

ABSTRACT

A Reassessment of the Authorship of the *Cheap Repository Tracts*

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This thesis contends that the extent of Hannah More's contribution to the *Cheap Repository* has never been definitively established and that there is a need for clarification of the authorship of individual tracts. This thesis details the current state of bibliographical scholarship for the *Cheap Repository Tracts* and identifies which tracts can be attributed conclusively, which can only be made tentatively, and those for which attribution must be reserved pending a non-traditional attribution study. This thesis will also explore the context in which the *Cheap Repository Tracts* were published and claims that ascertaining the authorship of individual tracts contributes productively to future criticism of the tracts within their socio-historical, theological and political context.

A Reassessment of the Authorship of the *Cheap Repository Tracts*

by

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My interest in the *Cheap Repository Tracts*, began a number of years ago in an undergraduate Honours seminar on 1790s British Literature at the Australian National University. This seminar provided me with my first exposure to the *Tracts* and the strong modern reactions to More and her work.

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DEDICATION

To

Sam and Mia Kate

CHAPTER ONE

Hannah More's *Cheap Repository*?: Authorship, Bibliographical Scholarship, and the Reassessment of Accepted Wisdom

Hannah More (1745--1833) describes the circumstances which led her to “devise and prosecute the institution of the Cheap Repository,” with the encouragement of the Bishop of London and the assistance of her friends and sisters, in her preface to the 1801 *Works of Hannah More* (vii). At the time of the *Repository*'s conception in 1794, More's public profile was that of a playwright and a controversial political commentator, yet, the annals of literary history emphasize her contributions as an educator and religious writer (Brown 32; Yonge *Hannah More* 463; Philp 67; More *Considerations on Religion and Public Education* xiv). The *Cheap Repository Tracts*, a collection of inexpensive moral and religious tracts, are an important factor in the construction of her reputation and the subsequent reception of her work. Indeed, the “sublime and immortal” *Cheap Repository* is the primary reason she is considered by some to have been the most prominent woman evangelical campaigner in England between 1780 and 1810 (M. G. Jones 139; Roberts 5; Yonge “Children's Literature of the Last Century” 231).¹

¹ Bishop Porteous to Hannah More, 16 January 1797, William Roberts, *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs Hannah More*, 4th ed., vol. 2, 3 vols. (London: R.B Seeley & W Burnside, 1836) 4.

This thesis contends that the extent of Hannah More's contribution to the *Cheap Repository* has never been definitively established and that there is a need for clarification of the authorship of individual tracts and bibliographical scholarship relating to the series. This thesis details the current state of bibliographical scholarship as it relates to the *Cheap Repository Tracts* and identifies those tracts for which authorship can be established conclusively as well as those for which establishing authorship is problematic and must remain inconclusive or unknown. This thesis will also explore the context in which the *Cheap Repository Tracts* were published and suggest that ascertaining the authorship of individual tracts contributes productively to future criticism of the tracts within their socio-historical, theological and political context.

Chapter One will establish the scholarly context for this study by showing that a reassessment of previous bibliographical scholarship about the *Cheap Repository* is essential. This chapter details the current state of *Cheap Repository* bibliographical scholarship. The Appendix provides supporting material for Chapter One, as well as for Chapters Three and Four.

Chapter Two will discuss both traditional and non-traditional authorship attribution methodology and explores how these are applicable to the *Cheap Repository*. This chapter argues that an exhaustive traditional attribution

study has never been conducted on the *Repository* and that this must be completed prior to a non-traditional attribution study.

Chapter Three will present a catalogue of all known *Cheap Repository Tracts*. Applying traditional attribution methodology, this chapter asserts the number and name of those tracts which can be unproblematically attributed to either Hannah More or another contributor. This chapter also details the name and number of those tracts for which an attribution of authorship should be tentatively made, along with those for which attribution should be reserved until such time as further evidence is found, whether through traditional attribution methodology, or through a comprehensive non-traditional attribution study of the kind described in Chapter Two. Chapter Four will explore the place of the *Cheap Repository* within the context of socio-political, theological, and historical discourse of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Britain. This chapter will also propose that challenging authorial attributions of specific tracts affects the understanding of this discourse by scholars.

Defining the Problem

This chapter contends that the extent of More's contribution to the *Cheap Repository* has never been definitively or explicitly established and that there is a need to clarify the current state of bibliographical scholarship about the

Repository and clearly describe the extent of More's involvement along with the involvement of other contributors. Three main problems pervade the accepted bibliographic scholarship for the *Cheap Repository*. First, there appear to be mistakes in the accepted scholarly wisdom as to how many tracts were published as part of the *Cheap Repository*, along with related confusion about the period of time over which the tracts were published. Second, establishing the number of tracts contributed by Hannah More (1795--1798) is not as simple as it first appears. Third, as a direct consequence of the failure of many scholars to outline a methodology for their attribution of authorship of individual tracts, concerns about the inadequacy of *Cheap Repository* bibliographic scholarship have been ignored. The diverse assortment of tracts that comprise the *Cheap Repository* are not the work of More alone: Sally More, William Mason, Henry Thornton, Rev. John Newton, Zachary Macaulay, Selina Mills Macaulay are proposed as possible contributors by Spinney; to these Mary Jones adds Patty More, and Mrs Bouverie; Anne Stott adds Hester Mulso Chapone and Rev. William Gilpin, and Susan Pedersen additionally proposes John Venn (Spinney 311; Stott 178; M. G. Jones 139; Pedersen 85). Chapter Three will detail the evidence to suggest which of these possible contributors authored tracts in the series.

Publication under the series title of *The Cheap Repository* began on March 3, 1795, with at least twenty tracts published and distributed on that day.² From May, 1795, three tracts (often two tracts published in Octavo in a single chap-book) were published every month until November, 1797. There were three genres of tracts, poetry in the form of a “useful subject versified,” a story or sermon “particularly adopted for perusal on the Lord’s Day,” and the moralistic short story for which the *Repository* is best known (S. Pickering 17). The history of the *Cheap Repository* becomes rather complicated from November, 1797, when More withdraw from day-to-day involvement, until Saturday, the 22nd September, 1798, when More recorded in her journal that “the Cheap Repository is closed” (Roberts 5). The effects of the complicated printing history will be discussed later in further detail.

The *Cheap Repository* was remarkable for the frequency with which new tracts were written, and published, as well as for the unprecedented number of copies distributed and sold. The *Cheap Repository* reportedly sold two million copies by the end of March in 1796 (Shattock 303; Myers “Hannah More’s Tracts for the Times: Social Fiction and Female Ideology” 280, n.6), a

² Another error in setting the year parameters of the *Cheap Repository* occurs when scholars set the dates 1794--1798. Sam Pickering does not discuss the authorship of any individual tracts, though he ascribes the “114 tracts published 1794--1798” as part of the *Cheap Repository* to “Hannah More and the Clapham Sect”: “Financed by Henry Thornton and distributed free among the lower classes, primarily through Sunday Schools, 114 tracts, selling at ½d, 1d, and 1½d, were published 1794--1798.” Sam Pickering, “The *Cheap Repository* Tracts and the Short Story,” *Studies in Short Fiction* 12 (1975): 17.

figure which More herself claims in the advertisement to volume five of her 1801 collected works (*The Works of Hannah More* viii) and which is confirmed by eighteenth-century periodicals (Myers "Hannah More's Tracts for the Times: Social Fiction and Female Ideology" 280, n.6).³ Published in England, they were also reprinted and distributed in Ireland, and then in America (*The Works of Hannah More* vii).⁴ Initially printed in broadsheet and octavo, many of the tracts were reprinted either individually or with a small number of other tracts (usually two or three depending on length) in octavo or duodecimo; and many, but not all, were also republished in one of the volumes of *Shorter Tracts*, *Sunday Reading*, and *Moral and Religious Tracts* which were collections of tracts based on genre.⁵ Within twenty years, many of the tracts were translated into other languages including Romansch, Russian, Tamil, and Singhalese and they were distributed in such far flung places as the West Indies, Sierra Leone, and across Asia by British and Scottish Missionaries

³ For discussion of the unprecedented nature of the *Cheap Repository's* publication figures, see Richard D Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957) 75-77.

⁴ Sam Pickering reports that "individual numbers of the *Cheap Repository* were printed separately [in America] while collections came out almost immediately in Philadelphia, Boston, and New York." Pickering, "The *Cheap Repository* Tracts and the Short Story," 19. For further discussion and bibliography of the American reprints, see Mark S. Schantz, "Religious Tracts, Evangelical Reform, and the Market Revolution in Antebellum America," *Journal of the Early Republic* 17.3 (1997): 432, Harry B. Weiss, "Hannah More's Cheap Repository Tracts in America," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 50.7 (1946), Harry B. Weiss, "Hannah More's Cheap Repository Tracts in America: Part 2," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 50.8 (1946).

⁵ Volumes of collected *Cheap Repository* tracts were published in 1798, 1800, 1798, 1799, 1800, 1806, 1818, 1827 and 1839.

(Roberts 5; Green 84; Stott 321). Yet despite the contemporary popularity and sheer magnitude of the enterprise, or perhaps precisely because of it, the actual composition of the *Cheap Repository*, and attribution of authorship of individual tracts is problematic and has not been adequately resolved.

Most articles and books about Hannah More contain a cursory description of the beginnings of the *Cheap Repository* drawn (whether verbatim or paraphrased) from the work of biographer William Roberts or bibliographer G.H Spinney.⁶ Often these descriptions are perfunctory and function as a mere nod to scholarly tradition on the way to discussing their opinions on the works and life of Mrs. Hannah More. It can be inferred from comments about the authorship of individual tracts that the issue of authorship has largely been considered irrelevant or irresolvable. However, the quirks of scholarship on the *Cheap Repository* show that the issue of authorship is not moot, especially where scholars have made conflicting attributions on individual tracts. Much of the critical scholarship that exists about individual *Cheap Repository* tracts has confined itself to those tracts widely accepted to be

⁶ William Roberts was responsible for the first collection of More's letters published in 1834 and as such heavily influenced the critical reception of More's biographical life for the next hundred and twenty years. Roberts crafted a version of more through a judicious selection of letters, editing of their contents and general order including dating. See Anne Stott, *Hannah More: The First Victorian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) viii-ix. The accompanying memoir penned by Roberts, and interspersed throughout the four volumes, is filled with his musings and interpretations of the events of Hannah More's life. For example, Roberts removed criticism of the State and the Church arguably softening the ground for portrayals of More by feminist critics as complicit with the patriarchy. See William Roberts, *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs Hannah More*, 4th ed., 3 vols. (London: R.B Seeley & W Burnside, 1836).

by more: those signed "Z" as well as any included in an edition of her collected works (Lloyd 79, 102; Vallone 80--81; Webb 419--20). Commentary on individual tracts in scholarly essays fails to address or downplays the matter of authorship, as in cases where the *Cheap Repository* is employed as representative of evangelical didacticism or chapbook literature of the late eighteenth-century, including in the work of Beth Kowaleski-Wallace, Gary Kelly, Robert Ryan, Mona Scheurmann, M.J Crossley Evans, and Jane Nardin (Kowaleski-Wallace "Hannah and Her Sister: Women and Evangelicalism in Early Nineteenth-Century England" 30; Kelly 147; Ryan 45; Scheurmann *In Praise of Poverty: Hannah More Counters Thomas Paine and the Radical Threat* 13; Evans 469; Nardin 277). The underlying attitude seems to be that it would be needlessly difficult and time-consuming to ascertain the authorship of each and every *Cheap Repository* tract. However, the importance of clarifying the state of bibliographic scholarship and identifying the authorship of individual tracts, as far as possible, should not be underestimated. Indeed, before further analysis of More's work can be productively pursued and her contribution to the *Cheap Repository* described issues concerning authorial attribution must be resolved.

Hannah More's Contribution

The lack of precision in critical scholarship with regard to the enterprise of the *Cheap Repository* has in turn served to increase the ambiguity surrounding Hannah More's contribution as an author. Inaccurate statements about the authorial contributions of More appear to be based on one or more of the following: (a) misinterpretations of previous scholarship that have become uncontested fact; (b) broad generalizations, such as attributing the *Cheap Repository* in its entirety to Hannah More; (c) failure to distinguish unauthorized Marshall Tracts in *Cheap Repository* criticism; and (d) the false assumption that Hannah More wrote all, and wrote only, those tracts signed [Z].

The grounds upon which attributions of "anonymous" works have been made to more and others were the initial catalyst for this thesis. The intention was to consider the technical and literary bases on which attributions have been made to More as they have been recorded in the scholarly literature and to evaluate their cogency and theoretical validity. However, very few scholars offer methodologically articulate justifications for their attributions of authorship for individual *Cheap Repository Tracts*. The methodology of this study requires an examination of the available evidence in order to assess the relative weight given to primary source material – More's acknowledged (signed) works, other primary texts, and external textual statements – as well

as critical scholarship, with the goal of coming to a tentative but substantive conclusion about the contribution of Hannah More and others to the *Cheap Repository*. The aim is to unravel the tangled web, attempt to establish if there are any contested attributions, and to propose a methodology for making attributions of authorship for each of the tracts in question. The importance of establishing the contribution of Hannah More, and sorting out the conflicting factual evidence (or non-evidence) of scholars is fundamentally important to More scholarship, and will serve to remove barriers that may prevent critical examination of the *Cheap Repository* tracts.

Hannah More assumed various guises as an author. She variously published under her own name, anonymously, and under two different pseudonyms: "Will Chip" and "Z." The pseudonym used in the *Cheap Repository* is [Z]. More's acknowledgement of [Z] as one of her pseudonyms is first disclosed in the advertisement to Volume Four of Cadell's 1801, eight-volume *Works of Hannah More*. More identifies the nine works contained therein as being "first published, among a great number of others, in the Cheap Repository, under the signature [Z], and here presented to the Reader, much enlarged and improved" (*The Works of Hannah More* n.p). It is reasonable, then, that the [Z] signature is widely held to refer to Hannah More. However, scholars do not usually make clear the grounds upon which this signature came to be accepted as denoting More as author (Pharr 463; E.

M. G. Smith 223). A signature of [Z] on the final line of the final page of a tract is not conclusive and definitive evidence, however, that it is the work of Hannah More.

Misinterpretation of Previous Scholarship

Scholarly recognition of the lack of clarity regarding the *Cheap Repository* bibliography, including authorship, dates back to Augustus De Morgan in 1864 (241-45). One of the forefathers on non-traditional authorship attribution, De Morgan was a mathematics professor at London University (S. De Morgan 215-16).

In 1939, G.H. Spinney compiled a bibliography of extant copies of the *Cheap Repository* tracts, printed by Hazard and Marshall and held by the British Library at that time. He also used the Stationers' Hall Registers to confirm the date of publication of individual tracts. Although Spinney's bibliography is often considered authoritative, Mitzi Myers strongly cautions against this confirmatory evaluation (Ford 127; Demers 110; Walker 251; Myers "Hannah More's Tracts for the Times: Social Fiction and Female Ideology" 281, n.9). Spinney's bibliography is the most comprehensive in terms of discussing the historical context of the relationship between More and the printers of the *Cheap Repository*. Spinney initially sets the dates for the series at 1795-1798, which are the parameters most commonly repeated by scholars (295). However, Spinney later explains that Hannah More's day-to-

day involvement with the Hazard and Marshall imprints ended in November, 1797 (295, 307).⁷ In November, 1797, More appointed Evans and Hatchard as the new publishers (307). Ten months later in September, 1798, More declared the *Repository* “closed,” and sold the rights to reprints to Evans, Hatchard and Rivington (Spinney 307-08). From November, 1797, to September, 1798, Evans was the authorized printer the *Cheap Repository* and was responsible for publishing the ten previously unpublished tracts produced during this period. However, and this is very important, despite being ostensibly sacked in November, 1797, John Marshall continued to sell reprints and publish new tracts under the name of the *Cheap Repository*, even going to the trouble of entering them under his own name at Stationer’s Hall (308). Seventy-three such tracts were published by Marshall between December, 1797, and November, 1799.

Statements describing Hannah More’s contributions have been repeated by generation after generation of scholars uncontested. The numbers “114,” for the number of tracts produced between 1795-1798, and “50,” for Hannah

⁷ Marshall was appointed “The Official Printer to the Cheap Repository” in mid-1796, effectively demoting Hazard who apparently did not take this well. Stott reports that Hannah More showed little sympathy for Hazard whom she believed had profited significantly despite the project being almost reliant on subscriptions. Subscriptions were required as a consequence of the imperative to give the hawkers and booksellers good profit margins; given the events of 1797-1798, the trust in Marshall can be considered to have been misplaced. For more information, see Stott, *Hannah More: The First Victorian* 178.

More's contributions are repeated *ad nauseam*. The key quotation which seems to be the source of all subsequent scholarship, is as follows:

Of the 114 different tracts published up to November 1797, 49 bear the initial 'Z' and 6 'S'. Those signed Z were by Hannah More; those signed S by Sarah More, her sister. The authorship of the 'Z' tracts is disclosed in Cadell's collected edition of Hannah More's works published in 1818. The statement that 'S' tracts were by Sarah More appears in Thompson's life: he may have it from a private source, though it would not be difficult to guess. We are told in Roberts that the tracts were written by Hannah More with the assistance of her sisters and a few friends. To discover the identity of the 'few friends' who between them wrote the remaining 51 is now almost impossible (310).⁸

However, the numbers do not add up, and it is not just that the numbers in the quote equal 106, not 114. Spinney's conclusion specifically states that the count of 114 relates to "tracts published up to November, 1797" whereas many scholars that cite Spinney's work and numerical conclusions often substitute an end date of 1798 without clarification or explanation (310).

