American Revolution highlights the intense interest among Irish readers for news and discussion of these events which both *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* and *Exshaw's Magazine* attempted to address.[25]

The recent work of Geraldine Sheridan, Graham Gargett and Máire Kennedy has confirmed that Irish readers were significantly aware and connected to intellectual developments in Europe and beyond.[26] Despite the large shadow cast by London and its fashions on Ireland, the influence of France and French culture was quite extensive, with significant representations of Voltaire and many other French writers and philosophers in Irish periodicals. From Jean-Pierre Droz's extensive reviews of French texts in the 1740s to early Dublin printings of Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu and several other *philosophes*, Irish magazines gave considerable attention to French literature. Accounts of French history, traveller's narratives and Parisian fashions were also common. The widespread coverage of

[25] See Vincent Morley, *Irish opinion and the American Revolution, 1760-1783* (Cambridge, 2002).
[26] See Sheridan, 'Irish literary review magazines and Enlightenment France', pp 21-46; Kennedy, Kennedy, 'Readership in French', pp 3-20.

the Revolution and the Napoleonic era were a significant feature of the content of Irish monthly periodicals.[27]

Byrne's *Universal Magazine* (1789-93), which existed during the same period as the French Revolution, provided the most coverage of the actions in France, though *Exshaw's Magazine* and the *Hibernian Magazine* also included much discussion of events. Figure 4.5 is an example of the type of illustration that accompanied several issues of the *Universal Magazine* in this period.

Figure 4.5: 'The temple at Paris. The Prison of Louis the XVI', *Universal Magazine*, February 1793 (RIA).
Illustration accompanied by unrelated text, 'Declaration of his Majesty the King of Prussia, respecting the March of his Troops into Poland.'

Figure 4.6: 'New French fashions, ornamented with two grotesque portraits of a Republican beau, and a Republican belle; taken from the life', *Exshaw's Gentleman's and London Magazine*, August 1794 (RIA).

[27] *Literary Journal*, (1744-79).

Figure 4.6 illustrates the attitude of the *Exshaw's Magazine* towards the French Revolution with a satirical examination of '*Republican* fashions' derided in the manner of a fashion piece. Their fashions are described as:

> so very cheap, that they have only to let their ordinary clothing be three parts worn out, so as to give full scope for the longitude and latitude of their rents and tatters, and they will be *quite the thing*, and at the *top of the mode*.[28]

Anthologia Hibernica (1793-5) displayed the first significant change in format in 1793 when it opened the majority (fifty-eight percent) of its twenty-four issues with topographical descriptions rather than biographies or memoirs. Its political content was subtle and focused on common ancient Irish history, landscape and archaeology. In this way it is acknowledged for its innovation and for its efforts to include material related to Ireland: all of its topographical descriptions and its majority of the biographies were of Irish subjects, an example of which can be seen in figure 3.36.

The *New Magazine* (Strabane), from April 1799 became more focused on Irish political matters including for the first time sections on 'Foreign', 'British' and 'Domestic Intelligence' with overtly political comments against the Union. It was seen as an 'injustice' as it did not have the consent of the people.[29] From May 1800 content focused on political figures from Ireland, France and America, accompanied by extensive coverage of the 1798 rebellion in Ireland. The inclusion

[28] 'New Parisian fashions', *Exshaw's Magazine* (Aug., 1794), pp 395-6. Emphasis from original text.
[29] 'Domestic intelligence', *New Magazine* (Apr., 1800), p. 193

of biographical sketches of Irish figures took on a new urgency as the editor explained in their preface to a biography of John Egan Esq.:

> When Irishmen, with a sacred predilection, view those individuals, who sacrifice self to country, in the arduous struggle, it is the duty of a periodical publication like ours, as a faithful mirror, to reflect a just picture of their feelings, and to gratify their wishes. It is imperiously called upon to furnish some certain biographical information of their approved friends, for present perusal and the satisfaction of posterity.[30]

The first discussions of the 1803 rebellion appeared in the 'Domestic intelligence' section when a number of 'hardened and incorrigible wretches' were noted to have been stopped from causing general pillage, devastation and massacre by Major Swan. A reward of one thousand pounds was also advertised for those involved in the murder of Lord Kilwarden and his nephew, Rev. Richard Wolfe.[31] The following issue for August included a biographical sketch of Kilwarden, and continued the details of the rebel's plans in the domestic intelligence section, including the list of weapons and ammunition found.[32] In September 1803, Robert Emmet's trial and speech from the dock opened the magazine and was continued for more than ten pages. It was accompanied by a full length engraving, which cast him as 'the unfortunate young Gentleman', in the same mould as 'the unfortunate Theobald Wolfe Tone' from the November 1798 issue.[33] Emmett was afforded

[30] 'Life of John Egan, Esq. chairman of Kilmainham (sic.)', *New Magazine* (May, 1800).
[31] 'Domestic intelligence', *Hibernian Magazine* (Jul., 1803), pp 444-6.
[32] Ibid. (Aug., 1803), pp 510-2.
[33] 'The unfortunate Robert Emmett, Esq.', *Hibernian Magazine* (Sept. 1803), pp 513-20, 570-8.

considerably more respect than others involved in the plot, such as Edward Kearny whose trial was also included in this issue.[34]

Evidence of liberal protestant views were less common in periodicals in the early nineteenth century. One of the best examples comes from the *Belfast Monthly Magazine* (1808-14) edited by William Drennan. It was oppositional throughout its existence and Drennan attempted to raise serious political issues such as electoral reform and education. For example, considerable space over two issues in September and October 1809 was given to a 'Report from the Board of Education' and the following month opened the issue with 'Observations on the Commissioners Report of the Board of Education', which included detailed commentary on the process and its findings.[35] Its 'monthly retrospect of politics' contained the expected news of European affairs but also included considered Irish issues without resorting to sectarian assaults or anti-establishment rhetoric.[36]

Attention to the military affairs of Europe continued into the nineteenth century. In the 1820s however, Irish periodicals began to look back towards Ireland for their political commentary, possibly as a result of increased sectarian tensions and the heightening debates surrounding Catholic Emancipation. In monthly titles, the approach successfully adopted by *Anthologia Hibernica* in the 1790s was more common, than direct political commentary. *Bolster's Quarterly Magazine* made

[34] 'The trial for high treason of Edward Kearney', ibid. pp 557-70.
[35] 'Report from the Board of Education', *Belfast Monthly Magazine* (Sept./Oct., 1809), pp 172-78, 251-61; 'Observations on the Commissioners Report of the Board of Education', ibid. (Nov., 1809), pp 329-33.
[36] See for example, 'Monthly retrospect of politics', *Belfast Monthly Magazine* (Jan., 1813), pp 75-9 which discussed Catholic emancipation and those who were preventing its progress.

considerable efforts to publish literary material by Irish writers, and adopted the practice of attributing contributions. Other material related to Irish history, folklore, and landscape, though no illustrations were included.

Useful Arts

The nineteenth-century periodicals also showed greater awareness than their eighteenth-century predecessors to critical, intellectual and particularly scientific developments occurring in England and America. Publications such as the *Cyclopaedian Magazine*, *The Newry Register* and the *Belfast Monthly Magazine* paid particular attention to new patents and inventions and extracts from medical and scientific texts which broadly represented an increasing awareness of more professional medical practices in the nineteenth century.

The *Cyclopaedian* included a regular department titled 'Social economy and the useful arts' which usually represented about twenty percent of the total content. In its principal department 'Communications, original and selected' the *Belfast Monthly Magazine* featured considerable amounts of material relating to natural, physical and chemical knowledge. The first issue for September 1808 included an extract from Rawson's *Survey of Kildare* on the culture of potatoes, a note from a correspondent on combustion, a communication asking readers 'if any marking-ink

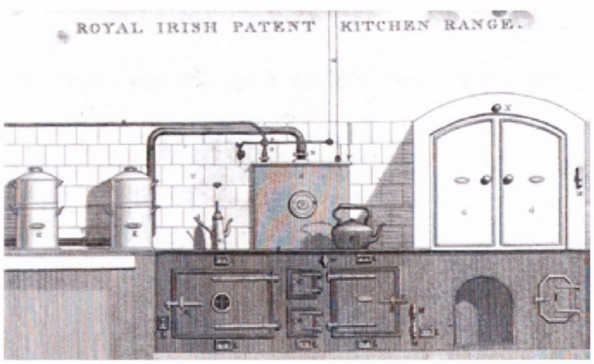


Figure 4.7: 'Royal Irish Patent Kitchen Range', *The Newry Register* (Nov./Dec. 1816) (NLI).

has been discovered for linens or calicoes, which will stand the operation of the oxy-mariatic acid, in the new process of bleaching' signed 'A Linendraper' and another query concerned with animal pathology signed 'Q'.[37] Similarly varied types of material were included in the *Newry Register,* for example, the issue for November/December 1815 included an informative article on the manufacture of cotton in Ulster, a description of a machine for separation and manufacture of flour from potatoes by John Whatley with an illustrative plate and a patent for an Irish Kitchen range in figure 4.7.[38]

Moral tales and fiction

Moral tales and fiction also occupied a significant amount of space. The *Hibernian Magazine* showed a particular interest in oriental stories and scenes in the first decade of its publication. Both *Exshaw's Magazine* and *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* serialized stories throughout their publication, imitating a feature of the British periodical press from earlier decades. The feature was to be more common in the *Hibernian Magazine* than in *Exshaw's Magazine*. Magazines, such as the *Universal Magazine*, that included considerable space to affairs in Europe, did not feature this type of content as regularly. But the *New Magazine* (Strabane) is an example of a publication which relied heavily on this type of content with each issue including at least one such tale, using it somewhat unusually as the first article in place of the usual biographical sketch as discussed above. Such an innovation

[37] 'Communications, original and select', *Belfast Monthly Magazine* (Sept., 1808), pp 25-34.
[38] 'Facts representing the cotton manufacture of Ulster'; 'Description of a machine for the speedy separation and manufacture of flour from potatoes by John Whatley with plate'; 'Patent Irish kitchen range', *The Newry Register* (Nov./Dec., 1815), pp 385-6, 432-9, 470-1.

may have been an attempt by the publisher of the *New Magazine* to distinguish his title from its rivals as its first year of publication, 1799 saw the establishment of a large number of new periodicals. It may also be a reflection of the publisher's perceived audience, (who may have principally read periodicals for entertainment), as this was a provincial title published in Strabane, presumably for a largely local circulation. *Bolster's Quarterly Magazine* regularly included high-quality literary extracts and notes such as a biographical sketch of Thomas Campbell by American writer Washington Irving, translations from the Italian of Petrarch and a critical consideration of Dante and Milton – all of which were included in its first issue.[39] This eclectic mixture of international literary material ranging from classical to contemporary writers continued throughout the run of the publication alongside an impressive quantity of Irish related literary material.

Poetry

Much of the poetry included in Irish periodicals was conventional, with Romantic literature appearing by the early nineteenth-century. All of the large eighteenth century miscellanies included poetry sections and often included sub-sections specifically entitled 'Original Poetry', as distinct from 'Select Poetry'. Women's signatures are occasionally noted at the end of small original pieces, but the quality of the majority of original contributions does not stand out. But Thomas Moore and Thomas Dermody saw their early poems in print in Irish periodicals which does suggest that magazines were a potential platform for young Irish poets. Insufficient

[39] 'Biographical sketch of Thos. Campbell'; 'From the Italian of Petrarch'; 'Dante and Milton', *Bolster's Quarterly Magazine* (Feb., 1826), pp 28-38, 53, 61-67.

evidence survives to develop this argument in the case of Irish literary figures.[40] The *Sentimental and Masonic Magazine* was one of the first Irish periodicals to publish Romantic poetry, but it did not survive long enough to spark any major change in the poetry fashions.[41] Despite its promising title, the *Literary and Masonic Magazine* did not feature literary material of much note. It included material several pieces from Burns in March 1802.[42] The surviving songs with musical notes, a tantalizing field, may have actually added more to the cultural reputation of Irish periodicals than did their literary output.

[40] 'Original sonnets by T. Dermody in the 15th year of his age' in *Anthologia Hibernica* (Mar., 1793), p. 225; 'A paraphrase of Anacreon's fifth ode by T. Moore' in February 1794, p. 137.
[41] Clyde, *ILM*, pp 70-1.
[42] For example 'Farewell to the Brethren of St James's Lodge, Tarbolton, From Burn's poems' and 'Particulars of the life of Robert Burns, in a letter from a gentleman in Philadelphia during the time of the yellow fever' were published in the *Literary and Masonic Magazine* (Mar., 1802), p. 51.

In keeping with the miscellaneous nature of the periodical format, several titles included light and humorous anecdotes in their pages. Illustrations were also commonly used for this purpose. For example, *Exshaw's Magazine* published a string of humorous prints in the last years of its run, possibly as an attempt to appeal to a broader audience. Figure 4.3 provides one example of these humorous prints which were also used by Walker in the same period as an advertising tool for his lottery business.

Figure 4.3: 'Before and after; or, courtship and marriage',
***Exshaw's Gentleman's and London Magazine*, September 1789 (RIA).**
This illustration is represented in both of its possible forms. The engravings were accompanied by an explanatory tale of the reason for the 'before' and 'after' disposition of the characters.

When viewed from the perspective of the universally stated aims of this printed genre – the provision of instructive and entertaining material – the Irish periodicals of the period must be viewed as relatively successful.

Originality and Content of Irish Interest

While it is difficult to fault Irish periodicals for not providing 'instructive and amusing' content, criticisms of their originality certainly ring more true.[43] The only attempt to gauge the level of original material which appeared in Irish periodicals was carried out by Legg, though his results do not give evidence to support the level of criticism on this issue.[44] High percentages of original material were not recorded for the most successful periodicals. For example, in Legg's calculation the Irish magazines of the period with the highest level of original material were the short-lived *Bolg an tSolair* (lasting one issue), and *Anthologia Hibernica* (lasting two years). The most successful titles such as *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*, *Exshaw's Magazine*, Cox's *Irish Magazine* and the various evangelical titles were compiled of large amounts of extracted and reprinted material. These results, while broadly useful, must be considered with some caution, as there was no definition of 'original content', which could be viewed in several different ways. For example the content of *Bolg an tSolair*, which contained completely original material on this scale, included mostly translations of works already in existence.

This evidence would suggest that originality of content was not the most attractive factor for readers of Irish periodicals. The difficulty of achieving a balance between well-chosen extracts and original material was discussed by Droz in the 1740s:

> I shall chuse [sic] the best abstracts to be found in the great variety of foreign journals; give them either whole or in part, according to the importance of the subject; enlarge upon what shall be judged to be of the

[43] Clyde, *ILM,* pp 6-13.
[44] Legge, 'Literary and political records', Appendix.

> greatest moment; and suppress what shall appear to be of small use... I shall also venture some short remarks of my own, when necessary to the better understanding of the subject in hand, and sometimes give abstracts not to be met with in any journal. [45]

Evidence also remains of editorial justifications for extracting particular texts. For example Peter Wilson, editor of the *Dublin Magazine*, gave two reasons for reprinting texts relating to the Spanish war 'some of which have already passed through the hands of the public'.[46] Firstly they could not be consulted conveniently as a group anywhere else and secondly, they specifically related to a subject which he wanted to give a complete account of. The *Hibernian Magazine* for September 1804 explained the insertion of a reprinted piece by Benjamin Franklin with the note that it was 'never before published in Ireland'.[47] This technique strengthened the editorial voice in Irish periodicals and suggests consideration for the sensibilities, entertainment and knowledge of readers. The practice of attributing sources became more common in the 1780s and 1790s. For example, in March 1780 *Exshaw's Magazine* noted that 'Reflections of the distress of the poor' was taken from the *Gentlemen's Magazine* (London) and 'Political Characters' was acknowledged as reprinted from the *Political Magazine,* another contemporary London periodical.[48] It is perhaps understandable how *Exshaw's Magazine*, which started as a direct reprint of the *London Magazine*, suffered from accusations of being a 'mere reprint', though this reputation does not account for the evolving nature of Irish material featured in the periodical in later years. By the 1780s the

[45] 'Preface', *Literary Journal* (1744).
[46] *Dublin Magazine* (2nd ed, Jan., 1762), p. 9.
[47] *Hibernian Magazine* (Sept., 1804), pp 539-42.
[48] *Exshaw's Magazine* (Mar., 1780), pp 129, 134-8.

'Irish Parliamentary Intelligence' section was one of its largest features. Increasingly, attributed extracts of Irish-related material also appeared, such as an extract from Thomas Campbell's *A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland*, describing an ancient site in Co. Tyrone in February 1780.[49]

The success that Irish booksellers achieved through the complete or partial reprinting of London periodicals, as discussed briefly at the beginning of chapter three, has led to the charge of ignorant and 'slavish imitation' on the part of the Irish periodical trade.[50] It should be noted however that the London titles were themselves extracting and reprinting considerable amounts of their material from other journals and texts. It is not surprising that, like their London counterparts, Irish periodical producers reacted similarly, and began to seek more original material from their readers. In this way the tag of 'imitator' may have furthered the development of a specifically Irish periodical. The inclusion of original material also broadened the ability of a periodical to offer something particularly relevant to the Irish audience that the imported British publications could not. Some of this material could be described as tokenistic by their shrewd producers, though surviving notices to readers and correspondents highlights a concerted effort to encourage original submissions. The preface which accompanied an engraved fold-out map of Dublin from 1610 which was printed in the *Dublin Magazine* provides an example of these sentiments:

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[49] *Exshaw's Magazine* (Feb., 1780), pp 108-9. Campbell's text was published by William Strahan and Thomas Cadell in London in 1777 and a year later in Ireland by a large conger of booksellers including W. Whitestone, W. Sleater, D. Chamberlaine, J. Potts, T. Wilkinson and 13 others.
[50] Clyde, *ILM*, pp 6-8.

> Let others search into the ruins of Greece and Italy; let them enjoy the melancholy satisfaction arising from a reflection on the havock [sic] mad in those celebrated cities of antiquity, by time and the hand of the barbarian; but be it mine to partake the more solid pleasure of considering my native city, as having arisen, in little more than a century and half, from the lowest ebb of wretchedness and contempt, to almost the summit of elegance, extent, and magnificence.[51]

Many periodical editors focused on the function of preservation of material which might otherwise 'fall into oblivion', which explained the lack of original material in their pages.[52] The association of the periodical format as a repository for knowledge was made through editorial comments and through visual imagery. These images provide further evidence of original Irish content. The example in figure 4.8 used Irish symbolism in connection with traditional images of learning and knowledge. The physical incarnation of knowledge is pictured in the foreground surrounded by the instruments and representations of human accomplishments. In the background is the Custom House of Dublin which had just been completed, which localised the image and connected Irish readers to a tradition of learning. Images such as this one are unique to Irish periodicals and provide visual indicators about the motivations of periodical editors and the nature of their audience.

Figure 4.8: 'The arts and sciences with a view of the east end of the new Custom-House', *Sentimental and Masoinc Magazine*, IV (July 1794) (RIA).

[51] *Dublin Magazine* (2nd ed, Jan. 1762), p. 1.
[52] 'To the public', *Literary and Masonic Magazine* (1803).

Antiquarianism was a recurring feature of Irish periodicals in which considerable original Irish material was produced. Charles Vallancey's irregular periodical *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicus* was the one Irish periodical to deal exclusively with antiquarian topics, reflecting the interests of its producer whose own pieces were regularly included in its pages. Antiquarian subject matter was also attractive to the general periodicals such as *Anthologia Hibernica* as it represented a politically less inflammatory element of native culture which could spread beyond a native historical consciousness to the Protestant ascendancy and English-oriented scholars.[53] Antiquarian material appearing in Irish periodicals was often closely connected to topographical descriptions in Irish periodicals, and both had the same aim of educating readers about Ireland in space and time (see examples from *Anthologia Hibernica*, figures 3.36-3.37). The *New Magazine, or Moral and Entertaining Miscellany* for 1799 commented that the intention to include pieces of Irish topography was because 'We need not admire that foreigners are so ignorant of our country, when we are so ourselves'.[54] In the nineteenth century the *Hibernian Magazine*, which had included some architectural drawings of well-known Irish buildings in its early years, returned to such material. For example, the August 1801 issue included an engraving entitled 'West front of the Dublin Society House, Hawkins Street' (figure 3.30), with accompanying text identifying its future intentions:

> In a future number we hope to give a particular account of that excellent

[53] See Joep Leersen, *Mere Irish and fior-Ghael* (Cork, 1996), pp 381-2.
[54] 'Preface', *New Magazine, or Moral and Entertaining Miscellany* (Jan., 1799).

> institution, and the patriotic patrons of it, in the meantime, we earnestly recommend the inspection of it to all lovers of fine arts – to every friend of his country's welfare and improvement.[55]

In the September issue of the same year, the engraving was of Merrion Square, Dublin engraved by 'an ingenious Irish artist'. The corresponding lead article did not relate to this engraving but retained an Irish theme, being a topographical sketch of Wicklow town.[56] *Bolster's Quarterly Magazine* included quite a considerable amount of antiquarian and topographical material of Irish interest in its pages, such as 'The Town of Galway', 'Tiarna na clanna Mac Diarmuidh – An Irish Legend', and 'Irish County Histories', though all without illustration.[57]

It was often through political comment that Irish periodicals became entities independent of their London counterparts. In 1775 the *Hibernian Magazine* was a platform for debate and controversy on the issue of the Catholic Oath of Allegiance. In October an article entitled 'Catholic's reasons against taking the Oath of Allegiance' was published, which appeared to support the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin's stance on the issue, but a response by 'Catholicus' was published two months later accusing the magazine of being partial as many Catholics had taken and would continue to take the Oath. The author added that 'consequently the *arguments against taking the oath*, which you have clandestinely conveyed in your magazine, can be nothing else but the offspring of *private opinion*, emboldened by

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[55] The first article was 'On reason and the cultivation of the mind: exemplified in two instances', *Hibernian Magazine* (Aug., 1801), pp 449-50.
[56] *Hibernian Magazine* (Sept., 1801), pp 513-17.
[57] 'The town of Galway'; 'Tiarna na clanna Mac Diarmuidh – an Irish legend'; 'Irish county histories', *Bolster's Quarterly Magazine* (May, Aug., Nov., 1826), pp 159-63, 211-224, 299-309.

indiscretion'.[58] In November 1775 *Exshaw's Magazine* commented on this issue by publishing an article against the oath, titled 'Observations on the text framed for the Roman Catholics of Ireland, by one of that communion'.[59] A vivid fold-out print 'The Hibernian Attempt' published in 1785 confirmed its hostility against the Commercial Propositions. It depicted Hibernia, the female representation of Ireland, sitting on a bull and attempting to persuade a 'majestic figure' to give her what remains of a crown, half of which had been mutilated by an American.[60]

The 1798 Rebellion evoked the greatest response from the two Irish periodicals that survived the event. The 1790s had seen greater political engagement from Irish periodicals, though the suppression of the printed newspaper press had led Irish periodicals to be cautious about their tone.[61] Generally some support was given to the movement for Catholic reform, and advances in this area were broadly welcomed. The *Hibernian Magazine* stopped publication during the summer months of the Rebellion due to 'the unhappy disturbances which lately raged in this kingdom' and when it resumed its tone was direct and its contents were undoubtedly political.[62] The August issue opened with a tribute to 'that Great, Just, Good and Valiant Nobleman; that Steady Friend to Civil and Religious Liberty, the Right Honourable Lord O'Neill' who was murdered by the rebels during the

[58] *Hibernian Magazine* (Dec., 1775).
[59] *Exshaw's Magazine* (Nov., 1775), pp 737-9.
[60] Ibid. (Apr. 1785).
[61] For further discussion of the rise in popular print culture in the 1790s see various essays in Dickson, Keogh and Whelan, *The United Irishmen: republicanism, radicalism and rebellion,* esp. Ian Mc Bride, 'William Drennan and the dissenting tradition', pp 46-61, David Dickson, 'Paine in Ireland', pp 135-50, and Kevin Whelan, 'The United Irishmen, the Enlightenment and popular culture', pp 269-96.
[62] *Hibernian Magazine* (Aug., 1798), p. 481.

rising.[63] The trial of Theobald Wolfe Tone was recorded in November 1798, and accompanied by an engraving of 'the unfortunate Wolf Tone'.[64] The *Hibernian Magazine* did not support the rising but it lamented the situation that arose from its failure and the loss of figures like Tone. The magazine developed its new political voice during the years of the Union debates, but it should be noted that the majority of the debates on the issue were covered in the pamphlet literature of the period.[65] The greatest criticism of the 1798 Rebellion by the *Hibernian Magazine* and by many later Irish periodicals was that the rebellion had endangered Ireland's national identity. Periodical publishers and editors who had attempted to foster a national appreciation for specifically Irish history and culture, felt these goals were failed by the rebellion. Most significantly for them, the Irish parliament was threatened. This attitude was articulated by the *Hibernian Magazine*:

> We shall ever observe that impartial course, which has placed us so firm on the rock of general estimation – is so particularly to be pursued in a country recently convulsed by internal commotion, faction and invasion; - and a crisis so interesting to Irishmen, when the Constitution of an independent kingdom is attempted to be sacrificed to wild, theoretical, and inconsistent plans.[66]

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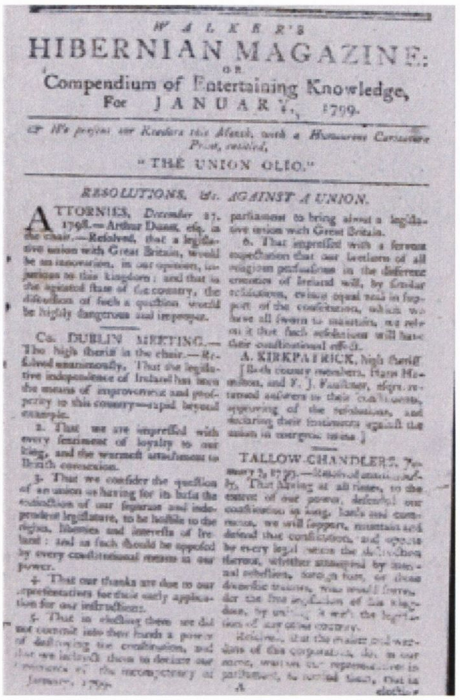
[63] Ibid.
[64] *Hibernian Magazine* (Nov., 1798).
[65] McCormack, *The pamphlet debate on the Union*.
[66] *Hibernian Magazine* (Jan., 1800), p. 1.



WALKER'S
HIBERNIAN MAGAZINE:
OR
Compendium of Entertaining Knowledge,
For JANUARY, 1799.

☞ We propose our Readers this Month, with a Humorous Caricature Print, entitled,

"THE UNION OLIO."

RESOLUTIONS, &c. AGAINST A UNION.

ATTORNIES, December 27, 1798.—Arthur Dunn, esq. in the chair.—Resolved, that a legislative union with Great Britain, would be an innovation, in our opinion, injurious to this kingdom; and that in the unbiassed state of the country, the discussion of such a question would be highly dangerous and improper.

Co. DUBLIN MEETING.—The high sheriff in the chair.—Resolved unanimously, That the legislative independence of Ireland has been the means of improvement and prosperity to this country—equal beyond example.

1. That we are impressed with every sentiment of loyalty to our king, and the warmest attachment to British connexion.

3. That we consider the question of an union as having for its basis the extinction of our separate and independent legislature, to be hostile to the rights, liberties and interests of Ireland: and as such should be opposed by every constitutional means in our power.

4. That our thanks are due to our representatives for their early application for our instructions.

5. That in electing them we did not commit into their hands a power of destroying the constitution, and that we instruct them to declare our sentiments at the recommencement of January, 1799.

parliament to bring about a legislative union with Great Britain.

6. That impressed with a fervent supplication that our brethren of all religious persuasions in the different counties of Ireland will, by similar resolutions, evince equal zeal in support of the constitution, which we have all sworn to maintain, we rely on it that such resolutions will have their constitutional effect.

A. KIRKPATRICK, high sheriff. [Both county members, Hans Hamilton, and F. J. Faulkner, esqrs. returned answers to their constituents, approving of the resolutions, and declaring their sentiments against the union in energetic terms.]

TALLOW-CHANDLERS, January 3, 1799.—Resolved unanimously, 1st. That having at all times, to the extent of our power, defended our constitution as long, laws and commerce, we will support, maintain and defend that constitution, and oppose by every legal means the destructive threats, whether attempted by internal rebellion, foreign foes, or those domestic traitors, who would forfeit for the free exercise of the kingdom, by uniting it with the legislature of any other country.

Resolved, that the master and wardens of this corporation, do, in our name, instruct the representatives in parliament, to vote [illegible] that an elective

Figure 4.9: 'Resolutions, &c. against a union', *Hibernian Magazine*, January 1799 (NLI).
This layout and type of content Was very unusual for a monthly miscellany periodical but reflected the political needs of the time.

For a time after the 1798 rebellion, the significant political fall-out was discussed without an opposition press in Ireland, dismantled as it had been prior to the 1798 Rebellion. To fill this vacuum *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* drastically altered its traditional periodical format which it had retained for almost three decades to provide a political space for the anti-Union voice. Figure 4.9 illustrates the periodical's front page for January 1799, the month when this transformation occurred, when the resolutions against the Union from numerous guilds, societies and institutions were being published. This evolution of content was quite extraordinary, and enabled the *Hibernian Magazine* to expand its role from polite literary and political forum to involved and aggressive platform for expression and to provide much needed public space to those whose usual vehicles for expression had been temporarily suspended. Further politically-focused original satirical prints followed from the *Hibernian* as represented in figures 4.10-11.

The sectarian element of the Union debates had a lasting effect on Irish print culture and created an atmosphere that was unique to Irish periodicals. The contentious issues of Catholic rights and specifically Catholic Emancipation had been briefly raised but ultimately were left unsettled. Several periodicals began to position themselves within specific religious communities, though some more obviously and polemically than others. Some modern commentators have suggested that Irish periodicals of the first decades of the nineteenth century were almost exclusively 'polemical, disseminating violently Protestant or Catholic, Unionist or Anti-Unionist propaganda and very little else',[67] but such generalisations overlook the continued reliance on the traditional miscellany format, and the traditional type of contents. The majority of new titles that appeared after 1806 were not as divisive, polemical or scurrilous as contemporaries or commentators have suggested, though when they were, this material was generally originally composed for the title. For example, the sectarian polemics of Cox's *Irish Magazine* (1807-15) were quite unique rather than the norm in the period.

Figure 4.12: 'Plan of a travelling gallows used in the year 1798', 'Humbly dedicated to the ancient and modern Britons by their dutiful Serv.' W. Cox', *Irish Magazine*, July 1810 (RIA). The explanation of this text given by editor Watty Cox read: 'With this month's publication we give an engraving of the best and most expeditious method for half or whole hanging Irish priests, tradesmen, merchants or countrymen, as practised by the riding-house army, the Majors, country parsons, trading justices, and other distinguished operators in town and country'.

[67] Hayley, 'Irish periodicals', p. 83.

Figure 4.10: 'A Grand Battle between the Irish hen and the English bantam', ***Hibernian Magazine***, April 1799 **(TCD).** This large quarto print is an example of the many fold-out political cartoons in Irish periodicals. This is an allegory for the Irish resistance to the British efforts for legislative union. The 'Irish hen' is putting up an unexpected good fight.

Figure 4.11: 'Ways & means or vox populi!!', *Hibernian Magazine*, January 1800 (RIA).

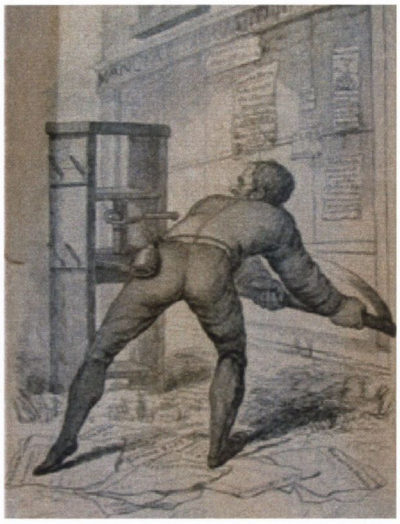


Figure 4.13: 'The whole art of printing made easy by a Lowth mower', *Irish Magazine*, August 1810 (RIA). Advertised with 'An Essay on mowing with an appropriate engraving' which was a scathing satire on the methods of press control utilised by British against Irish press.

Figure 4.14: 'Preparing young men in the Foundling Hospital', *Irish Magazine*, January 1812 (RIA). The text accompanying this engraving is introduced by Cox, 'As the late judicial strictures on the conduct of the Catholics for their home conduct, have been very impressive, and as the rights, condition and intelligence of Grand Jurors have been connected with the national question. We present our numerous readers, the first steps of a Juryman's progress at the time he is put into the CITY CRADLE for education, in a handsome engraving, which we will continue monthly in a regular series, until the young gentleman arrives to the highest city honours'.