The lack of particularity in many descriptions of More's involvement in the *Cheap Repository* is often the consequence of a heavy reliance on Spinney. Some scholars show explicit deference, such as in the work of Jones (1952), Ford (1996), Smith (1996), and Pharr (1998), which refer to Spinney's conclusions as to the total number of tracts and More's contribution. For

⁸ Other people Spinney claims contributed are William Mason, Henry Thornton, Rev. John Newton, Zachary Macaulay, and Selina Mills Macaulay. G.H Spinney, "Cheap Repository Tracts: Hazard and Marshall Edition," *The Library* 4th Series, 20.No.3 (1939): 311.

example, Ford states that “between 1795 and 1798 Hannah More wrote at least 49 of the 114 ballads, allegories, and short stories collectively known as the *Cheap Repository*”; Smith reports that there were “114 *Cheap Repository* tracts published between 1795-1798” (E. M. G. Smith 223; Ford 127). Both Smith and Ford cite Spinney directly. The numbers “49” and “114” are now so accepted that recent scholars, including Nicholas D. Smith in the introduction to his landmark book on More’s literary manuscripts, state them as fact without any citation (xxiii).

In these summary statements attributions are commonly in the order of “almost,” “at least,” or “more than” 50, or “almost,” “more than,” or “half” of all *Cheap Repository* tracts. For example, Pharr declares that “this much praised anti-Jacobin propaganda led to the *Cheap Repository Tracts* (1795-1798), distributed by the rich to the poor in an effort to quell unrest. A prime mover in this cause, M.[ore] wrote almost fifty of these tracts” (463). In another example, Jonathon Wordsworth’s (1995) contention that “More wrote almost half of the 114 that appeared before the scheme came to an end in 1798, others being provided by her sisters and numerous friends” is an example of where a scholar uses a less specific arithmetical measurement than “49” (v).

Similarly, E.M.G Smith attributes a list of forty-eight *Cheap Repository* tracts to More; those listed in Smith’s bibliography do not exactly match those in Spinney’s bibliography nor in the bibliography of American reprints of the

Cheap Repository compiled by Harry B. Weiss ("Hannah More's Cheap Repository Tracts in America; Hannah More's Cheap Repository Tracts in America: Part 2").⁹ Weiss offers a summary of the history of the *Cheap Repository* prior to discussing the publication of the tracts in America, and though he freely admits his indebtedness to Spinney and also repeats the classic Spinney quotation "of the 114 different tracts published to November, 1797, in the Cheap Repository proper, 49 were written by Hannah More and signed 'Z'" Weiss accurately distinguishes between the "*Cheap Repository* proper" and the seventy-three tracts published by Marshall alone from November 1797 to November 1799 ("Hannah More's Cheap Repository Tracts in America" 541).

Two problems exist with the oft-repeated conclusion that there were 114 tracts published during the period 1795-1798. The first is a small anomaly relating to an inconsistent application of whether to count or not to count tracts entered at Stationer's Hall for which there is no known copy, in which case the count rises to 116 or falls to 112.¹⁰ The second problem is more substantial. Spinney explicitly notes the existence of five new tracts published

⁹ Smith does not give any indication in his bibliography as to which of the works were signed and which were anonymous, except those that used "Will Chip" as More's pseudonym.

¹⁰ An entry into the Stationer's Hall Register does not mean a tract was distributed. For example, "The Idle Cobbler" was entered in the Register in November 1795; however, Spinney contends it was withdrawn from publication and may have been an early issue of "Two Shoemakers. Part III" published in March 1796.

in 1798 by Evans and Hatchard, the new official printers of the *Cheap Repository*, though these are not included in Spinney's final count (307). Spinney claims that at least 2 of the 5 new tracts were by Hannah More, though neither these nor any of the other 1798 Evans and Hatchard reprints are included in his bibliography (307). It must be noted that evidence of an additional five tracts published by Evans, over and above the five included in Spinney's count, has been uncovered. If the 10 new "authorized" tracts from 1798 are added then the number of tracts (starting with Spinney's count) increases to 127, and More's count to at least 51. Chapter Three will detail how these "numbers" play out when the tracts are subjected to a preliminary traditional attribution study.

To Z or not to Z

There is an additional number of tracts that are not signed [Z] that More later acknowledges to be hers in the various editions of the *Works of Hannah More* and other collections of her poetry, all of which must be added to Spinney's tally to gain a more accurate figure. For example, of the six "tales" and five "ballads" included in More's 1816 *Poems*, two (*The Ploughman's Ditty* and *Will Chip's True Rights*,) are not listed in Spinney. Furthermore, the 1835 American edition of *The Complete Works of Hannah More* includes 47 poems, ballads, or stories first published as part of the *Cheap Repository* including three tracts recorded by Spinney as not being signed [Z] and "Here and

There," one of the 1798 tracts published by Evans, none of which are included in Spinney's count (*The Complete Works of Hannah More*).¹¹

However, it was over twenty years ago that Mitzi Myers first cautioned against Spinney's bibliography being considered exhaustive, because it is "incomplete" ("Hannah More's Tracts for the Times: Social Fiction and Female Ideology" 281, n. 9). In addition to her contention that the Spinney bibliography is "incomplete," Myers acknowledges Spinney and Green as the relevant bibliographies, and explains that "most, but not all, of the tracts More wrote herself are reprinted in the various editions of her works, as well as in numerous collected editions" ("Hannah More's Tracts for the Times: Social Fiction and Female Ideology" 281, n.9). However, Myers does not provide an alternative bibliography or a numerical estimate of More's contribution, beyond stating that: "More contributed almost one-half of the hundred odd pieces" ("Hannah More's Tracts for the Times: Social Fiction and Female Ideology" 266).¹² Patricia Demers, author of *The World of Hannah More* (1996), also makes no numerical assertions as to the numbers of tracts or More's contribution while footnoting Spinney, Jones and Myers (110).

¹¹ The 1835 edition of More's *Complete Works of Hannah More* should be relied upon cautiously. It was published after More's death. The 1830 Cadell Edition should be considered as the last authoritative edition of collected work published prior to her death.

¹² Myers explicitly attributes 23 tracts to Hannah More and a further 3 to her sister Sally throughout her article, though in the context of the article there is no indication that this is an upper limit.

More's most recent, and efficacious, literary biographer Anne Stott, adroitly describes More as having "edit[ed] the Cheap Repository Tracts" and argues that "overwhelmingly, the Cheap Repository was [More's] creation and her work" (178, 338). Stott discusses a number of tracts including "The Market Woman" and "The Roguish Miller" without necessarily explicitly attributing them to any author, More or otherwise (182). Furthermore, Stott does not make any numerical claims, while acknowledging her own reliance on Spinney and Susan Pederson (169). Notwithstanding this deficit, Stott provides an excellent example of the kind of scholarship one hopes to find in relation to an examination of methodology employed in attributing authorship of anonymous works. Stott's examination and attribution of authorship of a number of *Cheap Repository* tracts to authors other than Hannah or Sally More, including Henry Thornton and Zachary Macaulay, is proposed on the basis of manuscripts, correspondence and diary evidence (182, 95). For example, Anne Stott attributes "Sunday Reading. The Religious advantages of the Present Inhabitants of Great Britain" and "The Beggarly Boy" to Henry Thornton, on the basis of his diary entries for 1795 (178).¹³ Stott also quotes from a letter Hannah More wrote Zachary Macaulay dated 14 January [1796] which discusses a

¹³ Thornton, Add. MS 7674/1/R, folios. 93,117,118

Sunday reading [Macaulay] had contributed to the Cheap Repository, 'Miss Mills has been busy at work transcribing your *Communicant* [...] We much approve of what you have done but have ventured to abridge in a few instances. Pray don't forget to bring her previous performance, as I dare say she would be miserable to have lost it, and I must return the manuscript'" [italics in original](Stott 195).¹⁴

However, Stott does not venture an assessment of which "Sunday Reading" this letter may be referencing as the "Communicant" and understandably so, for there are no tracts which contain this noun, or anything similar, in the title. Notwithstanding, identification of such evidence by Stott is of great assistance in seeking external evidence to justify an attribution of authorship of individual *Cheap Repository* tracts.

Sometimes it appears, at first, that Spinney is not the source relied upon by scholars. However, on further examination it becomes clear that Spinney is in fact the root source for bibliographical claims made about *Cheap Repository*.

For example, Linda Peterson relies on Susan Pederson's attribution to Hannah More of such tracts as *The Riot, The Loyal Sailor; or No Mutineering* and *Turn the Carpet* to Hannah More (410). Susan Pederson in turn describes *Hannah More*, by Mary Jones, as being her source for the attribution of individual tracts, and specifically for her contention that More wrote "over fifty" of the tracts (85).

However, an examination of Jones reveals that she acknowledges Spinney as

¹⁴Hannah More to Zachary Macaulay, 14 Jan [1796], William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California at Los Angeles at Los Angeles, Hannah More, MSS

her source in her attribution of fifty-one tracts to More. Jones's count includes two tracts which were not signed [Z], including the "Lancashire Collier Girl" (272-73; 56 n34).¹⁵

Broad Generalisations – Attributing the Cheap Repository in its entirety to Hannah More

The diffuse nature of the *Cheap Repository* enterprise and the intentional veil of anonymity which time and subsequent scholarship has sustained has inevitably led to broad generalizations as to the scope of More's authorial responsibility. A number of scholars, including Emanuel Green (1902), Christine Krueger (1992), Whitney Womack (1999), and Anne Miegion (2002), generalize about More's involvement and contribution to the *Cheap Repository* to such an extent that they effectively attribute it to her in its entirety (Krueger 14; Womack 39; Miegion 32).

Emanuel Green's 1902 *Bibliotheca Somersetensis* is the earliest and by far the largest bibliography of More's works, though even this thirty-page bibliography of works by and about Hannah More is neither exhaustive nor definitive. First, while Green lists 215 separate tracts (cataloguing many of their editions and imprints), he implicitly attributes all tracts to Hannah More by placing all entries under her name without further clarification or

¹⁵ Anne Stott has recently raised evidence that suggested that the authorship of this tract remains unresolved. See Stott, *Hannah More: The First Victorian* 178.

qualification (63-99). Green does indicate those with signatures of [Z], [S], [F], and [M.]. It is sobering to note that Spinney claims that Green has incorrectly described the tract *The Old Man, His Children and the Bundle of Sticks* as having the signature [Z] (317). The tracts are listed alphabetically rather than chronologically with a publication year but without an indication of the month of issue, which is intrinsically important to the publication history of the series. There are also many tracts interspersed in Green's list that Spinney later argued were "unauthorized" tracts in which More had no involvement. Moreover, in a further intriguing twist, approximately half a dozen tracts that Marshall entered at Stationer's Hall in 1798-1799 are listed by Green with a publication year of 1796 or 1797. It is possible that Green was mistaken, (or if Green did not make a typographical or analytical error) that Marshall may have forged the year of publication in an attempt to mask his duplicity in profiting from the name and reputation of the *Cheap Repository*.

Additionally, there are also numerous tracts with a first publication date of 1800, 1809, and 1819 in Green's bibliography that do not appear in Spinney. Because of the ephemeral nature of *Cheap Repository* tracts, the existence of individual tracts listed with a date later than 1798 does not *prima facie* exclude them from the *Cheap Repository*. Additional tracts may be included in the *Cheap Repository* canon where other extant copies of these tracts are found to exist with evidence of a publication date during 1795-1798.

Failure to Distinguish Unauthorized Marshall Tracts in Cheap Repository Criticism

Despite Spinney's bibliography clarifying the dating parameters of the "authorized" *Cheap Repository* tracts, this explication has not prevented recent scholarship from introducing new errors. These errors often arise through inclusion of "unauthorized" Marshall Tracts in discussions and analysis of the *Cheap Repository* without clear qualification. This failure to distinguish the imposters from the *Repository* proper is particularly problematic when apocryphal tracts are included in lists of tracts attributed to More, or are referenced without annotation or clarification in the midst of discussions about More's contributions.

In his 1975 discussion of the *Cheap Repository's* impact on the genre of the short story, Samuel Pickering portrays *The Two Cousins: Spare the Rod and Spoil the Child*, as epitomizing the *Cheap Repository*, though no attribution is made to any particular author (18). However, Spinney identified *Spare the Rod* as one of the unauthorized tracts produced by Marshall in 1798/99 with which More had no involvement. Indeed, Spinney lists seventy-three "unauthorized" tracts published by John Marshall between November 1797 and November 1799, none of which were written by More (306-09). Any numerical representation of the *Cheap Repository* should not include these unauthorized Marshall tracts.

Mitzi Myers is highly critical of Pickering's failure to separate those authentic works of "More's Repository" from the "spurious continuations" sold by "astute publishers" ("Hannah More's Tracts for the Times: Social Fiction and Female Ideology" 280, n.8).¹⁶ In some ways, Pickering's error is not surprising as he acknowledges that "there are innumerable editions of *Cheap Repository Tracts* [sic], but the one I consulted in the British Museum was often neither dated nor paginated" (18). Yet a sense of irony endures, because while Pickering does not distinguish (or recognize) the unauthorized Marshall Tracts of 1798/99, he emphasizes that the *Cheap Repository* had many imitators in the years after 1798 and he discusses these efforts and collections in far more detail than he does the *Cheap Repository* (19).¹⁷

The False Assumption That Hannah More Wrote All And Only Those Tracts Signed "Z"

Spinney asserted the number of tracts to be attributed to Hannah More as "49" because this was the number of tracts he found with the signature [Z]. Many scholars have confidently and understandably looked upon [Z] as being a proven pseudonym of Hannah More. Relying on a proven

¹⁶ The work Mitzi Myers is criticizing can be found in Samuel F. Pickering, *John Locke and Children's Books in Eighteenth Century England* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981).

¹⁷ Susan Pedersen discusses the incidences of non-repository printers pirating and reprinting "the more successful tracts were reprinted in the same manner as More's chapbooks in the late eighteenth-century " Susan Pedersen, "Hannah More Meets Simple Simon: Tracts, Chapbooks, and Popular Culture in Late Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of British Studies* 25 (1986): 112.

pseudonym as a sound basis for asserting More's authorship is in line with accepted scholarly practice (Sherbo 7; Altick and Fenstermaker 103). Anne Stott, whose scholarship in relation to the attribution of authorship of individual tracts is otherwise a shining light, states confidently and emphatically that "those marked 'Z' were written by Hannah More and those marked 'S' by Sally" (178). However, there are works contained in the *Cheap Repository* that have been acknowledged by More as her work, but which are not signed by either of her pseudonyms "Z" or "Will Chip." For example, the first two parts of *The Wealthy Farmers* were not always signed, and the *Lancashire Collier Girl*, was never signed [Z], yet Hannah More included all of these in her 1801 *Works of Hannah More*. The situation is further complicated by recent uncertainty surrounding the authorship of *Lancashire Collier Girl* incited by evidence, uncovered by Stott, which will be explored below.

Myers rightly cautions against considering Spinney's bibliography authoritative. While Myers does not make a summary numerical statement of More's contribution, she does make an unqualified statement that "'Z' is the 'persona of the Repository Tales [More] wrote herself'" (271). During the course of her chapter in Schofield and Macheski's *Fetter'd or Free: British Women Novelists, 1670-1815* (1986), Myers lists twenty-three tracts. For all but one, *The True Heroes; or, The Noble Army of Martyrs*, there is evidence to suggest that there are imprints in existence with the signature [Z] ("Hannah

More's Tracts for the Times: Social Fiction and Female Ideology" 273). *The True Heroes; or, The Noble Army of Martyrs* is one of three tracts, along with *King Dionysius & Squire Damocles* and *The Bad Bargain or the World Set up to Sale*, included in the 1835 American edition of *The Complete Works of Hannah More* and noted in Spinney's bibliography. However, Spinney's bibliography records that these three tracts are not signed [Z], and are consequently not considered in Spinney's reckoning (*The Complete Works of Hannah More* 46, 54, 129; Spinney 328-30). All three are listed in Green, while *Bad Bargain* is also included in More's 1816 *Poems* (*Poems, with a New Introduction by Caroline Franklin* 285-90). Three additional tracts, *Tis all for the Best*, *Parley the Porter: an allegory*, and *Here and There* are included in the 1830 Cadell edition, along with being listed in Green and recorded as being signed [Z], are not included at all in Spinney's bibliography (*The Complete Works of Hannah More* 89,81,73).¹⁸

Definitively attributing authorship on the basis of a [Z] signature is further complicated by the printing history. Spinney details some of the textual variants of the two primary *Cheap Repository* Printers - Hazard and Marshall. An examination of *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain* shows the potential pitfalls in assuming the certainty of the signature [Z] on an extant copy of a tract in ascertaining More's authorship. Spinney lists two editions of *The Shepherd of*

¹⁸ Charles Foster attributes "'Tis All for the Best" to More in Charles I Foster, *An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front, 1790-1837* (Chapel Hill: 1960) 293. Foster's attribution is relied upon by Mark Schantz in Schantz, "Religious Tracts, Evangelical Reform, and the Market Revolution in Antebellum America," 473.

Salisbury Plain, one in March and a second between March-May 1795. The former, which he concludes was from Hazard's press, does not have any attribution, while the latter, which Spinney concludes was from Marshall's, has the signature "Z" on the final page of the tract. It is this kind of textual variation in the appearance of a [Z] signature that makes it difficult to assume certainty of an attribution of authorship based on the signature.

An American Johnson reprint of *Shepherd of Salisbury Plain* from 1800 similarly illustrates this point – *Part I* is not signed, whereas *Part II* is signed [Z] on the final page (23). However, *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain* is not a contested work – *The Shepherd* was reprinted numerous times between 1800 and More's death in 1833 under her own name, and indeed it can be considered one of the most famous of the *Cheap Repository* tracts. Another example of signature variations can be found in the examination of an 1800 Dublin edition of the first two parts of the *Two Wealthy Farmers; or the History of Mr Bragwell*, which are not signed; whereas Spinney notes that the 1795 Marshall, White and Hazard imprints of these two tracts are signed.

While it must be acknowledged that it is difficult to establish the absolute veracity and the certainty that the signature [Z] is definitive proof of More's authorship, the appearance of a [Z] signature on the final page of a tract must be still considered persuasive and should not be completely discounted (Sherbo 7). Such attributions are complicated by the problematic printing

history and the fact that More did not include all her contributions to the *Cheap Repository* in collections of her work (Myers "Hannah More's Tracts for the Times: Social Fiction and Female Ideology" 281). Notwithstanding all of the above no scholar has yet completed an internal textual analysis to confirm that Hannah More did actually write all those tracts with the attribution [Z], even though she claims she wrote under the pseudonym [Z]. Even more problematically, no scholar has yet proposed a methodology by which it can be persuasively confirmed that More wrote all tracts signed [Z] which do not appear in another form specifically acknowledged by More, such as collections of More's work published during her lifetime. Indeed, without further internal textual analysis, despite More's own statements, there can be no definitive declaration that Hannah More is the author of all tracts with a [Z] signature.

A Case Study: Lancashire Collier Girl

One tract that offers a complex and convoluted history in terms of authorship, while providing a valuable case study, is *Lancashire Collier Girl*. Like a number of other *Cheap Repository* tracts, "Lancashire Collier Girl" was a fictionalized account of a true story (Koracevic 136; Myers "Hannah More's Tracts for the Times: Social Fiction and Female Ideology" 282).¹⁹ Spinney

¹⁹ Anonymous, "The Lancashire Collier Girl: A True Story," *Gentleman's Magazine* March 1795: 197-9, 336, 486. For further discussion of the convoluted history of the tract see P

records that the Repository version was published as part of the *Cheap Repository* in May 1795, under the Hazard and Marshall imprint of that time (Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795) and that this edition of the tract was not signed (318). The lack of signature is confirmed by Green for all three editions he lists between 1798 and 1800. However, he also indicates that there was a second undated version of the tract published by J Evans & Son, Hatchard and Binns (77). Jones, Myers, and Pederson, all attribute “Lancashire Collier Girl” to More (M. G. Jones 272; Myers “Hannah More's Tracts for the Times: Social Fiction and Female Ideology” 267; Pedersen 88). Anne Stott attributes authorship of “Lancashire Collier Girl” to Henry Thornton (178). Stott has recently traced the authorship of this tract and reveals that Henry Thornton asserted that he had “reworked” a story by the same name that Hannah More had written, before it was published in May, 1795 (178-79).²⁰

Towards a Solution

Tentatively, it is my contention that there were at least 127 tracts published as part of the “authorized” *Cheap Repository* from March, 1795, to September,

Langford, *Public and the Propertied Englishman, 1689-1798* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) 389.

²⁰ Stott bases this attribution on a Thornton Manuscript 76741/1/R, fo.96, Cambridge University Library, Thornton Papers.

1798. Without further textual analysis, it is problematic to give a definitive numerical estimation of the contribution of Hannah More – though thus far I would propose a tentative estimate of 58.²¹

The initial impetus for this thesis was to establish the grounds on which scholars justify which of the *Cheap Repository* tracts are the work of Hannah More and to ascertain how they prove the veracity of their attribution of her authorship. However, many scholars simply do not offer a methodological justification for their attribution. This thesis reflects the endeavour to establish the individual *Cheap Repository* tracts which scholars claim to be the work of Hannah More; to establish which works were acknowledged explicitly, or implicitly by More herself, including those that are not signed [Z] which are acknowledged. Furthermore, G.H. Spinney's commonly relied upon bibliography must be reconciled with the work of scholars over the last seventy years.

Some progress has been made in attempting to compile a bibliography of works published as part of the *Cheap Repository*, including the editions, imprints, textual variations, and collections in which they are included, as

²¹ Although More included a number of the multi-part tracts in her *Works* as one work, in my estimation of More's numerical contribution to the *Cheap Repository* each part (tract) will be considered one work if the part was originally published as a separate and distinct work. Myers has pragmatically termed these "short novels on the installment plan." See Mitzi Myers, "Hannah More's Tracts for the Times: Social Fiction and Female Ideology," *Fetter'd or Free?: British Women Novelists, 1670-1815*, eds. Mary Anne Schofield and Cecilia Macheski (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1986) 266.

well as internal attributions and acknowledgement of authorship by possible contributors in contemporaneous external sources. Scholarly attributions of authorship and details of manuscript holdings are included as far as is possible. The Appendix represents the fruit of this labor.

Further research would benefit all scholars interested in the *Cheap Repository* and the roles of Hannah More and other contributors. Resolving the authorship of the *Cheap Repository* must occur before further literary analysis of the individual tracts. Chapter Two will describe methodologies for both traditional and non-traditional attribution studies and discuss how these apply to the *Cheap Repository*.

CHAPTER TWO

Attributing Authorship: Traditional and Non-traditional Authorial Attribution and Eighteenth-Century Literature

Authorship, especially of anonymous works, can be a contentious issue and one which fundamentally affects literary criticism. One important aspect of this study is to determine techniques that could be applied to establish the authorship of anonymous tracts in the *Cheap Repository*, and which could be used to confirm Hannah More as being the author of those tracts signed [Z].

This chapter will offer a brief examination of authorship attribution theory, comparing traditional and non-traditional attribution methodologies in order to assess which methodology is most applicable to the *Cheap Repository*. This chapter will define and distinguish non-traditional textual scholarship from traditional textual analysis before exploring the use of both traditional and non-traditional methodologies in the context of anonymous eighteenth-century literature. Finally, this chapter will briefly discuss the perceived benefits and limitations of authorial attribution using non-traditional methods before concluding with a discussion of the methodologies which are most applicable to the *Cheap Repository Tracts*. Chapter Three will apply the theories discussed in this chapter.

For the purposes of authorial attribution, a non-traditional attribution study is one which employs stylometry. Stylometry is the use of statistics, calculated by computer, to undertake an internal stylistic analysis of texts in order to determine the identity of the author. Descriptive stylistics (also known as Forensic Stylistics or Forensic Linguistics) takes results from the statistical analysis provided by stylometry and attempts to describe the distinguishing features of the author's literary style (McMenamin 45). By elimination, traditional textual analysis is that which relies on non-technologically assisted means and uses either, or both, internal and external textual evidence to make attributions of likely authorship.

In the present research environment which has become so dependent on, and has benefited greatly, from technological innovation, these distinctions may seem outdated. There is nonetheless a clear difference between traditional literary scholarship which seeks out evidence (both internal and external) for attribution of authorship of a Questioned Document (Q_D) and the numerically based analyses that comprise a non-traditional attribution study.¹ As a consequence of recent technological developments, traditional attribution studies often extensively employ "technological" means in the search for internal and external evidence to support an attribution of

¹ Questioned document (Q_D) is Don Foster's term for those texts whose authorship is unresolved Donald W Foster, "Commentary: In the Name of the Author," *New Literary History* 33.2 (2002).

authorship. For example, searchable electronic texts may reduce time needed for research. Rudman and others have asserted that sound (and successful) bibliographical scholarship will employ a combination of traditional and non-traditional methods ("The State of Authorship Studies: Some Problems and Solutions" 359; D. W. Foster 375).

Anonymous Authorship in the Eighteenth-Century

An anonymous publication is "a publication that does not give reference to the legal name of the empirical writer" (Griffin 878-79). In addition to unsigned works, all forms of "pseudonymity and fictitious authorship" including works signed with initials, phrases such as "'By a Lady,' and 'By the author of'" can be categorised as anonymous (Griffin 878-79). The motivations for, and functions of, anonymous and pseudonymous authorship in the relation to the *Cheap Repository Tracts* will be discussed further in Chapter Four. Nonetheless, the prevalence of anonymous works and the applicability of authorial attribution methodology to eighteenth-century studies must be briefly considered. According to a study by James Raven, over 80 percent of all novels published in Britain between 1750 and 1790 were published anonymously (143). Though this is a study of novels and not pamphlets, this study suggests that during the 1790s 62% of all novels were published anonymously (Raven 144). Interestingly this figure fell again to less than 50% in the first decade of the nineteenth century before rising again to

80% by 1820 (144). Possibly because of the ephemeral nature of the ha'penny tracts and pamphlets printed on low quality paper, no overarching study of the percentage of tracts published anonymously, akin to Raven's study of Eighteenth-century novels, has been conducted. Nonetheless, it is clear that a large number of authorship attribution problems exist in the long eighteenth-century.

Since the *Licensing Act* (1662) lapsed in 1695, booksellers were no longer required by law to register books at Stationers Hall (Astbury 298).² However, it becomes apparent from an examination of the Stationer's Hall records that almost all, but not all, *Cheap Repository Tracts* were entered at Stationer's Hall. The records for each of the *Cheap Repository Tracts* were entered predominantly by Hannah More, and towards the end by the authorized printers, Hazard and Marshall (Spinney).

² Until the *Copyright Act* (1814) stationers could legally register and publish all manuscripts that came into their possession John Feather, "The English Book Trade and the Law," *Publishing History* 12 (1982): 52.. Once registered, the copyright was vested in the stationer of record, unless some other agreement was reached between author and stationer (Griffin 878). This did not, however, give a stationer unmitigated rights to attribute the manuscript to the actual author, or any other person, without their permission. Legally, and morally, the writer's name remained theirs, until their death. If nothing else, (especially in the case of female authors) an author's name was their property over which they retained moral and commercial rights and the choice about whether to allow the stationer to publish the work with their name attached.

Traditional Attribution and Eighteenth-Century Literature

Erdman and Fogel's 1966 collection *Evidence for Authorship* was the standard text on traditional authorship attribution for close to forty years. Much of their methodology remains relevant. The scholars in this collection, including Arthur Sherbo, David V. Erdman, and Ephim Fogel, assert that a solid attribution requires both internal and external evidence and anything less is "insufficient" (Sherbo 6; Erdman 68). Moreover, scholars must be diligent in ensuring that the "data cited constitute[s] evidence" rather than merely novel or anecdotal to the criticism of a text (Erdman and Fogel *Evidence for Authorship: Essays on Problems of Attribution* xiii). They caution that scholars should assess whether the totality of cumulative evidence supports a particular attribution before making assertions to that effect. Significantly, Fogel particularly emphasises the importance of using a combination of internal and external literary analysis in conjunction with statistical analysis ("Editorial Note to Part I" 4). All internal and external evidence must be contextualised by the broad historical and literary landscape focusing on general patterns rather than "isolated details" ("Editorial Note to Part I" 4).

One method for establishing an attribution of a text with undetermined authorship is that of internal textual analysis. The work of scholars such as Don Foster, Stephen Schoenbaum, Ephim Fogel and Arthur Sherbo provide

a strong basis for utilizing internal textual analysis in conjunction with external evidence to attribute particular authorship to anonymous works (Sherbo 8; Schoenbauum 10).

Even though Foster concedes that internal textual analysis will not inevitably lead to an attribution, he argues that each person is confined by and identifiable on the basis of their own words. He contends that individuals can only say, or write, words they know (13). Thus intimate knowledge of an author's known writing and the works cited therein, along with patterns of word usage, knowledge of grammar, and other writing mechanics, may allow a possible attribution to be suggested on the basis of the evidence (D. Foster 7). Foster's *modus operandi* is to "get inside the head" of unknown authors by piecing together their literary background – the mechanics of their writing (not handwriting analysis) and their intellectual and literary education and knowledge – to rule them in or out as a suspect (15). Foster establishes, by analysis of sources quoted or misquoted in the works, what their authors have been reading. Unique or rarely used words, syntax and grammar, and phrases and compound words in an unknown work are compared with known writings of suspected authors (105-08, 11-12, 66-67). Sentence construction, spelling, punctuation, and syntax (culturally derived or habitual) may create patterns that tend towards inferences of attribution of an anonymous work (8). Finally, Foster argues that an

unknown work may also contain attitudes towards certain groups, philosophical theories, and historical events (9).

Compilation of internal evidence depends on the analysis of two aspects of a Q_D, style and ideas. Aspects of style include measurement and analysis of sentence length and structure, verb and phrase repetition and vocabulary, “characteristic imagery,” allusions and demonstrations of learning and education, “peculiarity of spelling and punctuation,” and parallels with known works of the suspect author, especially where the Q_D is dated close to the known work (Sherbo 7).³ For eighteenth-century texts one must be particularly careful to distinguish the spelling and punctuation proclivities of the author from those of the compositor (Sherbo 7). Style must be considered in light of comparable audiences and language usage by class and profession, and commonly held ideas at the time of writing of the Q_D.

The analysis of ideas is less easily quantifiable. While a concordance of subjects, comprising vocabulary, imagery, and phrase repetition may be useful to establish a baseline of ideas present, the scholar’s role is to gauge whether the spirit of the ideas in the Q_D are “consonant with those of the putative author” unless a convincing argument can be constructed to explain the dissonance. Sherbo cautions that scholars must be sensitive to the

³ Matters of structure include antithesis, balance, parallelism, and repetition. Vocabulary analysis may include an assessment of whether word use is predominantly polysyllabic or not, Latinate or not, as well as calculating parts-of-speech frequency.

possibility of irony and satire, especially when the views expressed in the Q_D are in “direct and deliberate conflict” with the known views of a suspect author (8). An author’s ideas may be established by examining external evidence including letters, diaries, recorded conversations, and comments by contemporaries. However, the weight given to particular ideas must also be tempered by the reality that over time an author’s ideas often change.

In terms of weighting, Sherbo argues persuasively that internal evidence prevails over all else “short of an unequivocal acknowledgement by the author himself” (7). External evidence is, by comparison, ancillary (Sherbo 7). However, it may be the cumulative effect of external evidence in conjunction with internal evidence that presents a preponderance of evidence supporting a particular attribution. Indeed, though tenuous, external evidence is often legitimately invoked in support of an attribution (Sherbo 10). The combination of a number of these external factual findings is, Sherbo argues, of “greater importance to the skeptically minded than the evidence of style and ideas” (7). Examples of persuasive external evidence include attribution of a Q_D by a contemporary or near contemporary of the author (whether anonymous or named), publication of the Q_D in a periodical during a time-period in which the suspect author is known to have been a contributor, the publication of the Q_D “cheek by jowl, or sandwiched between” other “canonical” works in a collection or series of which the suspect author is the

known author, the date of publication, and a “pseudonym or distinguishing signature which is associated with canonical pieces” (Sherbo 7).

Non-Traditional Textual Scholarship and Eighteenth-Century Literature

The basic principle behind non-traditional authorship attribution is that a high degree of objective certainty can be achieved through the use of computer-assisted calculation of statistics, and stylometrics (Rudman "Non-Traditional Authorship Attribution Studies in Eighteenth Century Literature, Stylistics, Statistics, and the Computer"). The underlying assumption is that each author has an identifiable and unique style (1). Sometimes described as forensic literary theory, non-traditional textual analysis applies computational linguistics to attribute authorship for anonymous documents.⁴ The field of non-traditional attribution studies is generally traced back to the late nineteenth-century to the work of T.C. Mendenhall, Lucius Sherman, and William Benjamin Smith, who published under the pen name Conrad Mascol. Mendenhall advanced the concept of the “curve of style,” while Sherman is acknowledged as being the first to explore the idea of sentence length as an indicator of style and authorship (Mendenhall 237; Sherman 8). These studies

⁴ Forensic literary analysis is also a label used by some in the law enforcement and intelligence community to denote the use of literary analysis systematically, or forensically, to further law enforcement objectives which employs both traditional (internal and external evidence-based research) and non-traditional means to make an attribution. See Moshe Koppel, Jonathon Schler and Eran Messeri, "Authorship Attribution in Law Enforcement Scenarios," *NATO Meeting on Security Informatics and Terrorism* (Beer Sheva, Israel: 2007), vol. Foster, "Commentary: In the Name of the Author."

are considered seminal in the field even though they make use of stylistics and statistics but not the computer. Over the intervening century, scholarship has been limited to isolated pockets of interest distinguished by divergent research in the literary and computational aspects of attribution studies (Craig 103). As computational speed has increased and scholarly literacy of computer-assisted calculations of statistics and stylistics has improved, however, so too has scholarly interest in the field. In the last forty years alone there have been over 300 articles on the topic of non-traditional attribution studies (Rudman "The State of Authorship Studies: Some Problems and Solutions" 351). Interest, however, does not necessarily equate with sound or useful results.