Figure 4.15: 'Firethatch, Biblemouth, Limberlip, & the other Shooting Officers at their respective duties', *Irish Magazine,* July 1812 (RIA). The text from Cox explaining this illustration on the first page of this issue read: 'With this Month's Publication we give a very accurate engraved Representation of the different Modes of Trial and Execution that follow each Shooting Term; and as the first Day of this Month has always been the beginning of the Summer Circuit since our Ancestors were accidentally defeated at the Boyne, we think it a favourable Opportunity to lay the subject before our Readers, from an original Painting, in the Possession of Limberlip, the Mountrath Priest-killer'.

The satirical and slanderous illustrations which accompanied the text, and which became particularly venomous after 1811, may have revealed the real attitudes of many Catholics towards the establishment as Cox's magazine was the only openly Catholic periodical of the time.[68] For this reason, these prints represent a vital source for understanding growing Irish Catholic resentment towards the establishment in the nineteenth century. Figure 4.16 sums up these attitudes with an anti-imperial print, lambasting the British behaviour in Ireland, America and India.

Figure 4.16: 'Testimonials to British humanity', *Irish Magazine*, December 1815 (RIA). In his final issue Cox summed up his attitudes towards the British empire with this graphic print, despite the fact that he was paid a considerable sum by the Castle to discontinue his publication.

[68] For more on this thesis see, Vincent Morley, 'The continuity of disaffection in eighteenth-century Ireland' in *ECI*, 22 (2007), pp 189-205.

The increasing standard of reviewing in the nineteenth-century encouraged periodicals to include more personal and opinionated reviews and criticisms of literary and non-fiction works. Irish periodicals did not include large amounts of such material, by comparison to their Scottish and American counterparts, but theatrical reviews became even more popular and related directly to plays that were preformed in Dublin. As discussed above, antiquarian material and Irish folklore became very popular with titles such as *Bolster's Quarterly Magazine* setting high standards in the late 1820s. The appearance of the nationalist *Irish Monthly Magazine* (1832-4), including original contributions from Daniel O'Connell, his daughter Mrs. Fitzsimmons, his brother, MP Maurice O'Connell and the historian and journalist John Cornelius O'Callaghan, provided a 'national vent' for literary talent.[69] Early issues with material of Irish interest continued in the vein of *Bolster's* and included poems by 'Caorlan', 'Alfieri' or 'Conla', heroic legends and sketches, and the serialization of 'The Children of Usnach'. Original Irish literature was represented by Charles James Lever and Gerald Griffin in 1834. Significant accounts were also published on Dublin churches, canals and the book trade.[70] The *Irish Monthly Magazine* was quickly followed by the more famous *Dublin University Magazine,* which marked a new standard in Irish periodical publications.[71]

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[69] 'Preface', *Irish Monthly Magazine* (1832). See also on this title, Bowen, B. P. 'The 'Comet' newspaper (1831-1833)'. *Irish Book Lover*, 28 (1942), pp. 120-127; Hayley, 'Irish periodicals', pp 91-2; Thuente, *The harp re-strung*, p. 129.

[70] For example, 'A visit to the Metropolitan Church of Dublin', 'The Dublin ship canals', 'Biographical account of the Dublin magazine periodicals', *Irish Monthly Magazine* (Jan., Feb. 1834).

[71] For detailed accounts see Tilley, 'Charting culture in the *DUM*', pp58-65 and Hall, *Dialogues in the Margin.*

Publishers and Editors

The majority of Irish periodicals were published by book-trade members, either personally or on behalf of an institution. Despite the fact that the word 'publisher' was rarely used, this was the occupation that the majority of periodical producers engaged in under the name of 'bookseller'. Publishers of periodicals were identified from the colophon by the use of the phrase 'published for', as this indicated the individual or group who provided the finance for the publication in the first instance. Printing and publishing comprised of different economic activities, requiring different levels of capital, business skill and of investment time, though many periodicals were printed and published at the same house. The publisher was usually involved in the creation, financing, manufacturing, and distribution of the periodical, which also involved the gathering of subscriptions. The publisher also gained the majority of the profit from the publication. In the latter half of the century retail booksellers, societies and institutions also become publishers, and this trend continued to be an important element in the creation of printed material in the early nineteenth century, though the religious bodies that began to sponsor significant print differed from commercial publishers in that they were not seeking profitable returns in the monetary sense.

Publishing was a function that could be performed by any number of individuals or groups in or outside the book trade. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century there were many members of the book trade who acted as publishers, and often in large groups, to minimize risk or to claim 'copyright' in the Dublin tradition by

announcing publication first.[72] By the 1810s, 20s, and 30s, some of these figures, and other emerging names, (most of them originally printers), had committed to publishing books on a more or less full-time basis, leaving the manufacturing and retailing to others. The evolution of a core group of eighteenth-century Irish printers and booksellers into entrepreneurs in the later quarter of the century is an area that requires further research, but one which will be alluded to during this study. A successful periodical was a not uncommon goal in the career trajectory of entrepreneurial printers and/or booksellers in such a transition, as it could provide a national reputation, wide networks and regular income. In several instances, book-trade members who were initially involved with periodical production as printer, often became publishers in their own right on their second involvement in the periodical market. For example, Smyth and Lyons were printers of the *Belfast Anthologia* (1806) and then became publishers of the much more successful *Belfast Monthly Magazine* (1808-14); M. Goodwin was the printer of the *Hibernian Evangelical Magazine* (1815), while he was both printer and publisher of the more successful *Dublin Christian Instructor* (1818-24).[73]

Munter's assessment of the development of newspaper businessmen in the first half of the eighteenth century is useful as a point of comparison for the periodical producers, publishers and editors of a later era.[74] After the first decade of experimentation, several newspaper ventures began to attain some degree of security and stability, though they continued as an element of the business of a

[72] Pollard, *Dublin's trade in books,* pp 169-71.
[73] See North, *Waterloo,* pp 64, 162, 237.
[74] Munter, *History of Irish newspapers,* pp 19-39.

printing house. The inclusion of advertising and the literary essay meant that such ventures became both profitable and influential, with their publishers along with their newspapers gaining in stature along with their newspapers. Through the late 1720s and 1730s the names associated with the Irish newspaper press were Carson, Hoey and Faulkner, and the printing families of Rhames, Jones, Reilly and Powell, wee held in mutually high esteem as stationers and printer-booksellers Hoey and Faulkner, having begun their careers as job-printers, gained respectability through their press work and newspaper titles. The political turmoil of the late 1740s brought forth new newspaper proprietors and entrepreneurs willing to take publishing risks such as Charles Lucas and Paul Hiffernan.[75] The combined output of these publishers, along with pamphleteers Halhed Garland, Augustus Long, Thomas Knowles and Edward Bates, introduced the political periodical into Irish weekly journalism.[76]

Similar developmental patterns can be distinguished in the Irish monthly periodical trade in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Of the twenty-two periodical titles produced in the first half of this study, fourteen different publishers have been identified, with four being responsible for two different periodical publications in the period. As with early newspaper producers, these publishers were respected stationers and booksellers, a reputation which was usually enhanced by their

[75] Lucas published *The Censor* (1748-50) and Hiffernan published *The Tickler* (1748) on behalf of the government to attack Lucas's popular opposition title. See Seán Murphy, 'Charles Lucas, Catholicism and nationalism' in *ECI,* 8 (1993), pp 83-102 and Jim Smyth, 'Republicanism before the United Irishmen: the case of Dr. Charles Lucas' in Boyce, Eccleshall and Geoghegan (eds), *Political discourse in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ireland*, pp 240-56.
[76] Munter, *History of Irish newspapers,* pp 19-39.

association with a periodical publication. Title 'branding', where the publishers name was directly associated with a publication, was common among early newspapers and was also common among periodical publishers. For example, *Pue's Occurrences* and *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* in the newspaper trade, with *Exshaw's Magazine*, *Walker's Hibernian Magazine, Whitestone's Town and Country Magazine,* and *Ancell's Monthly Military Companion* as examples from the monthly periodical trade. Such associations were possibly the most lucrative result of these early periodicals as they enhanced the reputation of the publisher. Title branding was further enhanced by the advertising opportunities offered by periodical wrappers from the late eighteenth century onwards. Periodical publishers could liberally advertise their other titles, books or business concerns, with extra profit available from the sale of advertising space to other booksellers or merchants. With increased competition among titles by the 1790s, more diverse use of this space has been identified and discussed in more detail in chapter five. It was not unusual in the late eighteenth century for organizations, either academic or social, to be involved in the publication of a monthly magazine. *Anthologia Hibernica* (1793-4) for example was closely associated with Trinity College and the Royal Irish Academy, and indeed the intended audience for eighteenth-century monthlies was the Dublin 'establishment' from the administration to the clergy to the parliamentarians to the corporation.

The political turmoil that surrounded the post-Rebellion period and the Union debates, coinciding with the turn of the century, marked a transition period in the

personnel involved in periodical production, as had been seen in the 1740s in the newspaper business. Many new publishers appeared to take an interest in the genre, though it always remained as a facet of their publishing business, rather than their sole activity. As the political tensions of the decade increased, several booksellers showed enterprising spirit in their attempts to diversify their business interests to spread their financial risks. A periodical was an inexpensive investment and could potentially provide advertising revenue and regular cash flow.

By the early nineteenth century the publishing dominance of Walker and Exshaw had been replaced; Walker went bankrupt in 1797 and sold his stock, though the *Hibernian Magazine* survived past the Rebellion, it was taken over by Walker's sons who were not as active in the book trade business. Exshaw took a break from his printing business to command a force of yeomanry during the rebellion and was elected lord mayor in 1800.[77] Patrick Byrne was implicated in the activities of the Society of United Irishmen before the rebellion by Francis Higgins and spent several years in jail before being released on condition that he removed to America, which he did in 1800. These new periodical publishers in the nineteenth century were already well-established in the book trade, a trend which was also seen in the early decades of the eighteenth century. For example, Gibson had been in the book trade since 1774, McKenzie, Dugdale, J & J Carrick, and Burnside since the 1780s, and Gough and Downes since the 1790s.[78] Despite experience in the book trade,

[77] Pollard, *Dictionary*, pp 567.
[78] Ibid. pp 90, 166, 172-3, 245, 386-8.

these men as periodical publishers experimented with the format and adapted it to the publishing environment of the new century.

Societies and institutions also became involved in business of periodical publishing in the nineteenth century, often working in association with an established bookseller who was a member of their organization or network. Such connections led to several religiously and institutionally focused titles. Charles Downes published the *Literary and Masonic Magazine*, while being a member of the Grand Lodge and a regular job-printer for the Freemasons in Dublin; J & J Carrick, prominent members of the Protestant community published the *Hibernian Evangelical Magazine*[79]*;* Hodges, in partnership with two different publishers, was responsible for producing two academic journals, *Dublin Medical and Physical Essays* and the *Dublin Philosophical Journal,* which included many of the same contributors, suggesting a continuity in his titles;[80] Smyth and Lyons (Belfast) published two regionally focused titles with similar personnel from the Belfast literati and intelligencia involved in both instances.[81]

The role of editor was, in many cases in this study, associated with the publisher or an anonymous compiler often in the guise of a 'Society of Gentlemen'. What is so striking about the most successful Irish periodicals, is the lack of a significant editorial persona. This suggests that a portion of Irish publishers, and particularly

[79] J. Carrick was a trustee of the Sick and Indigent Room-keepers Society. See Pollard, *Dictionary,* p. 90.
[80] See volume title-pages.
[81] See North, *Waterloo,* pp 64, 162, 237.

those associated with the periodical press, were similar to their Scottish counterparts who were as involved in the intellectual production of texts as in the physical production.[82] Some exceptions could be mentioned, such as the *Belfast Monthly Magazine* and the *Christian Examiner,* though the primary material does not survive to allow for the editorial and publisher contributions to be clearly understood. Unfortunately the same manuscript archives do not survive for the production history of texts produced and published in Ireland.

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In this chapter different approaches to the content of Irish periodicals have been discussed. By collecting the various comments written by editors and publishers a picture has been formed of the purpose and aim of Irish periodicals, as well as their means of functioning within a specifically Irish public sphere. An overview of the contributors, correspondents and producers has demonstrated the network of contacts, or lack thereof, established by Irish periodicals. The analysis of the content of the *Hibernian Magazine* shows the evolution of the various subject fields throughout the forty years of its existence, and demonstrates the fluctuations of interest, proving the overall importance of a comprehensive examination of periodical contents in appreciating the cultural and political fabric of a period. The importance of editorial comment and of publishers' prefatory material is once again made evident when attempting to understand the practical challenges of printing a periodical during this period in Ireland, the limited materials, dependency on good printing and difficulties surrounding the retention of subscribers. All of these

[82] Sher, *The Enlightenment and the book,* pp 265-326.

factors outside of the textual space of the periodical were to some extent beyond the editor's or publisher's control, though in some case their efforts to react to and overcome events and circumstances are insightful. Finally the level of specifically Irish material, of interest to Irish readers, ahs been demonstrated. Against that it has also been shown that Irish content was not an essential ingredient of success for an Irish periodical.

Chapter Five

Irish Periodicals: sales and readership

Subscribers and Readers

The cost of periodicals was one of the most limiting factors of circulation among Irish readers. In the last three decades of the eighteenth century the price of Irish magazines ranged from sixpence to 1*s.* 2*d.*, though no prices have been identified for about three-fifths of the titles in this period.[1] The average price for the first two decades of the study was 6*d.*, which corresponded with the British average in the period. This was 'a British sixpence' as opposed to an Irish sixpence which would have meant at least 6½*d.* in Irish currency.[2] 'A British sixpence' was also the cost of *Exshaw's Magazine* and *Walker's Magazine,* the two longest running titles of the eighteenth century, and of their short-lived competitors until the 1790s. In the 1790s, the average price of monthly periodicals in Ireland rose to around one shilling, a fact which reflected the rise in quality. For example *Anthologia Hibernica* cost 1*s.* 2*d.* per issue and usually included three engravings of a very high standard. Surviving evidence from the wrappers of this periodical also indicate that the publishers offered various styles of presentation to their readers; the most expensive annual set that was available was half bound in leather and cost £1.10*s.*4*d.*[3] At the other end of the market in this decade the *Minerva Magazine* (which lasted for only six months in 1793 and was the most unoriginal and derivative of the decade) cost just 6*d.*, possibly

[1] Identified prices for Irish periodicals are included in appendix 1.
[2] The advertisement by Dublin bookseller James Williams for the British periodicals he had imported in 1775 provides an example of the standard British price for periodicals in the period, 6*d. Freeman's Journal*, 1 Apr. 1775.
[3] TCD, *Anthologia Hibernica* (1793), wrappers.

as it was attempting to rival the *Hibernian Magazine* and *Exshaw's Magazine* rather than create a new market in the way that *Antholoiga Hibernica* or even Moore's *Dublin Magazine* (1798-1800) were trying to do. The *New Magazine* (Dublin) explained their pricing policy in an address 'To our Subscribers, Correspondents and other Readers' by noting that they planned to move away from the general practice of including engravings, a decision which was reflected in their price which they claimed was 'half that of any others'. Their reason for such a decision was further explained by their design which was 'to instruct and amuse the understanding rather than the eye'.[4]

The range of periodical prices continued to grow in the nineteenth-century, which was by the first decade, from sixpence to 2*s*. 2*d*. The *New Magazine, Dublin Museum* (1807) published by James Charles cost just sixpence. Just priced above this periodical was the *Hibernian Evangelical Magazine, or Gospel Repository* (1802), priced at 6½*d* (though no evidence survives to indicate whether this was the price in English or Irish money). Both of these periodicals were particularly cheap by comparison to their contemporary rivals, though it should be noted that both were smaller than average in the number of pages they offered. Each title also had a particular commercial angle which may have boosted the quantity of sales, thereby offsetting the low cost. The *New Magazine* regularly included good-quality engravings which, combined with its portable duodecimo format, would have been attractive for periodical readers. The *Hibernian Evangelical Magazine* was aimed the protestant community in Ireland; its lower price might represent the confidence the

[4] 'To our Subscribers, Correspondents and other Readers', *New Magazine* (Mar., 1799).

publishers had in attracting a large number of subscribers as no other evangelical title was being published at the time.

At the other end of the scale were *Ancell's Monthly Military Companion* (1801-02) and the *Monthly Pantheon* (1808-09). *Ancell's* was a publication specifically directed at 'the officers of the army of Ireland' and included numerous maps, diagrams, engravings and music scores which would explain the elevated price of the publication. The *Monthly Pantheon* was a good-quality liberal and nationalist publication, though there are no obvious reasons why it was priced significantly higher than its contemporaries. In the last extant issue of November 1809 it announced its intention to become a quarterly as *The Dublin Review and Pantheon of Literature*, but there is no evidence of this publication.

Within this extreme range for the decade the average price of monthly and quarterly periodicals was now 1*s*.3*d*. This calculation does not include the more expensive options offered by publishers for more lavish presentations. For example, the *Patriotic Magazine* (1808-10), which began as a fortnightly periodical and then became a quarterly, announced its price as 13*s*. per annum to individual subscribers and 20*s*. per annum for reading room subscriptions, acknowledging that the public access offered by reading rooms and societies or coffee shops represented a much larger readership. The *Hibernia Magazine,* like *Anthologia Hibernica* in the previous century, advertised its usual price as 2*s*., but offered more elaborate editions on fine paper with coloured illustrations at a higher price. There is no evidence to indicate

whether either of these more expensive options were taken up by many periodical purchasers. Three periodicals in this decade altered their prices (*Cyclopaedian Magazine,* Cox's *Irish Magazine* and the *Hibernian Magazine* as mentioned above) and in every case the price went up by at least 1*d.* In the case of the *Hibernian* the price more than doubled over the course of the decade.

The average price for the second decade of the century remained at 1*s.* 3*d.* Two publications priced at 1*d.*, one at 3*d.* and one at 8*d.* keep the average low. As with the below average priced titles in the previous decade, some explanations can be offered for each of these four cases. Both titles priced 1*d.*, the *Juvenile Magazine* (1814-15) published in Ballitore, Limerick and Dublin, with the special price of ½ *d.* 'to boys', and the *Ballitore Magazine*, a revival of this publication in 1820, were not more than thirty pages in length and appear to have been intended for circulation among a small provincial reading circle. The next very low priced periodical (at 3*d.*) was the *Monthly Entertainer, or General Observer of the Times* (1814) which was also comparatively small by the average of the time at forty-eight pages and was published in the provincial Leinster town of Parsonstown. No copy of this periodical is extant. The final notably cheap periodical of this period was the *Hibernian and Evangelical Magazine* (1815-17), published by J. & J. Carrick, the same publishers responsible for an earlier title of the same name, which was also exception for its low price in 1802. A mischievous pricing decision was taken by the eccentric John Brennan, publisher of the *Milesian Magazine* (1812-17), when he advertised his periodical as 'price to friends 5*s.*; to enemies 2*s.* 6*d.*' suggesting that he was more interested in the latter

category reading his satirical and biting commentaries on their character, of which there was plenty in the magazine.[5] The above analysis of the prices of Irish periodicals from the 1810s is based on evidence surviving for the cost of 64% of the total number of periodicals published in this period.

Evidence for the price of periodicals survives for considerably more titles in the third decade of the nineteenth century. The cost of over eighty percent of the periodicals in this decade has been identified, and surprisingly the average price dropped to 1*s*.1*d*. from 1*s*.3*d*. in the previous decade. An increased number of cheap religiously sponsored or associated periodicals brought the average down, with nine titles priced at 6*d*. or less. If removed from the calculations, the average price for commercially oriented periodicals was now 1*s*.6*d*. At the most expensive end of the scale were two publications which cost 2*s*.6*d*. each, *Bolster's Quarterly Magazine* (1826-30), and the *National Magazine* (1830-31). Such price increases at the top end of the market, despite the fact that neither included engravings (an almost universal feature in such miscellaneous titles in previous decades), signifies a change in the Irish periodical market. Both these titles included a significant amount of original material relating to Irish literature, folklore, antiquity, biography and history, as well as detailed and considered criticism of British and American literature of the day as detailed in chapter four. The 1820s also witnessed the first reduction in price of any Irish periodical: *The Belfast Co-operative Advocate* (1830) began its life in January priced at a very reasonable 3*d*., which was reduced to 1*d*. by March under a new title, *The Belfast Co-operative Magazine*, though it is not clear if the size or periodicity of the

[5] NLI, *Milesian Magazine*, front wrappers.

periodical was affected by this change. As a union periodical issued by the Belfast Co-operative Trading Association, it is possible the publication was subsidised or was non-profit by its nature.

Given the widely varying prices of Irish periodicals, their potential for circulation growth within large parts of the Irish middling and upper population was considerable. Periodicals benefited from the developments in reading habits, and the extraordinary popularity of almanacs, fairy tales, revised versions of medieval texts, works of piety and magic, and books of practical advice greatly increased demand for the type of content periodicals contained.[6] Periodicals offered small amounts of all of these genres and many other topics of general interest such as travel literature, poetry, short stories, and parliamentary intelligence. They were meant to complement the reading of newspapers rather than to replace it, or in the case of women, they provided an alternative to newspapers which some considered unnecessary for the 'fairer sex'.[7]

The price of Irish periodicals is best understood in relation to other printed formats which would have been available to Irish readers. Chapbooks, one of the cheapest forms of reading material beyond the most ephemeral handbills and song-sheets, were priced at a few farthings or 1*d*, though larger chapbooks of 140-180 pages covered

[6] See Rolf Loeber and Madga Stouthamer-Loeber, 'Fiction available to and written for cottagers and their children' in Cunningham and Kennedy, *The experience of reading*, pp 124-72 and Ó Ciosán, *Print and popular culture,* particularly pp 43-60 for detailed discussion on the growth of literacy and readership in Ireland in the period, with particular attention to the nineteenth century.

[7] Many of the periodical prospectuses and prefaces examined in this study made particular efforts to appeal to the 'fair-sex' for contributions. For example, 'To our Subscribers, Correspondents and other Readers', *New Magazine* (Mar., 1799).

with paper wrappers or bound in sheep-leather could have cost as much as 6*d.*, which as noted above was the average price of monthly periodicals in the eighteenth century.[8] Cole has suggested that a Catholic farmer labourer in the period might have earned between 6*d.* and 1*s.* per day in the eighteenth century,[9] and in the nineteenth century the highest end of an agricultural labourer's daily wage in harvest season may have been 2*s.* 4*d.*[10] Such figures suggest that the majority of the general monthly periodicals under discussion in this study were within the purchasing power of many labourers in Ireland, though they may not have chosen to spend their money on this type of printed material, as they may have classed as a luxury printed by comparison with chapbooks and the newspapers of the period.

The usefulness of the above inferences also relies on the assumption of a level of literacy among the labouring classes. Ó Ciosán's research into literacy levels in Ireland for the early nineteenth century suggests that price, or the wealth of the family concerned, may not have been a defining factor for access to periodicals, by noting that religion was a great influence on female reading-only abilities. In this model, high literacy levels were likely to have been concentrated in the northern parts of Ireland, a view borne out by the 1841 census which shows that literacy by fifty percent of females above the age of five in Antrim. The percentage for men in the

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[8] Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, 'Fiction available' in Cunningham and Kennedy, *The experience of reading*, p. 125.
[9] Cole, *Irish Booksellers,* p. 160.
[10] This figure represents the highest single agricultural wage recorded for the Mitchelstown region during the harvest in Roche's Country c. 1812. Dickson notes that this wage must be considered exceptional, even for harvest time. Arthur Young, *A tour of Ireland with general observations on the present state of that kingdom. Made in the years 1776, 1777 and 1778...* (2 vols, Dublin, 1780), ii, appendix, p. 39 and Edward Wakefield, *An account of Ireland, statistical and political* (2 vols, London, 1812), ii, p. 227 cited in Dickson, *Old World Colony*, p. 312.

same area was even greater. The same study showed the lowest literacy levels in predominantly rural areas such as Munster with general reading ability less than thirty.[11] Although these statistics are based on census information for a period ten years later than this study, they do indicate the widely varying levels of reading and writing ability throughout Ireland and between the sexes. These figures also suggest that there was a substantial audience in Ireland for popular literature, ephemeral and relatively cheap print.

The evidence from the subscription lists themselves suggest that even though elements of the labouring and artisan classes may have been able to afford and read Irish periodicals, they were not the traditional purchasers of this genre of print culture. Of those identifiable by trade in the surviving periodical subscription lists, a notable number were of the 'middling' orders across the board such as academics, clergy, military officers, doctors, merchants, tutors as well as members of the establishment, MPs and higher nobility; there is little or no evidence of artisanal subscribers.

The composition of subscribers to Irish periodicals is made all the more problematic due to a lack of published subscription lists. Some minor evidence of readership survives within the pages of Irish periodicals through editorial comment, notes to correspondents or letters to the editor. In the former type of evidence, it was not uncommon for editors, at the end of a volume or publication year, to boast of their periodical being read extensively throughout the country and further afield, but it was

[11] Adapted from Table 2.1 in Ó Ciosán, *Print and popular culture,* pp 35-36.

Figure 5.1: Breakdown of surviving subscription lists in Irish periodicals[1]

	Universal Magazine (1789-93)	*Anthologia Hibernica* (1793-5)	*New Magazine* (1799-1800)	*Monthly Military Companion* (1801)	*Literary & Masonic Magazine* (1802-3)	*Dublin Magazine* (1812-3)	
Total Subscrip.	**322**	**471**	**111**	**142**	**205**	**255**	**1506**
Nobility[2]	**18 (6%)**	**21 (5%)**	**- -**	**10 (7%)**	**1 (0.5%)**	**- -**	
Esquires	**114 (35%)**	**183 (41%)**	**- -**	**22 (15%)**	**48 (24%)**	**38 (15%)**	
Clergy	**25 (8%)**	**58 (13%)**	**- -**	**- -**	**2 (1%)**	**3 (1%)**	
Women	**18 (6%)**	**14 (3%)**	**43 (46%)**	**- -**	**9 (5%)**	**4 (2%)**	
Subscribers Outside Dublin[3]	**83 (26%)**	**129 (27%)**	**25 (27%)**	**54 (28%)**	**4 (2%)**	**74 (29%)**	
Total Copies[4]	**674**	**471**	**299**	**142**	**205**	**255**	**2046**

[1] Percentages rounded to nearest whole number.
[2] Percentages of total subscription, rather than total copies sold as this figure usually represents booksellers' larger orders which are impossible to quantify in this manner.
[3] This figure only represents those subscribers who identified their location outside the city of Dublin, a practice that was not particularly common.
[4] In the case of the *Universal Magazine* and the *New Magazine*, the multiple orders of booksellers were noted which reflects more accurately the total number of copies of the periodical sold.

also usual to bemoan late payment of subscriptions by lacklustre readers and to lay the blame for any failure on external factors beyond editorial hands.

Subscription lists survive for approximately seven percent of the periodicals in this study. The breakdown of these lists is represented in figure 5.1. The figures for total subscription relate to the actual number of names which appear on all of the lists, while the total copies noted at the bottom of the table relates to the actual number of copies purchased. In some cases the publishers indicated when multiple copies were purchased, which was usually by booksellers or merchants. This was not common practice, so an accurate comparison between titles is not completely possible. The figures for nobility, esquires, clergy and women are broken down from the information listed in the total subscription category. Again this information was only provided by some publishers. The subscribers outside Dublin include persons from each of the above categories, where their location was stated.

The largest extant subscription list, in terms of actual copies of the periodical sold, is that for Patrick Byrne's *Universal Magazine and Review*, which was published from 1789 to 1793. Byrne was one of the most successful booksellers in Dublin in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, a fact which is at first sight surprising given his Catholic background. The surviving lists in volume one (1789) and volume eight (1792) of this magazine indicate that an unusually high proportion of Byrne's subscribers were other booksellers taking multiple copies. For example, J. Crawly, bookseller in Waterford, ordered twenty-one copies, both J. Cronin, bookseller in Cork, and Magee, bookseller in Belfast ordered fourteen copies; George Perrin, bookseller in Dublin, and W. Watson, bookseller, ordered seven copies each. The total number of copies ordered by the trade was three-hundred and fifty-two. This impressive number combined with the strength of trade subscriptions outside the capital may reflect on Byrne's previous successful partnerships with other Catholic booksellers and attest to his reputation as one of the most successful publishers of his time. His distinctive readership and distribution profiles can be inferred by comparison of this list with the second largest (in terms of copies, largest in terms of subscribers), *Anthologia Hibernica*, which boasted a list of trade subscribers which was not only larger in terms of actual names than the *Universal Magazine* but also had an international element to it, which was not evident in Byrne's distribution list.

The surviving subscription lists for *Anthologia Hibernica* appear at the end of every volume, with each list recording an increase in the number of subscribers. In the first list, two-hundred and ninety-six individual subscribers were listed and thirty-four

booksellers – including Messrs. Wild & Atther in Utrecht. By the second volume the individual subscribers had increased to four-hundred and twenty-two, the number of booksellers acting as agents had increased to forty-one, including further international agents in Leipzig, Copenhagen and Naples. These figures remained almost static for the last two volumes with the final subscription total at four-hundred and twenty-three individuals and forty-eight booksellers, including another British agent in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and on the continent in Vienna. Unfortunately it is not possible to do a direct comparison between these two subscription lists as *Anthologia Hibernica* one does not specify how many copies the various trade agents subscribed to. Therefore the figure for the total number of copies subscribed is only one more than the total number of subscribers (on the assumption that they all took at least one copy, with only one individual subscriber listed in the final subscription list as taking two copies). It is likely that this total of four-hundred and seventy-two copies is significantly lower than actual sales but no evidence survives to estimate the number of trade copies purchased.

A breakdown of these lists from the internal evidence of the names suggests that their readership differed quite significantly. *Anthologia Hibernica's* list suggests a significant portion of its readership was Protestant, came from the political establishment and academic institutions such as Trinity College Dublin and the Royal Irish Academy. The *Universal Magazine*, while having similar numbers of nobility, clergy and women, did not have the same institutional links. There were also more merchants and tradesmen on the subscription list for Byrne's magazine.

Further differences in the type of readers are evident by comparison with the post-Union lists of the *Literary and Masonic Magazine* (1802) and the *Dublin Magazine* (1812). Figures from the *Universal Magazine* and *Anthologia Hibernica* indicate that about forty percent of their subscribers were classed as 'esquires' whereas this category made up less than twenty-five percent of the subscription lists of post-Union titles, possibly reflecting the altered political environment in Dublin after the removal of parliament to London. The latest subscription list available for the *Dublin Magazine* (1812-13) confirms this trend into the second decade of the nineteenth century, particularly in the reduced levels of subscriptions from nobility and clergy. Possibly the most interesting statistic would be one which determined Catholic and Protestant representation on each list, though this has not been possible to estimate. It is tempting to suggest that Catholics and merchants would have made up a larger proportion of urban subscribers that the *Literary and Masonic* lists recorded. The geographical location of subscribers suggests a relatively strong provincial market throughout the period with only two titles recording a strong Dublin readership.

The surviving subscription list for the *New Magazine* (1799-1800) provides evidence of the increasing importance of female readers: forty-six percent of those on its list were women. The relatively high proportion of female readers in the *New Magazine* is less surprising given the tone of its prospectus in 1799 in which the publisher directly invited the

> literary youth of both sexes; but on the fair part of our species I place the greatest reliance ... tho' I shall endeavour to make this compilation agreeable to men of

> sense, yet to my fair countrywomen, it will be found peculiarly adapted; and I make no doubt but my list of subscribers will shew as many female names, as any other catalogue of the kind in Ireland.

As early as 1737 Irish periodical publishers appeared to appreciate the appeal of this print genre to a female audience. Hoey issued *The Flowers of Parnassus; or, The Lady's Miscellany* in1737. Andrew Walsh, publisher of the *Magazine of Magazines* also made an explicit appeal to female readers in his preface.[12]

Although subscription lists offer the most concrete evidence of those who purchased Irish periodicals, it must be remembered that these only survive for a small portion of titles. It is also important to note that purchase did not equate actual readership, though it is possible that each copy was read by several family members or friends. Coffee shops, reading societies and book clubs would also have increased the readership of many Irish periodicals, and several such institutions are listed on surviving subscription lists.[13] Beyond the ragged pages, the missing engravings and occasional book-plates, the periodicals of the period provide very little evidence of their readers or their owners.

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[12] 'Preface', *Magazine of Magazines* (Jan., 1751).