In 2002, Rudman concluded that most non-traditional authorship studies of eighteenth-century literature are not valid ("Non-Traditional Authorship Attribution Studies in Eighteenth Century Literature, Stylistics, Statistics, and the Computer" 10). One positive exception identified by Rudman is the study by Sigelman et al of fifteen eighteenth-century pamphleteers (Sigelman, Martindale and McKenzie). For a non-traditional study to be considered valid, under Rudman's framework, it must be supported by a rigorous experiment design and the best possible copy text.⁵ The best copy text is the

⁵ One avoidable error in experimental design is the common failure to keep a randomly selected sub-set of the suspect author's known writing in reserve to be used as a control. Another is using only tests and algorithms that prove pre-conceived theories while

closest possible text to the original holograph (Rudman "The State of Authorship Studies: Some Problems and Solutions" 356). The further away from the original holograph, the more likely the text has suffered corruption. Rudman identifies at least three different types of corruption that Q_{DS} can suffer: authorial, editorial, and experimental (357). Authorial corruption includes plagiarism or imitation, lengthy quotations, borrowing from the author's earlier work, and works subject to translation (357). Editorial corruption includes typesetting errors, changes to comply with a publisher's style sheet, and emendations by the publisher or overzealous editor to supply missing text from damaged manuscripts (357). Finally, experimental corruption includes the modernization of spelling, lemmatizing, transcription errors, algorithmic or program bugs including inappropriately handling of systematic errors such as standard deviations and statistical fluctuations, and the incorrect classification of allomorphs (358). Scholars must be prepared, Rudman argues, to reach an assessment that the non-traditional attribution study proposed cannot be successfully completed because an essential element is not available or cannot be examined in a rigorous or statistically sound manner (357). Nonetheless, a proposed methodology for a non-traditional attribution can be expressed in six steps. The following is based

discarding those that cause problems with that theory. See Joseph Rudman, "The State of Authorship Studies: Some Problems and Solutions," *Computers and the Humanities* 31 (1998): 358.

on Rudman's methodological steps ("Non-Traditional Authorship Attribution Studies in Eighteenth Century Literature, Stylistics, Statistics, and the Computer").

1. Enter Questioned Document (Q_D) and add Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) Coding.⁶
2. Enter the samples of known-author texts and add the TEI coding. Texts should be of a similar genre and published within (+ or -) five years of the Q_D.⁷
3. Enter a substantial random sample of texts and add the TEI coding. These will have the same genre and time constraints as the known-author texts. This is a random sample of as many authors as possible within the constraints which acts as an experimental control. Rudman exhorts that the larger the sample the lower the statistical error affecting the result ("Non-Traditional Authorship Attribution Studies in Eighteenth Century Literature, Stylistics, Statistics, and the Computer" 9).

⁶ Text must be typed by a human. Using an optical character reader results in an unacceptably high error rate, around 40 percent. TEI coding enables automated analysis of style markers. For more information see Joseph Rudman, *Non-Traditional Authorship Attribution Studies in Eighteenth Century Literature, Stylistics, Statistics, and the Computer*, 2002, Available: <http://computerphilologie.uni-muenchen.de/jg02/rudman.html>, 10 March 2009.

⁷ For a non-traditional attribution study to be successful the authorship of the known texts must be certain. Without the touchstone of known-author texts a non-traditional authorship attribution study will inevitably fail. A random sample of the known-author texts needs to be kept in reserve to act as a control set. The control sample is used to test the accuracy of the algorithms used in measuring the similarity between the Q_D and the known-author texts.

4. Analyse the texts stylistically. First, the texts must be “cleaned” of corrupting data, including quotes (of others, and of known author’s earlier works), translations, editorial corruption and orthographic errors (Rudman "Non-Traditional Authorship Attribution Studies in Eighteenth Century Literature, Stylistics, Statistics, and the Computer" 9). Second, identify all style markers that the known-author uses consistently. Third, compare the known-author’s usage of these style markers to the writers in the random sample. Finally, compare the known-author’s usage of these style markers to the Q_D.
5. Analyse the results statistically. As with the stylistic analysis, Rudman warns scholars to investigate and understand the assumptions and methodology of the computer program used for analysis, especially when using commercial computer programs (9). Important underlying assumptions include the definition of word and sentence.
6. Did suspect author A write Q_D? The answer should be in terms of probability because “no non-traditional authorship attribution study can say with 100% surety that an author wrote a given work” (9).

Rudman contended in 1998 that despite the growing interest over the previous 30 years in non-traditional authorial attribution there was no single widely accepted or definitive methodology for non-traditional attribution studies ("The State of Authorship Studies: Some Problems and Solutions" 352). Moreover, for every scholar who proposes a particular attribution method, or a variation on a method, Rudman argues that there is another scholar who presents a counter-argument identifying "real or imagined crucial shortcomings" ("The State of Authorship Studies: Some Problems and Solutions" 352). In the last ten years no less than three scholars, Patrick Juola (2006), Efstathios Stamatatos (2008), and David L. Hoover (2008), have offered their own overviews and evaluation of the field of non-traditional attribution studies.

Stylistics is the study and description of the choices of linguistic expression that are characteristic of a group or an individual in a specific communicative setting, including a literary work. As an aspect of non-traditional attribution studies, stylistics focuses on establishing those features (also referred to as style markers) which are used consistently by a given author regardless of the document, but which might (hopefully) be used differently by different authors. It is the latter set, those used differently by different authors, which are, as Koppel et al concede, the most challenging to distinguish (3). While there is much debate about the relative strength of

different “machine-learning algorithms” by which the Q_Ds and known-author control texts can be compared and analysed, the most significant variable in non-traditional attribution studies are those style markers identified as the points of comparison.⁸ Once texts are “cleaned” of corrupting data, the known-author texts can be translated into “numerical vectors” in order to capture measurements of those style markers identified as points of comparison. These vectors can then be put through a learning algorithm to establish a classifier against which the Q_D can be compared for the purposes of attribution (Koppel, Schler and Messeri 2).⁹ The result is recorded as a percentage measuring the similarity between the classifier and the Q_D.

The significance of the choice of style markers and features in establishing the points of comparison cannot be underestimated and, second only to the quality of the source text chosen (to be the Q_D), is the most important

⁸ Rudman contends that for every algorithm there are studies which demonstrate its usefulness and other studies to point out its limitations and flaws. Similarly, Koppel et al contends that the style markers are far more significant than the choice of learning algorithm and that “the good ones all give pretty much the same results” Rudman, “The State of Authorship Studies: Some Problems and Solutions,” 352, Koppel, Schler and Messeri, “Authorship Attribution in Law Enforcement Scenarios,” vol., 2.

⁹ Some of most commonly accepted learning algorithms include linear Support Vector Machines (SVM), considered by Koppel et al to be the *de facto* standard, Bayesian Regression, and “real-valued balanced Winnow” which is a kind of exponential gradient algorithm; see Koppel, Schler and Messeri, “Authorship Attribution in Law Enforcement Scenarios,” vol., 4.. For more information about linear SVM see T Joachims, “Text Categorization with Support Vector Machines: Learning with Many Relevant Features,” *In Proc. 10th European Conference on Machine Learning*. ECML-98 (1998): 137-42. For more information about real-valued balanced Winnow, see I Dagan, Y Karov and D Roth, “Mistake-Driven Learning in Text Categorization,” *In Proc. 2nd Conf. on Empirical Methods in Natural Language Processing* EMNLP-97 (1997): 55-63, N Littlestone, “Learning Quickly When Irrelevant Attributes Abound: A New Linear-Threshold Algorithm,” *Machine Learning* 2.4 (1987): 285-318.

contributor to the veracity of the results achieved (Koppel, Schler and Messeri 2-3; Stamatatos 11). While over a thousand style markers have been described, some of the most important features for categorizing style include Function words, Syntax, Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) trees, Morphology, Complexity Measures, and Idiosyncrasies.¹⁰ Described by Koppel et al as the “ancestor of all stylistic features for authorship analysis,” function words are those like “and,” “of,” “the,” and “if” which do not relate strongly to content (3). Mosteller and Wallace’s 1964 study of the Federalist papers is still considered to be the pre-eminent work explaining and utilising function words in a non-traditional authorial attribution study (F. Mosteller and D. Wallace 64). Syntactic habits have been used by some scholars, including Foster, to distinguish between authors (11-12). Koppel et al argue that an examination of the frequency with which authors use “particular sequences of parts-of-speech” (POS), measured by POS n-gram, is more productive than syntax alone, though it will also give indirect insight into syntax (3).¹¹ Koppel’s approach, Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) trees, incorporates Function words and POS in a more generalised approach where analysis is conducted in a graduated manner, moving from kinds of each part

¹⁰ Rudman argues strongly that it is important not to discount any style markers until you can show in a given case study that they are not of statistical relevance. Moreover, certain style markers should not be privileged simply because they were effective in another study. See Rudman, “The State of Authorship Studies: Some Problems and Solutions,” 361.

¹¹ In n-gram, n refers to frequency.

of speech through to the most specific and particular until one reaches “actual function words” (3).

While not always particularly useful in relation to English texts, the frequency of the use of grammatical prefixes and suffixes, termed morphology, can be instructive.¹² Prefixes may include “re” and “un.” Suffixes include “ing,” “ly,” and “es.” Foster suggests that morphology and mistakes in the use of English grammar are particularly useful in relation to establishing whether texts were written by authors from non-English speaking backgrounds (106-08).

Features which can be grouped under the label “Complexity Measures” are those possible markers of authorial style including average word length, sentence length, various entropy measures, type/token ratio, and *hapax legomena*.¹³ These were the first, historically speaking, features examined as possible style markers (Mendenhall).

Finally, features such as neologisms, exotic syntax, and compound word use, have been employed as style markers by some scholars as weighted elements in attribution studies. The use of authorial idiosyncrasies in

¹² Koppel argues that for languages like Arabic and Hebrew morphology is a crucial style marker, because in these languages many of the function words that make up the English language do not exist as separate words and are, thus, only distinguishable through an analysis of morphology; see Koppel, Schler and Messeri, “Authorship Attribution in Law Enforcement Scenarios,” vol., 3.

¹³ An early, significant, study of average sentence length, which is still considered influential is that by G.U. Yule, “On Sentence Length as a Statistical Characteristic of Style in Prose with Application to Two Cases of Disputed Authorship,” *Biometrika* 30 (1938).

attributions is a key feature of Don Foster's work (66-67). However, Koppel questions their utility in relation to edited texts, contending instead that they are of the most use in relation to casual or occasional documents, like email (4).

Benefits and Limitations of Authorial Attribution Studies

In considering the benefits of attempting to attribute authorship in the case of anonymous and pseudonymous authors, it is helpful to weigh up the benefit obtained from a potential attribution against the difficulties and pitfalls of traditional and non-traditional analysis, including computational and stylistic analysis. As Foster warns, "without considering the various ways in which the speaker of the text, as well as the speaker(s) *in* the text, may be constituted, attribution becomes a pointless game of pin the tale [sic] on the donkey" [italics in the original] (394-95).

Rudman identifies some of the fatal flaws of non-traditional attribution studies (Rudman "The State of Authorship Studies: Some Problems and Solutions"). In addition to poor experimental design and an inappropriate copy-text, one of the fatal flaws of a purely non-traditional attribution study is triggered when the study fails to exhaust traditional attribution methodologies prior to the commencement of a non-traditional study. Joseph Rudman strongly argues;

Before any non-traditional study is undertaken, a rigorous and complete traditional study must be completed -- non-traditional methods are tools to be employed by the traditional scholars -- and surely not the most important tools" ("Non-Traditional Authorship Attribution Studies in Eighteenth Century Literature, Stylistics, Statistics, and the Computer" 7).

Moreover, many non-traditional studies limit their analysis to internal evidence (understandable when the study is based on stylometrics). In failing to take a holistic approach that employs available external evidence and sound literary analysis, scholars who ignore the broader context of a Q_D are setting themselves up for nonsensical results that contribute little to bibliographical scholarship. As Rudman declares, "Simply using statistics does not give validity to attribution studies. Too many papers place too much emphasis on statistical technique -- they try to create an aura of scientific invincibility without scientific rigour" ("The State of Authorship Studies: Some Problems and Solutions" 355). Indeed, it is rare for statistical analysis to provide anything resembling conclusive answers.

Attributing an anonymous work to an author can dramatically affect scholarly reception of that author. However, the point of identifying anonymous or pseudonymous authorship is not merely to add to the known canon of an author. Hugh Craig argues that one corollary of attribution studies is the opportunity to describe and interpret an author's style (Craig 103). Indeed, Craig argues that descriptive stylistics (including statistical results which support traditional internal evidence based textual analysis) can

help confirm the validity of authorial attribution made through the use of traditional methodologies (Craig 103).

Applying Attribution Theory To The Cheap Repository Tracts

Before embarking on a full scale authorial attribution study by non-traditional means, the sources and results of traditional attribution study must be exhausted ("Non-Traditional Authorship Attribution Studies in Eighteenth Century Literature, Stylistics, Statistics, and the Computer" 7-9). A full traditional textual analysis of the *Cheap Repository* has not yet been undertaken by scholars. Completing a traditional authorial attribution study will be a long and tedious enterprise, and one which this study cannot hope to conclude exhaustively. Rather, this thesis is about clearly articulating the problem of questioned authorship as it relates to the *Cheap Repository*. In elucidating the problem and laying out the current state of criticism, the aim is to unravel the tangled and confused bibliographical scholarship that surrounds the collection. In addition to the compilation of a comprehensive bibliography detailing all 127 *Cheap Repository Tracts* with attributions of authorship for each individual tract, a comprehensive traditional study of the *Cheap Repository Tracts* should also include the compilation of a concordance of More's known works in the *Cheap Repository*. Such a concordance would serve to establish a base-line for vocabulary use, and ideas.

This chapter has established that the scholarly standard of proof in the context of a traditional or non-traditional attribution study is one of a reasonable preponderance of evidence. Moreover, where the totality of cumulative evidence supports a particular attribution it should be expressed in terms of probability.

Moreover, Rudman's persuasive critique of non-traditional textual analysis in the context of authorial attribution demonstrates that it is imperative of all the elements for a valid non-traditional study to be present prior to embarking on a non-traditional study of the *Cheap Repository Tracts*. In the case of the *Repository* the need for an exhaustive traditional attribution study must necessarily result in the conclusion that not all elements are present for the conduct of a non-traditional study. An assessment that not all elements for a non-traditional study are currently present is still a helpful contribution to bibliographic scholarship, even if it does not result in a likely attribution (Fitzpatrick 97).

An effective non-traditional attribution study will result in an assessment of probable, inconclusive, or unlikely authorship. This assessment will be achieved by testing tracts (Q_D) against known documents by, in the first instance, Hannah More (and then other possible contributors). Where there is a closed set of documents and a single author against whose canon of known documents the Q_D can be compared, as in this case, it is known as a "vanilla

problem” (Koppel, Schler and Bonchek-Dokow 2). While Mosteller and Wallace consider this type of problem a simple test of homogeneity, Rudman considers the affirmation of authorship to be much more complex than an open problem (F. Mosteller and D. L. Wallace 275; Rudman 360). A non-traditional study of the *Cheap Repository Tracts* will hopefully serve to statistically support assertions of texts labelled [Z] as the work of Hannah More, particularly in the case of those where more than one source text have different signatures, for example, the presence of [Z] on one text and the lack of any signature on another. A non-traditional study may help to resolve contentions surrounding proposed attributions of authorship of all other tracts to authors other than Hannah More but within the circle identified and proposed by scholars.

For those tracts (signed [Z] but considered problematic) for which an assessment of “inconclusive” or “unlikely” is reached, along with all other anonymous and pseudonymous tracts from the *Cheap Repository*, the problem is anything but vanilla. This problem can be categorised as complex, even though it can be resolved in stages. After More has been eliminated as a probable author, analyses of other known works by other suspect authors identified by scholars as possible contributors to the *Cheap Repository* should be conducted. In contrast to the earlier “supposed” vanilla problem, Rudman argues that a study of anonymous works where there are a small number,

two to four, of potential authors is the least complicated of attribution problem types and has the most legitimate studies on which to model a successful experiment ("The State of Authorship Studies: Some Problems and Solutions" 360).

After analyses of this initial group of suspect authors is made, any tracts for which an attribution has not been made will need to be considered in light of a broader pool of suspect authors from More's circle in eighteenth-century Britain. In both the second and third situations above, once a small, workable pool of suspect authors has been established, the purpose of the experiment is to assess which of the suspect authors is most likely to be the author of the Q_D. However, the degree of probability that one of these suspect authors is the likely author must be weighed against the potential for error, including deception by the author to mask their identity (360). Foster's study of *Primary Colours* and David Holmes' study of *Cassandra* are examples of legitimate studies addressing this kind of attribution problem (D. Foster; Holmes 7). The final type of attribution problem applicable to the *Cheap Repository* is the attribution of authorship for works which external evidence suggests are the result of collaboration. Anonymous works which are known to be the work of more than one author present a particular attribution challenge.

The sheer amount of data required for a full attribution study of the *Cheap Repository* is almost overwhelming, even though Koppel et al are persuasive

in their argument that a high degree of accuracy in attribution of Q_D can be made comparing the anonymous text with samples of known-author text as small as 500-1000 words. When establishing authorship of a Q_D where a closed set of suspect authors exists and there is a “reasonable amount of known text for each author” (500 words or more), Koppel contends that non-traditional attribution studies can yield attribution accuracy “well above 90%” (Koppel, Schler and Messeri 4). In order to maintain scholarly integrity, Koppel et al’s governing principle can be productively applied to a non-traditional authorial attribution of the *Cheap Repository*. Koppel contends that attributions can only be made in terms of degrees of probability; that is to say that the results will be expressed in terms of the difference between the most similar and the second most similar and so on. Koppel goes on to argue that anything short of high probability should be labelled as “I don’t know” until more, or better, evidence is found (8). In terms of the amount of text needed there is some disagreement. Koppel et al used text lengths of 600 words to achieve 84 percent accuracy when attributing snippets to one of 10,000 candidate authors, and 200 word snippets to achieve 82 percent accuracy from the same pool, when holding themselves to the standard which allows a conclusion of “I don’t know” or insufficient information rather than requiring an attribution (9).

However, this leaves the task of identifying appropriate electronic source texts, or texts that can be put into electronic form. The best possible copy text is, according to Rudman, the text that is “as close to the original holograph as possible – each stage of removal introduces systematic and other errors that may be fatal” (“The State of Authorship Studies: Some Problems and Solutions” 356). Eighteenth Century Collections Online is one source for electronic copies of tracts — but this collection does not necessarily present the “best” texts. There is no consistency, for example, in the editions and reprints of texts included; the collection indiscriminately includes the original editions of the authorized printers published in Bath or London as well as reprints of tracts published in Philadelphia and Dublin without distinction.

Chapter Three presents a catalogue of each of the 127 tracts of the *Cheap Repository* and identifies the author where possible. This chapter also identifies those tracts for which authorship is not easily established on the basis of internal or external evidence. It is in relation to these problematic tracts that a non-traditional attribution study will likely prove efficacious.

CHAPTER THREE

Authorship and the *Cheap Repository*: Affirming Unproblematic Texts, Explicating Problematic Texts, and Attempting Authorial Attributions

As Chapter One detailed, attribution of individual tracts has been patchy at best, and methodological justification for those attributions have been scarcer still. More has often been treated as the default author of all tracts without reference to the tracts themselves. Chapter Two described both traditional and non-traditional methodology and concluded that an exhaustive traditional attribution study had not yet been completed on the *Cheap Repository Tracts*. This chapter makes strides in the effort to complete an exhaustive traditional attribution study. This chapter will apply the traditional authorship attribution theory discussed in Chapter Two, affirming unproblematic texts from the *Cheap Repository* and justifying the assertion of their unproblematic nature in the context of the current state of scholarship. This chapter identifies those tracts which can be considered problematic texts in terms of attribution and describes possible methodological steps for clarification of the authorial problem.

The narrative of this chapter, including references to other scholars' work on various editions of collected *Cheap Repository Tracts* and the conclusions they reach as well as the presence of individual tracts in editions of More's

Collected Works, is drawn from a bibliography of the *Cheap Repository Tracts* which can be found in the Appendix. The Appendix is presented in table form and includes, for each individual tract: dating of each tract based on the Stationer's Hall Register, original publication details, Spinney's numbering matrix, title variations, details of reprints and later editions, inclusion in editions of collected tracts and details of holding libraries, along with information about pseudonyms on various versions of the tracts, whether they have been acknowledged by More in editions of her *Collected Works* or elsewhere. Finally, the appendix records the attributions to More and others made by scholars. The key to abbreviations used throughout the appendix can be found on its final page.

The *Cheap Repository Tracts* comprise 127 tracts between March, 1795, and September, 1798. More's day-to-day involvement ceased in November 1797, and the *Cheap Repository* was "closed" in September 1798. The 10 *Repository* tracts published between November 1797 and September 1798 are referred to as the "Evans" tracts because they were printed exclusively by J. Evans. This chapter lists the titles of 43 tracts which can be attributed unproblematically to Hannah More. However, there are 14 more tracts signed [Z] but not included in compilations of More's works published during her lifetime. These tracts could be attributed to More on the basis of the pseudonym; but attribution is here reserved pending further examination (including a non-traditional

attribution study). There could be additional tracts which were not signed and not included in compilations of her work but which were also written by More. This chapter argues that attribution of these tracts may only be established through a non-traditional attribution study. In summary, in contrast to the oft-repeated claim that More was responsible for 49 tracts, which reflects Spinney's observation of 49 tracts signed [Z] and held by the British library in 1939, More wrote at least 43 and more likely about 57 of the *Cheap Repository* tracts.

Applying Previous Bibliographies to the Authorship Problem

Drawing from the standard accepted bibliographies is a valid scholarly approach to establishing the canon of the *Cheap Repository* and the authors of individual tracts. Chapter One described the ways in which scholars have relied upon the primary bibliographies of the *Cheap Repository*. As Chapter One observed, it is important to clearly note the scope of each bibliographical study. As mentioned there, Spinney's bibliography details the *Cheap Repository Tracts* held by the British Library in 1939. Spinney's methodology for the dating of individual tracts is sound. In dating the publication dates of each individual tract, Spinney draws upon the *Stationer's Hall Register*, in conjunction with letters and other external evidence. The *Stationer's Hall Register* is the primary document supporting the dates of publication, though even this document is not an exhaustive record, as registration was not legally

required. The Register does not give indication as to authorship, except in a small number of cases, because the names of tracts are listed with the name of the author or the name of the copyright holder, which may be a printer rather than an author (Halkett and Laing). In listing their names as author or publisher, the *Stationers' Hall Register* directly connects Hannah and Sally [Sarah] More to the *Cheap Repository*. Money from the subscriptions supported the printing of the tracts, and consequently the copyright remained vested in More rather than being conferred upon the printer. My own examination of the *Stationer's Hall Register* affirms Spinney's record on almost every point. If a tract was not included in the *Register*, then Spinney offers an approximate date based on internal evidence including context and advertisements. As such, Spinney's dating offers persuasive guidance and forms the basis for my own dating in Appendix.

In contrast, Green's bibliography should be relied upon with caution when dating individual tracts. At least two dozen tracts are dated one to three years earlier than the dates recorded in the *Stationer's Hall Register* and provided by Spinney. The tracts included in editions of compiled *Repository* tracts originally published in the years 1795 and 1796 (published in 1797) show persuasively that Green's dating is incorrect. Green's erroneous dating is most problematic in relation to the unauthorized Marshall tracts, as almost all of these are dated as 1797 rather than the actual year of 1799. A date of

1797 could lead scholars to infer incorrectly that the tracts were part of the *Repository* proper and could partially be responsible for some scholars inaccurately discussing unauthorised Marshall tracts as if they are part of the *Cheap Repository*.

Because of the complex publication history, the parameters of the authorised *Cheap Repository* are an essential element in compiling an exhaustive bibliographical study and completing an exhaustive traditional attribution study. As the organiser of *The Cheap Repository Tracts*, More communicated with the authorized printers. As Chapter One described, in November 1797, when More stepped away from day-to-day involvement with the *Cheap Repository*, she broke off her association with Marshall. At that time, also as Chapter One discusses, Evans and Hatchard were appointed the official printers to the *Cheap Repository*. Not long after this time, the rights to reprint tracts issued between 1795 and 1797 were sold outright to F & C Rivington (Spinney). Clearly identifying tracts fraudulently issued by Marshall under the *Cheap Repository* name provides an opportunity for scholars to compare and contrast them with those which are part of the original series. While the Appendix lists these “unauthorized” tracts, this thesis is not concerned with identifying the authors responsible for them. Nevertheless, this chapter notes pertinent information that distinguishes the authors of the authorized tracts from those of post-1797 Marshall tracts,

specifically, where the pseudonyms are the same. Chapter One detailed the problems that Marshall's unauthorized tracts cause for bibliographical clarity. The impact was also felt in relation to tracts printed and reprinted in Britain. William Watson, and later Ann Watson, was the authorized printer in Dublin. Using Green's bibliography, we can see that Watson acted as the printer for a number of Marshall's unauthorized tracts, including *The Divine Model; or, the Christian's exemplar* (Marshall, 1797 [sic] (1799)). If Watson, as an authorized printer, was issuing the "unauthorized" tracts it is hardly surprising that the hawkers, reading public and subsequently scholars found it difficult to differentiate them from the *Repository* proper.

Default Attributions to More

Default attributions to More are largely a result of laziness. As Foster concedes, "it was not unknown for a London stationer to attribute a text to a living writer without permission, [although] it didn't happen very often. All citizens, writers included, had an exclusive right to their own name, and the London Stationers Company usually toed the line" (378). Nicholas D. Smith details a number of anonymous works mistakenly attributed by the reading public to More that she did not author and which she explicitly denied writing in letters to acquaintances and families, such as *The Velvet Cushion* (London, 1814) (110-20). Smith suggests that these incorrect assumptions are a natural corollary of More's insistence on anonymity for so many of her

published writings (111). As Chapter One explores, and MacDonald Shaw has observed, many scholars have not differentiated between More as the editor of the series and More as the author of only some of the tracts.

Individual Tracts – Conclusive Attribution to Hannah More

Tracts which are signed [Z], and which appear in the Cadell editions of More's *Collected Works* (1801, 1818, and 1830) or in her 1816 *Poems*, can be considered to be more than likely to be by More. The D. Graisberry 1803 (Dublin) edition is a new typeset of the 1801 Cadell edition (*Tales for the Common People* ii). Only thirty-three tracts are reprinted as part of the Cadell Editions.

Although Spinney asserts that it was in the 1818 Cadell edition of More's *Collected Works* that the identity of the author connected to the [Z] signature was first disclosed, it was actually in the "Advertisement" to volume four of the 1801 edition of *Collected Works* that More declared that the tracts included had first been published under the signature [Z] (310).

These Stories, which were first published, among a great number of others, in the Cheap Repository, under the Signature Z, and here presented to the Reader, much enlarged and improved. (n.p)

In the advertisement to volume five, More confirms her authorship of the tracts included in *Collected Works*. There is no absolute statement, however, indicating that these are the only tracts More wrote for the series:

As these stories, though *principally* are not calculated *exclusively* for the middle and lower classes of society, the Author has, at the desire of her friends, Selected those which were written by herself, and presented them to the public in this collection of her works, in an enlarged and improved form. (*Collected Works* v, viii)

The same advertisement appears in the equivalent volumes of Cadell's 1818 and 1830 editions, as well as William Watson's 1803 Dublin edition of *Collected Works*.

It is not good practice to rely on the 1835 US edition (Boston and New York: Francis) of *Collected Works*, though many scholars do. A number of tracts appear in the 1835 edition that do not appear in earlier Cadell editions. The Francis edition should not be considered persuasive evidence of authorship without additional external evidence because it was published after More's death in 1833. Furthermore, there is no evidence to suggest More had any involvement in this edition, and consequently it should be relied upon cautiously.

The full list of forty tracts which are both signed [Z] and included in *Poems* or a Cadell edition of *Collected Works* or More's *Poems* is as follows:

1. *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain* (March 1795)
2. *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain. Part II* (June 1795)
3. *The History of Tom White the Postilion* (March 1795)
4. *The Way to Plenty: or, the second part of Tom White* (September 1795)
5. *The Two Shoemakers* (March 1795)
6. *The Apprentice Turned Master; or, the Second Part of the Two Shoemakers: Shewing How James Stock from a Parish Apprentice Became a Creditable Tradesman* (February 1796)

7. *The History of Idle Jack Brown; containing the merry story of the mountebank, with some account of the bay mare Smiler. Being the third part of the Two Shoemakers* (March 1796)
8. *Jack Brown in Prison ... Being the fourth part of the History of the Two Shoemakers* (April 1796)
9. *Patient Joe, or, the Newcastle Collier* (July 1795)
10. *The Riot; or, Half a loaf is better than no bread* (August 1795)
11. *The Honest Miller of Gloucestershire*
12. *The Two Wealthy Farmers, or, the History of Mr. Bragwell. Part I* (October 1795)
13. *The Two Wealthy Farmers; or, the History of Mr. Bragwell. Part II* (November 1795)
14. *The History of Mr. Bragwell; or the Two Wealthy Farmers. Part III* (September 1796)
15. *Sunday Reading. The History of the Two Wealthy Farmers, or a new dialogue between Mr Bragwell and Mr Worthy. Part IV* (October 1796)
16. *The Two Wealthy Farmers, with the sad adventures of Miss Bragwell. Part V* (October 1796)
17. *The Two Wealthy Farmers; or the Sixth part of the history of Mr. Bragwell and his two daughters* (October 1797)
18. *The Two Wealthy Farmers; or, the Seventh and last part of the history of Mr. Bragwell and his two daughters* (November 1797)
19. *The Hackney Coachman, or the Way to get a good fare* (May 1796)
20. *Sunday Reading. On Carrying Religion into the Common Business of Life. A dialogue between James Stock and Will Simpson, the shoemakers* (June 1796)
21. *Turn the Carpet; or, the Two weavers: a new song, in a dialogue between Dick and John. By Z.* (July 1796)
22. *Betty Brown, the St. Giles's Orange girl, with some account of Mrs. Sponge, the Money-Lender* (August 1796)
23. *Sunday Reading. The Grand Assizes; or, General gaol delivery* (August 1796)
24. *Black Giles the Poacher: With Some Account of a Family who Had Rather Live By Their Wits Than Their Work* (November 1796)
25. *Black Giles the Poacher. With the history of Widow Brown's apple-tree. Part II* (December 1796)
26. *Sunday Reading. Bear ye one another's Burthens; or the Valley of tears: a vision* (December 1796)
27. *The Cottage Cook; or, Mrs. Jones's Cheap Dishes. Shewing the way to do much good with little money* (January 1797).¹

¹ Included in volume four of More's 1801 Works under the title of *Cure for Melancholy*. A footnote on the first page of the tract states: "This was first printed under the title of *The*

28. *Tawny Rachel; or, The Fortune Teller: With Some Account of Dreams, Omens, and Conjurors.* By Z (April 1797)
29. *The Sunday School* (May 1797)
30. *The Two Gardeners* (May 1797)
31. *The History of Hester Wilmot; or the Second part of the Sunday School* (June 1797)
32. *Sunday Reading. The Servant Man turned Soldier; or, the Fair weather Christian. A Parable.* By Z (June 1797)
33. *The History of Hester Wilmot; or the New gown. Part II. Being a continuation of the Sunday School* (July 1797)
34. *The Lady and the Pye; or Know thyself* (July 1797)
35. *Sunday Reading. The Strait Gate and the Broad Way, being the second part of the Valley of Tears* (July 1797)
36. *The History of Mr. Fantom, the new fashioned philosopher and his man William* (August 1797)
37. *Sunday Reading. The Pilgrims: An allegory* (September 1797)
38. *Dan and Jane; or Faith and works. A tale* (October 1797)
39. *The Plum-Cakes: or, the Farmer and his three sons* (November 1797)
40. *Parley the Porter: An allegory; shewing how robbers without can never get into an house unless there are traitors within.* By Z (1798 – Evans Authorized)

Some of these tracts are also supported by acknowledgement by More in the course of correspondence. These include *The Riot; or, Half a loaf is better than no bread* and *Patient Joe, or, the Newcastle Collier*. *Patient Joe* is an excellent example. In a letter to her sister, More wrote “I have written a new ballad called the “Newcastle Collier” with which the Bishop of Durham is much pleased” (Roberts 430). Furthermore, More’s correspondence clears up confusion surrounding a tract titled *The Middle Way’s the Best*. This tract was entered in the Stationer’s Hall Register on January 1, 1796, but was never distributed. Spinney suggests that copies were printed but that it was

Cottage Cook” Hannah More, *The Works of Hannah More*, vol. 4, 8 vols. (London: Cadell & Davies, 1801) 325.

“suppressed prior to publication” (Spinney 323). It is not clear from available historical evidence whether the tract was actually printed; however, if a bulk of copies were actually printed and then destroyed, at least two were preserved by More. In a letter to Zachary Macaulay (Bath: Jan 6, 1796), More states “the party of moderates is so small that there is no such thing as issuing the enclosed ballad from the *Cheap Repository*. One copy is for the Bishop, the other for your own eating” (Roberts 462).

As Chapter One detailed, relying overmuch on the [Z] pseudonym for attributing tracts to More may lead to overlooking tracts not signed [Z] but which are, nonetheless, by More. Tracts which are included in 1801, 1818, or 1830 editions of More’s *Collected Works* or *Poems* (1816) but which are not signed [Z] on any extant copies can be, especially if there is additional external evidence, assumed to be by More. A list of these tracts is as follows:

1. *The Bad Bargain; or, The World set up to Sale* (January 1797)
2. *Tis All for the Best* (approx. 1797)²
3. *The Foolish Traveller; or, A good Inn is a bad Home* (1798 – Evans

Authorized)

² One copy examined notes that it was entered at Stationer’s Hall but neither Spinney nor an examination of the Stationer’s Hall Register reveal an entry, and consequently a publication date.

In summary, the total number of tracts which can be attributed to More on the basis of an acknowledgement by More, in conjunction with other internal and external evidence, is 43.