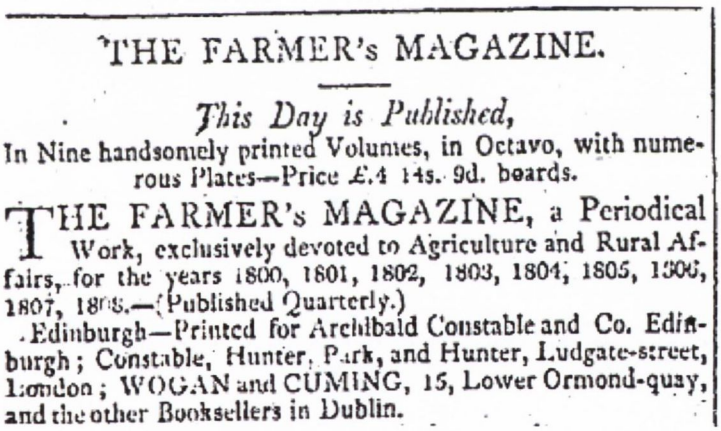
[13] The Dublin Library Society was listed on the subscription list for *Anthologia Hibernica* and the *Literary and Masonic Magazine;* the Coffee-House Tuam was also included on the list for the *Anthologia Hibernica.*

Advertising and Distribution of Irish Periodicals

Marketing strategies for Irish periodicals usually focused on the traditional avenues of promotion used for other printed materials. Newspaper readers were regularly updated on the availability of the mainstream Irish periodicals through advertisement or other notices. At least one surviving newspaper advertisement has been found for the majority of the eighteenth-century periodicals examined here, though the number of advertisements for some periodicals greatly outnumbered others. For example, advertisements for *Exshaw's* and *Walker's* were far more frequent in Dublin newspapers during the 1790s than for competitors such as *The Universal Magazine* or the *Sentimental and Masonic Magazine*. This is unsurprising given the relentless and sustained advertising campaigns that Walker conducted for his other business ventures. In the main newspaper used to track periodical advertisements for this study, the *Freeman's Journal*, only a small proportion of periodicals were advertised in this manner, with the number appearing in the early nineteenth century significantly lower than for the eighteenth century despite an increase in the number of periodicals being published. It is not hugely surprising to find that religious or provincial publications were not advertised in newspapers as they had local distribution and an institutional structure for advertising.

Newspaper advertising was also the most efficient way to promote jointly-published and imported British periodicals. Several periodicals in the former category can only be identified through these advertisements, as surviving copies in Irish libraries are only attributed to the primary publisher in their catalogues. For example, the

Farmer's Magazine has been identified here as a periodical which was imported into Ireland but also one which was connected with an Irish publishing house. From the advertisement in the *Freeman's Journal* (figure 5.2) it is clear that there was a general publishing arrangement between Archibald Constable & Co. in Edinburgh, Constable, Hunter, Park & Hunter in London and Wogan & Cumming in Dublin. The *Edinburgh Medical Journal* is another example of a British published periodical circulating in Ireland, with an arrangement between the same international consortium of publishers to name each other on their imprints.[14]



THE FARMER's MAGAZINE.

This Day is Published,

In Nine handsomely printed Volumes, in Octavo, with numerous Plates—Price £.4 14s. 9d. boards.

THE FARMER's MAGAZINE, a Periodical Work, exclusively devoted to Agriculture and Rural Affairs, for the years 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808.—(Published Quarterly.)

Edinburgh—Printed for Archibald Constable and Co. Edinburgh; Constable, Hunter, Park, and Hunter, Ludgate-street, London; WOGAN and CUMING, 15, Lower Ormond-quay, and the other Booksellers in Dublin.

Figure 5.2: *Freeman's Journal*, 1 May 1809, p. 2. Advertisement for *The Farmer's Magazine*, published by a consortium of Edinburgh, London and Dublin publishers who cooperated on a number of publications.

[14] *Freeman's Journal*, 1 May 1809, p. 2.

Newspaper advertisements from Irish newspapers also indicate the large numbers of Irish booksellers who acted as selling agents for numerous imported British periodicals throughout the period. This relationship would not have involved a joint publishing venture, rather a straight-forward trade subscription, with conventional trade terms such as extra copies for bulk purchasing. In 1775 James Williams was importing *The Lady's Magazine* and *The Town and Country Magazine,* both of which would have appealed to a mainly female Irish readership.[15] By the nineteenth century there were numerous Dublin agents for the *Edinburgh Review* and *Quarterly Review,* indicating the wide distribution networks for these international titles.[16] *Constable's Miscellany* was advertised in *Bolster's Quarterly Magazine* in 1827 with full page advertisements highlighting its availability 'not merely by the ordinary modes of bookselling', extending to newsvendors and other dealers in books'. These elaborate advertisements from the leading British magazines in Ireland were common throughout the period.

[15] *Freeman's Journal*, 1 Apr. 1775.
[16] For example, by 1820 both Richard Milliken and C.P. Archer were advertising both for sale in their shops, *Freeman's Journal*, 28 Mar. 1820.

Figure 5.3: *Freeman's Journal*, Saturday 22 October 1763. Small ad for *Exshaw's Gentleman's and London Magazine* for September 1763. Illustrations were advertised before the rest of the contents, an advertising feature which was used throughout the period.

This Day is publiſhed by JOHN EXSHAW, with I. BRITANNIA's Revenge for the Loſs of her CONQUESTS. II. A Head of the Counteſs of NORTHUMBERLAND, from that painted by Reynold's,

EXSHAW's GENTLEMAN's and LONDON MAGAZINE,

For SEPTEMBER, 1763.

I. PAPERS relative to a late Conference, the Junto's Manifeſto with Remarks, by an able Hand. II. Authentic Letters publiſhed ſince Mr. Wilkes's Arrival, relative to his Affairs with Capt. Forbes. III. A remarkable Memorial preſented to the late King. IV. Remarks on the Addreſſes preſented by the City of London. V. A remarkable Detection of the 45th Number of the North Briton. VI. An Anſwer to the Letter on the Hardſhips impoſed on the Iriſh Roman Catholicks. VII. State of the Sales of the Hermione. VIII. The Narrative of the Murder of a French Lady concluded, with the Defence made by Le Brun. IX. The French King's Anſwer to his Parliament. X. The French Parliament's Proceedings relative to Inoculation. XI. Dr. Sutherland's Account of the Bath Waters. XII. An Account of the Diſturbances in North America. XIII. The Lord Lieutenant's Speech, with the Addreſſes. XIV. The NORTH BRITONS, No. 61, 62, 63, 64, and 65, entire. XV. The Lord Mayor's Speech to the Liverymen. XVI. The Songs ſung at the Queen's Palace on his Majeſty's Birth Day.

Figure 5.4: *Freeman's Journal*, Saturday 5 January 1793. Tongue and cheek ad addressed specifically to politicians for humorous Print 'How to do Things by Halves'.

The POLITICIANS.

A humourous Print—How to do Things by Halves—with three new Songs ſet to Muſic, are all given in

EXSHAW's

GENTLEMAN and LONDON MAGAZINE,

For DECEMBER, 1792,

Publiſhed at No. 79, Dame-ſtreet,

The methods for advertising Irish periodicals within the press were well established by the 1770s. Various approaches were taken through newspaper advertisements, literary reviews and separately printed handbills. The 1763 advertisement for *Exshaw's Magazine* represented in figure 5.3 was placed when the periodical was still under the control of its namesake Exshaw, whereas the 1792 advertisement, placed when the title was run by Walker, is more pointed and slightly unusual, sending up the politicians who are being satirised in the print 'How to do things by Halves' (figure 5.4). It was not unusual for periodical advertisements to begin with an announcement of the principal illustrated engraving accompanying the issue as this was one of the strongest selling points. The most innovative aspect of marketing was in the sentimental and patriotic wording used in some magazine prospectuses which occasionally appeared in newspapers when subscribers were being sought, but these statements mostly survive in the initial prefaces in bound volume form.

The distribution of Irish periodicals has already received some attention from scholars, and though often only focused on a single publication, this research has been very suggestive. The work of Kennedy, Sheridan and Clyde has contributed greatly to the study of provincial book-trade networks and how periodicals figured in these networks.[17] From the mid-eighteenth century *Exshaw's Magazine* had agents selling the periodical in eighteen towns outside Dublin.[18] Kennedy has noted that fanning out from the principal country towns were subordinate distribution networks

[17] Sheridan, 'Irish periodicals', pp 28-51; Kennedy, 'The *Magazin à la Mode*', pp 83-98; Clyde, *ILM*, appendices.

[18] These towns included Drogheda, Kilkenny, Mountmellick, Cork, Belfast, Newry, Armagh, Limerick, Waterford, Cashel, Clonmel, Coleraine, Athlone, Galway, Strokestown, Derry, Roscommon, and Maryborough. Also cited by Sheridan, 'Irish literary review magazines', p. 22.

to the surrounding post towns which had contact to the main centre two to three times a week.[19] By taking four examples of provincial agents for the *Magazin á la Mode* (who were also newspaper proprietors in their own right), she has made convincing argument which highlights a significant secondary layer facilitating deeper penetration of the provincial market which depended on the post route connections between the major provincial towns of Limerick, Waterford, Kilkenny and Derry and smaller towns and villages in their extensive hinterlands.[20]

Walker's Hibernian Magazine also had an extensive list of agents throughout the country, but given the aggressive advertising of its publisher noted above the number of agents was surprisingly small – less than those for *Exshaw's Magazine* under its first owner. Fourteen agents were listed on the front wrapper of the magazine for February 1793, covering the main towns of the country including Belfast, Armagh, Derry, Coleraine, Drogheda, Mullingar, Waterford, Clonmel, Kilkenny, Limerick, Galway, and three agents in Cork.[21] Interestingly it was one of the short-lived periodicals of the 1790s that had the most extensive distribution in the period. *Anthologia Hibernica* boasted an impressive list of national and international distributors listed on its wrappers.[22]

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[19] Watson's *Almanack* for 1777 has a schedule of postal services under the title 'General letter office', which outlined the postal network for Great Britain and Ireland; it listed the post towns of Ireland which had postal deliveries six times, three times, and twice per week, pp 117-121 cited in Kennedy, 'The *Magazin á La Mode*', p. 87.

[20] Ibid., p. 89.

[21] See also an unpublished paper by James Kelly, 'Health for sale: quacks, mountebanks and printers, and the supply of medication in eighteenth-century Ireland', delivered to the Early Modern History Seminar Series in Trinity College, October 2005.

[22] These included Mr Thomas White, Cork; Mr Magee, Belfast; Mrs Finn, Kilkenny; Mr A Watson and Mr Hargrave, Limerick; Mr Rumbold, Clonmell; Mr Douglas, Londonderry; Mr Nolan, Athlone; Mr Gordon, Newry and Mr Walsh, Armagh. Also included were Messrs Robinsons, Paternoster Row; and

In the nineteenth century, as more periodicals were produced and from which more periodical wrappers survive, a better picture of distribution patterns emerges. It was common for many periodicals to give notice to their readers in the country or elsewhere in the United Kingdom that their periodical could be had on application to the Clerks of the Roads and at the General Post Office in Dublin. This service was usually offered free of additional expense on payment of a full years subscription to the periodical.[23] It was less common in the nineteenth century to find distribution agents on the wrappers of religious titles as institutional networks otherwise available for distributing sermons and religious commentaries provided this service. The *Hibernian Evangelical Magazine* in 1815 boasted only a small amount of agents, but it advertised the fact that it was also intended for general sale. 'Published and printed by J. & J. Carrick, Bachelor's Walk, for proprietors and sold by B. Dugdale, M. Keene, C. LaGrange, Wm Figgis; J. Parry; T Johnston; J. Jones'. Another religious title, the *Dublin Christian Instructor* for 1818, was distributed much more widely, indicating the large market that evangelical and instructive titles had by then achieved in Ireland.[24] *The Covenanter* published from 1830 in Belfast was another long-lived

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Mr Faulder, New Bond-Street, London; Mr Whitfield, Newcastle; Messrs Morison and Son, Perth and on the Continent from il fratelli Terres, Naples; M Mangot, Vienna; Zatti, Venice; and Wild and Altheer, Utrecht. TCD, *Anthologia Hibernica* (Oct., 1793).

[23] NLI, *Dublin Magazine* (Nov., 1814), wrappers.

[24] The colophon of this title read 'Sold by B. Dugdale, Dame Street; Archer and Burnside, Capel Street; T. Johnston, Sackville Street; John Jones, South Great George's Street; T. Flin, 52 Grafton Street; R.M. Tims, Grafton Street; M, Keene, College Green; J. Parry, Anglesea Street; and the office of the proprietors, Upper Sackville Street; Archer and McMullan, Belfast; T. Hamilton, London; M. Ogle, Glasgow; R. Tiny/Tivy, Cork'.

religious title which enjoyed a wide circulation in Ireland and the United Kingdom, particularly in Scotland where it was sold in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Paisley.[25]

The evidence for the wider distribution of provincial periodicals suggests that by the nineteenth century provincial publishers were able to find national markets for their titles. Thomas Connery, publisher of the *Psalter of Cashel; or Irish Cyclopaedia*, had many agents for his small periodical in Cashel, Cork (where it was printed), Limerick and Dublin.[26] The *Newry Literary and Political Register* was the most impressively distributed provincial title in the period, listing agents in 32 Irish towns throughout Ireland on its wrapper in 1817. *Bolster's Quarterly Magazine*, published in Limerick, was the only significant Irish provincial title, to enjoy an international distribution, though it was not as widespread as that of the *Anthologia Hibernica* in the previous century. Its English and Scottish distributors were Manners and Miller, Edinburgh; Parker, Oxford; Deighton and Sons, Cambridge; Wilson and Son, York; Charnley, Newcastle on Tyne; Upham, Bath; Sowler, Manchester; Williams, Cheltenham and its Parisian agent was Cahguam.[27]

For publishers, the alternative to appointing agents to promote sales, collect subscriptions and distribute copy was to undertake joint publication with booksellers and publishers in other countries. This became a more common feature of the Irish periodical market in the last years of the period with the *Dublin Monthly Magazine* (1830) being published by G. Tyrrell & R.M. Tims in Dublin, by Simpkin & Marshall

[25] NLI, *Dublin Christian Instructor* (1818), volume title-page.
[26] NLI, *Psalter of Cashel; or, Irish Cyclopaedia* (Jul., 1814), front wrapper.
[27] NLI, *Bolster's Quarterly Magazine* (Apr., 1827), front wrapper.

in London and John Boyd in Edinburgh. The *Limerick Magazine* (1830) was published in Limerick, Dublin and London where Treacher & Co. acted as co-publishers. As both of these publications were very short lived, it is difficult to know if this complicated publishing set-up contributed to their failure.

Given the extensive information about the distribution networks of some Irish periodical producers, it is unfortunate that very little evidence survives regarding the actual circulation of these titles. However it is possible to make some general observations. The circulation of even the most successful Irish monthly periodicals paled in comparison to their British, and even to their American counterparts. In the 1770s the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *London Magazine* each sold between four and five thousand issues per month in England.[28] Sheridan has suggested that the average print run of an Irish monthly periodical in the eighteenth century may not have exceeded five-hundred copies. However, indirect textual evidence from *Hibernian* suggests a sharply increasing demand in the 1790s:

> Notwithstanding (from the great demand for our last Magazine) we had printed an additional number for February, yet the encreased circulation in Dublin was so rapid, that many places in the country had not a sufficiency for the multiplicity of purchasers: an omission which we shall be careful to avoid in future, by a considerable increase of the impression.[29]

The circulation of the *Munster Farmer's Magazine* (1811-14) was reported to be one thousand two-hundred which was quite impressive given that it was a provincial

[28] Sullivan, *BLM*, i, p. xvii. See also James Raven, 'Defending conduct and property, the London press and the luxury debate' in John Brewer and Susan Staines (eds), *Early modern conceptions of property* (London, 1996), p. 303.
[29] *Hibernian Magazine* (Mar., 1793), p. 193.

periodical title, but as many copies were purchased in bulk by gentry members of the society who got a discount when they undertook to distribute them among their tenants, such figures are unnaturally inflated.[30] Other individual publications exceeded even many British contemporaries in their success such as Watty Cox's *Irish Magazine*, which boasted a circulation of five thousand copies per month in the early nineteenth century, a not implausible claim.[31] The *Orthodox Presbyterian* (1829-40), a religious periodical issued by the General Synod of Ulster, recorded a circulation of about six thousand copies per month, which again seems quite high for the period. However a loyal subscriber base and a low price of 2 ½ *d.* may also explain these figures.[32]

Another method to estimate circulation comes from the indirect evidence relating to advertising rates. For example, along with rates for advertising the *Dublin Monthly Magazine* (1830) notified potential advertisers that if a handbill was to be stitched into the wrapper, the customer would have to provide at least fifteen-hundred copies – which would suggest a corresponding monthly circulation figure for this title. A similar notice on the surviving wrapper of the *Limerick Magazine* for 1830 noted that at least one thousand handbills would be required, which though less than the suggested circulation of the *Dublin Monthly Magazine* is impressive for a provincial title. The publisher of the *Limerick Magazine* n notified potential advertisers that 'the

[30] Dickson, *Old World Colony*, pp 289-90.
[31] Cited in Ó Casaide, 'Watty Cox and his publications', pp 20-38.
[32] Cited in *Bulletin of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland*, 1 (Dec., 1970), pp 4-8.

extensive circulation already secured to this Work, and moderate prices charged for publishing, will, it is hoped, encourage Advertisers to select this Periodical'.[33]

Commercial Aspects

The most striking common factor among publishers of Irish periodicals was their prior success in the book trade. This may seem surprising considering the high failure rate and short life-span of the majority of Irish periodicals, but the publishing names associated with many of the Irish periodicals examined were among the most successful of their time. For example, the majority of early Irish periodicals were launched by well-established and enterprising members of the Irish book trade such as Hoey, Faulkner, Exshaw, Powell, Chamberlaine, Walker, Whitestone, Byrne, Mercier and Moore. Each would be considered reputable and successful, aside from their ventures into the periodical publishing trade, with the exception of Exshaw and Walker who were probably best known for their periodicals. That such businessmen ventured into periodical publishing, some on several occasions despite previous failures, suggests that a successful periodical offered many benefits to publishers that were masked by statements as to the dismal state of Irish periodical literature. The physical evidence of periodicals sheds light on the commercial aspects of periodical production, sale and distribution which were the key ingredients in the success or failure of many titles.[34] The commercial opportunities offered by Irish periodicals were numerous and will now be examined.

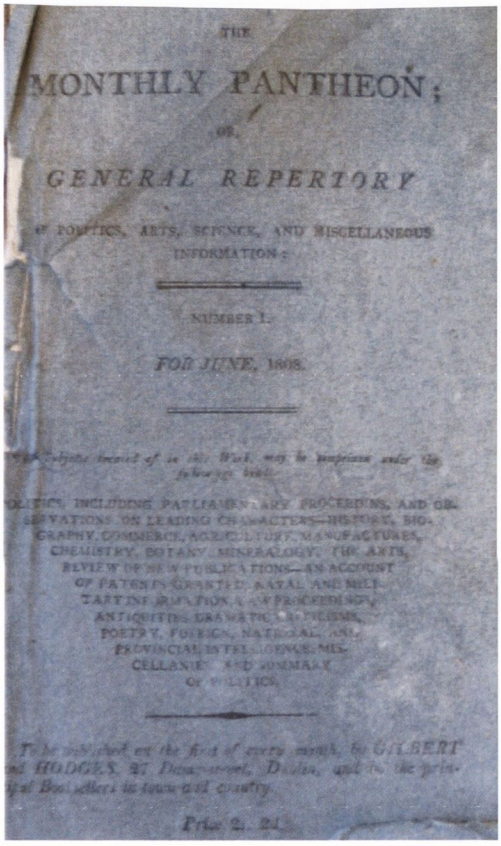
[33] RIA, *Limerick Magazine* (Apr., 1830), wrappers.
[34] Bindings were also telling to a contemporary, though as periodicals were not generally sold or marketed in the first instance in this format. The issue of binding is not discussed here.

Periodical wrappers provided publishers with various commercial benefits besides the most rudimentary function of protecting the periodical and displaying its title and information as to the price and contents. Firstly, the front wrapper could be used to emphasise the association of the publisher with the title, thereby creating a recognised 'brand'. In the same way that many early newspapers were directly connected with their publishers, (e.g. *Pue's Occurrences* and *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*), it is unsurprising that Irish periodical publishers attempted to create a similar reputation through their publications. The obvious examples are *Exshaw's Gentleman's and London Magazine* and *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*. The former began life as the *London Magazine* (1745-55), then changed to the *Gentleman's and London Magazine* (1755), and from 1761 when John Exshaw I set up his own press, as *Exshaw's Magazine*. Despite variations on the cover and title pages during its lifetime, the latter name would have been very recognisable to contemporary periodical readers to the point that even after Thomas Walker took over the imprint c.1788, he retained Exshaw's name presumably for commercial reasons.[35] *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* gained the name of its publisher over a decade after its first appearance (April 1785), and retained it long after Walker's association had ended. Walker's name was still in use in 1808 when the title was printed and published by R. Gibson, a fact which was advertised on the wrapper for the August issue, suggesting that the brand of '*Walker's Hibernian Magazine*' was an integral part of the title which Gibson had purchased.[36] *Whitestone's Town and Country Magazine* and *Ancell's Monthly Military Companion*

[35] Pollard, *Dictionary*, pp 190-1, 583.
[36] Gilbert, *Hibernian Magazine* (Aug., 1808), front wrapper. This is the earliest evidence of Gibson's association with the periodical from individual surviving wrappers. Pollard only previously noted his connection through bound volumes of issues from 1799-1808. See Pollard, *Dictionary,* p. 237.

are less successful examples among the monthly periodicals, but such branding was possibly the most lucrative result of these early periodicals insofar as they enhanced the reputation of the publisher.

Figure 5.5: *Monthly Pantheon*, January 1808 (TCD)


THE
MONTHLY PANTHEON;
OR,
GENERAL REPERTORY
OF POLITICS, ARTS, SCIENCE, AND MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION:
NUMBER I.
FOR JUNE, 1808.
POLITICS, INCLUDING PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS, AND OBSERVATIONS ON LEADING CHARACTERS—HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, COMMERCE, AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, CHEMISTRY, BOTANY, MINERALOGY, THE ARTS, REVIEW OF NEW PUBLICATIONS—AN ACCOUNT OF PATENTS GRANTED, NAVAL AND MILITARY PROMOTION, LAW PROCEEDINGS, ANTIQUITIES, DRAMATIC PERFORMANCES, POETRY, FOREIGN, NATIONAL, AND PROVINCIAL INTELLIGENCE, MISCELLANEOUS AND SUMMARY OF POLITICS.
Price 2s. 2d.

Front wrappers could also be used to entice purchase by advertising content and illustrations, and by decorative motifs or symbols. Despite the importance of pre-paid subscription for the majority of Irish periodicals, it is likely that many were also displayed to the passing trade in booksellers shops, particularly in the latter part of the period. Examples of various ways publishers used front wrappers are illustrated in figures 5.5–5.8. The front wrapper of the *Monthly Panorama* for June 1808 (figure 5.5, right) used a visual technique of aligning the content in a V-shape to draw the eye downwards. The front cover of the *Cyclopaedian Magazine* for February 1809 (figure 5.6, below) included a detailed list of the type of contents which readers could expect in its pages including history, antiquities, biography, voyages and travels, topography, natural history, agriculture, social economy, commerce, manufacture, science, literature, criticism, the liberal arts, drama, national affairs, manners, amusement and miscellanea. The featured illustration, not usually

offered with weekly or bi-weekly periodicals, was also highlighted as an important selling point for monthly and quarterly titles.

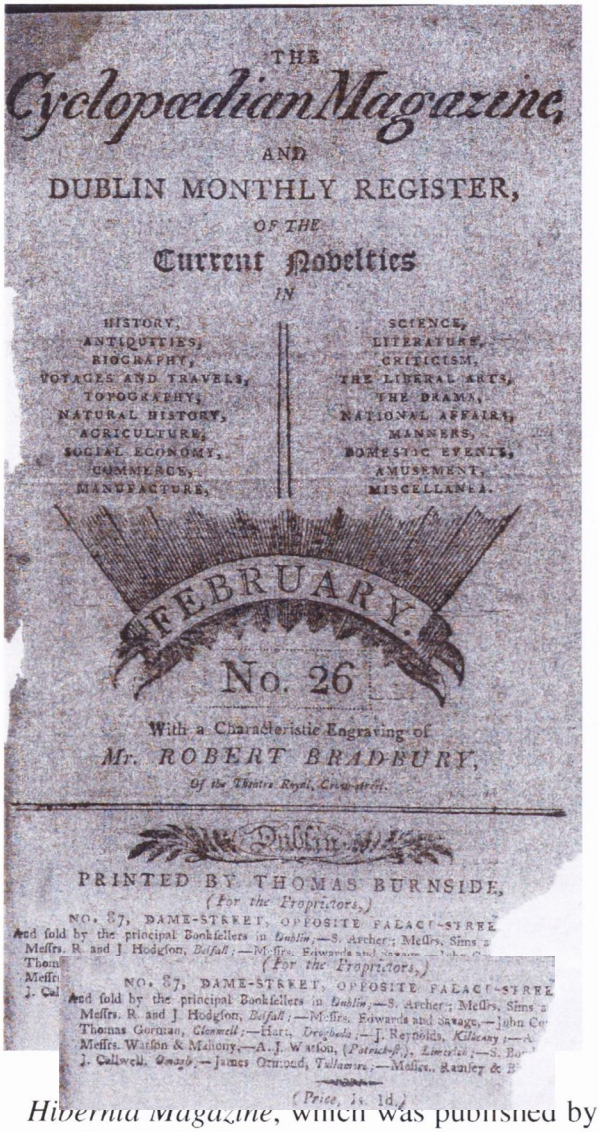
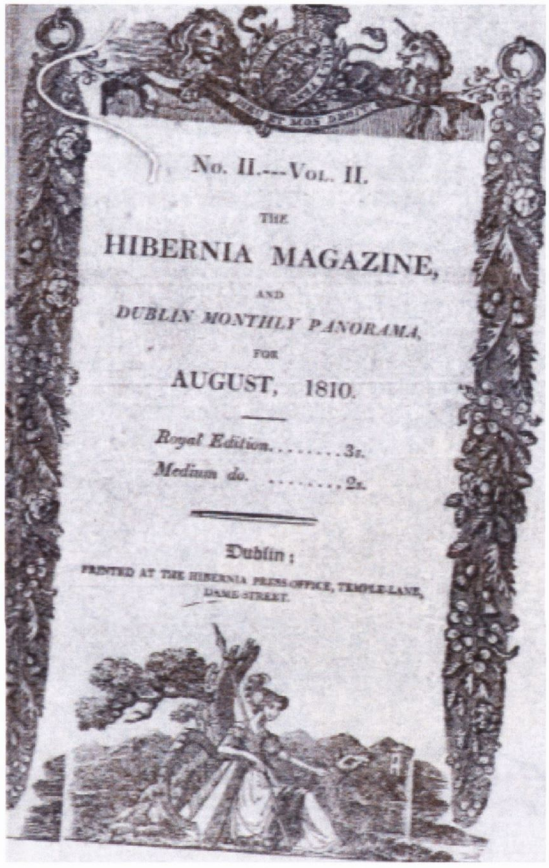

THE
Cyclopædian Magazine,
AND
DUBLIN MONTHLY REGISTER,
OF THE
Current Novelties
IN
HISTORY,
ANTIQUITIES,
BIOGRAPHY,
VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,
TOPOGRAPHY,
NATURAL HISTORY,
AGRICULTURE,
SOCIAL ECONOMY,
COMMERCE,
MANUFACTURE,
SCIENCE,
LITERATURE,
CRITICISM,
THE LIBERAL ARTS,
THE DRAMA,
NATIONAL AFFAIRS,
MANNERS,
DOMESTIC EVENTS,
AMUSEMENT,
MISCELLANEA.
FEBRUARY.
No. 26
With a Characteristic Engraving of
Mr. ROBERT BRADBURY,
Of the Theatre Royal, Crow-street.
Dublin:
PRINTED BY THOMAS BURNSIDE,
(For the Proprietors,)
NO. 87, DAME-STREET, OPPOSITE PALACE-STREET.
And sold by the principal Bookfellers in Dublin,—S. Archer; Meſſrs. Sims a
Meſſrs. R. and J. Hodgſon, Dalkey;—Meſſrs. Edwards and Savage,—John Ce
Thomas Gorman, Clonmell;—Hart, Drogheda;—J. Reynolds, Kilkenny;—A.
Meſſrs. Watſon & Mahony,—A. J. Watſon, (Patrick-ſt.), Limerick;—S. Bo
J. Caldwell, Omagh,—James Ormond, Tullamore;—Meſſrs. Ramſey & B
(For the Proprietors,)
NO. 87, DAME-STREET, OPPOSITE PALACE-STREET.
And ſold by the principal Bookfellers in Dublin,—S. Archer; Meſſrs. Sims a
Meſſrs. R. and J. Hodgſon, Dalkey;—Meſſrs. Edwards and Savage,—John Ce
Thomas Gorman, Clonmell;—Hart, Drogheda;—J. Reynolds, Kilkenny;—A.
Meſſrs. Watſon & Mahony,—A. J. Watſon, (Patrick-ſt.), Limerick;—S. Bo
J. Caldwell, Omagh,—James Ormond, Tullamore;—Meſſrs. Ramſey & B
Price, 1s. 1d.

Figure 5.6: *Cyclopaedian Magazine*, February 1809 (NLI).

A further example of the front wrapper being used to attract attention to a periodical and its content was the *Hibernia Magazine*, which was published by the Hibernia Press Office from 1810 to 1811. Two different emblematic clusters of images were used on the wrapper (below); at the top of the wrapper was the royal arms with a central shield divided into four quarters which embodies the symbols of England (three lions) in the first and fourth quarters, Scotland (lion rampant) and Ireland (harp) in the remaining quarters. Bordering the shield is a banner bearing the motto 'Honi soit qui mal y

pense' (shamed be he who thinks ill of it) and on top is the royal crown. Supporting the shield on the left is a large lion symbolizing England and on the right a unicorn symbolising Scotland. Below this is a second banner with the motto of the British monarchy, 'Dieu et mon droit'. The images at the bottom of the page seem almost in opposition to those of the British monarchy as Hibernia, the female personification of Ireland sits in a rural countryside with a castle in the background supported by a harp to her right and an Irish wolfhound to her left. She is dressed as a warrior and holds an ancient spear in her hands. Tying both of these images together are two garlands with a rose, shamrock and thistle, representing England, Ireland and Scotland, all depicted on the same stem. These two images on the same wrapper suggests that the *Hibernia Magazine* wished to be viewed as an Irish periodical publication which was celebrated Ireland's place within the British empire. The contents of the periodical did justice to these pretensions in the course of pieces on biography, topography, arts and sciences, criticism (clerical, literary and dramatic),


No. II.—Vol. II.

THE

HIBERNIA MAGAZINE,

AND

DUBLIN MONTHLY PANORAMA,

FOR

AUGUST, 1810.

Royal Edition.....3*s*.

Medium do. .....2*s*.

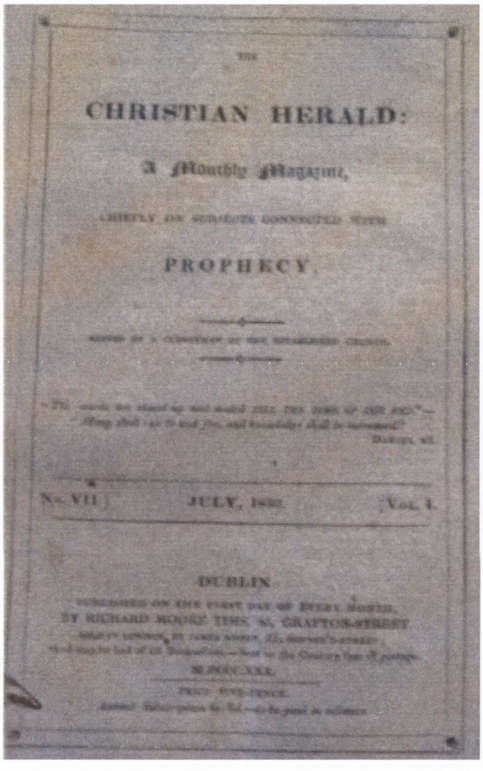
Dublin:

PRINTED AT THE HIBERNIA PRESS-OFFICE, TEMPLE-LANE, DAME-STREET.

Figure 5.7: *Hibernia Magazine*, August 1810 (NLI).

music, reviews of new publications, poetry, and the usual intelligence reports, as well as some material of particular Irish interest.

Figure 5.8: ***Christian Herald,*** **July 1830 (TCD).**


THE
CHRISTIAN HERALD:
A Monthly Magazine,
PROPHECY.
No. VII. JULY, 1830. Vol. I.
DUBLIN

The front wrapper for the *Christian Herald* (figure 5.8) in July 1830 had a much more streamlined appearance than many early nineteenth-century efforts such as the *Cyclopaedian Magazine.* It used a clean rule-frame design and two poignant quotes from Daniel xii, a feature that was quite common in the period, particularly among religious publications.[37] In this instance the quotes chosen 'The words are closed up and sealed TILL THE TIME OF THE END', and 'Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased', refer to the use of text as a powerful influence over God's people, a point which was particularly well recognised by many religious and improving institutions who were a major contributor to the periodical genre in the early nineteenth century. This influence was greatly increased by the fact that the average life-span of such periodicals was generally significantly longer than that of more broadly based miscellanies.