Individual Tracts – Inconclusive or Unknown Authorship

As the first chapter noted, this thesis contends that there are 127 tracts comprised in the *Cheap Repository Tracts*. This number excludes the 73 additional unauthorized Marshall tracts fraudulently issued under the title of the *Cheap Repository*. After his dismissal as a “Printer to *Cheap Repository*” Marshall no longer had rights to use the name to make reprints, let alone to issue new tracts.

For the purposes of this study, where authorship cannot be attributed conclusively through internal and external evidence, authorship is considered to be problematic. Tracts in this section are separated into two groups: the inconclusive and the unknown.

Where tracts are signed [Z] but are not included in an edition of her *Collected Works*, an attribution to Hannah More can be tentatively made, pending a non-traditional attribution study of each individual tract. The authorship of these tracts should be considered inconclusive. While more weight should be given to those attributions where there is clear textual, internal or external, support, attributions made to Hannah More by scholars without clear authority or methodology should still be noted and

investigated. I have also included tracts which are signed [Z] only in some reprints and not others, or which are signed [Z] but only included in editions of the *Collected Works* published following More's death in 1833; such editions include the 1835 Francis edition (US) and the 1835 Harper & Bros edition (US). In relation to each of these tracts, a non-traditional study would provide persuasive evidence in relation to the likelihood of More's authorship. Tracts in this category include:

1. *The Apprentice's Monitor; or Indentures in verse, shewing what they are bound to do. Proper to be hung up in all shops* (March 1795)
2. *The Carpenter; or, the Danger of evil company* (March 1795)
3. *The Gin-Shop; or, a Peep into a prison* (March 1795)
4. *The Market Woman, a true tale, or Honesty is the best policy. By Z* (March 1795)
5. *The Old Man, His Children and the Bundle of Sticks, a fable* (March 1795)
6. *The Roguish Miller; or, Nothing got by cheating* (Feb-Mar 1795)
7. *The Sorrows of Yamba; or the Negro Woman's Lamentation. To the tune of: "Hosiers ghost."* (October 1795)
8. *Robert and Richard; or the Ghost of poor Molly, who was drowned in Richard's mill pond. To the tune of: Collin's Mulberry Tree* (January 1796)
9. *The Shopkeeper Turned Sailor, or the folly of going out of our element. Shewing what a clever man John the Shopkeeper was in his own business, and what a rash step he took in resolving to go upon the water. Part I* (March 1796)
10. *A Hymn of Praise for the Abundant Harvest of 1796* (September 1796)
11. *The Good Militiaman, or the man that is worth a host; being a new song by Honest Dan the ploughboy turned soldier* (February 1797)

12. *The Judgment Day, in which a true and just account of the manner in which the scriptures teach that we and all mankind are to be tried on the great day of judgment. Showing plainly who shall go away and who shall go away to everlasting death, and who to life eternal – with a few words of encouragement to fearful Christians* (June 1797)
13. *The Black Prince, a true story; being an account of the life and death of Naimbanna, an African King's son, who arrived in England in the year 1791, and set sail on his return in June 1793.* (1798 – Evans Authorized)
14. *The Thunderstorm, or the history of Tom Watson, the unnatural son, being a warning to all parents.* By Z. (1798 – Evans Authorized)

Tracts for which authorship is considered unknown are those tracts without any signature, being thus in the true sense of the term anonymous, and for which no internal or external evidence tending towards an attribution has yet been uncovered. The list of tracts with currently unknown authorship is as follows:

1. *Babay. A true story of a Good Negro Woman* (March 1795)
2. *The Book of Martyrs. An account of Holy men who died for the Christian Religion.* (March 1795)
3. *The Cock Fighter* (March 1795)
4. *Execution of MacLean, commonly known by the name of the Gentleman Highwayman* (March 1795)
5. *The Horse Race, or the pleasures of the course* (March 1795)
6. *Husbandry Moraliz'd; or, Pleasant Sunday reading for a farmer's kitchen. Part I* (March 1795)
7. *A New history of a True Book, in verse* (March 1795)
8. *Wonderful Escape from Shipwreck. An account of the loss of His Majesty's Ship Centaur.* (March 1795)
9. *The Execution of Wild Robert. Being a Warning to all parents* (June 1795)

10. *Sunday Reading. Daniel in the Den of Lions* (June 1795)
11. *Happy Waterman* (August 1795)
12. *Sunday Reading. Hints to all Ranks of People on the Occasion of the Present Scarcity* (August 1795)
13. *Dame Andrews, a Ballad* (September 1795)
14. *Sunday Reading. Noah's Flood*(September 1795)
15. *Sunday Reading. The Harvest Home* (October 1795)
16. *Sunday reading. The Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard* (October 1795)
17. *A New Christmas Carol Called the Merry Christmas and Happy New Year* (December 1795)
18. *Sunday Reading. The troubles of Life, being a familiar description of the troubles of the poor labourer; the little shopkeeper; the great tradesman; the sickly man; the disappointed lover; the unhappy husband; the widower; and, lastly, the child of sorrow. To which is added the Guinea and the Shilling. Sickness, sorrow, death.* (December 1795)
19. *The History of Mary Wood The House-Maid; or, the Danger of false Excuses.* (January 1796)
20. *Sunday Reading. Some New Thoughts for the New Year* (January 1796)
21. *The Story of Sinful Sally, told by herself, shewing how from being Sally of the Green she was first led to become SINFUL SALLY, and afterwards DRUNKEN SAL, and how at last she came to a most melancholy and almost hopeless End; being therein a Warning to all young Women both in Town and Country* (February 1796)
22. *Sunday Reading. Onesimus; or, the Run-Away Servant Converted* (March 1796)
23. *The Conversion of St. Paul the apostle.* (April 1796)
24. *The Shopkeeper Turned Sailor, or the folly of going out of our element. Shewing what a clever man John the Shopkeeper was in his own business, and what a rash step he took in resolving to go upon the water. Part II* (April 1796)

25. *Sunday Reading. The General Resurrection. Part I. Being a description taken from scripture of some of the events which will come to pass at the end of the World.* (May 1796)
26. *The History of Charles Jones, the footman* (May 1796)
27. *The Election. A quite new song. Shewing many which ought not to be dome. Being a new song very fit to be sung in all places where election is going on. To the Tune of: Dusky Night* (June 1796)
28. *The Gamester. The story of poor Tricket the gamester, showing hoe he first lost his place by gaming, and then had well nigh been the death of his wife through the same cause, and how, lastly, his gaming was the occasion of his being transported as a convict to Botany Bay.* (July 1796)
29. *Sunday Reading. Look at home, or the accusers accused. Being an account of the manner in which our savior put to silence the scribes and Pharisees when they brought to him the woman taken into adultery.* (July 1796)
30. *John the shopkeeper turned Sailor; Part III* (August 1796)
31. *Sunday Reading. Explanation of the nature of Baptism, designed especially for all those parents who are about to bring a child to be baptized.* (September 1796)
32. *King Dionysius and Squire Damocles* (October 1796)
33. *The Hampshire Tragedy; shewing how a servant maid first robbed her master, and was afterwards struck dead for telling a lie. A True Story* (November 1796)
34. *A New Christmas Carol for 1796* (December 1796)
35. *The Fall of Adam, our first parent with some account of the creation of the world. Shewing the happy state of man in paradise, and also the sin and misery which have entered since the fall. To which are added some remarks respecting our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the second Adam and the only Saviour of this world.* (1796/1798)
36. *Sunday Reading: On the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper* (January 1797)
37. *Sunday Reading: The Story of Joseph and his Brethren. Part I* (February 1797)
38. *The Wonderful Advantages of Adventuring in the Lottery!!!* (February 1797)

39. *Dick and Johnny ; or, the last new drinking song.* (March 1797)
40. *Sunday Reading. Joseph in Prison. Part II* (March 1797)
41. *Sunday Reading. Joseph delivered out of Prison. The story of Joseph... Part III* (April 1797)
42. *The True Heroes; or, The Noble Army of Martyrs. Part 2 of Dick and Johnny; or the last new drinking song* (April 1797)
43. *Sunday Reading. Joseph and his Brethren. Part IV,* (May 1797)
44. *Sunday Reading. The Explanation of the Ten Commandments. Part I.* (August 1797)
45. *The Loyal Sailor; or No Mutineering. Being a song fit to be sung on board of all his majesty's ships; giving an account of the late awkward affair at Portsmouth, with the increase of pay then agreed to on all sides, by a sailor supposed to be on board: and also of that most melancholy and dreadful mutiny which happened afterwards at the Nore and which caused so much astonishment throughout this loyal nation. In which song it is further represented how this honest sailor was giving away half his rations to his wife Nell, and was also promising part of his pay to her and the children, when a strange fleet hove in sight; and he instantly prepared for action. To the tune of: The hardy tar* (August 1797)
46. *Sunday Reading. The Explanation of the Ten Commandments. Part II.* (October 1797)
47. *Sunday Reading. The Explanation of the Ten Commandments. Part III.* (November 1797)
48. *Here and There* (1798 – Evans Authorized)
49. *The Death of Christ, or tract for Good Friday.* (1798 – Evans Authorized)
50. *A New Christmas Tract, or the right way of rejoicing at Christmas. Shewing the reasons we have for joy at the event of our Saviour's birth. In which also a description is given of the dreadful state the world was in before his coming; with some remarks suited to the times in which we live.* (1798 – Evans Authorized)
51. *The Gravestone, being an account (supposed to have been written on a gravestone) of a wife who buried both her children in one day, and who from*

that time became a very devout Christian. With a suitable address to those who may be attending a funeral. (1798 – Evans Authorized)

Case Study: Inconclusive Authorship - Sinful Sally

The Story of Sinful Sally, told by herself, shewing how from being Sally of the Green she was first led to become SINFUL SALLY, and afterwards DRUNKEN SAL, and how at last she came to a most melancholy and almost hopeless End; being therein a Warning to all young Women both in Town and Country was entered at Stationer's Hall in February 1796. The authorship of this tract is uncertain. Spinney's bibliography records the lack of signature on early copies, and my research has failed to uncover any examples of the tract with a signature (324). Notwithstanding, Claire MacDonald Shaw attributes *Sinful Sally* to More on the basis of having viewed versions of the tract with the [Z] signature (*Tales for the Common People and Other Cheap Repository Tracts*. 176). MacDonald does not identify the location of the copies of this tract bearing a [Z] signature. Alternatively, Julia Saunders concludes that *Sinful Sally* was "probably written by one of More's sisters" (9). Saunders gives no further indication of the grounds for this attribution. This tract would make an excellent subject for a non-traditional attribution study.

Authors other than More

Spinney stated that establishing the identity of those "friends" who contributed to the enterprise of the *Cheap Repository* is "now impossible" (310).

Identifying these “friends” in the course of a traditional authorship attribution study is an attempt, then, to do the impossible. Nonetheless, as Chapter One noted, scholars have identified Sarah More, Hester Mulso Chapone, William Mason, Zachary Macaulay, Serena Mills Macaulay, Reverend John Newton, Henry Thornton, and Isaac Watts as possible contributors to the series.

More’s sisters were involved in the enterprise to varying levels. Sarah contributed tracts; and Hannah’s other sisters, Mary, Elizabeth, and Martha contributed subscriptions. In addition to the *Stationer’s Hall Register* explicitly identifying Sarah More as the author some of the tracts signed [S], Henry Thompson asserts that Sarah (also known as Sally) More was the author of tracts signed [S] (151). Most scholars identifying Sally as the author of individual tract rely on Thornton’s identification. Spinney identifies six tracts signed [S], and at this stage only these 6 have been uncovered bearing the [S] signature. It should be noted that the signature [S.S.] appears on a number of the unauthorized Marshall tracts. The [S.S.] signature has no relationship to the [S] signature of the earlier tracts, and most certainly does not denote the work of Sarah More. The identity of [S.S.] is itself a matter of contention among scholars. Spinney suggests that [S.S.] is generally identified as Mary Jane Kilner (308). However, Anne Stott suggests that More believed that S.S.

was “high Calvinist” William Huntington, for whom the initials meant “sinner saved” (Stott 150).

In a letter from Hester Mulso Chapone to Mrs Carter, dated 29 June 1794, Chapone wrote:

I have been writing a story for Mrs H. Moore’s [sic] Cheap Publications [sic], who I thought must want assistance; but I find she has more composers than she knows what to do with; so I should grudge my trouble, were it not that I know I did it with good intention. (168)

This statement makes it difficult to determine the extent of Chapone’s eventual involvement. No scholar has yet identified a single individual tract for which she was responsible.

William Mason, the English poet (1724 – 1797), was also a contributor.³ Letters between More and her sister Sarah indicate that there are two tracts in the series, both reportedly signed [M], which are the work of Mason (Roberts ii, 430). In the 1795 letter, written from London, More reveals that Mason had submitted six tracts, but that she had rejected three on the basis of the overemphasis on politics and a further tract because its emphasis was too

³ This William Mason should not be confused with William Mason, Calvinist (1719 - 1791), who authored *A Spiritual Treasury for the Children of God* (London: Deare and Andrews, 1803) and was the editor of the *Gospel Magazine*. This is curious because it was more likely for the latter, given his evangelical bent, to be a contributor to the *Cheap Repository*; however his death in 1791 makes this impossible. The William Mason (1724 – 1797) who contributed to the *Repository* was an ordained minister of the Church of England, but he is better known for his imitations in the style of Milton and Gray. Indeed, some scholars have expressed surprise at Mason’s close friendship with Horace Walpole and consider his poetic talent to be limited to a gift for stylistic mimesis. For more information about William Mason and a critique of his talent, see Phelps, William Lyon. *The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement: A Study in Eighteenth Century Literature*. London: Ginn & company, 1893.

much on love, before she accepted the two that were included in the series (459). One tract is identified in the letter as *The Plow-Boys Dream*. While British versions of *Plow-Boys Dream* appear, generally, to be signed [M], the 1800 US reprints, out of Philadelphia, are not signed. The second tract referred to in the correspondence has yet to be identified. What should be noted, however, is that tracts with an [M] signature published following the closure of the *Cheap Repository* in 1798 should not be attributed to Mason (Spinney 337). *The Baker's Dream, or death no bad change to the poor and good, by M*, signed [M] is an example of an unauthorized Marshall tract, published in 1799, which should not be attributed to William Mason purely on the basis of the pseudonymous signature.

Zachary Macaulay provided financial support to the *Repository* as well as contributing tracts (Macaulay ii). In a letter to Zachary Macaulay dated January 14, 1796, More indicates both Macaulay's involvement and her role in editing the works of other contributors: "Miss Mills has been busy at work transcribing your communicant [...]. We much approve of what you have done, but have ventured to abridge in a few instances" (qtd in Spinney 311). The letter refers to an attached manuscript by Serena Mills. Serena Mills later married Zachary Macaulay, and the couple continued to support More's endeavors. The manuscript is not identified by name in the letter; however,

but Spinney contends that it was later used for the *Cheap Repository*. As yet, no individual tracts have been attributed to Serena Mills Macaulay.

Reverend John Newton (1725-1807) and Hannah More developed a friendship as a result of their common faith and involvement in the abolition movement. Newton should be considered a possible contributor of one of the *Sunday Reading* tracts or one or more of the *Hymns* or (poems set to popular tunes). In a letter to Newton, in 1794, More requests his and his wife's involvement in the plan: "Will you allow me to make extracts of your good woman's diary for a penny paper? Or perhaps you might have the goodness to do it yourself; or a hymn or anything that would suit" (Roberts 430). "Your good woman" is a reference to Newton's wife, Elizabeth. No tract has yet been identified as having been written by Newton or his wife.

Henry Thornton (1760 - 1815), also an abolitionist, was a likely contributor to the series. In a letter to Zachary Macaulay dated 14 January 1796, (the same letter detailing part of Macaulay's own involvement) Hannah More referred to Thornton's involvement: "our friend Henry Thornton is hard at work at some "prayers"." Spinney concludes that "these must be the *Prayers to be used by a child, & C*, published in the Repository in October 1796" (310). The tract to which Spinney refers is *Sunday Reading. Prayers to be used by a child or young person – By a Grown Person – By the Master or Mistress of a Sunday School – and by the Master or Mistress of a Family* (1796). Stott has also suggested that

Sunday Reading, Part One. On the Religious Advantage of the Present Inhabitants of Great Britain and a companion tract, *Sunday Reading. The Beggarly Boy. A Religious Parable*, both published in June 1795, are also Thornton's work (178). It is highly possible that Thornton was responsible for some of the other *Sunday Reading* tracts.

William Gilpin (1724-1804) was best known for his publications about picturesque qualities of the British countryside. He was also, though this was less known, responsible for religious and historical biographies of Thomas Cranmer, Hugh Latimer, and John Wycliffe. Though it should be tested by non-traditional authorial attribution methods, the subject matter of *Life of William Baker, with his Funeral Sermon, by the Rev. Mr. Gilpin* is consistent with that of other published works by this author.

Tracts which can be attributed on the basis of external evidence, including letters, to contributors other than More are as follows:

1. *Sunday Reading, Part One. On the Religious Advantage of the Present Inhabitants of Great Britain*. [Henry Thornton] (June 1795)
2. *Sunday Reading. Prayers to be used by a child or young person – By a Grown Person – By the Master or Mistress of a Sunday School – and by the Master or Mistress of a Family*. [Henry Thornton] (November 1796)
3. *Sunday Reading. The Beggarly Boy. A Religious Parable*. [Henry Thornton] (June 1795)
4. *The Touchstone; or, the way to know a true Christian. Being a description of the character of our blessed Saviour with an inquiry whether we are like him. To which is added, An appeal first to infidels, and then to persons who call themselves by the name of Christians*. [Zachary Macaulay] (February 1796)

Stock in Trade and the Cheap Repository Tracts

A number of *Cheap Repository* tracts are condensed versions of previously published works. *Divine Songs to which are added Prayers for Children* (March 1795) by Isaac Watts is a much condensed version of his *Divine Songs attempted in the easy language of Children* which had appeared in many editions since its initial publication in 1715. Similarly, Daniel Defoe's *The History of the Plague in London in 1665, with suitable Reflections* is a reprint of an earlier tract of the same name, and like Henry Fielding's *Murders: True examples of the interposition of Providence in the discovery and punishment of murder* and the Watts piece, were part of Hazard's stock in trade.

A complete list of those tracts which can be attributed unproblematically to contributors other than More are as follows:

1. *Divine Songs, to which are added prayers for Children* (March 1795) – Isaac Watts
2. *The History of the Plague in London in 1665, with suitable Reflections* (March 1795) – Daniel Defoe
3. *Life of William Baker, with his Funeral Sermon, by the Rev. Mr. Gilpin.* – Reverend William Gilpin (March 1795)
4. *Dialogue the Second. On the duty of carrying religion into our amusements.* By Rev. Mr Gilpin – Reverend William Gilpin (1798 – Evans Authorized)
5. *Murders. True examples of the interposition of Providence in the discovery and punishment of murder* - Justice Henry Fielding (March 1795)
6. *Path to Riches and happiness* [Benjamin Franklin] (1798 – Evans Authorized)

Conditional Attribution to Authors Other than More

There are a number of tracts for which we can hazard an attribution based on the identification of a pseudonym, in this case [M] or [S], but for which there is not sufficient evidence to make an unconditional attribution. These tracts should be examined as a second priority in a non-traditional study, behind those tracts signed [Z] but which have not been confirmed as being More's work through external evidence. The names of these tracts follow, with the possible author identified in square brackets before the approximate date of publication:

1. *Two Soldiers*. By S. [Sarah More] (March 1795)
2. *Good Mother's Legacy* [Sarah More] (March 1795)
3. *Sorrowful Sam; or, The Two Blacksmiths*. By S [Sarah More] (December 1795)
4. *The Cheapside Apprentice; or the History of Mr. Francis H....Fully setting forth the danger of playing with edge tools. Shewing how a gay life may prove a short one, and that a merry evening may produce a sorrowful morning*. By S. [Sarah More] (June 1796)
5. *The Hubbub; or, the History of Farmer Russel the hard-hearted overseer*. By S. [Sarah More] (March 1797)
6. *The History of Diligent Dick; or, Truth Will Out, though it Be Hid in a Well* [Sarah More] (September 1797)
7. *The Plow Boys Dream* by [M]. [William Mason] (August 1795)

Collaborations between More and other Others

The *Cheap Repository* was a collaborative enterprise overseen by More. The collaborative nature of a number of the tracts may continue to complicate

matters of attribution. Little distinction has been made between those tracts solely authored by More and those tracts written by other contributors which she edited. Identifying tracts written solely by others may be a simpler exercise than identifying those tracts More collaborated on with others. There are some examples, including *Sorrows of Yamba*, discussed below, which are signed [Z] but for which it has been argued that More was only responsible. While scholars such as Claire Macdonald Shaw astutely recognize the clear link in the minds of the late eighteenth-century reading public between the series and More, concerns about consistency with which the [Z] signature denotes More's sole authorship must be addressed, especially when this signature only appears on later reprints of the tracts (177).

Lancashire Collier Girl

Chapter One explored the contention about the authorship of *Lancashire Collier Girl*. As the earlier discussion detailed, it was Anne Stott who first claimed that Henry Thornton reworked a draft of a tract written by Hannah More and submitted it to *The Lancashire Collier Girl* for publication in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* (1795) (Stott 178). Despite Stott's reasoned attribution, More's authorship of *Lancashire Collier Girl* is often assumed by scholars on the basis of the subject matter it has in common with a known More text, *Patient Joe, the Lancashire Collier*. At least this is the justification provided by Claire MacDonald Shaw for her assertion that More is the likely

author of *Lancashire Collier Girl* (174). Stott's evidence, as Chapter One laid out in full, is persuasive; *Lancashire Collier Girl* should be acknowledged as the collaborative work of Thornton and More.

Sorrows of Yamba

The Sorrows of Yamba; or the Negro Woman's Lamentation. To the tune of: "Hosiers ghost." By Z was entered at Stationer's Hall on October 29, 1795, in preparation for distribution to booksellers and hawkers in November 1795. The authorship of this tract is disputed, though scholars such as Moira Ferguson have accepted More's authorship on the basis of the [Z] signature (218). However, no copy of the tract with a [Z] signature, printed prior to 1800, has been examined in the course of this study. Nevertheless, *Sorrows of Yamba* was reprinted and clearly labelled as More's work during her lifetime in two works: a Religious Tracts Society pamphlet (Newcastle, 1823), and an Anti-Slavery Collection (1828). The 1828 version is heavily condensed and complicates the matter of authorship – this latter text would not, for example, be suitable for a non-traditional authorship attribution study. In 1999, Alan Richardson attributed *Sorrows of Yamba* jointly to More and Eaglesfield Smith (170). Richardson notes that a shorter version of *Sorrows of Yamba* appeared under Smith's pseudonym, E.S.J. in the *Universal Magazine* in 1797 and in two slightly different forms in his *Poetical Works* (1802 and 1822). Richardson notes that the "conversion narrative and the use of dialect" present in More's

version do not appear in Smith's versions, perhaps being added "editorially" by More (177). Despite Richardson's observations of the poem's apparent stylistic relationship to More's work and his notation that Smith's 1802 version is titled "Ianda," meaning "not wholly original," Richardson is still adamant that *Sorrows of Yamba* is a collaborative work. Scholars such as James Basker have taken their cue from Richardson and claim on the basis of his contentions, and without textual evidence, that Eagleton Smith must have submitted the poem to More who edited it for publication as part of the series (490).

Not all scholars, however, have accepted Richardson's attribution. McDonald Shaw sensibly suggests that Smith is possibly drawing on More's unsigned text, and thus from the *Repository* as a "common resource for the creation of literary ballads" (177). Consequently, a joint attribution of *The Sorrows of Yamba* can be considered premature, especially given the *Cheap Repository* publication precedes all of those linked with Eagleton Smith. This tentative judgment, of course, would be negated if it can be shown that More was in contact with Smith and that the tract originated with him, or that the tract was a collaborative effort in the first instance rather than in his condensation of the tract in 1797 alone. Given that there are extant copies of the *Sorrows of Yamba* tract signed [Z] yet no acknowledgment by More in another form, this tract should be tentatively attributed to her on the basis on

the signature but considered to be of inconclusive authorship. This tract should be included as a priority in any non-traditional attribution study.

While the *Lancashire Collier Girl* can be shown to be a collaborative work, the *Sorrows of Yamba* should not be considered to be a collaborative work without additional evidence. A non-traditional study which addresses the possibility of collaboration may offer substantial clarity in relation to the authorship of many of the tracts which currently have “unknown” authorship. In summary, at this stage only one of these tracts can be confidently attributed to More and another author as a collaborative work.

1. *Lancashire Collier Girl* [Henry Thornton and Hannah More] (May 1795).

Conclusion

Of the 127 tracts published as part of the *Cheap Repository* between March 1795 and September 1798, 43 can be attributed to Hannah More without recourse to non-traditional authorship attribution. An additional 14 tracts are probably by More because internal evidence, a pseudonym, provides grounds for a tentative attribution to Hannah More. One tract, *Lancashire Collier Girl*, can be attributed to both Henry Thornton and Hannah More as joint authors. Four tracts can be attributed to authors other than More on the basis of external textual evidence, including acknowledgement in correspondence. At least six tracts are reprints of previously published works by authors other than Hannah More. Seven additional tracts can be tentatively attributed to

various authors on the basis on the identification of the identity of the authors publishing under the veil of the [S] and [M] pseudonyms. In summary, in this chapter 58 tracts are either conclusively or tentatively attributed to More and 17 to others, while 52 tracts are described as being yet unattributable to any particular author. Chapter Four explores the place of the *Repository* in the historical and social context of eighteenth-century discourse and discusses the impact of identifying the authors of each *Cheap Repository* tract.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Cheap Repository Tracts and Eighteenth-century Discourse

The *Cheap Repository* was almost ubiquitous in British homes in the last decade of the eighteenth-century and the early decades of the nineteenth-century. Yet, despite their contemporary popularity, literary scholarship does not reflect the popularity of the *Repository* in its historical context. The confusion surrounding the authorship of individual tracts within the *Cheap Repository* has arguably been a strong contributor to this incongruity.

Chapters One and Three detailed the lack of clarity surrounding authorship of the anonymous and pseudonymous tracts of the *Cheap Repository*. This final chapter explores the place of the *Cheap Repository* in the context of eighteenth-century theological and socio-political discourse and the impact of asserting attributions and challenging authorial attributions of specific tracts. Finally, the chapter will briefly offer suggestions for future bibliographical research on the *Cheap Repository*.

Assessing the impact of *The Cheap Repository Tracts* on late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century theological and socio-political discourse is complex. The relationship of the *Cheap Repository Tract* enterprise to the Sunday School Movement, the Religious Tract Society, specifically, and the

Tractist craze, generally, as well as its place among the increasingly literate working class, has not been adequately described. This lack of definition further complicates discussion of their place within the historical and intellectual landscape. This chapter follows on from recent critical reassessments of More's integration of political and social activism with her philosophic and theological approach (Donawerth 243).

More was the target of intense personal criticism as a consequence of her participation in public debate. More suffered strident and vitriolic criticism directed at her character and gender, as well as at her impudence to criticise politicians, clergymen, and aristocrats alike on moral, social, political, and theological issues. More was even labelled an "old Bishop in petticoats" by William Cobbett and a "She-Bishop" by others (Elfenbein 934). Fellow bluestocking Mary Russell Mitford also described her as "masculine [and] not in a good sense [...] she [More] writes like a man in petticoats, or a woman in breeches. All her books have a loud voice, and a stern frown, and a long stride" (qtd in Myers "'a Peculiar Protection': History, Gender, and Eighteenth Century Literature" 227). Despite the contemporary criticism that More was usurping roles that had traditionally been reserved for men, feminist critics such as Kowaleski-Wallace, Ellen Jordan, Mona Scheurmann, and Eleanor Ty have maligned More as antithetical to the course of social reform and have dismissed her as a passive agent of the patriarchy (Kowaleski-Wallace

"Milton's Daughters: The Education of Eighteenth-Century Women Writers" 276; Jordan 439; Charlton 449; Miller 302; Scheurmann "Hannah More and the English Poor" 237; Ty 15). Patricia Demers goes so far as to accuse More of being "a daddy's girl under patriarchy" (4). William Roberts did scholars interested in More a great disservice in his abridgement of More's correspondence and memoirs, especially his removal of expressions of disillusionment by More of the church and state. Without access to unedited personal papers, scholars have perhaps understandably found it easy to dismiss More as "an agent of the patriarchy".

Even within the limitations of Robert's revisionist version of More's journals and correspondence, it seems a shame that critics apparently fail to notice the wit with which a large bulk of More's work, even of the most serious nature, is imbued.

Though More has aroused the ire of critics both in her own time and in recent years, even those who use her as a convenient antagonist for their own views cannot ignore More's persistence and literary output. Indeed, Mitzi Myers contends that More was "a female crusader infinitely more successful than Wollstonecraft or any other woman of her day" (*'Reform or Ruin': A Revolution in Female Manners* 209; *Impeccable Governesses, Rational Dames, and Moral Mothers: Mary Wollstonecraft and the Female Tradition in Georgian Children's Books* 54). More was not afraid to challenge anyone,

and did so without regard for sex or stature, even if her adversary were a member of the clergy.

Place of the Cheap Repository in Eighteenth-century Discourse

The collaborative enterprise of the *Cheap Repository Tracts* built upon momentum which had developed following More's *Essays on Various Subjects Principally Designed for Young Ladies* (1777), *Village Politics* (1792) and *An Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World* (1793). Following the closure of the *Cheap Repository* in September 1798, More wrote a large number of other works including a novel, *Coelebs in Search of a Wife* (1808), and other works on moral and social topics including *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (1799), *Hints to Forming the Character of a Young Princess* (1805) for a young Princess Victoria, and *Practical Piety, or, the Influence of the Religion of the Heart on the Conduct of the Life* (1811).

The *Cheap Repository Tracts* provide a focus for the examination of the motives and methods of moral and social reform in the 1790s. In her advertisement to volume five of her first edition of *Collected Works*, published by T. Cadell, London, in 1801, More gives a concise explanation of her motivation, at least in hindsight, for the enterprise of the *Cheap Repository* declaring that

To improve the habit, and raise the principles of the common people, at a time when their dangers and temptation, moral and political, were multiplied beyond the example of any former period,

was the motive which compelled the Author of these volumes to devise and prosecute the institution of the Cheap Repository. This plan was established with a humble wish, not only to counteract vice and profligacy on the one hand, but error, discontent, and false religion on the other. And as an appetite for reading had, from a variety of causes, been increasing among the inferior ranks in this country, it was judged expedient, at this critical period, to supply such wholesome aliment as might give a new direction to their taste, and abate their relish for those corrupt and inflammatory publication which the consequences of the French Revolution have been so fatally pouring in upon us.

The success of the plan exceeded the most sanguine expectation of its projector. Above [sic] two millions of the Tracts were sold within the first year, besides very large numbers in Ireland; and they continue to be very extensively circulated, in their original form of single tracts, by Evans in Long-Lane, West Smithfield, Hatchard in Piccadilly, and Hazard in Bath, as well as in three bound volumes sold by Rivington, Hatchard, and all the other booksellers. (vii-viii)

The *Cheap Repository* came about as a mechanism for satisfying a number of social and moral reform imperatives of More and her close friends. The *Cheap Repository* was, in part, a response to an appeal by the Bishop of London to respond to Thomas Paine.¹ Like *Village Politics* (1792), which was designed to function as a positive substitute for inflammatory and radical tracts and pamphlets inciting workers and the poor, the *Cheap Repository Tracts* were designed to satisfy the growing desire for inexpensive reading material. Laurence Stone estimates that for servants and labourers, literacy rates were never below 35-40 percent after the early part of the eighteenth-century (69).

¹ Whether the specific work of Paine's that was in focus was *Rights of Man* (1791) or *Age of Reason* (1793) is a matter of contention among scholars; E.M.G Smith, "Hannah More," *Dictionary of Literary Biography: British Reform Writers, 1789-1832*, eds. Gary Kelly and Edd Applegate, A Brucoli Clark Layman Book ed., vol. 158 (The Gale Group, 1996), The Editors, *Cheap Repository Tracts*, 14 April 2005 2005, The Literary Dictionary Company, Available: <http://www.litencyc.com/php/stopics.php?rec=true&UID=1540>, 9 September 2007.

Consequently, with the ever-growing numbers of newly literate working poor, there was a significant market for reading material among the so-called lower orders.

In the beginning, the evangelicalism expressed by the contributors in individual tracts can be considered to be an explicit response to the atheism that motivated the French Revolution. However, as the popularity of the series grew, the evangelical tone became a mechanism for the assertion of a distinct British identity. In particular, the idea of the family as a unit of virtue and essential for the strength and protection of society was beginning to crystallize in the minds of eighteenth-century commentators. More, Thornton, and the other contributors held a general belief that raising an awareness of moral and political threats to the nation would simultaneously stimulate reform and function to stabilise the nation in the face of continually evolving internal and external threats.

For More, the content of education is intrinsically related to a desire for a practical and humble exercise of Christianity (*Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* vol 1: 212). So too, More linked the success of moral reform with the assurance of the security and stability of the British nation. More emphasised the importance of broader principles and a long-term approach to moral and intellectual education, focused on the development of intellectual maturity as opposed to the short-term time filler to prevent superficial

juvenile flaws. More argued for the benefits of certain kinds of reading and warned against the injurious capacity of others. For example, the development of modesty and propriety, character, and "spiritual maturity" were paramount, whereas vanity and "ill directed sensibility" were to be avoided (vol 1: 118).

Additionally, More had more than just the working poor in mind as the audience for the series. More was consistently interested in offering edifying literature for those "of rank and fortune" as her earlier *Essays* (1777) and *An Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World* (1793) demonstrate. In *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (1799) More details a plan for the moral and intellectual education of "young women of rank and fortune." Many of the principles contained therein are more broadly applicable, even as More recognised that the practical demands that faced the working poor necessitated training in practical skills. It became increasingly important to More to present the individual tracts for a broad readership which included both the poor and those of "rank and fortune" as she became aware that the latter group were buying the tracts to distribute to employees and tenants while also reading them for their own amusement. More's awareness of this shift in her audience is evident in the different editions of collected tracts produced in varying levels of quality. For example, the premium editions were gilt-edged and printed on a much higher quality stock.