[37] *The Newry Register* included a quote from Vigil on the front of each issue 'The noblest motive is the public good', a reflection of the stated aims of the publishers in their address to the public in the first issue. 'To the Public', *The Newry Register* (Mar./Apr., 1815).

The inside wrappers showed greater diversity in what they could include and therefore were more useful for commercial purposes. For several publications they were left blank suggesting that the publisher was unable to foster any interest in their advertising space among potential advertisers. Surviving examples of blank inside wrappers include the *Political Register* (May – Nov. 1810), the *Munster Farmer's Magazine* (Apr. 1811), the *Dublin Magazine and Monthly Memoriaist* in its last six issues, the *Monthly Museum* (1813-14) – for some of its issues – and Cox's *Irish Magazine* (Apr. 1815), which may as well have had blank inside covers as the inside wrapper was printed with the same text in the same design as the front wrapper.

It was much more usual for the inside front and back wrappers and any extra stitched-in pages to be used for advertising, and this space offered by Irish periodicals had the potential to be of great benefit to the publisher. By 1770 the power of advertising in serial publications was well established with almost all Irish newspapers taking advantage of significant revenue from advertising. Raven has suggested that by the last quarter of the century the total available space for advertising in Britain and Ireland had more than trebled, with many newspapers retaining the traditional essay on the front page and filling the rest with block cut and boxes of advertising notices and designs, though he notes that advertising revenue was possibly less important to Irish newspaper proprietors than it was to their contemporaries in Britain. As has been suggested above, some periodical publishers seem to have immediately appreciated

and taken advantage of the space their publications offered then while other did not, leaving the space blank or using it for small notices.[38]

The amount of advertising space available within any issue of a periodical was limited only by the number of leaves which could be stitched within a wrapper; one periodical included no less than 44 pages of extra advertising.[39] The most common type of advertising to appear in periodical wrappers was material which directly related to the other publishing ventures that the periodical producer or his partners were involved in. Some of the publishers of the periodicals represented here were clearly very astute at ensuring that their other publications received maximum exposure on their periodical wrappers. For the eighteenth century there is relatively consistent evidence for the activities of Thomas Walker and Richard E. Mercier & Co. in this regard, and by the early nineteenth century the Hibernia Printing Office had innovated further with this type of advertising. The surviving wrappers for the periodical publications of R.M. Tims and William Curry Jun & Co. towards the end of the period highlight a further development in the use of such space. Advertisements in Irish periodicals, as with their British and American counterparts, tended to be divided between the ubiquitous 'London-style' notices for patent medicines, books, and luxury goods, and notices by local tradesmen and service providers. The staples of provincial newspaper advertising – property, notices relating to agricultural economy, race meetings and theatre notices – were unlikely to have featured in monthly and quarterly periodicals even if they were predominantly

[38] James Raven, 'Advertising in serials in Britain and Ireland' in Myers and Harris (eds), *Serials and their readers,* pp 105-6.
[39] RIA, *Dublin Monthly Magazine* (Jan., 1830), wrappers.

circulating in these areas, though not many wrappers from such provincial publications survive to determine this trend.

The wrappers of *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* are the most abundant survivors of the period and provide good examples of style, layout and content. Advertising was given a prominent place on all of Walker's wrappers, regularly including four leaves of blue wrapper instead of the usual two, which equated to eight pages for commercial use. In the majority of the surviving wrappers for the *Hibernian Magazine* Walker advertised his own published works as well as repetitive and forceful advertising for his other business interests such as patent medicines, lottery tickets, insurance and general stationary. The front wrapper was usually dominated by advertising for Walker's 'Tickets, Shares, & Chances' in the Irish State Lottery for which he was an agent. Despite the fact the this periodical regularly included over five different visual prints or music, a feature which would have been one of its greatest selling points, this was not greatly noticed on the cover. The first inside wrapper usually displayed the contents of the magazine with the main articles numbered and the poetry and intelligence sections recorded separately. The *Hibernian Magazine* was also unusual in dedicating a whole wrapper leaf to its contents. On the third inside wrapper of the surviving issue for July 1785 (the extra leaf that was unusual for the period) Walker included a full page advertisement for a work he had imported and was selling through booksellers 'in town and country, *Medical Cases with occasional remarks to which is added, an appendix, containing the History of a late extraordinary case* by R.W. Stack'. On the fourth inside wrapper

of the same issue, which as the last page before the start of the text proper, Walker included a second full-page advertisement for his tickets for the Irish State Lottery with notices of winning tickets and their holders, testimonials from prize winners, ticket information for country purchasers and assurances. Besides two full-page advertisements for other works published by Walker among the back wrappers; one for *The New Spelling Dictionary* 'the cheapest, and yet the best Dictionary ever published' and the *Monthly Review* which was imported by Walker. Again advertisements for tickets for the Irish State Lottery dominated the back wrappers also.[40] The intensity of Walker's relentless advertising of his own lottery business with no less than four of the eight wrapper pages available to him, dedicated to various and multi-pronged promotions, is impressive and is confirmed in other surviving examples of *Hibernian Magazine* wrappers:

> Walker's Guinea Tickets, To Mrs Pontiz, of Kilkenny, entitiling her to *One Thousand Seven Hundred Pounds* Sterling; which Prize was *immediately* paid at *Walker's* Lottery-Office, NO. 79, Dame-Street, agreeable to the following Receipt: *Received from Mr Thomas Walker, by his Draft on Messrs. Finlay and Co. Bankers, One Thousand Seven Hundred Pounds, Sterling, being the full Amount of my Prize, in his Tickets, No. 40,152.*[41]
>
> Walker, with Confidence asserts, that more Prizes have been sold and paid at his Office, than at ALL the other Lottery-Offices in Ireland put together.[42]
>
> It is well known that more CAPITAL PRIZES have been sold and shared at the above Office, by Mr. Walker, for Seventeen Years past, than at any other Office

[40] TCD, *Hibernian Magazine* (Jul., 1785), wrappers.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.

in England or Ireland: and the INSURANCE BUSINESS conducted in a clear and satisfactory Manner.[43]

Figure 5.9: 'Curious deception of prize and print Blank', *Hibernian Magazine,* December 1789 (RIA).

Assurances of the integrity of Walker and his lottery business were vitally important for customer loyalty and commercial reputations. In this period fraudulent lotteries were not uncommon and promoting the integrity of a lottery business took vigilance; the possibilities for deception were 'infinite'.[44]

Walker also used the space usually allocated to illustrations to advertise his lottery business also. Figure 5.9 above is a humorous print which captures the joy of the lottery winner and the anger of loosing as a result of not entering. From on view a woman is happy as she bought her lottery ticket which was a winner 'Ha! Ha! Ha!' and from the up-side-down view a man is unhappy as he did not purchase a ticket

[43] Ibid.
[44] See Rowena Dudley, *The Irish lottery, 1780-1801* (Dublin, 2005), particularly pp 99-120 discussing the extent of fraud in the Irish lottery.

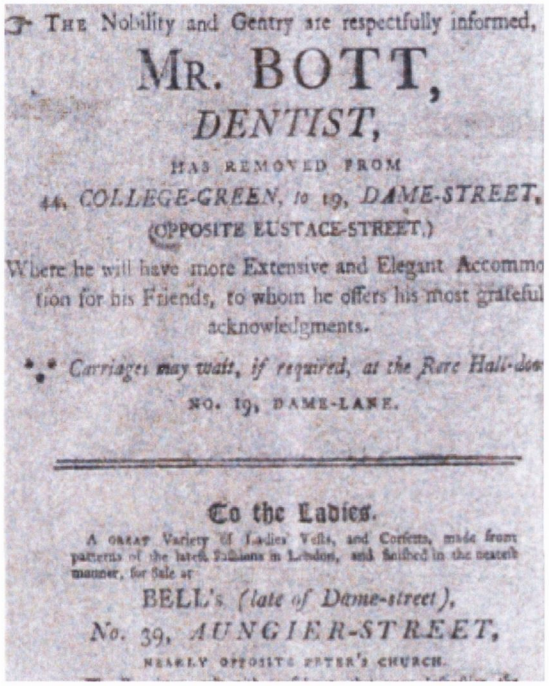
'Oh! Damn it!'[45] A further example of such visual advertising comes from the December issue for 1795 (figure 5.10) in which a member of the 'Jason Club', whose name alludes to Jason and the Argonauts, receives his winnings from the Goddess 'Fortune' while other members around comments about their good decision to go in on the winning ticket or their terrible decision not to pay in.[46]

[45] *Hibernian Magazine* (Dec., 1789)
[46] Ibid. (Dec., 1795).

Figure 5.10: 'The decendants of Jason realizing a new Golden Fleece in Dublin; or, the Jason Club receiving the Reward of Industry from Fortune', *Hibernian Magazine*, December 1795 (NLI).

Though not represented here, Walker also heavily advertised his agency for patent medicines. His wrappers were also used to advertise the most diverse range of commercial products identified from surviving wrappers (this statement must be qualified by the fact that the most surviving wrappers come from this title). The wrappers for March 1781 included advertisements for his rival Exshaw, for Thomas Barber, a watch- and clock-maker, for Thomas Fuller, a wine, cider, porter and cheese seller, for William Esdall, an engraver, and for C. Jackson and J. Potts, selling ladies' novels. Other examples of these trade advertisements can be seen in figure 5.11 from the inside wrapper of the *Cyclopaedian Magazine* for January 1809. The increasing popularity of 'middle-class' services is evident from this example; Mr. Bott, a dentist, notified his customers, the 'Nobility and Gentry', that he had moved to larger and more elegant accommodations which includes space for waiting carriages. Mr. Bell's advertisement for vests and corsets assured ladies that the garments were made from

Figure 5.11: ***Cyclopaedian Magazine*, January 1809 (NLI).**
Partial inside wrapper.


THE Nobility and Gentry are respectfully informed,
MR. BOTT,
DENTIST,
HAS REMOVED FROM
44, *COLLEGE-GREEN, to* 19, *DAME-STREET,*
(OPPOSITE EUSTACE-STREET.)
Where he will have more Extensive and Elegant Accommo
tion for his Friends, to whom he offers his most grateful
acknowledgments.
*** *Carriages may wait, if required, at the Rare Hall-doo*
NO. 19, DAME-LANE.
To the Ladies.
A GREAT Variety of Ladies' Vests, and Corsets, made from
patterns of the latest Fashions in London, and finished in the neatest
manner, for Sale at
BELL's *(late of Dame-street),*
No. 39, *AUNGIER-STREET,*
NEARLY OPPOSITE PETER'S CHURCH.

the 'latest fashions in London' and announced a promotion offering a free lottery ticket for purchases over one guinea from his store.[47]

The wrappers of the *Anthologia Hibernica,* published by R.E. Mercier and Co. between 1793 and 1795, adapted a more streamlined use of this space, a style that added to its reputation as a high-quality periodical associated with the University of Dublin and the Royal Irish Academy. The first section of the front wrapper was dedicated to the periodical title and gave notice of the illustrations – three being the norm for this periodical, usually of Irish interest and good quality. The second section the wrapper reprinted the prospectus of the periodical which included the type of content readers would find within the publication: 'Science, Belles Lettres [sic.] ... and every other useful and ornamental branch of learning'. This long statement was repeated on every surviving wrapper which suggests that the publisher was not anxious to use this space for advertising. The inside wrappers at the front and back of the periodical included the contents for the current and previous issues respectively, leaving the back wrapper as the only space where the publisher placed advertising. In Mercier's case he chose only to advertise his other publications and imports available at his shop, which in February 1793 were *The Antiquities of Ireland* by the Rev. Edward Ledwich and the *Critical Review* imported from London.[48]

The wrapper of the *Hibernia Magazine* (1810) has already been discussed for its evocative design: the rest of the advertising material on its internal wrappers is

[47] NLI, *Cyclopaedian Magazine* (Jan., 1809), inside wrapper.
[48] TCD, *Anthologia Hibernica* (Feb., 1793), wrappers.

equally interesting, as there appears to have been a conscious effort on the part of the Hibernia Printing Office, the publisher of the periodical, to create a stronger relationship with the reader, to make them aware of the ethos of the firm and the type of material they would produce. For example, an address to readers on one back wrapper declared the intention of the Hibernia Printing Office was to encourage literature, learning and printing and to bring 'the Art of Printing to perfection in Ireland', a fact which they went on to suggest was surely evident to all who purchased copies of their *Irish Histories*. This long 'puff' prefaced several announcements of other works from the Hibernia Press Office. Such declarations were common throughout the surviving wrappers of this periodical and when read as part of each issue they create an immediate sense of editorial branding and communication with the reader, none of which survived in any bound volume of this magazine examined, which of course had wrappers removed.[49]

Single or double-sided handbills could also be stitched into periodical wrappers to provide additional print space for advertisements. For example, a single-sided handbill advertisement for the 'truly fortunate office' of Newry bookseller and lottery ticket agent J.T. Halyday was stitched into the back of the *Newry Literary and Political Register* for July 1817 which survives in a single wrapped copy in the RIA. Two double-sided hand-bills, one printed on yellow paper, also survive stitched into the blue wrappers of the *Christian Herald* for March 1830 (TCD). These hand-bills demonstrate a more diverse use of this type of advertisement in periodicals whereby large text-heavy adverts can easily be included in every issue of a magazine, with

[49] NLI, *Hibernia Magazine* (Aug., 1810), back wrapper.

very little extra expense to the printer or publisher. They also provide evidence of the other publishing interests of the publisher R.M. Tims whose whole catalogue of books for sale was presented in this form.

The wrappers of the *Christian Examiner* (1825-31), which was published by William Curry & Co. for over five years, were also very well utilised by their publisher. Curry was a very experienced and successful Dublin bookseller and publisher, and he was responsible for numerous periodicals within the period and beyond. Examples survive of numerous double-sided pamphlets stitched in to the wrappers; one advertising the catalogue of the Edinburgh based bookseller H.S. Baynes and another with the 'New Works' from the firm of Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh. Such pamphlets maximised the space available for advertising and were used by the periodical publishers or their partners for book advertising other aspects of their bookselling businesses. Other examples of using large stitched-in pamphlets come from *Bolster's Quarterly Magazine*, which contained sixteen pages of advertisements for Bolster's book- and print- selling business and bookselling advertisements from other British and Irish booksellers.[50] The only surviving issue of the *Limerick Magazine* included a stitched-in pamphlet advertising Dublin printers and stationers, assurance companies, lengthy book advertisements. It is worth noting that none of the booksellers advertisements included in the *Limerick Magazine* came from the selling agents, which is unusual by contemporary standards.[51]

[50] NLI, *Bolster's Quarterly Magazine* (Apr., 1827, stitched-in pamphlets.
[51] RIA, *Limerick Monthly Magazine* (Apr., 1830), wrappers.

The wrappers of the *Dublin Monthly Magazine* for January 1830 (RIA) provide another impressive example of both self-promotion by an Irish publisher and the utilization of advertising space. The stitched-in pamphlet at the front of this issue ran to over 22 pages advertising Tims' books, particularly suitable for 'Christmas Presents', as well as advertisements for luxury products such as tea, wines and services such as insurance and tutoring. Two other pamphlets are included with the back wrapper. The first was a detailed catalogue from William Curry Junior including the monthly and weekly publications that he published. The second was for the Hibernian Bible Society announcing forthcoming publications. The wrappers themselves were also used by Tims for advertising his own published works. In this instance the amount of advertising amounted to one-third of the periodical size itself, approximately thirty-two pages of advertising and eighty-eight pages of text. These separately stitched-in handbills or pamphlets were not uncommon, even in the small sample of wrappers uncovered, but the scale of the advertising pages in this periodical is unique. Tims was an enterprising and innovative publisher who utilized the commercial benefits of his periodical to great effect.

The rates for advertising in Irish periodicals were displayed on the wrappers, giving some indication of the commercial value of wrappers to magazine publishers. No evidence of advertising rates survive for eighteenth-century Irish periodicals, but several examples survive for the latter half of the period. The cost of eight lines and under in the *Dublin Monthly Magazine* (1830) and the *Limerick Monthly Magazine* (1830) was 5*s*.; above eight lines and under fifteen 8*s*.; fifteen to twenty lines 10*s*.;

half a page cost 12*s*. and a whole page cost £1.1*s*. The price for a stitched-in handbill cost the same, and the latter would have to be provided by the purchaser independently.[52] Despite his advertising rates being equal to others discovered, Tims, publisher of the *Dublin Monthly Magazine*, took the opportunity to draw attention to his services in a further example of his aggressive and enterprising use of periodical wrappers for advertising purposes:

> The publishers beg to call the attention of booksellers, proprietors of Seminaries for Education, Teachers, Artists, Merchants, Traders, Agents &c. to the above scale of charges for Advertising on the cover of this magazine, which will be found much lower than usual, and from the respectability of the Subscribers, and extent of its circulation, the Dublin Magazine affords unusual advantages.[53]

***

Subscription was an important element in the commercial viability and success of Irish periodicals and the evidence in figure 5.1 suggests that between two and five hundred subscribers could keep an Irish periodical afloat for at least one year. The importance of a healthy subscription base is bolstered by the fact that the longest surviving periodical in the group was also the title with the most copies sold (judging from the evidence of the subscription list). The amount of trade copies sold of the *Universal Magazine* significantly increased the total number of copies from three hundred and twenty-two to six hundred and seventy-four. The only other surviving periodical subscription lists are less revealing about their subscribers as less information about each individual is given, and trade subscriptions are also not specified. However, the marked differences in composition illustrate some significant

[52] Ibid., and RIA, *Dublin Monthly Magazine* (Jan., 1830), wrappers.
[53] RIA, *Dublin Monthly Magazine* (Jan., 1830), wrappers.

differences in the types of subscribers between pre- and post-Union publications. Surviving lists of agents also add to the impression of an extensive distribution outside Dublin. Subscription lists suggest that over a quarter of all subscribers were normally from outside the capital. Alongside the traditional role of subscribers as a source of revenue, was the increasingly important role of advertising which as we have seen is most evident in the wrappers, pamphlets and handbills stitched to surviving unbound copies. This aspect of Irish periodical production has been ignored and it offers much to support the suggestion that a successful periodical was as much a tool for self-promotion for an ambitious publisher as it was an entity for 'the instruction and amusement' of readers. It was not until the end of the period that a considerable number of periodical publishers began to take full advantage of the commercial opportunities offered by the periodical format.

Chapter Six

Atlantic Comparisons, Connections and Networks

The expansion of the transatlantic book trade in the eighteenth century encouraged the development of print trades in Dublin, Edinburgh and Philadelphia. These cities were also major centres for the importation and wider distribution of printed materials for internal markets in Ireland, Scotland and America. The influx of Irish and Scottish book trade personnel into the American market rapidly increased print production across the Atlantic and fostered the creation of transatlantic print networks. In the periodical market, the most successful British titles acted as the models for the eighteenth-century American titles, as was the case in Ireland and Scotland. This chapter will briefly examine the development of the American periodical market as it compared and contrasted with the Irish and Scottish trades. It will also focus on the importance of Irish and Scottish booksellers and publishers on the periodical format in America.

The American Periodical in an Atlantic Context

As a result of more detailed scholarly research, general assessments of the American periodical trade in the eighteenth century are significantly more positive than of the Irish.[1] The reputation of the Scottish periodical trade is perhaps the most renowned,

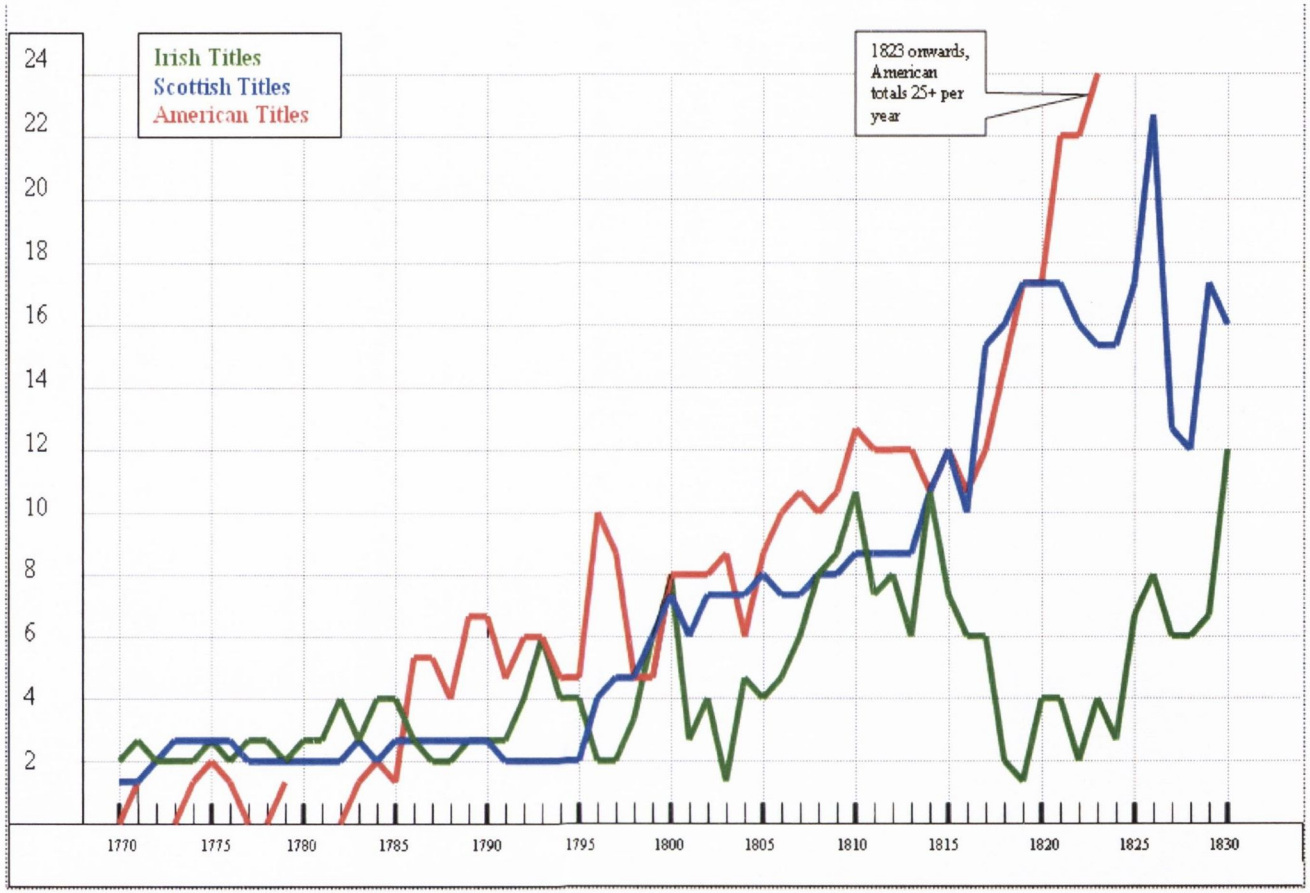
[1] See for example the introductions of Mott, *American magazines*, pp 1-6; Gaylord P. Albaugh, *American religious periodicals and newspapers established from 1730 through 1830* (Worcester, Mass., 1994); Neal L. Edgar, *A history of American magazines, 1810-1820* (Metuchen, N.J., 1975); Meredith L. McGill, *American literature and the culture of reprinting, 1834-1853* (Philadelphia, 2003) and Lyon N. Richardson, *A history of early American magazines, 1741-1789* (New York, 1931).

mostly due to the international success of titles such as the *Edinburgh Review, Blackwood's Magazine* and *Chambers' Magazine.* However, when the patterns of production in each country are compared, as in figure 6.1, it is clear that these assessments can be questioned.

In numerical terms the American trade was producing the most periodical titles for much of the period. After patchy annual publication totals for the 1770s (and several years where no monthly or quarterly periodical were produced during the Revolution), the American periodical trade grew significantly in the 1790s, peaking with ten separate titles published in 1796. After a small dip in the number of titles appearing in the last years of the century, the annual total of periodicals published in a year never again fell below six. From 1823 onwards there were never less than twenty-two titles published per year. The publishing patterns in the Scottish periodical trade did not differ greatly from this, though the sustained period of growth in the American market from 1785 to 1796 was unsurpassed. By comparison, the figures from Ireland and Scotland during these years of American growth are relatively stagnant and fitful. These patterns within the periodical trade also reflect wider political and cultural environments which impacted on the format. The significant dip in Irish titles for 1796 to 1797 in figure 6.1 can be partly explained by government attention to the press in Ireland during the suppression of the United Irishmen and their use of popular print.[2] The spike in American figures in the same period coincided with the emergence of party politics in the New Republic. Each of

[2] See Dickson, Keogh and Whelan, *The United Irishmen: republicanism, radicalism and rebellion,* esp. pp 46-61, 135-50, 269-96.

Fig. 6.1: Annual Totals of Irish/Scottish/American Monthly /Quarterly Periodicals, 1770-1830.
See appendix 2 for note on sources for comparative figures.



these trends were focused in Dublin and Philadelphia which remained the main centres of periodical production throughout the period.

This comparative graph highlights the relative success of the Irish periodical market when compared with other countries developing in the British Atlantic world. From 1770 to 1785, the number of Irish periodical titles published per year was at least the same as it was in Scotland or America. After a fitful period in the 1790s which was not unlike the Scottish trade in the same period, the Irish periodical slumped after 1800. Increased interest throughout Britain and Ireland in the European wars explains the generally upward trend in the numbers of titles towards the end of the first decade and into the second. The noticeable dip in Irish periodicals during 1812 and 1813 could be explained by the failure of several short-lived political magazines such as the *Political Guardian* and the *Political Register*. A more significant dip in annual totals for each country is evident in 1816, being most pronounced in Ireland due to a fall in agricultural prices which compounded broader economic difficulties.[3] From the evidence of the graph, 1816 appears to have been a considerable turning point for Irish periodical production by comparison to the American and Scottish trades which both recovered immediately. Annual totals in Ireland continued to decrease, remaining depressed for almost a decade. Recovery in the Irish periodical market was not evident until the late 1820s.

Such a graph belies many other aspects of the comparison exercise. For example, despite the relatively small numerical gap in terms of annual numbers of titles

[3] See Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland: a new economic history* (Oxford, 1994), pp 24-32; 153-62.

appearing between 1785 and 1795, the gap in terms of quality of publication was much larger, with the American trade far surpassing its more mature counterparts, a fact which is particularly marked considering the relative youth of the trade there. The first periodical attempts in the United States occurred in the 1740s through local rivalry between two native publishers, Andrew Bradford and Benjamin Franklin. The latter claimed the first plan for an American magazine, but the former apparently produced his publication first, three days before Franklin's *General Magazine, and Historical chronicle, for All the British Plantations in America*.[4] These first attempts in Philadelphia were brief: Bradford's magazine ceased after three months; Franklin's after six. Boston printers Rogers & Fowle issued a weekly periodical, the *Boston Weekly* (1743) two years later which lasted only three numbers, but this failure did not deter them from a second periodical venture within six months. This periodical, the *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle* (1743-45), modelled itself closely on the *London Magazine* and became the first American periodical to last more than half a year.[5] Although short-lived, these attempts did indicate that by 1741, only ten years after Cave's introduction of the *Gentlemen's Magazine* format, the American book trade appreciated the possibilities of the magazine genre. After almost a decade of no titles in the 1760s, the quantity and quality of American periodicals increased dramatically in the 1770s, partly due to the political situation and the arrival of Scottish and Irish book trade personnel in the American trade.

[4] Richardson, *A history of early American magazines*, pp 1-6.
[5] 'Preface', *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle* (1743). For brief summaries of the more significant American periodicals, see Mott, 'American magazines', i, pp 71-82.

Secondly, this graph does not account for the extraordinary number of high-quality fortnightly periodicals emerging from Scotland in the period, which are not included in the parameters of this study. If such publications had been included over twenty extra titles would be added to Scottish figures. Over half of these appeared in the eighteenth century which would have significantly altered the rather stagnant view of the trade as represented in the graph. Many of these fortnightly publications were also associated with Scottish towns outside Edinburgh, particularly Glasgow (*Glasgow Magazine,* 1770; *Glasgow Magazine,* 1795; *Torch or Glasgow Museum*, 1796), Aberdeen (*Caledonian Magazine or Aberdeen Repository,*1786-87; *Aberdeen Magazine, Literary Chronicle and Review*, 1788-91), Dundee (*North British Miscellany or Dundee Amusement*, 1778-80; *Dundee Repository of Politics and Miscellaneous Literature*, 1794-94, and Perth (*Caledonian Magazine and Review*, 1783). Fortnightly periodicals were not as prominent a feature in the nineteenth-century Scottish periodical market, but the influence of some large circulation weeklies towards the end of the period, also slightly skews the importance and influence of the Scottish periodical market in general.[6]

Figures 6.2-6.7 illustrate the comparative annual number of new monthly and quarterly periodical titles started in Ireland, Scotland and America, which contextualize the success and energy of the respective periodical trades.[7] From the

[6] The most useful quantitative sources for these Scottish titles are Couper, *Edinburgh periodicals,* Roper, *Reviewing before the "Edinburgh",* North, *Waterloo directory,* and Pottinger, *Heirs of the Enlightenment.*

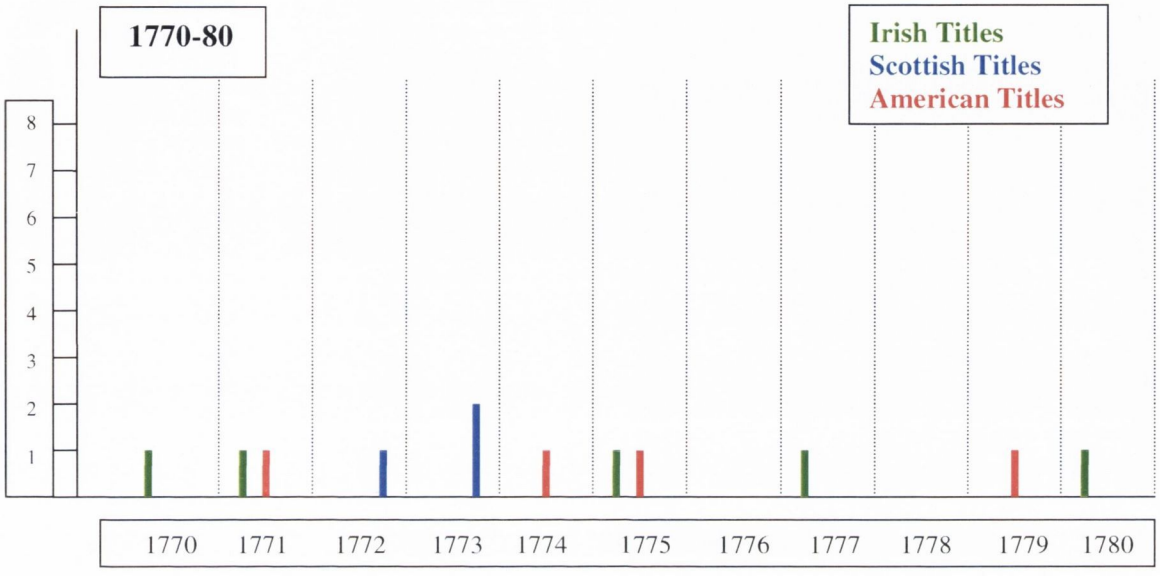
7 These graphs have been compiled from finding lists, library catalogues and extant copies and may be subject to some revision for the numbers of American and Scottish titles, particularly in the last years of the examination, though they still provide basic information from which to offer a general comparative analysis of the periodical trades in each country.

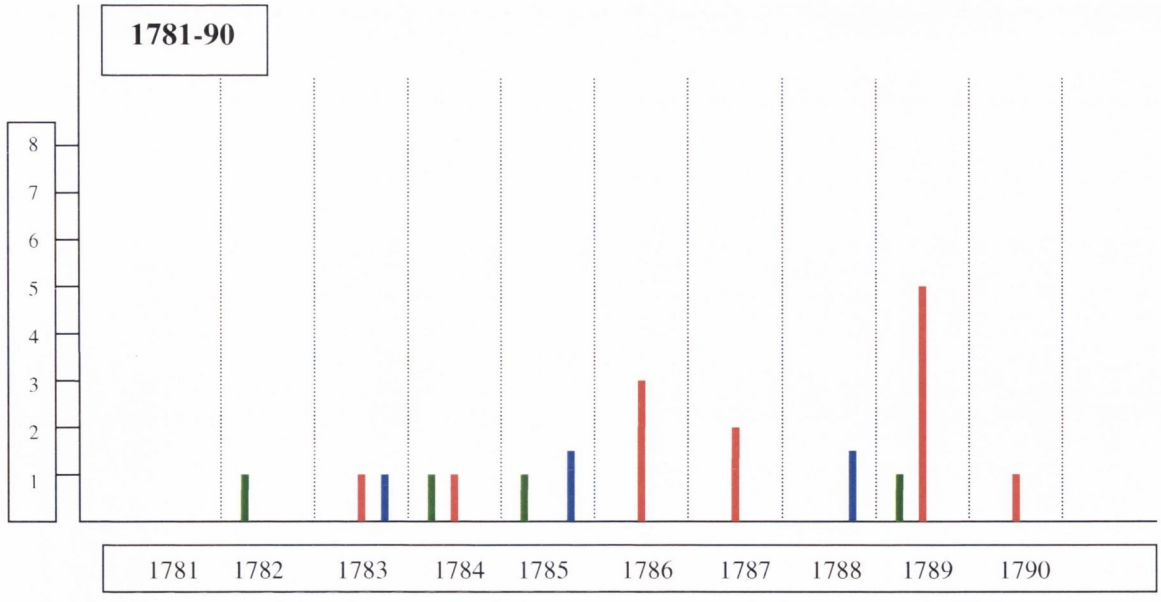
first decade of the period it is clear that the American and Irish trades were producing more new titles than the Scottish trade, with the latter producing the smallest number of new titles. This means that the majority of Scottish periodicals being published in this decade had survived from the previous decade or before. This does not directly suggest a weak performance by the Scottish periodical trade, but it does suggest that new ventures and new producers were not encouraged by the periodical market in Scotland, such as it was. In the 1780s it was the Irish periodical trade that appeared to be the least energetic, with only two new titles being established. The American trade appears increasingly vibrant, with four or more new titles being established in two years after the end of the Revolutionary war. By comparison to the thirteen new titles published in Ireland (albeit in an erratic pattern) and an impressive twenty-nine in the United States, it is the Scottish trade which is the most dormant in the 1790s. These figures point to the lively and innovative American market that was developing in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Every new title established, despite the many failures in its wake, is evidence of market confidence and of willing readers and contributors. The Scottish market fares worse than the Irish periodical trade in these three decades, a fact which is somewhat unexpected given its publishing reputation.

With increasing literacy rates and technological advances in printing, periodicals became more accessible and the number of new titles produced in the early nineteenth century grew across the English-speaking Atlantic world. For the first twenty years of the century the numbers of new American periodical titles were not as impressive as the previous century. The most striking feature of these graphs is the contextualizing

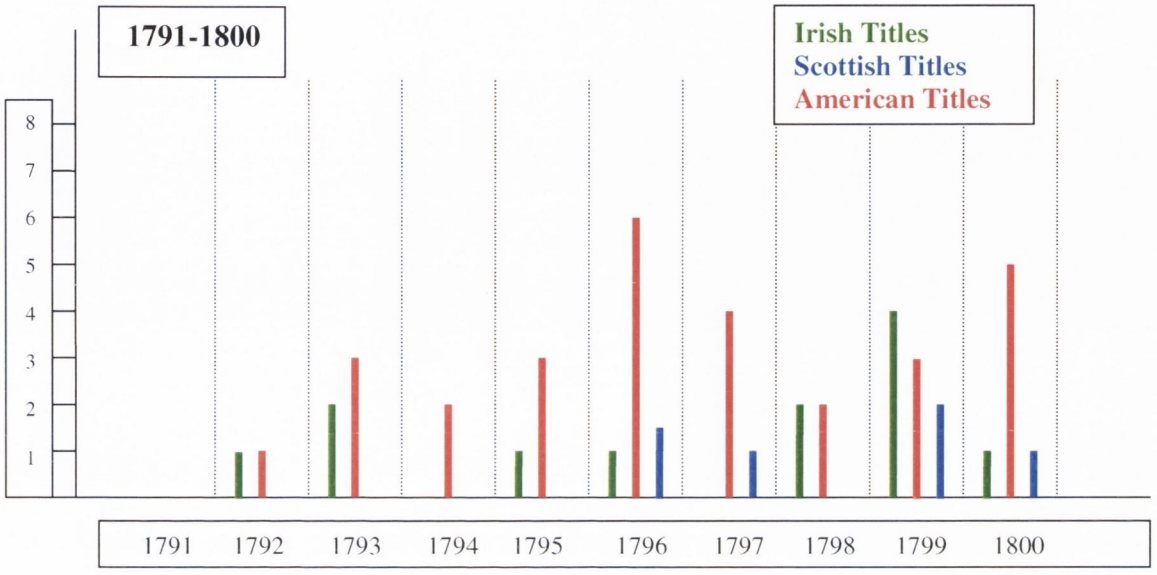
Figures 6.2-6.7: Annual Rates of New Titles by Decade.

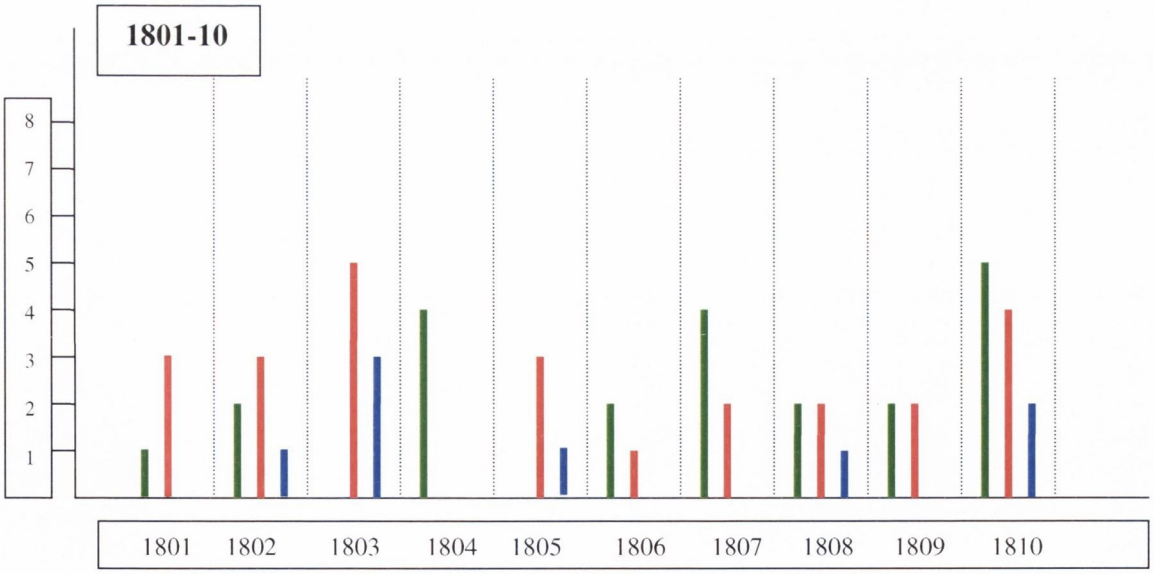
Figures 6.2 and 6.3



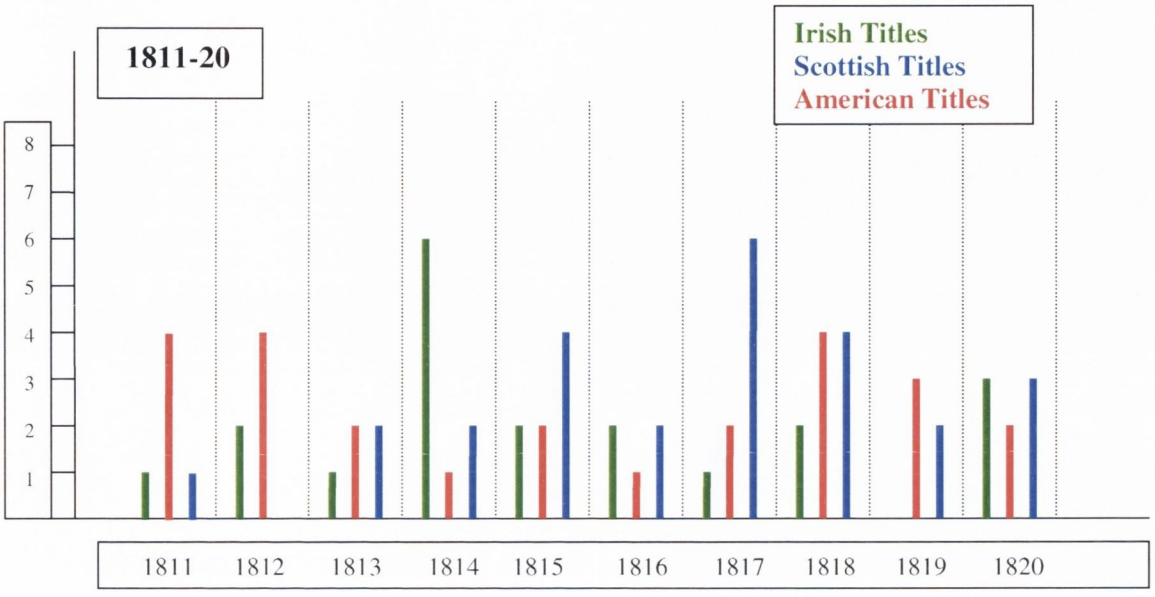


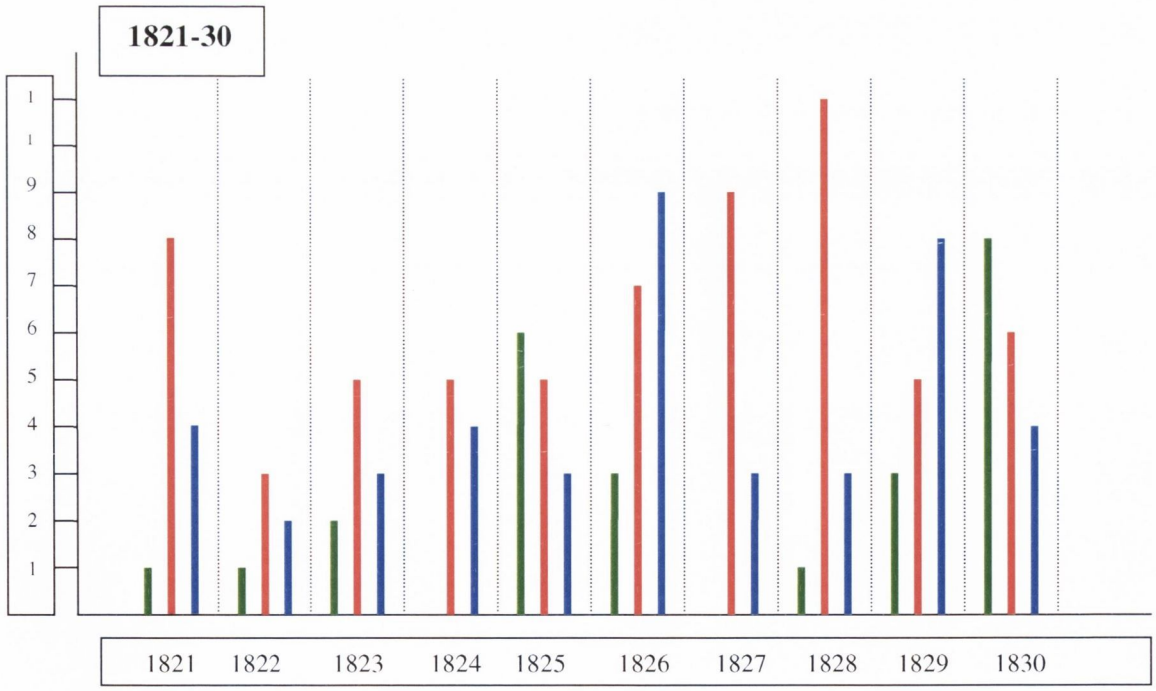
Figures 6.4 and 6.5: Annual Rates of New Titles by Decade





Figures 6.6 and 6.7: Annual Rates of New Titles by Decade





of narratives of the Irish periodical trade in the early nineteenth century. In the first decade the American and Irish periodical trades produced almost the same amount of new titles, twenty-eight and twenty-two respectively. This evidence is particularly impressive given the growing size of the United States and the traditionally perceived slump in the Irish book trade after the introduction of copyright legislation in 1801. In the following years the strength of the Scottish periodical market is highlighted by the number of new periodical titles published. Despite an obvious decline in the Irish periodical trade in the late 1810s, there were still seven new Irish titles produced. The years 1817 and 1819 were the first years since 1803 to see no new Irish periodical title established. There were significant increases in new titles both in Scotland and the U.S. in the 1820s, both reaching eight or more new titles in several individual years. The Irish trade performed particularly badly in the first years of that decade, with no new titles at all in 1824. Despite a temporary surge in 1825 when six new Irish periodical titles were established, the Irish trade's recovery was only evident in 1830 when the number of Irish periodical titles peaked higher than that of either Scotland or America. For the last two years of the 1820s, the low numbers of new American titles may be explained by a relatively crowed market as the number of cumulative titles in that decade was considerable, as shown in figure 6.1.

The relatively low numbers of new titles evident in some of the above graphs were lamented in almost identical terms by periodical publishers. They complained of the lack of public interest and support when their ventures failed. Further common ground among editors and publishers in all three countries was evident in their open admiration for English models such as the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *London Magazine*. This praise for English periodicals was generally articulated as a positive rather than a negative attribute. The final issue of the *New York Magazine* blamed indifference rather than imitation for its failure: 'Shall every attempt of this nature desist in these States? Shall our country be stigmatized, odiously stigmatized, with want of taste for literature?'[8] In comparative terms the Irish and American trades were almost identical in their articulation of such views. The Scottish trade was not so vocal in voicing such sentiments, possibly due to its more confident intellectual stance, but it was not silent in its praise for the original London models. With the *Edinburgh Review* and *Blackwood's Magazine,* both internationally successful titles in the early nineteenth century, the reputation of the Scottish periodical trade as a whole grew immensely. It is perhaps possible to suggest that the retrospective reputation of Scottish periodicals in the eighteenth century has been enhanced by the backwards projection of nineteenth-century glories, when perhaps the eighteenth-century trade was distinctly average and the periodical genre did not in fact play a particularly significant role in spreading the Scottish Enlightenment beyond their role of disseminating reviews.[9]

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[8] *New York Magazine* (Dec., 1790).

[9] Both Roper and Sher focus on the reviewing aspect of periodicals as their main function. See Roper, *Reviewing before the "Edinburgh"* and Sher, *Enlightenment and the Book.*

The most difficult aspect to compare is the relative audience type for these periodicals. The increasing commercial success of American and Scottish periodicals and the more varied record of the Irish rested on differences in readership. Despite a slow start in the early 1740s and only a handful of short-lived efforts in the 1750s and 1760s, the rising political ferment of the pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary years, coupled with the shortage of British copy as a result of disruptions to oceanic travel, boosted the demand for indigenous American periodicals and the appetite for original material.

> We presume it is unnecessary to inform our friends that we encounter all the inconveniences which a magazine can possibly start with. Unassisted by imported materials we are destined to create what our predecessors in this walk had only to compile ...[10]

In the aftermath of the Revolution the quality of American periodicals improved greatly. Demand also increased with the continuing tide of European emigrants dramatically effecting the literate population. In terms of market, American periodical producers had a significant advantage with a rapidly expanding population that was more likely to be literate and interested in education, 'improvement' and the political affairs of New Republic. Irish immigrant publisher and bookseller Mathew Carey encapsulated this encouraging state of affairs when he wrote to a relative in Ireland in 1794: 'The human imagination can hardly reach to an idea of the prosperity and importance to which this country is rapidly verging'.[11] In almost every year from 1783 at least one new title appeared.

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[10] 'To the public' in *Pennsylvania Magazine,* (1775).
[11] Mathew Carey to Thomas Carey, 13 Sept. 1794 (H.S.P., Lea & Febiger Papers, Carey Letterbook).

The rapid growth and impressive physical quality evident in American periodicals, particularly by comparison with the Irish and even the Scottish equivalents, was even more extraordinary when the difficulties that American periodical producers faced are considered. The most obvious burden for American periodical producers, particularly up to about 1825, was the sheer physical span of the new country, stretching over twelve thousand miles of coast, and westwards for almost the same distance in some places and constantly expanding. Many towns were only sparsely served by stages and mails and their populations were dispersed widely from the centre.[12] American periodical producers also had to deal with shortages of basic printing equipment, which was still imported from Britain. Such difficulties were highlighted by Joseph Greenleaf, the second publisher of the *Royal American Magazine*, in an address to his subscribers:

> It may be necessary to apologize for the poor appearance of the work these last six months. The Magazine came into my hands when I was unprepared with a type so good as I could wish for the business, this evil would have been remedied but for the non-importation agreement, which it was my duty to comply with: The Ink also has been poor, but as it was of American Manufacture my customers were not only willing but desirous that I should use it.[13]

However the lot of American printers and periodical producers improved from the 1790s as credit became easier to attain and as state and federal governments sought to

[12] The mails did not provide for magazines or newspapers until late in the century, and even then it was at the discretion of the postmaster. When Queen Anne's Act of 1710 established a general post office, it did not provide for periodicals. Hall, 'The Atlantic economy in the eighteenth century', pp 151-56.
[13] 'To the Public', *The Royal American Magazine,* (1774).

encourage growth by building roads and canals and encouraging domestic manufacturing.[14]

The American periodicals of this study closely resembled the English publications they imitated, and so also resembled Irish and Scottish publications too; mostly octavo, they ranged from thirty-four to ninety-six pages, occasionally exceeding 100: the *American Museum* averaged a hundred pages per issue, the *American Review and Literary Journal* (1801-2), a quarterly, averaged two hundred and sixty-four pages per issue, the *Farrier's Magazine* (1818), also quarterly published quarterly, one hundred and fifty pages. Publications that appeared outside the established urban print centres of Philadelphia, Boston and New York were more likely to be smaller in size, more poorly produced and without illustrations – was evident with Irish publications coming from Cork, Belfast and Limerick, and the Scottish publications from Perth, Aberdeen and Paisley, though towards the end of the period such distinctions became much less obvious. In terms of pricing, Scottish periodicals appear to have been the cheapest, American the dearest, and the Irish in between. The average price for American periodicals in the second decade of the nineteenth century averaged about $3, which implies that for the majority of American rural and industrial workers periodicals were a luxury item.[15] A further insight into the affordability of American periodicals can be gleaned from the numerous advertisements in American

[14] This buoyant business environment was articulated by Mathew Carey in a letter to his cousin Thomas Carey, 31 Sept. 1794 (H.S.P., Lea & Febiger Papers, Carey Letterbook).

[15] This information is not based on a large survey of prices in the American or Scottish periodical trades as this information is not widely available, rather it is a general impression and subject to slight revision. For some discussion of the price and affordability of American periodicals see Neal L. Edgar, *A history and bibliography of American magazines, 1810-20* (Metuchen, N.J., 1975), pp 7-15.

periodicals announcing that agricultural produce would be accepted in lieu of the payment of annual subscriptions. Several examples of such notices were located in eighteenth-century American periodicals, though none after 1800. For example the following statement appeared on the wrapper of Carey's *American Museum*:

> For the accommodation of the friends of literature and science in the country, he will [Carey], during the present scarcity of specie, receive all kinds of seasonable country produce in payment of subscriptions.[16]

This sentence appeared in square brackets after the terms of subscription for the May 1788 issue, though it was removed by the July 1788 issue. It reappeared several times over the course of the *Museum's* life.

It was in the area of engraving that early American periodical producers excelled. The efforts to represent visually the revolutionary movement in the colonies and then the spirit of the new nation was very impressive in terms of quality of the engravings, which were produced locally in Philadelphia, New York and Boston, certainly by comparison with those appearing in Irish, Scottish and even London periodicals. The *Royal American Magazine*, published in Worcester by Isaiah Thomas, was one of the first American periodicals to use illustration liberally, and it is all the more noteworthy as it appeared outside Philadelphia, the centre for periodical production. Thomas's magazine produced a striking series of engravings by the artist and revolutionary leader Paul Revere. Figure 6.8 is typical of the type of political cartoon engraved by Revere for the magazine and the quality is quite extraordinary considering the date of its production (1774). In the image Prime Minister Lord

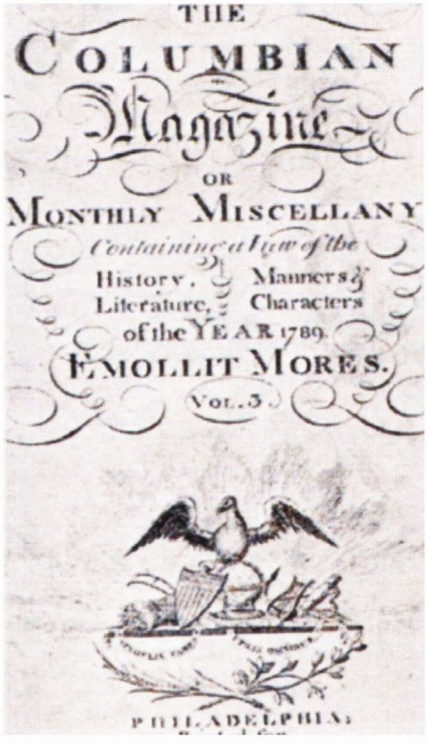
[16] L.C.P., *American Museum,* iii (May, 1788). An astounding number of wrapped copies of American periodicals survive at the Library Company of Philadelphia.

Figure 6.8: 'The able Doctor or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught', *Royal American Magazine*, June 1774 (LOC).

North forces tea (which represents the 'Intolerable Acts'), down the throat of the figure representing America. An Indian woman is pinned down in the foreground while a figure (Lord Sandwich) looks up her skirt. In the background the figure of Britannia weeps. This was originally a British cartoon which was copied by Revere and distributed widely in America, particularly through the *Royal American* Magazine. The image is enhanced by the biting message of the print which was a satirical reference to the way Americans felt towards British taxation policies in the colonies.

American periodical printers quickly appreciated the power of visual images, and they became an important motif of the 'Americanisation' of monthly and quarterly periodicals. The volume-title pages represented in figure 6.9 and 6.10 highlight the use of emblematic American symbols although it was not unusual in Ireland or America for the classical symbols of knowledge and learning to be interwoven with native symbols suggest an indigenous enlightenment (figure 6.11).

Figure 6.9: *Columbian Magazine*, 1789 (volume title page) (LOC).



Vol. IV.]—MARCH, 1793.—[No. III.

THE

New-York Magazine;

OR,

Literary Repoſitory:

FOR MARCH, 1793.

SUBSCRIPTIONS for the NEW-YORK MAGAZINE continue to be taken in by the Publiſhers, at their Printing-Office, No. 27, William-ſtreet; alſo by Mr. Hugh Gaine, Meſſrs. Berry and Rogers, Mr. R. Hodge, Mr. S. Campbell, Mr. Thomas Allen, Mr. John Reid, and Mr. John Harriſon.—At Goſhen, by Meſſrs. Mandaville and Weſtcott.—At Poughkeepſie, by Mr. Nicholas Power.—At Albany, by Meſſrs. Webſter.—In New-Jerſey, at Elizabeth-Town, by Mr. Kollock; and by Mr. John Woods, at Newark.—In Philadelphia, by Mr. Robert Campbell.—At Danbury, (Connecticut) by Meſſrs. Douglas and Ely.—In Boſton, by Meſſrs. Thomas and Andrews.—In Charleſton, (South-Carolina,) by W. P. Young; and by ſeveral other Gentlemen in different Parts of the Continent.

Price TWO DOLLARS and a QUARTER per Year, or a QUARTER DOLLAR the ſingle Number.

NEW-YORK:

Printed by T. and J. Swords, at their Printing-Office, No. 27, William-Street; where PRINTING in general is executed with Neatneſs, Accuracy and Diſpatch, and on reaſonable Terms.

—1793.—

Figure 6.10: *New-York Magazine*, March 1793 (front wrapper) (Mott). It is also clear from this example of an American periodical wrapper that they also differed little from the Irish examples discussed in chapter five. The large block of text in the final third of the page includes lists of agents for the periodicals throughout the United States.

Figure 6.11: *Port Folio*, third series, 1813 (volume title-page) (LCP). In this instance the figure of knowledge is in a boat reading texts before her, a reference to learning across the Atlantic and the ability of knowledge to travel, possibly in reference to American complaints of British criticisms of their inferior status.

In terms of basic content Irish, Scottish, American and also English periodicals displayed many common characteristics. As has already been discussed in chapter four, it was almost universal for monthly, bi-monthly and quarterly periodicals in the English-speaking world to announce their intention to 'instruct and amuse' their readers, and in these basic aims the Americans were perhaps the most successful. Alongside the Irish examples given in chapter four, numerous Scottish examples of such statements can be cited: *The Edinburgh Magazine and Review* (1773-6) aimed to be 'generally useful and entertaining', and the *Scots Magazine* planned to provide 'elegant, instructive and entertaining extracts' to its readers. The subtitle of *The Boston Magazine* (1783-86), 'a collection of instructive and entertaining essays, in the various branches of useful, and polite literature, together with foreign and domestic occurrences, anecdotes, observations on the weather &c. &c.', and the publisher of the *American Museum* aimed 'to furnish novelty, entertainment, and instruction to his readers'.[17] Improvement was also a strong theme among the increasing number of evangelical titles in all three countries in the early decades of the nineteenth century.[18]

Content became more varied as monthly periodicals became more specialised and focused in greater detail at particular subjects. As the most mature periodical producer outside London, is not surprising that the Scottish market showed the first signs of specialisation. Regional and non-English language publications, agricultural and military periodicals, ladies and juvenile magazines, and religious titles were the

[17] 'Preface', *American Museum* (1787).
[18] Nathan O'Hatch, 'Elias Smith and the rise of religious journalism in the Early Republic' in William L. Joyce (ed), *Printing and society in early America* (Worcester, Mass., 1983), pp 250-77.

most common areas of specialisation. Literary magazines, scholarly and institutional journals and the review-type periodicals also led to diversification in the types of periodicals established. The review format, in the mould of the *Edinburgh Review* became much more successfully imitated in the American market than in Ireland. When the Irish periodical trade began to recover towards the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, new titles continued to be modelled on the successful eighteenth-century miscellany format rather than the new review model. This is evident from periodicals such as the *Cyclopaedian Magazine* (1807-9), the *Monthly Pantheon* (1810), and the *Hibernia Magazine* (1810-2). Dedicated theatrical and political periodicals also became more common in this period, but usually appeared in weekly or fortnightly formats.

Comparison of the developmental patterns in the American, Scottish and Irish periodical trades indicate many shared characteristics. Each market experienced an initial reliance on the most successful London models. Editorial statements from periodical publishers in each country placed a high-value on the benefits that their magazines provided to the public and the political nation. The movement of periodical producers from Ireland and Scotland was another significant connection between these markets which created tangible relationships which were neither associated with nor reliant on the London trade or its periodicals.

Immigrants and the American Periodical in the eighteenth century

The development of the American periodical was greatly influenced by immigrant printers and related craftsmen who brought experience from their native trades and usually retained transatlantic contacts which were valuable for information, stock and capital. Work by various scholars in *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World* have identified this important aspect of the American book trade and investigations into the broader influences of the Scottish book trade, by Warren McDougall (on the support given to Thomas Dobson, a Scot who established himself in Philadelphia in the 1780s with the secret backing of Charles Elliott) and by Stephen Brown (on various Scottish figures who ended up in the American book trade), paint a vivid picture of the contribution of Scottish booksellers to the American book trade in general.[19] As discussed in chapter one, Robert Bell was possibly the most influential book trade immigrant in the North American colonies before the Revolution, as he brought with him, after a successful career in Scotland and Ireland, a strong disregard for the copyright privilege honoured in England, backed up by the firm belief that such legislation did not apply outside that country.[20] Despite not being directly involved in periodical production, Bell by his assertiveness and entrepreneurial spirit demonstrated the strength of the American book trade and the potential of the market it served. The impact of Irish, Scottish and English personnel have also been considered by Wilson and Drury in their analysis of the British and Irish radicals who

[19] Amory and Hall (eds), *Colonial book in the Atlantic world.* See also Warren McDougall, 'Scottish books for America in the mid-eighteenth-century' in Myers and Harris (eds), *Spreading the word*, pp 21-46 and Stephen Brown, 'James Tyler's misadventures in the late eighteenth-century Edinburgh book trade' in John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong (eds), *Printing place. Locations of book production and distribution since 1500* (London, 2005), pp 47-64.
[20] Cole, *Booksellers,* pp 41-61.

entered the American book trade after the collapse of local radical movements in England, Ireland and Scotland.[21]

The work of Cole on the American careers of Irish book trade personnel is the most comprehensive study, and others examined prominent members of this Irish immigrant community, notably Mathew Carey, Patrick Byrne and John Chambers.[22] Cole identified 101 Irish book-trade personnel who moved into the American trade between 1740 and 1820, with these movements broken into three significant phases, before the Revolution, post-Revolution to 1794, and 1795 to 1820. Although this study provides much quantitative material for further investigation of the experiences of the Irish contribution to the United States, and this analysis here will focus on those who were directly involved in the periodical trade in America and the networks they maintained across the Atlantic. In this section, the careers of particular Scottish and Irish book trade personnel who moved into the American trade and influenced the development of the American periodical will be discussed.

Robert Aitken (1734-1802), a Scottish bookseller from Dalkeith, was a significant contributor to the development of the American periodical during the tumultuous years of the Revolution. Aitken, an ardent patriot, was known as a man of 'truth, and of an irreproachable character' who was 'industrious and frugal', and had been involved in the American book trade from 1769 when he established himself as a

[21] See Wilson, *United Irishmen*, pp 41-4, 54-60, 90-104, 168-70 and Michael Durey, *Transatlantic radicals and the early American Republic* (Lawrence, 1997), pp 80-133.
[22] Kinane, '"Literary food" for the American market', pp 315-32; Green, *Mathew Carey;* M. Pollard 'John Chambers, printer and United Irishman' in *Irish Book,* 3 (1964), pp 1-22.

bookseller in Philadelphia, being one of the first printers of Bibles in America.[23] In relation to the periodical, his greatest contribution was *The Pennsylvania Magazine* (1775-6), which was one of only two periodicals that existed for several years during the Revolutionary war. It was well-produced and included impressive illustrations during a period fraught with manufacturing difficulties, and it set the standard for the high-quality periodicals that followed. Aitken's periodical was also very well received by its contemporaries:

> Several attempts have been made to establish a Magazine in different parts of the Continent, all of which, meteor like, have blazed through with different degrees of lustre, and expired. I begin to have other expectations of the present one; for without paying any other compliment than merit is justly entitled to, I look on several of the original pieces which have already appeared in the Pennsylvania Magazine, to be equal in point of elegance, and invention, to the best pieces in the English ones. I observed the poetry in your last number is all original, except the short piece on the Scotch and English beauties: an instance scarcely to be met with in any other magazine ...[24]

Aitken employed Thomas Paine as his editor almost immediately after his arrival in America, and the *Pennsylvania Magazine's* circulation increased rapidly to over one thousand per month. Its success marked a new era for the American monthly periodical as these figures greatly surpassed the circulation of any previous American magazine or newspaper.[25]

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[23] Isaiah Thomas, *History of printing in America* (1810, reprint New York, 1970], pp 402, 430, 451.
[24] 'To the printer of the Pennsylvania Magazine' in *The Pennsylvania Magazine* (Apr., 1775), signed R.S. Bucks County.
[25] See Mott, *American Magazines,* pp 87-8.

Aitken's periodical was also an early example of the use of personnel, content and symbolism to physically, textually and visually embody a particularly American vision of the colonial struggle against Britain. By employing Paine, one of the leading revolutionary publicists, at a good salary of fifty pounds per year, Aitken set out his stall and appears to have been well-received by his American audience. Content was politically engaged despite Aitken's conventional promise to avoid controversy in his prospectus. Articles such as 'Reflections on the duty of princes' (probably by Paine)[26] which sharply warned sovereigns against the exercise of arbitrary power, and poetry such as Paine's 'Liberty Tree' which appeared in March 1776, alongside regular 'intelligence' features which detailed the course of political events, brought a very topical tone to Aitken's periodical. As well as this distinctive material, Aitken retained other popular features of the general miscellaneous magazine, with articles on education, women, husbandry, love and marriage and scientific matters. This combination was successful, however fleetingly, and Aitken created a periodical which was distinctly American and not to be found in imported British rivals.

After Aitken, several Irish printers who arrived in the United States around 1784 were even more influential. William Spotswood a (bookseller), Thomas Seddon, John Trenchard (an engraver) and Mathew Carey (printer, editor, proprietor) all arrived in Philadelphia c.1784, and within a year they had joined together to establish another distinctly American periodical, *The Columbian Magazine* (1786-1792).[27] Previous to

[26] 'Reflections on the duty of princes', *Pennsylvania Magazine* (Dec., 1775).

[27] They were also joined in this partnership by Charles Cist who was a Russian who worked as a printer and publisher. See *American National Biography* (24 vols, New York, 1999), iv, pp 887-9 for

this monthly periodical, Spotswood, Talbot and Carey had also been partners in Carey's first newspaper venture in America, the *Pennsylvania Evening Herald.*[28] As each of the partners in this paper had recently arrived from Ireland, they appreciated the potential of a nationally distributed serial, and Carey had particular experience of this through his proprietorship and editorship of the controversial *Volunteer's Journal* in Dublin, the reason for his quick and final escape to the United States.[29] Despite the relative success of their first American paper, (particularly after it began to record the debates of the House of Assembly in Philadelphia), Carey knew that the paper was not suited or indeed capable of a national audience in the United States.[30] Carey later noted that his publishing experiences in Ireland had been 'enthusiastic and violent' as they 'fanned the flame of patriotism' and achieved 'a greater circulation than any other paper...except the *Evening Post*'. From these experiences, Carey and his other expatriate partners knew that a nationally distributed publication, such as Carey's newspaper in Ireland 'exercised a decided influence on public opinion'.[31] They must have also appreciated that this 'decided influence' would not arise from a locally produced newspaper in the United States as the distribution networks and public interest did not yet exist for a national newspaper as these tended to focus on local and regional issues of little relevance to colonists hundreds of miles away. None of the periodical publications that existed in the United States before these Irish pioneers

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biography of Cist's son Jacob Cist (1782-1825) with some information about Charles Cist. See also Thomas, *A history of printing in America,* pp 404-5.

[28] Carey and Spotswood also collaborated in three other periodicals, the *Compete Counting-House Companion,* Carey's first newspaper the *Pennsylvania Evening Herald* and his most successful magazine, the *American Museum.* Collaboration in some of these instances might better be presented as bookselling agreements. See Cole, *Irish booksellers,* p. 178.

[29] For Carey's early career in Ireland see Green, *Mathew Carey,* pp 4-6.

[30] For Carey's early career in Philadelphia see Earl L. Bradsher, *Mathew Carey, editor, author and publisher* (New York, 1912).

[31] Mathew Carey, 'Autobiography of Mathew Carey, Letter ii' in *The New England Magazine* (1833).

arrived had had any pretensions to national distribution. Aitken's *Pennsylvania Magazine* had certainly extended the scope of the monthly periodical, but it was significantly limited by the turbulent period of its existence and, more conceptually perhaps, by its regional title.

The *Columbian Magazine; or Monthly Miscellany* (1786-92) was the first periodical venture of this partnership. The *Columbian* was typical in its recognition of the potent success of the *Gentleman's Magazine* format and its imitators in the early eighteenth century, and of the impact of periodical publications in general as a means of enlightenment and opinion-setting. 'Periodical publications of this kind have in Europe proved the means of maturing and perfecting the taste and talents of many who afterwards became the most celebrated literary characters. We hope the Columbian Magazine will prove equally useful here'.[32] It is difficult to know the motivations of each of the publishing partners in this enterprise, beyond the obvious intention to earn profit. Carey and Cist were known for their interest in blending printing with patriotic sentiment and were likely hoping to publish a magazine that would reach a broad audience and help bind the nation together through the promotion of 'American' manufacture, literature, arts and indeed publishing. The dual benefits of profit and control of a platform for political ideas had been established by Aitken, and was particularly evident from Carey's publishing experiences in Ireland, both during his apprenticeship and in his own right.

[32] 'Preface' *Columbian Magazine* (1786).

The *Columbian Magazine* followed the precedent established by Aitken and other early American booksellers by distinguishing its content with specifically American, and usually patriotic, articles and visual images. The preface concluded with a rousing call to Americans to purchase the magazine for reasons of national pride and the cultivation of national industry: 'The labour of the press [for this periodical] is performed, the paper and materials for publication are supplied, and the work is embellished, at a monthly expense of one hundred pounds, by the mechanics and manufactures of the United States'.[33] Articles followed on the need for the protection of American industry and manufactures, and on important American war heroes. The *Columbian Magazine* is also remembered as being one of the 'handsomest' magazines of the eighteenth century.[34] Despite this accolade, its title pages were not as decorative as might be expected (figure 6.10). Mott notes that the most memorable symbolic design associated with the magazine was one which had strong political associations, emphasising the importance of harmony in the working out of the ideal republican environment, the genius of Federate America with symbols of peace, liberty above it, and surrounded by emblems representing commerce, science, agriculture and plenty (figure 6.12).[35] The elegant engravings which accompanied the *Columbian Magazine* consisted largely of buildings, plans of public works, technical drawings, and maps, and are all the more impressive considering the relatively cheap subscription level of the magazine, twenty shillings a year.[36]

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[33] Ibid.
[34] Mott, *American magazines,* p. 99.
[35] *Columbian Magazine,* iii (1787); see also Mott, *American magazines,* p. 95.
[36] Receipt for subscription to *Columbian Magazine* (H.S.P., Wallace Papers, vol. iv).

This partnership was broken when Carey removed himself in late 1786 or early 1787, due to a disagreement as to how the publication should be advertised and run in order to make a profit. Carey's books show that he was almost solely relying on revenue from the *Columbian* for his livelihood, which may explain his frustration with his partners' failure to promote it vigorously enough. Green has suggested that the lack of political content in the magazine may also have been the reason for the 'discordant views' among the partners.[37] An entry from Carey's diary at this time indicates the stress and tension that he experienced at the failure of this venture:

> Jan 1 [1787] Began the year with a solemn invocation of the divine being and a supplication to shield me from the manifold misfortunes that have hitherto pursued me - Abstained wholly from work and resolved no further on any account of violate the Sabbath.[38]

The *Columbian* continued for six more years, becoming in January 1790 the *Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine*, an amalgamation of the *Columbian* and a rival title. It was edited by a number of successful literary figures, including the Reverend Jeremy Belknap of Boston, Francis Hopkinson (from April 1787), the poet and judge and Alexander James Dallas (from 1788), an energetic lawyer and man of affairs who had previously been employed by Spotswood as editor of the *Pennsylvania Herald*. The latter two figures had also been signatories of the Declaration of Independence. John Trenchard, one of the original proprietors, took over from Dallas after his political writings offended the proprietors.

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[37] Carey, 'Autobiography ... letter iv' (1833) and James N. Green, 'Mathew Carey' in *American Magazine Journalists* (Detroit, 1990), p. 57.

[38] 1 Jan. 1787 (H.S.P., Carey Papers, MS material from 1810-19, Diary of Mathew Carey). The partners officially accepted Carey withdrawal from the partnership between the seventh and tenth of January 1787; it was announced in the press until the thirteenth of January.

Figure 6.12: 'America under the palm tree', ***Columbian Magazine, and the Universal Asylum,*** **1789.**

During its first three and a half years the contents of the *Columbian* continued to be varied and attractive. Articles on agriculture and mechanics, and pieces of fiction were particularly notable, as was the regular feature 'The Columbian Parnassaid' which contained entertaining verse. The essay series 'The Rhapsodist' which ran from August to November 1789 was the first writings of Charles Brockden Brown to appear in print. Though no longer involved in editing the *Columbian,* Belknap contributed to the historical articles, particularly those detailing the history of the recent Revolution. From 1790 a different editorial tone was evident, emanating from the amalgamation mentioned above. It became more focused on the recording of the history of the documents and narratives of the recent war. In light of Carey's *American Museum*, which was also publishing during these years, it is interesting to note how each magazine altered its approach, a change which could almost be considered a direct reversal.

When announcing his withdrawal from the *Columbian* partnership, Carey took the opportunity to announce plans to publish 'a new periodical work, (on a plan hitherto unessayed in this country) of which the title will be *The American Museum, or, repository of ancient and modern fugitive pieces, prose and poetical*', (1787-1792). Green has suggested that it was typical of Carey's optimistic and even impetuous approach to publishing that he should rush a second magazine onto the market which only a few months before had not even supported one.[39] Carey's experience of the periodical market as it evolved in Britain and Ireland encouraged him to believe that the American market was ready to do the same. Carey's biographer Bradsher

[39] Green, 'Mathew Carey', p. 57.

correctly marked this publication as the beginning of his real influence and importance in American literature,[40] which is bolstered by his surviving correspondents which began at this time to include many of the leading literary men of the country.

Ebenezer Hazard, postmaster of the United States and collector of American historical documents, was one of Carey's most regular contacts. From New York, Hazard brought John Almon's *The Remembrancer ... for the year 1782* to Carey's attention.[41] This London publication was pro-American and printed extracts from American newspapers that charted the disputes with the United States. In the preface to the first volume of the *Museum,* Carey noted how he had observed that several newspapers throughout the country published 'a great number of excellent and invaluable productions ... [and that he] frequently regretted that the perishable nature of the vehicles which contained them and entailed oblivion on them, after a very confined period of usefulness and circulation'.[42] Here he referred to Almon's London periodical which originated with a view to the preservation of good newspaper essays, which inspired him to his current plan for the magazine. With this sense of public duty for the preservation of 'fugitive' material, Carey defended his magazine from being blatantly 'destitute...of originality, which, in the opinion of many, is indispensable in any periodical publication'.[43] Carey's correspondence testifies to his attempts to gather pamphlets and documents from the revolutionary years to be

[40] Bradsher, *Mathew Carey,* p. 4.
[41] Ebenezer Hazard to Mathew Carey, 25 May 1788 (H.S.P., Lea & Febiger Papers).
[42] *American Magazine,* i (1787).
[43] Ibid.

reprinted in his magazine. Whereas Carey's first magazine, after he had left the partnership, altered its content policy c. 1790 to be a more serious publication, his second and most successful magazine began with this design. However, as will be noted below, Carey's *Museum* also made its content more entertaining around the same time as the *Columbian*. Both magazines retained their popularity.

The first issue of the *American Museum* attracted great attention, despite Carey's diary entries which suggest that the process of production was very difficult:

> Sat. Jan. 13 Only four pages of the Museum composed ... Most persons in my situation would take to their beds, although I am hard at work. Can not either stand or walk without pain and injury to my knee ...[44]

> Mon. Jan. 15 Mr Talbot and I in our interview got rather mad. Reflect on suicide. Horrible thought.[45]

> Tue. Jan. 16 ... Think that a futility attends every [thing] I undertake. I am extremely apprehensive that he [Mr. Talbot] may have said something to Mr J-m-s to prejudice him against me. This thought gives me so much pain as to unfit me for work for two hours.[46]

Carey made the decision to sell issues separately, as Benjamin Franklin had done, and he was very successful when his first edition of one thousand sold out. But as Carey noted himself, this policy backfired and effected his long-term income from the *Museum* because people who later decided to subscribe to the whole volume declined on account of not being able to get a complete set. The sales lost due to his

[44] Carey was shot in the knee after a duel. He already suffered a lameness in that leg from his youth. 13 Jan. 1787 (H.S.P., Carey Papers, Diary of Mathew Carey).
[45] Ibid. 15 Jan. 1787.
[46] 16 Jan. 1787, Ibid.

impromptu tactic could have saved Carey much financial hardship over the life of the *Museum*, though no magazine had previously been published in the United States that did not leave its publisher without profit. Carey's recollections, accounts, diary, and correspondence for the years 1787 to 1792 are littered with references to debts:

> Wed. Mar. 16 Write to Mr. Leany to Mr. Baldwin and Mr. John M, Tasln and Mr Daven to borrow from each 50 dollars. All apologise as unable...have in bank only 80 dollars yet give a check to Mr. Cockran for 100, with directions not to send him till tomorrow ... Have 170 dollars to raise to-morrow & hardly know any person to whom I have not already applied in vain. But at all events the money must be procured. Mrs. Carey much indisposed. Goes to bed in her clothes...Go and lie with her for half an hour ...[47]

and borrowings:

> Thur. Mar. 17 At nine go abroad to collect the money for Mr. Durkin apply to Mr. Toland in vain. 25 dollars from Mr. Connel, 40 from Mr. Halawn, 62 and from Mr. Gallagher 60, all before 10:15. Send the whole to the bank. Pay Mr. Durkin at twelve o'clock. After him the loan of 150 dollars tomorrow ...[48]

Carey's autobiography entries dealing with the *Museum* concentrate on these financial difficulties that plagued his early years in Philadelphia. His critical eye noted three main causes of his misery. Firstly the low subscription rate of $2.40 per annum, or 18 shillings, for which the subscriber got two volumes each containing over five hundred pages. Secondly, his widely spread subscription base, with a heavy dependence on rural and remote subscribers, was a financial strain as Carey had to

[47] 16 Mar. 1787, Ibid.

[48] 17 Mar. 1787 (H.S.P., Carey Papers, Diary of Mathew Carey).

employ collectors. Thirdly, he optimistically printed too many copies, which were a drain on capital.[49]

Despite these difficulties Carey had significant support and encouragement for his first independent magazine venture, along with many offers of help which are evident in his surviving correspondence. He used the names of his most distinguished subscribers, including General George Washington, John Dickinson, Governor Livingstone, Dr. Rush, Bishop White, Judge Hopkinson and Dr. Wright, in his advertisements. The issue of July 1788 opened with two pages of warm endorsements from Washington, Dickinson, Rush and others. It is likely that these endorsements, while merited, were rewards for service to the publications of the day, which gave the *Museum* huge prestige and even greater circulation.[50] Other praise came in personal letters:

> I consider the Museum [sic.] as a work of public utility, and feel myself interested in its circulation. The great variety of judicious essays contained in it, particularly politics, commerce and manufactures, have afforded me much information on those subjects, which are so very little understood even by many of our intelligent and influential public men.[51]

Hazard's letters also include praise of Mathew Carey's decisions as a publisher for his service of American literature and politics. This particular correspondent also commented on the contents of the magazine throughout its publication. Such encouragement and offers of assistance with the distribution and subscription of the

[49] Carey, 'Autobiography ... letter iv' (1833).
[50] *American Museum* (Jul., 1788). See also Green, 'Mathew Carey', p. 59.
[51] Nathaniel Hazard to Mathew Carey, 16 Feb. 1788 (H.S.P., Carey Papers, Autographed Letter Series).

Museum is evident in numerous cases in the Carey correspondence for the years covering the publication of the magazine. Another example is provided in the letter of William Hardy of Philadelphia where he and his son offered all possible help and influence to assist Carey and his publication: 'it is with pleasure I inform you that I shall be exerted to the utmost of my powers to promote all of your undertakings'.[52]

Carey also continued with Aitken's successful formula of including material of patriot American interest, material which was also close to Carey's heart. He also included the more general periodical pieces on agriculture, science, character sketches, humorous anecdotes, and women. Issues of social justice and international struggles were also of great interest to Carey and featured in his magazine; Anthony Benezet's protest against slavery was printed, as was the famous 'Plan of an African ship's lower deck, with Negroes, in the proportion of not quite on to a ton', in May 1789. The most striking element of Carey's *American Museum* were the numerous letters and historical documents of the Revolutionary era which Carey borrowed from his many contacts such as Washington and fellow printers who had continued their businesses during the war, like Isaiah Thomas in Worcester, Massachusetts;[53] poems and essays, signed and unsigned, original and reprinted, by practically every literary person of note in the United States in the period. Green has noted that as a literary journal, the magazine's greatest strength was its section of original and reprinted

[52] William Hardy to Mathew Carey, 13 Jan. 1787 (H.S.P., Carey Papers, Autographed Letter Series).
[53] Isaiah Thomas to Mathew Carey, 2 Mar. 1789 (H.S.P., Etting Collection, iv, p. 90).

poetry as no other magazine of the period published so much verse, which makes the *Museum* the best anthology of American poetry for the half century before 1792.[54]

The most important contribution of American periodicals, and specifically of those promoted by immigrant book-trade personnel of the late 1780s and early 1790s, was the creation of a national distribution network which later would be successfully adapted to book-selling on a much larger scale. Carey's *American Museum* is credited with achieving the most in this regard, as he appears to have been the first periodical producer in the United States to recognise the need for a national network in order to make periodicals financially viable.[55] An examination of the lists of agents and booksellers who are recorded on the front wrappers of all of the above-mentioned American magazines creates a picture of their distribution and potential circulation. By comparison with Carey's first magazine, it is clear why the *American Museum* contributed greatly to development of the monthly magazine in America. The surviving subscription lists and correspondence attest to a remarkable distribution network that he built up, and of course, to the difficulties that this created. It is likely that if the original partners in the *Columbian* advertised as widely as Carey had hoped, this honour would have been held by that publication, but again from Carey's own writings it is clear that he had come to attribute great power to the role of the magazine in society. In his correspondence with New York Governor William Livingstone, he wrote of his wish to begin a 'purely moral periodical publication', consisting of abridgements of important French and English writers, so that the

[54] Green, 'Mathew Carey', p. 58.
[55] Ibid.

'inhabitants of Carlisle, Pittsburgh-Kty., would be rendered familiar with the writings of an Addison, a Steel, a Hawkesworth, a Johnson, in a way best calculated to make a lasting impression'. He complained that 'of moral writing, the harvest in this country has been hitherto very small. Politics-politics engross almost all the time that men of talent can spare for writing'. Within a year he hoped to see the *American Museum* and this projected moral magazine 'going hand in hand to serve the interests of Society'.[56] These ambitions indicate that Carey had wider motivations than most printers for ensuring that his magazines succeeded.

Carey started out with less than fifty subscribers, but by July 1788 he was already able to print a list of about five hundred and forty.[57] Six months later the list had reached eight-hundred and fifty, with every state well represented, as well as exhibiting agents in Europe and the Caribbean Islands. After four years publishing the *American Museum* its circulation reached its height with almost sixteen hundred subscribers in 1790. By the time of its demise in 1792, the figure was still close to one thousand.[58] The increasing numbers of named agents on the surviving wrappers of the periodical indicate the significance of Carey's widening distribution network. For example, the wrapper of the issue for May 1788 demonstrates the extent of Carey's ambition, with agents in London, Dublin, Bordeaux and Amsterdam

[56] Nothing came of the project, but the *American Museum* certainly featured moral essays throughout its run. In later years Carey was to publish several books of that sort in cheap editions for sale in those same western towns. He even published his own schoolbook of moral essays called *The School of Wisdom: or, American Monitor* (1800). See Kinane, 'Patrick Byrne's exports to Mathew Carey', pp. 315-32.
[57] *American Museum* (Jul., 1788).
[58] Ibid., (Jan., 1789) and (Jan., 1790).

mentioned.[59] Unfortunately very little evidence remains of the operational structure of these networks and terms arranged with agents. It is clear that Carey was still offering copies of his *Museum* to fellow Dublin publisher Patrick Byrne in 1793, after he had given it up as a means of exchange.[60] By December 1789 the wrappers recorded that Carey was receiving subscriptions from thirty-nine individual agents located in all of the major coastal towns from Boston to Charleston as well as in more remote outposts to the south and west of Philadelphia, such as Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, Hagerstown, Maryland and Winchester, Virginia.[61] These American subscribers, spread out as they were, provided as many problems as did transatlantic customers.

Despite his astute awareness of the medium's potential and his tireless efforts to arrange such networks, Carey never made a surplus from the magazine itself. But his methods and efforts did begin to instil a system of professionalism and cooperation within the American book trade which would benefit him and many others in the early nineteenth century, when the role of the publisher began to be separated from that of editor and printer and when the American market for print material began to increase. Carey recruited not only booksellers, but postmasters, literary men and country-store owners to advertise, collect subscriptions, distribute magazines and forward payment. These agents would get a small cash remuneration – or payment in copies of the magazine when Carey's financial situation was not so fluid.

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[59] Ibid. (May, 1788).
[60] Mathew Carey to Patrick Byrne (Dublin) selection of letters in 1793 (H.S.P., Edward Carey Gardiner Papers, Carey Section). See also Kinane, 'Patrick Byrne's exports to Mathew Carey', pp 315-332.
[61] *American Museum* (Dec., 1789).

The generation of publishers that followed with nineteenth-century publications approached their trade and audience fully aware of the commercial benefits of the format. Irish book trade personnel continued to pour into the American business but they too were of a different nature to those involved in and around the American and Irish rebellions. The market they came from in Ireland was in a transitionary period and more conservative than in the eighteenth-century. Philadelphia was also being challenged in its role as a publishing and political centre by Boston, New York, Baltimore and Washington D.C., which became the capital in 1800.[62] Therefore the period of Carey's Philadelphia career and his two magazines capture a very particular moment in the development of the American monthly magazine, and one which appears to have been its most innovative.

The American periodical market, 1800-25

The early nineteenth century was a period of transition for the Irish book trade as the market shifted from being largely self-reliant through the reprint trade, to being strongly connected to the British trade through importation. Book production in Ireland began to focus particularly on Catholic materials and schoolbooks which were tailored for the Irish market. For the periodical, the time was also one of transition, but recovery in this genre was more rapid and successful. The American periodical market also witnessed a break from eighteenth-century patterns of production; the capital moved from Philadelphia to Washington, and the publishing markets in other major east coast cities increased. Despite these shifting dynamics, the importance of

[62] See Remer, *Printers and men of capital,* pp 2-4, 51.

Philadelphia was not overtaken by either Boston or New York before 1830 and Philadelphia remained the largest producer of periodical titles and the destination for the majority of Irish book-trade immigrants.[63]

As was evident in the Irish and Scottish periodical trade, the American trade also began to specialise in the type of periodicals offered to readers in the early nineteenth century. Several periodicals were established which were associated with religious or other institutions. In the last years of the century the first medical periodical was established. *The Medical Repository* (1797-1824) was also one of the earliest quarterlies published in the United States and became one of the longest running periodicals in this period. In 1805 *The Panoplist* (1805-20 with various title changes) was established, which surprisingly was one of the earliest religious titles in the United States, concerned primarily with doctrinal propaganda and essays, sermons and articles on theological principles. The longevity of this periodical mirrors the established pattern of Irish evangelical periodicals which usually had long publishing lives. Other religious titles of some import followed, such as the Boston bi-monthly *Christian Discipline,* later *Christian Examiner* (1818-23 with various title changes); *The Methodist Review*, published variously in New York as a monthly, quarterly and bi-monthly periodical from 1818 to 1884, and the *Christian Advocate* (1823-34), published in Philadelphia. Other specialist periodical titles in the early nineteenth century included *The American Mineralogical Journal*, published in New York from 1810 to 1814 which was also a quarterly, *The American Journal of Science,* one of the earliest jointly published periodical titles in the United States – in New York and

[63] See Appendix 2.

New Haven from 1818 until well into the twentieth century, and most famously *Godey's Lady's Book* which began publishing in July 1830. *Godey's*, published in Philadelphia, is perhaps more correctly associated with the spectacularly successful and large circulation periodicals of the 1830s, with sales reportedly reaching twenty-five thousand within a decade.[64] These examples are not to suggest the demise of the general monthly or quarterly periodical, as the genre remained a staple of the American market and proved very influential in the development of distinctly American literature in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century.

These trends in the type of periodicals published are also reflected in the types of editorial personalities who took charge of new periodicals. In the eighteenth century several publishers took responsibility for editing their own periodicals. They included Isaiah Thomas (before he sold his monthly to another printer, Joseph Greenleaf), Robert Aitken (before and after Thomas Paine was involved with the periodical, though some argue that Paine's role was more of a contributing editor with Aitken still quite heavily involved throughout), William Spotswood and John Trenchard (who both took responsibility for the editorial duties of the *Columbian Magazine* at various periods) and Mathew Carey (who took sole creative and editorial responsibilities for his *American Museum*). Noah Webster was one of the only 'literary' figures who was well-known for his association with an American periodical in the highly influential and productive period from 1783-96. Although literary figures and authors such as Thomas Paine, Jeremy Belknap and Francis

[64] Mott, *American magazines*, pp 580-94.

Hopkinson has been employed as editors in this period, they were not instrumental in establishing these periodicals and their period of editorship was relatively brief.[65]

By 1797 the beginnings of this change were evident with three medical professionals with literary interests setting up the *Medical Repository*. Elihu Hubbard Smith, Samuel Latham Mitchill and Edward Millar, who were all considered talented in literary fields aside from their profession and political careers, with Smith most noted for his poetry (though his involvement with the periodical was short-lived as he died during the yellow fever epidemic in New York in 1798). Although the New York firm T. & J. Swords were publishers of this periodical, (as they had been of several earlier periodical titles such as the *New-York Magazine*), it is clear in this instance that they were not the instigators of the project as had been the case with their other ventures.

Charles Brockden Brown (1771-1810), considered the first professional American novelist, made several attempts to establish a durable and profitable literary periodical for the U.S. market. Having contributed to other successful eighteenth-century periodicals such as the *Columbian Magazine* and the *Weekly Magazine* (1798-99), Brown established his first literary periodical *The Monthly Magazine, and American Review* (1799-1800), again published by T. & J. Swords. Unsurprisingly Brown's first periodical included considerable contributions from his own pen and it was the most the first periodical of provide extensive reviews to American publications: Mott

[65] Paine edited Aitken's *Pennsylvania Magazine,* Belknap and Hopkinson both edited the *Columbian Magazine*. See Steven R. Serafin (ed), *The continuum encyclopaedia of American literature* (New York, 2003), pp 81-2 , 536-7.

estimates that over one hundred and fifty American publications were noticed or reviewed in some manner in the periodical's short career.[66] Such activity did not prevent the demise of the *Monthly Magazine* in 1802. *The Literary Magazine, and American Register* (1803-07) was the next Brown venture, back in his native Philadelphia. Reviews of American publications remained an important element in the periodical, but Brown still found it difficult to solicit contributors, being forced to 'ransack the newest foreign publications' for suitable copy.[67] Despite his regular complaints about unenthusiastic literary friends and correspondents, the *Literary Magazine* lasted a relatively respectable four years, which was within the average for the period. The final periodical venture Brown embarked on was the *American Register, or General Repository of History, Politics and Science* (1807-11), essentially a semi-annual encyclopaedia, published in Philadelphia, with five hundred pages per issue. The literary talents of Brown were wasted on such a venture and it would seem that his efforts to establish and earn a living through a literary magazine were unsuccessful.[68] Although the American periodical market was well established by this point and profits were being made from periodical titles, it proved very difficult for literary figures to earn a living through a literary periodical alone.

This changing make-up of the editors of new American periodicals in the early nineteenth century may go some way to explaining the decreasing involvement of immigrant Irish and Scottish printers and publishers with the genre in the United

[66] Mott, *American Magazines*, p. 219.
[67] 'Editor's Address', *Literary Magazine, and American Register* (Oct., 1803).
[68] Peter Kafer, *Charles Brockden Brown's revolution and the birth of American Gothic* (56, 105-20, 190-7.

States. From the figures compiled by Cole it is clear, that the number of Irish printers emigrating to the United States continued and indeed increased in the new century. Philadelphia remained the most popular location for the majority (thirty-six percent from 1795-1820), though the numbers moving to New York and Baltimore increased considerably from the previous century, twenty-six percent and twenty-four percent respectively, with fourteen percent going to other cities such as Augusta, Georgia, Steubenville, Ohio, and Salem, Massachusetts. Of this group the majority appear to have become involved in printing and bookselling at the craft end rather than at the entrepreneurial end, whether conceptualising new periodical ventures or providing the financial capital.[69]

Another significant feature of the American market after 1800 was the number of good quality high-circulation weekly periodicals that were established, an echo of the Scottish and to a lesser extent the Irish trades, as discussed above. *The Port Folio* was an immensely successful eight-page quarto weekly established in Philadelphia in 1801 by another literary figure, Joseph Dennie (1768-1812), under the pen-name of 'Oliver Oldschool'. In the prospectus Dennie laid out his literary and periodical credentials for readers:

> A young man once known among village-readers, as the humble historian of the hour, the conductor of a *Farmer's Museum,* and a *Lay Preacher's Gazette* again offers himself to the public as a volunteer-editor. Having, as he conceives, a right to vary, at pleasure, his *fictitious* name, he now, for higher reasons than any fickle humour might dictate, assumes the appellation of Oldshcool ...[70]

[69] Cole, *Irish Booksellers*, pp 149-171.
[70] 'Prospectus', *Port Folio* (3 Jan. 1801).

Dennie's four-thousand word prospectus went on to comment liberally, with extensive footnotes, on his predecessors in the periodical field and on his hopes for the periodical: 'It is proposed always to give plenty of letter-press, in proportion to the public demand, and, as the exigency of the season, or copiousness of material may require, to double, treble, and even quadruple the number of pages'.[71] In an obvious move from the promises of elegant and well-executed productions of the previous century, Dennie notably appeals to the plainer tastes of his countrymen:

> No sonorous promises are made, and no magnificence of style attempted. The paper is to be neither *wire-woven*, nor *hot-pressed,* and it certainly, in more sense than one, shall not be *cream-coloured*; but, in a plain dress of Quaker simplicity, may, perhaps, offer something tolerable on political, literary, and transient topics, and something, auxiliary to sound principles ...[72]

This periodical achieved broad appeal and literary fame, despite its political allegiances that must have alienated some; with the first edition of fifteen-hundred copies was sold out and a second printing needed. By April 1801 the regular edition of each issue ran to two thousand copies.[73] Like other periodical publishers of the previous century Dennie's pro-Federalist politics were clear and they had also been honed during his spell as editor of the *Gazette of the United States*, the main federalist paper in America in 1799, but they did not overwhelm the literary content of the periodical – which was exceptionally strong and included considerable notice of English contemporary literature and classical texts.[74]

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[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Edgar, 'American Magazines', pp 7-15.
[74] For more on Dennie and his career, see Harold Milton Ellis, *Joseph Dennie and his circle* (Austin, 1915).

After various controversies, including a charge of seditious libel for an article attacking democracy in America, the *Port Folio* moved to a monthly format in 1809, with similar content but considerable longer issues.[75] Under various other editors the *Port Folio* moved away from the strong politics of Dennie, whose object has been 'to vindicate the character of American literature and manners from the aspersions of ignorant and illiterate foreigners'.[76] A continuing promise to promote American literature was echoed in several other major monthly periodicals from 1815. A second and even more influential weekly which significantly enlarged the American market for periodicals was *Niles' Weekly Register*, later *Niles' National Register* (1814-49). Like Dennie's weekly publication, *Niles' Register* was openly political, though in opposition to the stance of Dennie. Hezekiah Niles was deeply anti-British and he declared his attitudes towards Britain regularly in the pages of his periodical. Again, as with Dennie's *Port Folio*, it had a low subscription price of five dollars per annum.

Alongside these successes are shorter runs of periodicals of interest such as *The Exile,* published by Irish radical Walter Cox between January 1817 and October 1818 in New York during his enforced exile from Ireland.[77] Cox brought his distinct brand of biting political writing to the periodical, as had been displayed in the monthly *Irish Magazine* (1807-15) published in Dublin. In this instance Cox turned his pen to his dissatisfaction with American politics, which saw his weekly take part in current

[75] The charge of sedition related to a series titled'The progress of democracy', *Port Folio* (23 Apr. 1803).
[76] 'Advertisement', *Port Folio* (1816).
[77] *The Exile* (4 January 1817 to 18 October 1818).

controversies with several of its contemporaries. Cox did not find much support for his periodical in the United States (compared with Ireland), and he left within five years to move to France, and later back to Ireland.

The legal difficulties experience by Dennie and other periodical editors from the last years of the eighteenth century, suggest that the American periodical press suffered more than the Irish or Scottish periodical trade as a result of legal prosecution for sedition and libel. This may be explained by the turbulent emergence of the two-party system in American politics in this period and the strong political views of those involved in their production as editors or publishers. Monthly and quarterly titles engaged more directly in sensitive political matters in the U.S. market, which ensured them more government attention than the format received in Ireland or Scotland. This trend may also relate to the early appreciation of the power of the periodical press for political purposes, as has been evidenced with Carey's *American Museum* and its associations with the Federalist political agenda in its early years.

The most significant contribution of the American monthly and quarterly periodical was in fostering and defining a distinctive American literature. After the war of 1812 the country displayed, through periodical literature as well as through other media, a patriotic desire to develop a national literature. Even predating this trend was *The Analectic Magazine and the Literary Gazette* (1813-21) edited by Washington Irving (1783-1859), the prolific essayist, biographer, and historian who was appropriately one of the first American writers to earn acclaim in Europe. After 1815 new

periodicals such as *The Portico* (1816-18) published in Baltimore, the *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review* (1817-19) and *The Atlantic Magazine* (1824-25) all set out to foster American literature and talent in a deliberate manner that had not been seen in earlier decades.

A final aspect of specialisation in the American periodical market in this period was geographical and directly related to the westward growth of the United States. New titles such as *The Western Review* (1819-21), *The Western Monthly Review* (1827-30), and *The Southern Review* (1828-32) championed a regional identity, though their short life-spans, compared with other contemporary general miscellanies from the more established print centres, indicate that these markets were several years behind the more mature eastern coast. However they indicate a widening audience for periodicals and the diminishing capacity for any one great monthly or quarterly title to ever again hold the national audience as had briefly been the case of the most successful titles of the late eighteenth century. Those involved in these new periodicals were also predominantly American-born and belonged to a generation that were less focused on the Atlantic intellectual world and more concerned with the westward expansion of the United States.

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This chapter has highlighted the comparisons and contrasts in the development of Irish, Scottish and American periodicals, with specific notice of the influences of the former upon the latter through the movement of printers and publishers into the American market. This analysis has focused on comparisons of the general narrative

and on connections through people rather than through products, as there is very little evidence of American periodicals directly entering the Irish market or of Irish periodicals crossing the Atlantic. The networks that the immigrant Irish and Scottish printers and publishers retained with their business contacts and family in Ireland and Scotland appear to have been more utilised for the importation and exportation of books, as many moved into the area of publishing after some involvement in the periodical trade. It would also be possible to argue that these transatlantic networks remained very fertile for the dissemination of intellectual ideas and political debates across the nineteenth-century Atlantic world.

Conclusion

The core of this study has been an analysis of the fortunes of the ninety monthly, bi-monthly and quarterly periodicals published in Ireland between 1770 and 1830. This examination has been contextualized with discussion of the influence of successful British periodicals on the Irish trade. Chapters one and two highlighted the integrated nature of the Irish book trade within the broader British and Atlantic book trades. Irish periodical publishers were familiar with British texts and business practices, as well as the British trade to establish dominance in Ireland. Despite the early efforts of the Stationers' Company of London to buy shares in the Irish market and to establish branches of English firms in Ireland, it was an anomaly of English law that created the opportunity for a competitive Irish and, more broadly, a competitive imperial book trade. Within this environment the Irish, Scottish and American book trades adopted the successful models from London, beginning first, by directly reprinting English materials and then developing indigenous imitations of these titles. As national markets increased, periodical producers began to publish increasingly diverse titles alongside the more tradition miscellany format. These nineteenth-century innovations enabled periodicals to become a widely distributed printed format which provided public space for groups, communities and trades throughout the British Atlantic world.

Despite the wide variety of Irish periodicals examined in chapter three, in terms of size, quality, life-span and even readership, broad physical characteristics of the

monthly and quarterly periodical genre can be identified. More importantly, contemporary periodical purchasers and readers recognized these visual traits that distinguished periodical format from other print media. Outer wrappers and engravings were also significant visual identifiers for magazine readers. Chapter four analyzed the aims of periodicals as stated in prospectuses, prefaces and editorials as a means of assessing their success which revealed a more positive view of the trade. By their own goals to 'instruct and amuse' the Irish periodicals of the period were largely successful. Original content or content specifically related to Ireland was less common, though the tendency to disregard visual materials in these categories over simplifies these weaknesses. The quality and originality of periodical engravings which accompanied many titles are high and deserve further attention. When visual materials are also factored into a content-assessment, Irish periodicals addressed a wide range of subjects through both traditional and innovative content and contributed to cultural and political debates of the period. Beyond these issues, the majority of periodical content records the interests and behaviour of eighteenth-century life which has received more scholarly interest in recent decades. 'Improving' literature in periodicals constituted an important medium for the spread of enlightenment ideas and morality and essays and correspondence related to husbandry, civility, education and science broadened opportunities for these ideas to spread.

The relative lack of original Irish material in periodicals of this period has been a further reason for their dismissal by scholars but detailed analysis suggests that they

do in fact provide a direct record of how specifically Irish editors and compliers assessed their audience and their reading tastes, a facet which has not been appreciated by commentators. It is also clear from the analysis of original Irish material in chapter four that contemporaries did not see 'originality' as a measure of the success of a periodical, as those which survived the longest were not distinguished in this way. In fact almost the reverse is the case: as the most successful Irish periodicals were those most linked to a policy of large portions of extracted and reprinted material. This may suggest that the market for indigenously produced Irish material was still underdeveloped; those titles which best imitated the London model but included a modest Irish dimension were most popular.

Chapter five demonstrated the importance of the periodical as a commercial tool for publishers, both in the physical and abstract sense. Surviving lists of subscribers and evidence of readership provide indications of the audience for Irish periodicals, which included the expected elite readers as well as proof of readership further down the social scale. Physically the external wrappers of Irish periodicals provided a resource for increasing revenue through the sale of advertising to other booksellers, publishers, merchants or service providers, or as with the notable example of Walker, for promotion of the other business interests of the publisher. In a looser sense, a successful regional or national periodical, associated with a particular publisher enhanced his reputation and gave benefit to all aspects of his business interest. The most obvious example came from London: Joseph Addison's fame was built on his association with the *Spectator* and other periodical titles which undoubtedly assisted

his later literary efforts both in Britain and across the Atlantic. Irish periodical publishers, highly aware of the successful developments in the London book trade, must have appreciated the business advantages of a successful periodical and accepted that a specifically Irish-mediated periodical, incorporating the best features of the London models was a format with potential. Proof of this is elusive but is suggested by the fact that the earliest Irish publishers of the periodical format were at the forefront of bookselling and publishing, and this was still the case in the later eighteenth century and the early nineteenth centuries. There were many instances of successful booksellers and publishers attempting on several occasions to launch a periodical despite previous failures, suggesting that the potential benefits outweighed the cost of failures. An examination of advertising space provided by periodical wrappers also broadens perspectives from which to view the wider benefits of the format. Extra revenue could be earned from selling this advertising space to other members of the book trade, merchants and service providers. Alternatively this advertising space could be used to further the commercial interests of the publisher. The ephemeral nature of blue paper wrappers has led to poor survival rates but those identified for this study indicate the usefulness of this bibliographic analysis in a complete assessment of the format.

It would be difficult to argue that any particular Irish periodical achieved recognizable fame or wide circulation beyond Ireland. It is possible, however, to argue that the personnel involved in the Irish periodical market, particularly those who emigrated to the American book trade, had a significant impact on the

development of the periodical form beyond Ireland. The most cited example in this study is Mathew Carey and his two periodical titles in late eighteenth-century America. The *Columbian Magazine* and *American Museum* demonstrated that they American market could produce its own high-quality periodicals as a platform for debate throughout the nation. Carey's importance also stretches beyond the titles as his personality, energy and eventual commercial success left an abiding impression on American print culture.

The development of the Irish periodical in an Atlantic context suggests a broader application of some of the conclusions highlighted above and raises themes that can more usefully be discussed in a broader context. The most common thread connecting monthly and quarterly periodicals in Ireland and America, and to a lesser extent Scotland, was the dominance of the London models discussed in chapter two, as acknowledged templates for the genre as a whole. Although the earliest version of the periodical format originated in France, to be imitated almost immediately in England, it is the London models which had the most lasting impact throughout the English-speaking Atlantic and further afield. The admiration afforded to the English periodical titles of Addison, Steele and Cave was consistent throughout the period and particularly focused in the eighteenth century. All cities outside London which established general periodicals in the period were directly exposed to and influenced by the London originals through the actions of local booksellers who imported these titles and acted as direct agents for London publishers, or who simply reprinted the complete original text. In Ireland the first attempts to capitalize on the success of the

new format in London by reprinting were established booksellers and publishers such as George Faulkner, James Hoey and Edward Exshaw, a situation paralleled in Scotland.[1] In colonial America this was also the case, with Andrew Bradford and Benjamin Franklin experimenting with the new formats for the American market within a decade of Cave's first issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine.* The first generation of general magazines in Ireland, Scotland and the American colonies closely retained the structure and tone of the London originals, but by mid-century innovations were emerging.

The most successful features of these titles were amalgamated to create a printed format that was distinguishable from other forms of print product matter to contemporaries and later commentators, a fact which is true of the ninety Irish monthly, bi-monthly and quarterly periodicals of the study and of their counterparts in Scotland and America. Alongside the commercial success of these models, the periodical format was credited by contemporaries with significant advantages and benefits to mankind, which have been briefly discussed in chapter four. Articulating almost identical sentiments, the editors of the *New-York Magazine* (1790-1797) cited the *Gentleman's Magazine* as their model and boasted of the format:

> The monthly magazine has opened a way to every king of inquiry and information. The intelligence and discussion contained in them, are very various and extensive: and they have been the means of diffusing a general habit of reading through the nation, which, in a certain degree, hath enlarged the public understanding … The magazines that unite utility with entertainment, are

[1] See Mann, *Scottish book trade* and Couper, *Edinburgh periodical press.*

undoubtedly preferable to those which have only a view to idle and frivolous amusement.[2]

The *American Monthly Magazine,* in a similar article 'On Magazines' at the end of the period, still lauded the benefits of the periodical format. It spoke of 'periodical streams' from which flowed 'principles of truth, which enlighten, enlarge, and elevate the minds of the meanest to whom they have access'.[3] On a more practical note the access that periodicals provided to otherwise unaffordable book literature by means of extracts and reviews, and the way they could more easily be distributed were equally praised. While these benefits and the hybrid *Spectator-Gentleman's Magazine* model served the periodical well in its own time, it was the point on which later critics dismissed the historical standing of the magazine. The role of such benefits in increasing the spread of and exposure to literature has received little critical attention, though the difficulties of moving beyond inference in analysing the surviving evidence to test such assertions may go someway to explain this.

Contemporary appreciation of the utility of a periodical as a commercial tool has also not been fully recognized by historians of the genre. Evidence from the wrappers in the analysis of the Irish periodical in chapter five, and the example of Mathew Carey's magazine distribution network in chapter six, indicates the strength of a commercial analysis of the format. In his autobiography Mathew Carey recorded his reasons for departing from the partnership of several immigrant Irish book-trade personnel on the *Columbian Magazine*. The first reason was the small profit he

[2] 'Of the rise and progress of magazines', *New-York Magazine* (May, 1790), pp 256-7.
[3] 'On Magazines', *American Monthly Magazine,* (Jan., 1824), p. 4.

received, the second (albeit more commented upon), was his desire to reach a broader audience and influence the shape of the New Republic.

The periodical format of the English-speaking world has also been dismissed for the lack of original material contained in it, a criticism which is particularly levelled at those Irish and American imitators of successful London titles. This point has briefly been addressed above in relation to the *Hibernian Magazine* in Ireland but merits further expansion in relation to the genre as a whole. The most significant aim and contribution of the general periodical was the variety it provided its readers, and it would be inappropriate to judge the genre for not doing something else. As a cultural repository of their times they are among the most useful sources to historians and cultural commentators, particularly as many focused their attention on the tastes of women and children, groups who are less represented in other sources for historical research. Periodicals with content relating to 'improving literature', husbandry, fashion, theatre, biography, history and antiquities provides detailed evidence of the daily life, interests and appetites of their audience. Consideration of the motives behind editorial choices also offers significant opportunities for analysis of political and cultural debate.

The concept of the periodical as a cultural repository raises further questions as to its role in the world of print. In the eighteenth century the term 'repository' had many meanings, which could variously, be applied to its meaning in many periodical titles. The association with storage made it appropriate as a periodical title, but it is

interesting to note also the contemporary connection of the term with the storage of specimens, curiosities, works of art and even dead bodies. By these definitions the miscellaneous articles, notice of patents, illustrations and biographies included in general periodicals have a particular status as they related to contemporary understandings of cultural storage, closely connected with other terms appearing as titles such as 'magazine' and 'museum'.

The sense of acting as a repository or storehouse of useful and educational information for readers was strongly present within the sample of Irish, Scottish and American periodicals in this study, and aligns with the notion that the genre brought benefits to the public, a message eloquently repeated in almost all prospectuses and prefaces of the period. This aspect of the periodical suggests a role for the format that went beyond the ephemeral status that many critics assigned to it, and one that is suggested by the number and quality of the extant runs of periodicals that survive in bound volumes with book-plates indicating provenance. Through the binding process, for which publishers issued specialised title-pages, indexes and notes to the binder for the insertion of illustrations, periodicals were transformed from an ephemeral to an enduring form. From internal evidence in many periodicals it is clear that contemporary editors, publishers and readers appreciated this process and therefore treated their periodicals as much as future reference books as temporary leisure reading.

Editors and publishers placed an emphasis on history as an important and necessary element in the instruction and education of their readers. That was one of the most universally stated aims of the genre. A striking example of this can be seen in Mathew Carey's *American Museum*, which was modelled on the London periodical *Almon's Remembrancer*. Both periodicals attempted to collect and present for readers, a detailed record of the documents that related to the recent evolution of the American colonies from empire to New Republic. Carey's correspondence records the great lengths he went to gather copies of important historical documents so that they could be reproduced and serve as a reference for contemporaries and future generations. Many other examples survive, particularly in the Irish and American periodicals, of editors and publishers explaining the inclusion of particular historical material for the information and future reference by their readers.

The role of print in patriotic movements strengthened through the eighteenth century, seemingly mirrored by an increased demand for political content. The issue of a free press became prominent, and the case for monthly periodicals to be seen as a necessary feature of a free society, was made. These developments are striking in their simultaneous emergence in Ireland and America in the late eighteenth century. Some articulations' of these sentiments highlighted the potential and importance of indigenous periodicals. The *Hibernian Magazine* posed the question in 1771:

> And we are to suppose the capital of this kingdom, the second city of the British Empire, could not find sale for one magazine? The contrary is obvious, as great number are monthly imported, the matter of many little deserving your favour. These reasons have encouraged us to this undertaking; if we meet with your

approbation, we shall, with unremitting care, continue our labours; if not, we shall at least have this consolation, that we meant well.[4]

The following century the *Dublin Monthly Magazine* echoed this in its prospectus:

> That a City the second in the British Dominions, the Metropolis of a Country containing eight millions of an intelligent, ardent, and inquiring people, should be without a pure and consistent Periodical Publication, is a circumstance which must excite the astonishment of all, as it has long been a subject of regret to every enlightened and patriotic member of the community.[5]

These sentiments were not a feature of the development of the genre in London as by default there was not the same need for a forum to debate English national identity in the way that it manifested itself in other capitals such as Dublin, Philadelphia and up to a point Edinburgh, as English national identity was not in flux in any sense. Such discussions were instrumental in developing a new template for the periodical genre in both the inner and outer peripheries of the British empire and its sphere of influence.

Further evidence of the importance placed on periodical, and particularly the monthly and quarterly formats comes from George Washington, in his words of encouragement to a periodical producer in the early years of the New Republic:

> I entertain an high idea of the utility of periodical publications: insomuch that I could heartily desire copies of the Museum and Magazines as common Gazetters, might be spread through every city, town & village in America – I consider such easy vehicles of knowledge more happily calculated than any other, to preserve the liberty, stimulate the industry and meliorate the morals of an enlightened and

[4] 'To the Public', *Hibernian Magazine* (Jan., 1771).
[5] 'Prospectus', *Dublin Monthly Magazine, or Irish Sentinel* (Aug., 1826).

free people – With sincere wishes for the success of your undertaking in particular, and for the prosperity of the graphical art in general ....[6]

Washington and his federalist party quickly appreciated the value of a print medium which could reach the length and breadth of the new nation and offer a platform on which to foster ideals of unity and internal improvement. In such critical national moments the monthly periodical, and particularly the *American Museum,* was well positioned to cater for the federalist's needs, a situation which was further benefited by the character of the publisher who was deeply interested in the political freedoms offered by the United States and the experience of the publisher who appreciated from his Irish publishing ventures, the potential of a print medium with a capacity to reach a national audience.

The use of the periodical format for debate about national issues of identity and citizenship and the relationship of the imperial centre with the peripheries was not unique to the English-speaking Atlantic world. Clark's work on the periodical in Mexico focuses on the *Gazeta de Literatura de México* (1788-95), one of the first and most valuable literary-scientific periodical publications to appear in the Spanish Americas. Through the perspective of the *Gazeta de Literatura's* editor and its editor José Antonio Alzate y Ramírez (1737-99), Clark has tracked the spread of his ideas in the colony and also how their appearance in periodical form assisted his political goals of strengthening the identity of New Spain within the Spanish Atlantic empire. The periodical offered a very effective platform to educate and inform the reading

[6] George Washington to Mathew Carey, 25 Jun. 1788, (H.S.P., Carey Papers, Autographed Letter Series, ALS).

population, to boost the pride of the colony, to enlighten Mexicans on their own folklore, and to refine academic and political debates on empire and their place within it.[7]

It could be argued that the existence of an indigenous periodical became a badge of nationhood in Benedict Anderson's concept of 'imagined' nations.[8] The inference from these assertions is that the periodical, particularly in the monthly or quarterly format, offered much more to its reading audience than newspapers and weekly periodicals, and more than any book or corpus of edited texts. By its regular appearance and the space provided for multiple authors to discuss and debate points of public interest, this genre of the printed press was indeed arguably the most adaptable to provoking national discourse.

From a wide perspective this evidence suggests a particular developmental course for the periodical format. It evolved from being a very successful genre in eighteenth-century London, to being a format whose intellectual reputation was secured by the high-quality Scottish models by the early nineteenth century. Developing alongside this theme was the adaptation of the format for use beyond literary and intellectual spheres, which was more pronounced in the peripheries of the empire. In Ireland the monthly periodical provided considerable space for political debate and contributed to

[7] Fiona Clark, 'The *Gazeta de Literatura de México* (1788-95): the formation of a literary-scientific periodical in late-viceregal Mexico', D*ieciocho: Hispanic Enlightenment*, 28, 1 (2005), pp 7-31; 'Read all about it: science, translation, adaptation and confrontation in the *Gazeta de literature de México* (1788-95)' in Daniela Bleichmar, Paula de Vos, Kristin Huffine and Kevin Sheehan (eds), *Science and medicine in the Spanish and Portuguese empires* (California, forthcoming 2008) by kind permission of the author.

[8] Anderson, *Imagined communities,* pp 1-18.

developing symbols of national and group identity. These characteristics are also evident in American periodicals that played an important communicative role in the creation of national ideas and symbols in the post-Revolution period. In both these instances, the periodical format offered features of print that would not have been available through other genres of the time. Such arguments can be taken further with consideration of the role of Cox's *Irish Magazine* in extending the boundaries of politics in its demotic appeal to the Catholic majority in early nineteenth-century Ireland, or in the role of several American periodicals in the creation of a national literature after the war against Britain in 1812. In these latter instances the success of British periodicals such as *Blackwood's* and of other review-type material still impacted on the format and style of periodicals throughout the English-speaking world, but this was somewhat more diluted than in the previous century.

The efforts of periodical producers to create distinctive indigenous periodical formats suggest connections between the genre and issues such as national identity formation, inter-colonial relations and counter-colonial tendencies. From a broad lens, the working-out of national periodical markets within the imperial environment suggests a counter-colonial paradox. The format which began in the metropolitan centre of London was imitated by the principal print centres of the empire in an effort to recreate exactly the success of the original template. However after a period of maturation and within patriotic environments, the format adapted from the imperial centre, was adopted as a means of subverting the influence of the cultural and political centre. In these instances the monthly periodical achieved its greatest impact.

Due to increasing populations, divergent political aims and the tendency towards more specialised periodical genres in the nineteenth century, this role was less noticeable after the 1820s. By this date the precedent was set for the periodical format to be viewed as a forum for widespread debate which was further evident in the great debates over slavery and other defining issues of the nineteenth century Atlantic world.

Appendix 1: Irish monthly, bi-monthly and quarterly periodicals, 1770-1830

This appendix of all Irish monthly, bi-monthly and quarterly periodicals published between 1770 and 1830 has been compiled from primary sources, secondary bibliographies from the 1860s onwards, library searches and extant copies as discussed in the Introduction and listed in the Bibliography. Titles are listed chronologically with title, dates and place of publication. Changes of titles, where identified have been noted. In the majority of cases the opening and closing months of each issue have also been noted. Prices and surviving subscription lists are listed where they have been identified. (W: 000) refers to the number of the title in the *Waterloo Directory of Irish Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800-1900* (Waterloo, Ontario, 1986).

1 ***Gentleman's and London Magazine, or Monthly Chronologer,*** Jan. 1741 – Dec. 1794 (ex-*Waterloo*)
Dublin
Price: 6*d.*

2 ***Monstrous Magazine,*** May – Dec. 1770 (ex-Waterloo)
Dublin

3 ***Hibernian Magazine, or compendium of entertaining knowledge,*** Feb. 1771 – Jul. 1812 (W:1610)
Dublin
Price: 6*d.* (1778); 1*s.*1*d.* (1799); *1s.*3*d.* (1812).

4 ***Mercure de France,*** Apr. – Jul. 1775 (ex-*Waterloo*)
Dublin
Note: Not examined; only surviving copy in Yale University Library (Beinecke Library, Hf 3.26). Surviving copies may also include a subscription list. See Geraldine Sheridan, Appendix 1: 'Literary review magazines printed in Ireland, 1700-1790' in Geraldine Sheridan and Graham Gargett (eds), *Ireland and the French Enlightenment* (Basingstoke, 1999), pp 239-40.

5 ***Le magazin à la mode,*** May 1777 – Apr. 1778 (ex-*Waterloo*)
Dublin
Price: 10*s.*6*d.* per year
Note: ibid.

6 ***Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis,*** 1780 – 1786 (ex-*Waterloo*)
Dublin
Editor: Charles Vallancey

7 ***The Dublin Magazine and University Museum,*** (1782)
Dublin

Price: 4*d.*
Note: No copies extant; advertised in *Hibernian Journal*, 16 Feb. 1782. See Sheridan, Appendix 1, above, p. 236.

8 ***Whitestone's Town and Country Magazine and Irish Miscellany,*** Jun. – Jul. 1784 (ex-*Waterloo)*
Dublin
Price: 6*d.*

9 ***The Ulster repository: or, compendium of entertainment and information,*** [1785]
Belfast

10 ***The Universal Magazine and Review, or Repository, of Literature,*** Jan.1789 – Feb.1793 (ex-*Waterloo*)
Dublin

11 ***Jones's Sentimental and Masonic Magazine,*** Jul. 1792 – Jun. 1795 (W: 2116)
Dublin

12 ***Anthologia Hibernica, or Monthly Collections of Science, Belles Letters, and History,*** Jan.1793 – Dec. 1794 (W: 60)
Dublin

13 ***Minerva Magazine, of Knowledge, Instruction and Entertainment and Complete Monthly Register of Foreign and Domestic Occurrences,*** Jun. – Dec. 1793 (ex-*Waterloo*)
Dublin
Price: 6½*d.*
Note: Only issue for Nov. 1798 extant.

14 ***Bolg and Tsolair: or, Gaelic Magazine,*** Sept. 1795 (W: 388)
Belfast
Note: One issue only produced.

15 ***The Monthly Miscellany, or Irish Review and Register,*** Apr. 1796 - late 1797 (ex-*Waterloo*)
Cork
Note: No copies extant.

16 ***The Universal Magazine,*** Apr. 1798 (ex-*Waterloo*)
Dublin
Note: One issue only produced. See Legge, 'Periodicals', Appendix 1: 'Alphabetical list of periodicals between 1790 and 1830'.

17 ***Dublin Magazine, and Irish Monthly Register,*** Jul. 1798 – Dec. 1800 (W: 115)

Dublin
Price: 1*s*.1*d*. (1799).

18 ***The Microscope, or Minute Observer,*** Jan. 1799 – Dec. 1800 (W: 2572)
Belfast

19 ***The Irish Agricultural Magazine,*** 1799-1801 (W: 1746)
Dublin
Price: 1*s*.1*d*.
Note: Bi-monthly.

20 ***New Magazine,*** Dec. 1799 – Jul.1800, then ***The Strabane Magazine*** Jul. 1800 – Oct. 1800 (W: 2795)
Strabane

21 ***New Magazine, or, Moral and Entertaining Miscellany,*** Jan. 1799 – Dec. 1800 (W: 2796)
Dublin

22 ***McKenzie's Loyal Magazine,*** Jan. 1800 (W: 2528)
Dublin.

23 ***[Ancell's] Monthly Military Companion,*** Sept. 1801 – Jul. 1802 (W: 44)
Dublin
Price: 2*s*.2*d*.
Note: Subscription list (Analysed in Legge, 'Periodicals' but not located in extant vols.)

24 ***Literary and Masonic Magazine,*** Mar. – Dec. 1802 (W: 2381)
Dublin

25 ***Hibernian Evangelical Magazine, or Gospel Repository,*** Jul. – Dec. 1802 (W: 1607)
Dublin
Price: 3*s*.3*d*.

26 ***Methodist Magazine, being a continuation of the Arminian Magazine,*** 1804 – 1810 (W: 2569)
Dublin

27 ***Imperial Review; or, London and Dublin Literary Journal,*** 1804 then ***Imperial review; or, London, Edinborough [sic], & Dublin Literary journal***, 1805 then ***London, Edinburgh and Dublin Literary Journal,*** 1805 (W:1692)
London and Dublin

28 ***The Ulster Magazine,*** Jan. – Jun. 1804 (W: 3605)

Lurgan

29 ***New Magazine, Ireland's Mirror, or, a Chronicle of the Times,*** May 1804 – Nov. 1805 then ***Ireland's Mirror, or the Masonic Magazine***, Jan. – Apr. 1806 (W: 2798)
Dublin
Price: 1*s.*1*d.*

30 ***Belfast Anthologia, or new monthly,*** 1806 (W: 206)
Belfast
Note: No extant copy; advertised at the end of T. Romney Robinson's Poems, cited in John Anderson, *Catalogue of Early Belfast Printed Books* (1886), p. 42.

31 ***Theatric Magazine, or General Repository,*** Jan – Feb. 1806 (W: 3473)
Dublin

32 ***Cyclopaedian Magazine, and Dublin Monthly Register of History, Literature and Arts, Science &c.,*** Jan. 1807-1809 (W: 900)
Dublin
Price: 1*s.*1*d.* (1807); 1*s.*2*d.* (1808).

33 ***Dublin Medical and Physical Essays, comprising dissertations and details of medicine and surgery, with their collateral branches of science,*** Mar. 1807 – Jun. 1808 (W: 1120)
Dublin
Note: Quarterly.

34 ***New Magazine, Dublin Museum, or Entertaining Pocket Companion,*** Jan. – Dec. 1807 (W: 2797)
Dublin
Price: 6*d.*

35 ***The Irish Magazine, and Monthly Asylum for Neglected Biography,*** Aug. 1807 – Dec. 1815 (W: 1942)
Dublin
Price: 1*s.*1*d.* (1807); 1*s.*3*d.* (1811).

36 ***Patriotic Magazine; Political, Moral, Historical and Poetical,*** Jan. 1808 – Apr. 1810 (W: 2963)
Cork
Price: 13/20*s.* p.a.

37 ***Monthly Pantheon, or General Repertory of Politics, Arts, Science, and Miscellaneous Information,*** Jun. 1808 – Nov. 1809 (W: 2665)
Dublin
Price: 2*s.*2*d.*

38 ***Belfast Monthly Magazine,*** Sept. 1808 – Dec. 1814 (W: 281)
Belfast

39 ***Dublin Satirist,*** Nov. 1809 – Mar. 1810 (W: 1172)
Dublin

40 ***Supernatural Magazine,*** Jun. – Sept. 1809 (W: 3436)
Dublin

41 ***Hibernia Magazine,*** Jan. 1810 – Jun. 1811 (W: 1600)
Dublin
Price: 2*s.* or 3s. with hand-coloured engravings.

42 ***Monthly Panorama,*** Jan. – Jun. 1810 (W: 1136)
Dublin
Price: 10*d.*

43 ***Political Register and Monthly Magazine***, Jan. 1810 then, ***Dublin Monthly Magazine,*** Feb. 1810 – 1812 (W: 3011)
Dublin

44 ***Political Register,*** Feb. 1810 – 1812 (W: 3011)
Dublin
Price: 1*s.*8*d.*

45 ***Political Guardian,*** Jul. – Aug. 1810 (W: 3009)
Dublin
Price: 1*s.*1*d.*

46 ***Munster Farmer's Magazine,*** Apr. 1811 – 1817 (W: 2711)
Cork
Note: Quarterly.

47 ***Dublin Magazine, or Monthly Memorialist,*** Nov. 1812 – Oct. 1813 (W: 1118)
Dublin
Price: 1*s.*8*d.*

48 ***Milesian Magazine, or Irish Monthly Gleaner,*** Apr. 1812 – 1817, 1825 (W: 2581)
Dublin
Price: 1*s.*3*d.*; price to friends 5*s.*; to enemies 2*s.*6*d.*

49 ***Monthly Museum, or Dublin literary repertory of arts, science, literature and miscellaneous information,*** Oct. 1813 – Dec. 1814 (W: 2660)
Dublin

Price: 1*s*.8*d*.

50 ***Religious Repertory,*** 1814 (W: 3168)
Cork

51 ***Monthly Entertainer, or General Observer of the Times,*** 1814 (W: 2625)
Parsonstown
Price: 3*d*.

52 ***The Religious Miscellany,*** May 1814 – Apr. 1815 (W: 3166)
Cork

53 ***Psalter of Cashel; or Irish Cyclopaedia***, Jul. 1814 (W: 3094)
Cork
Price: 1*s*.3*d*.

54 ***The Munster Olive Branch, or Monthly Herald of Peace,*** Aug. 1814 (W: 2718)
Cork
Price: 1*s*.3*d*.

55 ***Juvenile Magazine,*** 1814-15, then ***Ballitore Magazine***, 1820-21 (W: 2153)
Ballitore, Limerick, Dublin
Price: ½ *d*. 'to boys'; 1*d*. 'to all others.'

56 ***Hibernian Evangelical Magazine,*** Jan. 1815 – Dec. 1817 (W: 1606)
Dublin
Price: 8*d*.

57 ***The Newry Register,*** Mar./Apr. 1815 – Nov./Dec. 1815 then ***The Newry Magazine; or literary and political register,*** Jan./Feb. 1816 – Jan./Feb. 1817 (W: 2821)
Newry
Note: Bi-monthly.

58 ***Dublin Examiner, or Monthly Journal of Science, Literature and Art,*** May 1816 – Jan. 1817 (W: 1067)
Dublin

59 ***Ulster Register,*** Jan./Feb. 1816 – Nov./Dec. 1816
Belfast
Note: Bi-monthly.

60 ***Grana Uille's Monthly Journal,*** Jul. 1817 (W: 1547)
Dublin
Price: 1*s*.3*d*.

61 ***Literary and Political Examiner,*** Feb. – May 1818 (W: 2384)
Cork
Price: 1*s*.8*d*.

62 ***Dublin Christian Instructor and Repertory of Education,*** 1818 – 1824 (W: 1040)
Dublin

63 ***Dublin Magazine, or General Repertory of Philosophy, Belles Letters, and Miscellaneous Information,*** Jan. – Dec. 1820 (W: 1117)
Dublin
Price: 2*s*.2*d*.

64 ***Ballitore Magazine, consisting of Original Pieces and Communication,*** Jan. 1820 – Jun. 1821 (W: 147)
Dublin
Price: 1*d*.

65 ***New Hibernian Magazine,*** Jul. 1820 – 1821 (W: 2786)
Dublin
Price: 1*s*.3*d*.

66 ***Dublin Inquisitor,*** Jan. – Sept. 1821 (W: 1093)
Dublin

67 ***New Irish Magazine, and Monthly National Advocate,*** Jul. 1822 – Dec. 1823 (W: 2791)
Dublin
Price: 1*s*.1*d*.

68 ***The Immortal Memory Magazine, or monthly Protestant register of important facts,*** Mar. – Aug. 1823 (W: 1685)
Dublin
Price: 6½ *d*.

69 ***Advocate of the Primitive Church,*** Sept. 1823 – Feb. 1824 (W: 21)
Dublin
Price: 1*d*.

70 ***Belfast Magazine and Literary Journal,*** Jan. – Jul. 1825 (W: 269)
Belfast
Price: 2*s*.

71 ***The Belfast Magazine,*** Apr. 1825 – 1833 (W: 268)
Belfast
Price: 6*d*.

72 ***The Dublin and London Magazine,*** Mar. 1825 – Dec. 1826, then ***Robins's London and Dublin Magazine***, Jan. 1827 – Jun. 1827, then ***Dublin and London Magazine***, Feb. 1828 – Jun. 1828 (W: 1027)
Dublin and London
Price: 1*s.*

73 ***Dublin Philosophical Journal and Scientific Review,*** Mar. 1825 – Nov. 1826 (W: 1155)
Dublin, London, Edinburgh
Note: Twice annually.

74 ***Christian Examiner, and Church of Ireland Magazine; conducted by members of the established church,*** Jul. 1825 – 1931 (W: 558)
Dublin
Price: 1*s.*6*d.* (1837).

75 ***Christian Magazine and Missionary Recorder for Ireland,*** 1825 – 1829 (W: 570)
Belfast
Note: Not examined.

76 ***Bolster's Quarterly Magazine,*** Feb. 1826 – Mar. 1830 (W: 389)
Cork
Price: 2*s.*6*d.*

77 ***Dublin Monthly Magazine, or Irish Sentinel,*** Aug. 1826 (W: 1133)
Dublin
Price: 1*s.*

78 ***Clonmel Magazine,*** Sept. 1826 – Feb. 1827 (W: 676)
Clonmel
Price: 4*d.* (1826); 6*d.* (1827).

79 ***Ballyhullan Register,*** Jul. – Aug. 1828 (W: 149)
Monaghan
Price: 5*d.* (1828).

80 ***The Orthodox Presbyterian; theological review and miscellaneous recorder,*** Oct. 1829 – Dec. 1840 (W: 2935)
Belfast
Price: 2½*d.*

81 ***Irish Catholic Magazine,*** Apr. – May 1829 (W: 1778)
Cork
Price: 1*s.*

82 ***Dublin Family Magazine, or Literary and Religious Miscellany,*** Apr. – Sept. 1829 (W: 1071)
Dublin
Price: 1*s.*

83 ***Belfast Co-operative Advocate***, Jan. 1830, then ***Belfast Co-operative Magazine*** (W: 222)
Belfast
Price: 3*d.* (Jan. 1830), 1*d.* (Mar. 1830).

84 ***Bible Christian: designed to advocate the Sufficiency of Scripture and the Right of Private Judgement, in matters of Faith,*** Feb. 1830 – Nov. 1845 (W: 367)
Belfast and London

85 ***Christian Herald,*** 1830 – 1835 (W: 562)
Dublin
Price: 4*d.*

86 ***Dublin Monthly Magazine,*** Jan. – Jun. 1830 (W: 1134)
Dublin, London, Edinburgh
Price: 1*s.*6*d.*

87 ***Limerick Monthly Magazine***, Mar. 1830 (W: 2349)
Limerick, Dublin
Price: 2*s.*6*d.*

88 ***The National Magazine,*** Jul. 1830 – Aug. 1831 (W:1109)
Dublin

89 ***The Covenanter,*** Dec. 1830 – 1900 (W: 884)
Belfast

90 ***The Ulster Magazine,*** 1830 – 1831 (W: 3606)
Belfast
Price: £1 p.a.

Appendix 2: Irish Book Trade Personnel in the United States, 1770-1820

Irishmen in the American Book Trade, 1770-1783, adapted from R.C. Cole, *Irish booksellers and English writers, 1740-1800*, appendix 2, pp 232-234.

1770-1783

Adams, James	Delaware	Flanagan, David	New York
Bell, James	Philadelphia	Gaine, Hugh	New York
Bell, Robert	Philadelphia	Howe, Thomas	West Indies
Brooks, Philip	New York	Loudon, Samuel	New York
Dean, John	Philadelphia	Lyon, Matthew	Vermont
Dellap, Samuel	Philadelphia	Macdougall, John D.	Rhode Island
Dellap, William	Philadelphia	Nicola, Lewis	Philadelphia
Dunlap, John	Philadelphia	Reader, John	Philadelphia
Dunlap, William	Philadelphia	Steward, Andrew	North Carolina

Total: 18

9 (50%) went to Philadelphia
4 (22%) went to New York
5 (28%) went to other places

1783-1794

Brown, Andrew	Philadelphia	Moore, Hugh	Philadelphia
Carey, James	Philadelphia	O'Connor, John	Philadelphia
Carey, John	Philadelphia	Parker, John	Philadelphia
Carey, Mathew	Philadelphia	Patterson, John	Philadelphia
Carey, William P	Philadelphia	Rice, Henry	Philadelphia
Dean, Joseph	Philadelphia	Rice, James	Baltimore
Henry, John	Vermont	Rice, John	Philadelphia
Kirk, Thomas	New York	Spotswood, Hannah	Philadelphia
Macanulty, Barnard	Salem, Mass.	Spotswood, William	Philadelphia
		Talbot, Christopher	Philadelphia

Total: 19

15 (79%) went to Philadelphia
1 (5%) went to New York
2 (11%) went to other places

1795-1820

Barralet, J.J. Philadelphia
Benson, Peter Philadelphia
Binns, Benjamin Philadelphia
Binns, John Philadelphia
Boland, Alexander Baltimore
Boyle, Michael New York
Burk, John Daly New York
Byrne, Patrick, Sr. Philadelphia
Byrne, Patrick, Jr. Baltimore
Byrne, William Baltimore
Campbell, John Philadelphia
Dornin, Bernard, Jr. Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
Douglas, George New York
Driscol, Dennis Augusta, Georgia
Duane, William Philadelphia
Duane, William John Philadelphia
Duffey, Michael Baltimore
Fagan, Augustine Philadelphia
Field, Matthew New York
Hope, Thomas Philadelphia
Houston, H.H. Philadelphia
Humphrys, William Philadelphia
Hudson, Edward Philadelphia
Keatinge, George, Sr. Baltimore
Keatinge, George, Jr. Baltimore
Keatinge, Henry Baltimore
Kelly, Thomas New York
M'Crea, Samuel Baltimore
M'Evers, Gulian New York
Carpenter, Stephen Charleston, S.C.
Carroll, Mary New Orleans
Chambers, John New York
Charless, Joseph St. Louis
Cox, Walter New York
Cumming, Samuel Philadelphia
Cummiskey, Eugene Philadelphia
Dawson, Moses Cincinnati
Dobbin, Archibald Baltimore
Dobbin, Thomas Baltimore
Dornin, Bernard, Sr. Baltimore
McMahon, Bernard Philadelphia
Mitchell, William Philadelphia
Montgomery, John New York
Moriarty, John Salem, Mass.
Murphy, Thomas Baltimore
Murray, Bernard Baltimore
Neagle, James Philadelphia
Neilson, Samuel New York
O'Conor, Thomas New York
Poalk, Robert Philadelphia
Rice, John Baltimore
Smith, Hugh New York
Stewart, Alexander New York
Stockdale, John Philadelphia
Templeton, Oliver New York
Wall, Stephen New York
Wilson, James Steubenville, Ohio
Wilson, John Philadelphia

Total: 58

21 (36%) to Philadelphia
15 (26%) to New York
14 (24%) to Baltimore
8 (14%) to other places

Appendix 3: American monthly, bi-monthly and quarterly periodicals, 1770-1830

This appendix of all identified American monthly, bi-monthly and quarterly periodicals published between 1770 and 1830 has been compiled from primary sources, secondary bibliographies, library searches and extant copies as discussed in the Introduction and listed in the Bibliography. Some ephemeral or short-lived religious periodicals may not be included. Titles are listed chronologically with title, dates and place of publication. Changes of titles, where identified have been noted. In the majority of cases the opening and closing months of each issue have also been noted.

1 ***Geistliches Magazien,*** 1764 – 1772
Germantown, Philadelphia

2 ***Royal Spiritual Magazine,*** Jan. 1771
Philadelphia

3 ***Royal American Magazine,*** Jan. 1774 – Mar. 1775
Boston

4 ***Pennsylvania Magazine, or American Monthly Museum,*** Jan. 1775 – Jul. 1776
Philadelphia

5 ***United States Magazine,*** Jan. – Dec. 1779
Philadelphia

6 ***Boston Magazine,*** Oct. 1783 – Oct. 1786
Boston

7 ***Gentleman and Lady's Town and Country Magazine,*** May – Dec. 1784
Boston

8 ***Columbian Magazine,*** then ***Universal Asylum, and Columbian Magazine,*** Sept. 1786 – Dec. 1792
Philadelphia

9 ***New Jersey Magazine,*** Dec. 1786 – Feb. 1787
New Brunswick, New Jersey

10 ***American Musical Magazine,*** (1786)
New Haven

11 ***American Museum, or Universal Magazine,*** Jan. 1787 – Dec. 1792
Philadelphia

12 ***American Magazine,*** Dec. 1787 – Nov. 1788
New York

13 ***Arminian Magazine: consisting of extracts and general treatises on general redemption,*** Jan. 1789 – Dec. 1790
Philadelphia

14 ***Children's Magazine,*** Jan. – Mar. 1789
Hartford, Connecticut

15 ***Massachussets Magazine,*** Jan. 1789 – Dec. 1796
Boston

16 ***Gentleman's and Ladies Town and Country Magazine,*** Feb. 1789 – Aug. 1790
Boston

17 ***Christian's Scholars' and Farmer's Magazine,*** Apr. 1789 – Mar. 1791
Elizabethtown, New Jersey

18 ***New-York Magazine,*** Jan. 1790 – Dec. 1797
New York

19 ***Lady's Magazine, and General Repository of Entertaining Knowledge,*** Jun. 1792 – May 1793
Philadelphia

20 ***Columbian Museum,*** Jan. 1793
Philadelphia

21 ***New Hampshire Magazine,*** Jun. – Nov. 1793
Concord

22 ***Free Universal Magazine,*** Jun. 1794 – 1794
Baltimore

23 ***Monthly Miscellany and Vermont Magazine,*** Apr. – Sept. 1794
Bennington, Vermont

24 ***United States Magazine,*** Apr. – Aug. 1794
Newark, New Jersey

25 ***American Monthly Review,*** Jan. – Dec. 1795
Philadelphia

26 ***Rural Magazine,*** Jan. 1795 – Dec. 1796

Rutland, Vermont

27 ***Theological Magazine***, Jul. 1795 – Feb. 1799
New York

28 ***Prospect from the Congress Gallery***, then ***Political Censor***, Mar. 1796 – Mar. 1797
Philadelphia

29 ***Experienced Christian's Magazine***, May 1796 – Apr. 1797
New York

30 ***Long Island Magazine,*** Jun. 1796
Sagg Harbour, New York

31 ***Lady and Gentleman's Pocket Magazine***, Aug. – Nov. 1796
New York

32 ***Monthly Military Repository***, 1796
New York

33 ***United States Christian Magazine,*** 1796
New York

34 ***Literary Museum,*** Jan. – Jun. 1797
West-Chester, Pennsylvania

35 ***Methodist Magazine,*** Jan. 1797 – Aug. 1798
Philadelphia

36 ***Medical Repository***, Jul. 1797 – 1824
New York
Note: Quarterly.

37 ***New Hampshire and Vermont Magazine***, Jul. – Oct. 1797
Haverhill, New Hampshire

38 ***Philadelphia Monthly Magazine***, Jan. – Dec. 1798
Philadelphia

39 ***Thespian Oracle, or Monthly Mirror***, Jan. 1798
Philadelphia

40 ***Christian's Monitor***, 1799
Portland, Maine

41 ***Philadelphia Magazine and Review***, Jan. – Jun. 1799
Philadelphia

42 ***Monthly Magazine and American Review***, Apr. 1799 – Dec. 1800
New York

43 ***National Magazine***, Jun. 1799 – 1800
Richmond
Note: Quarterly.

44 ***Columbian Phoenix***, Jan. – Jul. 1800
Boston

45 ***New-York Missionary Magazine***, Jan. 1800 – Dec. 1803
New York

46 ***Connecticut Evangelical Magazine***, Jul. 1800 – Dec. 1815
Hartford, Connecticut

47 ***American Musical Magazine***, Oct. 1800 – Jan. 1801
Northampton, Massachusetts

48 ***Child of Pallas***, Nov. 1800 – Jan. 1801
Baltimore

49 ***Ladies' Magazine and Musical Repository***, Jan. – Dec. 1801
Philadelphia

50 ***American Review and Literary Journal***, Jan./Mar. 1801 – Oct./Dec. 1802
New York
Note: Quarterly.

51 ***National Magazine, or Cabinet of the United States***, Oct. 1801 – Oct. 1802
Washington

52 ***Juvenile Magazine, or Miscellaneous Repository of Useful Information***, 1802
Philadelphia

53 ***New-England Quarterly Magazine***, May 1802 – Apr. 1803
Boston
Note: Quarterly.

54 ***Medley, or Monthly Miscellany***, Jan. – Dec. 1803
Lexington, Kentucky

55 ***Massachusetts Missionary Magazine***, May 1803 – May 1808

Boston

56 ***Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine,*** then ***The American Baptist Magazine,*** Sept. 1803 – Dec. 1909
Boston

57 ***Literary Magazine and American Register,*** Oct. 1803 – Dec. 1807
Philadelphia

58 ***Monthly Anthology and Boston Review,*** Nov. 1803 – Jun. 1811
Boston

59 ***Evening Fire-side, or Literary Miscellany,*** Dec. 1804 – 1806
Philadelphia

60 ***Monthly Register and Review, or Monthly Review and Literary Miscellany of the United States,*** Jan. 1805 – Dec. 1807
Charleston

61 ***Panoplist,*** then ***Panoplist and Missionary Magazine,*** Jun. 1805 – Dec. 1820
Boston

62 ***Philadelphia Medical Museum,*** 1805 – 1810
Philadelphia
Note: Quarterly.

63 ***Philadelphia Medical and Physical Journal,*** 1805 – 1808
Philadelphia
Note: Quarterly.

64 ***Christian's Magazine,*** 1806 – Dec. 1811
New York

65 ***American Gleaner and Virginia Magazine,*** 1807
Richmond

66 ***American Register or General Repository of History, Politics and Science,*** 1807-1810
Philadelphia

87 ***American Law Journal,*** Jan. 1808 – Dec. 1817
Philadelphia

88 ***Medical and Physical Recorder,*** Apr. 1808 – Aug. 1809
Baltimore

89 ***Ordeal,*** Jan. – Jun. 1809
Boston

90 ***Select Reviews and the Spirit of the Foreign Magazines,*** Jan. 1809 – Dec. 1812
Philadelphia

91 ***American Mineralogical Journal,*** 1810
New York

92 ***Mirror of Taste and Dramatic Censor,*** Jan. 1810 – Dec. 1811
Philadelphia

93 ***Philadelphia Repertory,*** May. 1810 – 1812
Philadelphia

94 ***Eclectic Repertory and Analytic Review, Medical and Philosophical,*** Oct. 1810 – Oct. 1824
Philadelphia

95 ***Journal of Foreign Medical Science and Literature,*** Oct. 1810 – Oct. 1814
Philadelphia

96 ***Theophilanthropist,*** 1810
New York

97 ***American Review of History and Politics,*** Jan. 1811 – Oct. 1812
Philadelphia
Note: Also known as *Walsh's American Review.*

98 ***Repertory of Papers on Literature and Other Topics,*** Jan. – Jun. 1811
Baltimore

99 ***Literary Miscellany,*** May – Aug. 1811
New York

100 ***Juvenile Monitor, or Educational Magazine,*** 1811
New York

101 ***Evangelical Record and Western Review,*** Jan. 1812 – 1813
Lexington, Kentucky

102 ***General Repository and Review,*** Jan. 1812 – Oct. 1813
Cambridge, Massachusetts

103 ***New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery,*** Jan. 1812 – Dec. 1826
Boston

104 ***Bureau; or Repository of Literature, Politics and Intelligence,*** Mar. – Nov. 1812
Philadelphia

105 ***Emporium of Arts and Sciences,*** May 1812 – Oct. 1814
Philadelphia

106 ***Juvenile Port Folio and Literary Miscellany,*** Oct. 1812 – Oct. 1814
Philadelphia

107 ***Analectic Magazine,*** then ***Literary Gazette,*** Jan. 1813 – Dec. 1820
Philadelphia
Note: Became a weekly in 1821.

108 ***The Port Folio, A Monthly Magazine,*** Jan. 1813 – Jul. 1827
Philadelphia
Note: This title was weekly from 1801 – 1812.

108 ***Christian Discipline,*** May 1813 – Nov./Dec. 1823
Boston
Note: Monthly, 1813 – 1818; bi-monthly 1819 – 1823.

109 ***Almoner,*** Apr. 1814 – May 1815
Lexington, Kentucky

110 ***North-American Review and Miscellaneous Journal,*** May 1815 – 1900+
Boston

111 ***Luncheon,*** Jul. 1815 – Jan. 1816
Philadelphia

112 ***Portico,*** Jan. 1816 – Jun. 1818
Baltimore

113 ***Atheneum or Spirit of the English Magazines,*** Jan. 1817 – 1832
Boston

114 ***American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review,*** May 1817 – Apr. 1819
New York

115 ***Abeille Americaine, Journal Historique, Politique et Litteraire,*** Jan. – Jul. 1818
Philadelphia

116 ***American Medical Recorder***, Jan. 1818 – Jul. 1829
Philadelphia

117 ***Methodist Magazine***, then ***Methodist Review***, Jan. 1818 – 1900+
New York

118 ***Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine***, then ***Evangelical and Literary Magazine***, Jan. 1818 – Dec. 1828
Richmond

119 ***American Journal of Science***, Jul. 1818 – 1900+
New Haven

120 ***Christian Spectator***, Jan. 1819 – Nov. 1838
New Haven

121 ***Philadelphia Register and National Recorder***, Jan. – Jun. 1819
Philadelphia

122 ***Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine***, Aug. 1819 – Jul. 1821
Lexington

123 ***Christian Messanger, Devoted to Doctrine, Religion and Morality***, Aug. 1819 – Jul. 1821
Philadelphia

124 ***Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences***, Jan. 1820 – Dec. 1827
Philadelphia

125 ***Critic***, Jan. – May 1820
Philadelphia

126 ***Episcopal Magazine***, 1820-1821
Philadelphia

127 ***Literary and Scientific Repository***, Jun. 1820 – May 1822
New York

129 ***Rural Magazine, and Literary Evening Fire-Side,*** 1820
Philadelphia

130 ***Churchman's Magazine***, Jan. 1821 – Dec. 1823
Hartford, Connecticut

131 ***Genius of Universal Emancipation***, Jan. 1821 – 1826

Mount Pleasant, Ohio
Note: Became weekly from 1827 – 1839.

132 ***Journal of Foreign and Medical Science and Literature***, Jan. 1821 – Oct. 1824
Philadelphia

133 ***Presbyterian Magazine***, Jan. 1821 – Dec. 1822
Philadelphia

134 ***Unitarian Miscellany and Christian Monitor***, Jan. 1821 – Dec. 1824
Baltimore

135 ***Journal of Jurispurdence: A New Series of the American Law Journal***, Jan. – Dec. 1821
Philadelphia

136 ***Western Minerva***, Jan. 1821
Lexington

137 ***Masonic Miscellany and Ladies' Literary Magazine***, Jul. 1821 – Jun. 1823
Lexington

138 ***New York Medical and Physical Journal***, Jan. 1822 – Dec. 1830
New York

139 ***Museum of Foreign Literature and Science***, Jul. 1822 – Dec. 1842
Philadelphia

140 ***Western Quarterly Reporter of Medical, Surgical and Natural Science***, 1823
Cincinnati

141 ***Boston Medical Intelligencer***, Jan. 1823 – Jan. 1828
Boston

142 ***Christian Advocate***, Jan. 1823 – Dec. 1834
Philadelphia

143 ***Boston Journal of Philosophy and Arts***, May 1823 – Dec. 1826
Boston

144 ***American Sunday-School Magazine,*** then ***Quarterly Sunday-School Magazine***, Dec. 1823 – Jan. 1832
Philadelphia

Note: Became quarterly from 1825.

145 ***American Monthly Magazine,*** Jan. – Dec. 1824
Philadelphia

146 ***Christian Examiner,*** Jan. 1824 – Nov. 1869
Boston

147 ***Hopkinsian,*** Jan. 1824 – Dec. 1832
Providence

148 ***Atlantic Magazine,*** May 1824 – Apr. 1825
New York

149 ***Biblical Repertory,*** then ***Princeton Review,*** Jan. 1825 – Dec. 1844
Princeton

150 ***African Repository,*** Mar. 1825 – Jan. 1892
Washington

151 ***Boston Monthly Magazine,*** Jun. 1825 – Jul. 1826
Boston

152 ***New York Review and Atheneum Magazine,*** Jun. 1825 – May 1826
New York

153 ***Journal of the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy,*** then ***American Journal of Pharmacy***, Dec. 1825 – 1900+
Philadelphia

154 ***American Journal of Education,*** then ***American Annals of Education,*** Jan 1826 – Dec. 1839
Boston

155 ***Casket: Flowers of Literature, Wit and Sentiment,*** Jan. 1826 – Dec. 1840
Philadelphia

156 ***Franklin Journal,*** later ***Journal of the Franklin Institute,*** Jan. 1826 – 1900+
Philadelphia

157 ***North American Medical and Surgical Journal,*** Jan. 1826 – Oct. 1831
Philadelphia

158 ***National Preacher,*** Jun. 1826 – 1866
Philadelphia

159 ***Juvenile Miscellany,*** Sept. 1826 – 1834
Boston
Note: Bi-monthly.

160 ***Untied States Review and Literary Gazette,*** Oct. 1826 – Oct. 1827
Boston

161 ***New England Medical Review and Journal,*** Jan. – Oct. 1827
Boston

162 ***American Quarterly Review,*** Mar. 1827 – Dec. 1837
Philadelphia
Note: Quarterly.

163 ***Harvard Register,*** Mar. 1827 – Feb. 1828
Cambridge, Massachusetts

164 ***Western Medical and Physical Journal, Original and Eclectic,*** Apr. 1827 – Jul. 1838
Cincinnati

165 ***Western Magazine and Review,*** later ***Western Monthly Review,*** May 1827 – Jun. 1830
Cincinnati

166 ***American Quarterly Register,*** Jul. 1827 – May 1843
Andover
Note: Quarterly.

167 ***Philadelphia Monthly Magazine,*** Oct. 1827 – 1830
Philadelphia

168 ***American Journal of the Medical Sciences,*** Nov. 1827 – 1900+
Philadelphia

169 ***Amaranth or Masonic Garland,*** 1828 – 1829
Boston

170 ***Anti-Masonic Review and Magazine,*** Jan. 1828 – Dec. 1830
New York

171 ***Emerald and Baltimore Literary Gazette,*** Jan. – Dec. 1828
Baltimore

172 ***Ladies' Magazine,*** Jan. 1828 – Dec. 1837

Boston

173 ***New York Farmer,*** Jan. 1828 – Dec. 1837
New York

174 ***Yankee,*** then ***Yankee and Boston Literary Gazette,*** Jan. 1828 – Dec. 1829
Portland

175 ***Southern Agriculturist*** Jan. 1828 – Dec. 1833
Charleston

176 ***Spirit of Pilgrims,*** Jan. 1828 – Dec. 1833
Boston

177 ***Christian Magazine and Clerical Review,*** Jan. – Feb. 1828
Philadelphia

178 ***Transylvania Journal of Medicine and the Associated Sciences,*** Feb. 1828 – Mar. 1839
Lexington, KY

179 ***Southern Review,*** Feb. 1828 – Feb. 1832
Charleston

180 ***Boston Medical and Surgical Journal,*** Feb. 1828 – 1900+
Boston

181 ***Southern Literary Gazette,*** Sept. 1828 – Oct. 1829
Charleston

182 ***Juvenile Repertory,*** Oct. 1828 – Feb. 1829
Philadelphia

183 ***New York Evangelist,*** Jan. 1830 – Mar. 1902
New York

184 ***Baltimore Monthly Journal of Medicine and Surgery,*** Feb. 1830 – Jan. 1831
Baltimore

185 ***Mechanics' Magazine,*** Feb. 1830 – Jan. 1831
Boston

186 ***Monthly Journal of Foreign Medicine,*** Jun. 1829
Philadelphia

187 ***Lady's Book,*** then ***Godey's Lady's Book,*** Jul. 1830 – Aug. 1898
Philadelphia

188 ***Journal of Health and Recreation,*** Sept. 1829 – 1831
Philadelphia

189 ***Illinois Monthly Magazine,*** Oct. 1830 – Sept. 1832
Vandalia, Ill.

190 ***National Magazine, or Lady's Emporium,*** Nov. 1830 – Jul. 1831
Baltimore

Appendix 4: Scottish monthly, bi-monthly and quarterly periodicals, 1770-1830

This appendix of all identified American monthly, bi-monthly and quarterly periodicals published between 1770 and 1830 has been compiled from primary sources, secondary bibliographies, library searches and extant copies as discussed in the Introduction and listed in the Bibliography. Some ephemeral or short-lived religious periodicals may not be included. Titles are listed chronologically with title, dates and place of publication. Changes of titles, where identified have been noted. In the majority of cases the opening and closing months of each issue have also been noted.

1 ***Scot's Magazine,*** 1739 – 1784
Edinburgh
Note: Became *Edinburgh Magazine or Literary Miscellany.*

2 ***The Edinburgh Magazine and Review,*** Oct. 1773 – Aug. 1776
Edinburgh

3 ***The Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany,*** Jan. 1785 – Dec. 1792
Edinburgh
Note: Evolved from *Scot's Magazine.*

4 ***The Aberdeen Magazine, Literary Chronicle, and Review,*** Jan. 1788 – Dec. 1790
Aberdeen

5 ***Caledonian Magazine; or, Aberdeen Repository,*** Jan. 1788 – Jul. 1790
Aberdeen

6 ***The Aberdeen Magazine, or, Universal repository,*** Jun. 1796 – Dec. 1798
Aberdeen

7 ***The Missionary Magazine,*** Jul. 1796 – 1900+
Edinburgh and Glasgow

8 ***The Christian Magazine, or Evangelical Repository,*** Feb. 1797 – Dec. 1820
Edinburgh

9 ***The Dundee Magazine and Journal of the Times***, Jan. 1799 – May 1802
Dundee

10 ***Abroath Magazine***, 1799-1800
Abroath

11 ***Farmer's Magazine***, Jan. 1800 – Nov. 1825
Edinburgh
Note: Quarterly

12 ***The Edinburgh Evangelical Magazine***, Jan. 1803 – Dec. 1805
Edinburgh

13 ***The Religious Monitor***, 1803 – Dec. 1819
Edinburgh

14 ***The Scots Magazine, and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany***, Jan. 1804 – Jul. 1817
Edinburgh
Note: Evolved from *Scot's Magazine* and *Edinburgh Literary Miscellany.*

15 ***The Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal***, Jan. 1805 – Apr. 1855
Edinburgh

16 ***The Scotch Cheap Repository,*** 1808
Edinburgh

17 ***The Edinburgh Christian Instructor***, Aug. 1810 – Dec. 1840
Edinburgh and Glasgow

18 ***Edinburgh Monthly Magazine***, May – Aug. 1810
Edinburgh

19 ***The Glasgow Magazine***, Sept. 1810 – Jul. 1812
Glasgow

20 ***Edinburgh Quarterly Magazine and Review,*** Jun. 1811 – Dec. 1812?
Edinburgh
Note: Quarterly.

21 ***The Cheap Magazine,*** Jan. 1813 – Dec. 1814
Haddington

22 ***The Glasgow Monthly Repository***, Jun. 1813 – Jan. 1814
Glasgow

23 ***The Christian Herald,*** Jan. – Dec. 1814
Edinburgh

24 ***The Irvine and County of Ayr Miscellany,*** Sept. 1814 – Jul. 1815
Irvine

25 ***Monthly Monitor and Philanthropic Museum,*** Jan. – Dec. 1815
Haddington

26 ***Caledonian Iyre,*** Apr. 1815 – May 1815
Paisley

27 ***The Ayrshire Magazine,*** Aug. 1815 – Jul. 1817
Irvine

28 ***The Christian Repository,*** Jan. 1816 – Apr. 1826
Edinburgh

29 ***Independent,*** 1816
Dundee
Note: Quarterly.

30 ***Blackwood's Edinburgh [Monthly] Magazine,*** Apr. 1817 – Dec. 1905
Edinburgh

31 ***Coila Repository, and Kilmarnock Monthly Magazine,*** Aug. 1817 – Aug. 1818
Kilmarnock

32 ***Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany,*** Aug. 1817 – Jun. 1826
Edinburgh

33 ***Millar's Monthly Miscellany,*** 1817
Ayr

34 ***The Edinburgh Monthly Review,*** 1818 – Jun. 1821, then ***New Edinburgh Review,*** Jul. 1821-Oct. 1823
Edinburgh
Note: Monthly, then quarterly as *New Edinburgh Review*.

35 ***The Weaver's Magazine and Literary Companion,*** Sept. 1818 – Aug. 1819
Paisley

36 ***The Kilmarnock Mirror, and Literary Gleaner,*** Oct. 1818 – Jan. 1820
Kilmarnock

37 ***Edinburgh Philosophical Journal,*** Jun. 1819 – Apr. 1826

Edinburgh
Note: Quarterly.

38 ***The Juvenile Magazine***, Jun. 1819 – Dec. 1822
Edinburgh

39 ***The Renfreqshire Magazine***, Oct. – Nov. 1819
Paisley

40 ***The Scottish Missionary Register,*** Jan. 1820 – Dec. 1822, then 1846?
Edinburgh

41 ***Aryshire Mirror***, Nov. 1820 – Jun. 1821
Kilmarnock

42 ***The Christian Recorder***, Jan. – Dec. 1821
Glasgow

43 ***Dumfries-shire and Galloway Monthly Magazine***, Jul. 1821 – May 1822
Dumfries

44 ***Griffins Monthly List of Cheap Books***, Dec. 1821 – May 1822
Glasgow

45 ***Dundee Magazine and Caledonian Review***, Jul. – Oct. 1822
Dundee

46 ***Caledonian Magazine and Review***, Nov. 1822 – Apr. 1823
Dundee

47 ***The Monthly Magazine and Review,*** 1823
Aberdeen

48 ***The Recorder***, 1823-24
Edinburgh
Note: Monthly, then weekly.

49 ***The Sabbath School Magazine for Scotland***, Jan. – Dec. 1824
Edinburgh

50 ***The Edinburgh Journal of Science,*** Apr. 1824 – Apr. 1832
Edinburgh

51 ***McPhun's Glasgow Magazine***, Nov. 1824 – Feb. 1825
Glasgow

52 ***The Cabinet,*** 1824-1825
Edinburgh

53 ***Dumfries Monthly Magazine and Literary,*** Jul. 1825 – Dec. 1826
Dumfries

54 ***The Aberdeen Censor,*** Mar 1825 – Jan. 1827
Aberdeen

55 ***The Scots Mechanics' Magazine,*** Jun. 1825 – Jan. 1826
Glasgow

56 ***The Arshire Magnet***, Jan. 1826 – Aug. 1826
Ayr

57 ***The Edinburgh Theological Magazine,*** Jan. 1826 – Dec. 1832
Edinburgh

58 ***The Larg's Magazine of Literature and Amusement,*** Jan. 1826 – 1826
Largs

59 ***The Sutherlandshire Magazine,*** Jan. – Apr. 1826
Inverness

60 ***The Edinburgh Journal of Medical Science,*** Jun. 1826 – Jul. 1827
Edinburgh
Note: Quarterly.

61 ***Monthly Reporter,*** Aug. 1826
Edinburgh

62 ***The Christian Pioneer,*** Sept. 1826 – Dec. 1845
Glasgow

63 ***Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal,*** 1826-1864
Edinburgh
Note: Quarterly.

64 ***The Protestant Reformation,*** 1826 – 1828
Glasgow

65 ***The Farmer's Register,*** Jan. 1827 – Dec. 1828
Glasgow

66 ***The Falkirk Monthly Magazine,*** Feb. 1827 – 1828
Falkirk

67 ***Chalmer's Journal of Useful Knowledge,*** Mar. – Aug. 1827
Edinburgh

68 ***Farmer's Register and Monthly Magazine,*** 1827-28
Glasgow

69 ***The Paisley Magazine,*** Jan. – Dec. 1828
Paisley

70 ***Glasgow Medical Journal,*** Feb. 1828 – 1900
Glasgow
Note: Quarterly.

71 ***The New Scots Magazine,*** Dec. 1828 – Jan. 1830
Edinburgh
Note: Fortnightly, then monthly.

72 ***The Christian Reporter,*** Jan. 1829 – May 1836
Dundee

73 ***The Dundee Miscellany,*** Jan. – Feb. 1829
Dundee

74 ***The Talisman,*** Jan. – Jun. 1829
Edinburgh and Glasgow

75 ***The Church Patronage Reporter,*** Mar. 1829 – Oct. 1832
Edinburgh

76 ***The Scots Law Chronicle,*** Apr. 1829 – 1833
Edinburgh

77 ***The Elgin Literary Magazine,*** Jul. 1829 – Jun. 1830
Elgin

78 ***Edinburgh Journal of Natural and Geographical Science,*** Oct. 1829 – 1831
Edinburgh

79 ***The Gaelic Preacher,*** 1829 – Aug. 1829
Glasgow

80 ***The East Lothian Literary and Statistical Journal,*** Jul. 1830 – Jun. 1831
Haddington and Edinburgh

81 ***The Christian Investigator,*** Aug. 1830 – Jul. 1832

Aberdeen

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Bee
Compendious Library, or Literary Journal
Craftsman, The
Critical Review
Dublin Courant
Dublin Evening Post
Dublin Library or Irish Magazine
English Review
Fraser's Magazine
Farmer's Magazine
Freeman's Journal
Gazette of the United States
Gentleman's Magazine
Hibernian Journal
Intelligencer
Literary Journal
London Magazine
Magazine of Magazines
Marvellous Magazine
Niles' Weekly Register
Pennsylvania Evening Journal
Pennsylvania Journal or Weekly Advertiser
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