More's facility for entering public debate, aware of their prevailing terms has been sorely underestimated. More did not sit back satisfied in her own comfort and education; rather she adopted the genres and forms of the popular literature which caused her such concern as tools, stretching her own literary facility to its limits. While More's acceptance of what Demers terms "More's central belief in a natural hierarchical social order" does seem very conservative, More also challenged the views of the prevailing social elite (Demers 31). More exhorted men as well as women to match their conduct with their spiritual convictions, exhorting the poor and the wealthy alike to redress errant behaviour and match their actions to their spiritual convictions. While she was unashamedly conservative in both her politics and theology, More was anything but the "standard-bearer for the status quo" she has been called (Scheurmann "Hannah More and the English Poor" 237).

Following More's withdrawal from day-to-day involvement with the *Repository* in November, 1797, new Tracts continued to be published by Evans until September, 1798; a year later *The Religious Tract Society* was formed to continue the same work. Some scholars make an explicit connection between the *Cheap Repository* and the Religious Tract Society and infer that the *Repository* simply morphed into the Society (Rivers 2). While the two shared similar objectives and modes of operation, and though More and her circle were supportive of the agenda of the Society, More was not directly involved

as a contributor or editor. The Society explicitly acknowledges that its members saw themselves as successors to More's enterprise, but also states in its official history that More was not involved with the Society's founding or operation (W. Jones 7). This is not surprising given that the *Cheap Repository* was a tiring enterprise, and her relief at "closing" the series was not soon forgotten (Roberts iii, 61).

Assessing the efficacy of the *Cheap Repository* in "stemming the tide of infidelity and disaffection" is almost impossible at this historical distance (v: vii). It is, of course, debateable whether immediacy would be of any assistance in the estimation. It is not a mere quirk of history that the kind of Revolution that changed the face of France never occurred in Britain. Reform movements for improved educational, health, and work opportunities were instead led by the very conservatives whose status (and ultimately financial security) might be undermined by social change. The sales and distribution figures were by any estimation astonishing, at over 2 million tracts in the first year of sales alone (More vol iv, n.p). However, and despite the ubiquity of these tracts in homes across Britain and the rest of the British empire, it is not really possible to state without reservation the impact of the tracts on the poor, including the newly literate, because the number of tracts that ended up in into the homes of the "lower orders" were not identical to the numbers printed (M. G. Jones 147). This is, in part, because the poor was not the only

audience for the tracts, and also because they often did not buy the tracts themselves receiving them instead from wealthy landlords, Lords of the Manor, or clergy who distributed the tracts to their tenants, employees, or congregants.

More, as representative of the *Repository*, has often been criticized for giving the conservative elites the excuse to continue to believe in their grand notions of superiority (Pedersen 82). However, Susan Pederson argues that in the context of *Shepherd of Salisbury Plain*, More did not intend to give the impression that, as a member of the upper class, she was sentimentalizing the ignorant bliss in which the poor and downtrodden lived, even if this is the way that a modern reader perceives it to be (82). The dissonance between More's intent and a modern assessment of the manner in which she exercised her values is common, primarily because the values themselves are so antithetical to the values of those scholars making the assessments.

Content and Form

Using chapbook literature to raise awareness about and to seek to put in place a program for the moral reformation of the poor was not a new idea in the 1790s. E. P. Thomson has described the various methods used by the Church throughout the eighteenth-century to preach the duties required by obedience to the poor, and the inefficacy of those methods (386). For example, the *Society for Distributing Religious Tracts* began disseminating

pamphlets among the poor in 1782 (Porter 293). Earlier still, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S. P. C. K), founded in 1698, and the *Society for the Reformation of Manners*, which dates from the early 1690s, used tracts as a means to combat both the irreligion and the ill-discipline of the poor (Porter 295).² *The Cheap Repository Tracts* drew on the chapbook form and far exceeded the success of any previous enterprise with moral or religious didactic intent. Notably, the S. P. C. K. later reprinted at least two dozen *Cheap Repository Tracts* between 1800 and 1820.

The success of the *Cheap Repository* can in part be put down to the adoption of the forms of the 'popular' chapbook literature of the period. Notably, many of the shorter pieces were written to the tunes of popular, usually bawdy, songs of the time. Ironically, despite the proliferation of pro-revolutionary pamphlets (such as those to which *Village Politics* (1792) and possibly the most famous of all the *Cheap Repository Tracts*, *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain* (1795), respond) being an impetus for the series, the inflammatory chapbooks never reached the level of success that became familiar to the *Repository*. Many of the tracts were intended to directly combat "the vulgar and licentious publications" and the "profane and indecent songs and penny papers" that were the usual fare of the hawkers and booksellers (Pedersen 87). Even the title *Cheap Repository* masked the reformist intent;

² The S.P.C.K. later reprinted a number of tracts from the *Cheap Repository*.

and with prices of ½ - 1½ d., the tracts were within the means of the working poor (M. G. Jones 141). The tracts were originally printed on coarse brown paper, were adorned with lively and detailed woodcuts and illustrative book-plates, were also titled to attract attention (Hopkins 212). Some particularly colourful titles include: *The Execution of Wild Robert, Being a Warning to all Parents; Robert and Richard; or the Ghost of poor Molly, who was drowned in Richard's mill pond. To the tune of: Collin's Mulberry Tree; Gin Shop, or a Peep into Prison* and *The Wonderful Advantages of Adventuring in the Lottery*. Mary Jones quotes a letter from More to a Mrs Bouverie where she gives insight into the thought put into the aesthetic form of the chap-books; More comments that "by trying to make them a little amusing in the manner as well as ornamental in their appearance we may in time bring them still to high things" (qtd in M. G. Jones 139).

In this employment of the profane and popular for the purpose of moral form, More was inspired by Sarah Trimmer. Trimmer's very successful tracts and stories for children adapted popular secular forms of *märchen* and chapbook literature to incorporate moral lessons. More's Mendip Hills Sunday Schools were part of a growing movement of such schools across Britain in the 17980s and 1790s and were strongly influenced by the model, and the success, of Trimmer's own groundbreaking Sunday Schools.

All of the 127 tracts in the series are imbued with a religious tone. They present a broad spectrum of religious, moral, social, political, and philanthropic issues. The *Cheap Repository* categorized the tracts into three types: Histories, Poetry, and Sunday Readings. The Histories and Sunday Readings are usually written in prose, while the Poetry is generally written in canto form, mirroring the meter of the popular tune to which it is set. Approximately three quarters of the tracts can be described as moral or entertaining tales, with the remaining one quarter, usually the Sunday Readings, having explicitly religious content often taking the form of direct explication of the Scriptures.

The tracts indirectly raise awareness for the need for moral reform through the depiction of licentious behaviours and vices such as gambling, drinking, prostitution, and hypocrisy. These behaviours are connected with personal and societal degeneracy through vivid characterisation. Character traits are often signalled by character names which reflect a character trait to be imitated or avoided. In a manner reminiscent of *Pilgrim's Progress*, characters often function as models of virtue and morality; for example, Mrs. Jones, the virtuous merchant's wife who preached frugality in time of scarcity in *The Cottage Cook; or, Mrs. Jones's Cheap Dishes. Shewing the way to do much good with little money* (1797) and later provided for the moral and religious

education of poor children in *The Sunday School*.³ Similarly, character traits which are unworthy or undesirable are often depicted by characters (and their names) who embody degenerate behaviours. In one of More's own tracts, *The Two Shoemakers*, Jack Brown embodies idleness, and thus degeneracy: "Jack Brown grew so very idle and negligent, that he now totally neglected his affairs, and to hard drinking he added deep gaming" (*The Works of Hannah More* 69). Idle attitudes are depicted as synonymous with vice and it is inferred that the former will lead inevitably to the latter. The tracts consistently link the moral degeneracy of individuals, families, and communities with the image of the debauched nation. The depiction of the poor is generally, but not entirely, distanced from religion and subject to the rampant excesses of the aristocracy. The pious poor are depicted as content with their circumstances living faithfully, encouraged by faithful clergy and honest nobles.

Religious preoccupations are pervasive in the tracts, even if they are not always explicit in the title (though often the longer titles describe the moral state of affairs). An example of a tract which explicitly flags religious preoccupations is *The Judgment Day, in which a true and just account of the*

³ The title of *Cottage Cook* was later changed to *Cure for Melancholy*. A footnote on the first page of the tract in *Collected Works* (1801) states: "This was first printed under the title of *The Cottage Cook*" More, *The Works of Hannah More* 325.

manner in which the scriptures teach that we and all mankind are to be tried on the great day of judgment. Showing plainly who shall go away and who shall go away to everlasting death, and who to life eternal - with a few words of encouragement to fearful Christians(June, 1797) very clearly signposts its religious tone. The reader is warned that no immoral activity will escape judgment, and all persons will be subject to the judgment of an omnipotent God.

You who to the world dissemble,
While you practice deeds of night,
Hypocrites! Behold and tremble,
All these deeds are brought to light.

More's concern that 'helpful' reading material be available to the literate poor was not merely an abstract motivation. Concern for the poor, whose choices were limited because of their means, and to counteract the growth of profane publications, is an explicit feature of the discourse within the tracts themselves. In *The Two Wealthy Farmers*, Mr. Worthy despondently laments that "this corrupt reading is now got down even amongst some of the lower classes. And it is an evil which is spreading every day" ("The Two Wealthy Farmers" 134). Moreover, by consciously adopting the forms, style, and distribution methods of popular literature, the tracts sought to remove a barrier that the moral content might have otherwise comprised. *The Story of Sinful Sally* provides an example of the *Repository's* conscious echoing of the style of the licentious chapbooks, while also imbuing the form with the elements necessary for moral reform. The fluidity of the tract, a product of

the poetic form it embodies, together with the captivating title and content, successfully secure the reader's interest:

Now I lay my Bible by,
Chuse that impious book so new,
Love the bold blaspheming lie,
And that filthy novel too. (*Shorter Tracts* 382)

The Bible is juxtaposed with the novel. The implication is that a choice to read the Bible is a choice for piety, and the choice of the novel as one's reading material is a choice for blasphemy and filth. Moreover, the novel is depicted as dangerously seductive in its appeal. The message may be one of caution and sobriety; but the tone echoes the style of literature, the bawdy verse, that it sought to condemn.

The combination of the popular form (often sacrilegious) and a moral reformist agenda establishes the tracts as a paradigm for virtue and moral education and reflects their design as an alternative to the socially destabilizing licentious and profane literature that More and her fellow contributors feared. More and her contributors sought to draw upon that which would be attractive to the poor and to use effectively the profane for sacred aims. Marjorie Morgan observes that More's blending of an "immoral style" with "virtuous substance" was felt to be justified by her contemporaries, even the most conservative, because it was inspired by a worthy motive (212).

The Choice of Anonymity and Pseudonymity

The choice to publish these tracts anonymously and pseudonymously is significant. Disentangling the authorship of individual tracts will also assist in discerning patterns and trends across the tracts. Furthermore, the development of a methodology for attribution would be enormously helpful to discern patterns and trends within the *Cheap Repository* as a whole, while the conclusive attribution of individual tracts would greatly aid the scholarship surrounding that particular tract as well as improve upon scholars' ability to analyse the writings of its author and possibly make further non-traditional attributions.

The reality of anonymous authorship is also relevant to the place of the *Cheap Repository* within eighteenth-century discourse. We can begin an exploration of the relationship between anonymity and authorship by reflecting on Michael Foucault's "What is an Author?" Foucault suggests that modern literary authorship is defined by the author-function. The author-function describes the various ways in which the name of the author operates as an element of the discourse (Foucault 149). Mark Rose observes,

The name of the author becomes a kind of brand name, a recognizable sign that the cultural commodity will be of a certain kind and quality. No institutional embodiment of the author-work relation, however, is more fundamental than copyright, which not only makes possible the manufacture and distribution of books, films, and other commodities but also, by endowing it with legal reality, helps to produce and affirm the very identity of the author as author (Rose 1-2).

Some scholars have linked the reduction of anonymity with the emergence of commercial culture. However, as Robert J Griffin points out, a direct and exclusive relationship between the author's name and copyright ownership does not always exist (Griffin 2). Moreover, there are other reasons why an author may choose to publish anonymously or pseudonymously.

Motivations for choosing anonymous and pseudonymous publication by authors are numerous, and are completely dependent on the personal beliefs and circumstances of the author, as well as the relationship between the author and the printer or bookseller. Chapter Two briefly discussed the prevalence of anonymous authorship in eighteenth-century literature and quoted a study by James Raven, which states that during the 1790s 62% of all novels were published anonymously (Raven 144). Unfortunately there has been no similar overarching study of the percentage of chapbooks and tracts published anonymously during this period so we can only speculate as to how prevalent anonymous authorship of tracts were during this period.

Some historical reasons for publishing anonymously include reticence on the basis of social status (aristocratic position) or gender, "religious self-effacement," anxiety over public exposure, and an act of conscious deception on the part of the author (Griffin 3; Mullan 6). Alexis Easley argues that gender was a significant aspect of the choice of anonymity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, especially when women were participating in

political, economic, or theological discourse (48). Easley discusses the involvement of women in the industry of printing and writing and details the factors contributing to this involvement being an anonymous act by choice, rather than by compulsion. However Don Foster argues that

as a general rule anonymous publication in early modern England had less to do with fear of censure, punishment, or shame than with the ordinary gratification of artistic performance. Long before professional authorship emerged in Britain as a road to celebrity status or figurative immortality, avocational literary endeavors were a playful pursuit not unlike that of courtly masques or the public stage, in which the subject self could speak under various personae, including even the thinnest verbal disguise, without being conflated with the speaking "I" of the text. Persons of rank, though more likely than commoners to dabble in literary endeavor, were more heavily invested in their personal name than in their literary product, and generally declined to let their name be dipped in printer's ink. But anonymous publication and likewise explicit prefatory demurrals concerning "the stigma of print" (as we have come to call it), are two facets of the same modesty topos, demonstrating the writer's lack of overweening pride in the text being circulated. Anonymous publication was a fundamentally democratic activity that allowed writers from every social rank to publish and to seek recognition for their work, while shielding their dignity, modesty, or privacy from trespass, and their name from being too closely associated with the product of a moment's leisure (379).

Nonetheless, Foster's general statements do not capture the reasons why More was determined to be anonymous or semi-anonymous (through pseudonymity) in these tracts at the same time she was publishing under her own name, very successfully. More was not trying to avoid identification because she wanted to maintain her status, but because she did not want her

name or those of her high profile contributors to overshadow the contract of the tracts. One function of the publication of the *Cheap Repository Tracts* anonymously or with pseudonymous authorship was to remove the reputation of the author from consideration, in an attempt to remove the authors of the tracts from the controversies of the eighteenth-century. Attaching an author's name, especially those with prominent social reputations, would have likely overshadowed the philanthropic nature of these texts which were not aimed at bringing the authors literary or social fame.

Even though More was, as Nicholas D Smith argues, forced to bow to the commercial necessity of adding her name to a publication to ensure adequate sales on at least one occasion. Smith quotes a letter from More to Zachary Macaulay in which she acknowledges that *Bible Rhymes* would not have been saleable otherwise (123). More also recognised that some readers might view tracts from the *Cheap Repository* as falling short of the standard of her other writing in the preface to her 1801 *Collected Works*:

If it should be questioned whether the Tales which occupy the fourth and fifth volumes ought to have been made part of this collection, I can only answer, that tho' in their original appearance it was found expedient to adopt a more usually familiar manner, and colloquial style; yet, in all that relates to sentiment and principle, and the ends of general utility, I am not conscious of having, on any occasion, taken more pains. (Vol I, x)

Impact of Identifying Authors Of Individual Tracts

Chapter Three identified at least nine other authors who are either probable or likely authors of individual tracts. Four of these, Henry Thornton, William Mason, Sarah More, and Zachary Macaulay, contributed original, never-before-published, material. In addition reprints of previously published works by Rev. William Gilpin, Benjamin Franklin, Daniel Defoe, Justice Henry Fielding, and Isaac Watts were printed as part of the *Cheap Repository*. There is also evidence from More's correspondence that Selina Mills Macaulay, and Rev. John Newton contributed tracts. However, as yet, no individual tract can be attributed to either Newton or Mills. Mary G. Jones also suggested that Mrs. Bouverie was a contributor (139). No evidence has been uncovered to allow attribution of any individual tracts to this contributor.

Clarification of the authorship of individual tracts marks an important watershed in *Cheap Repository* scholarship. Moreover, the accepted bibliographies of the individual authors are enhanced by the addition of these tracts. In identifying contributors to the *Repository* another pattern emerged that would not otherwise have been apparent. It has been known for some years that Horace Walpole, though he did not share More's religious views, was a financial and moral supporter of the *Repository* (Walpole et al. 6). Walpole's support extended to introducing some of the contributors to More.

That is to say, while More was the driving creative, moral, and practical force behind the series, not all the contributors were close intimates. For example, William Mason's involvement in the *Cheap Repository* is most likely a direct result of his friendship with Walpole. Mason was a close friend of Walpole, but there is no evidence to suggest that he knew More well or had participated in any of More's other social reform enterprises including abolition, anti-revolutionary political lobbying, and her Sunday School movements (Phelps 97).

Concluding Remarks

The *Cheap Repository* was not the result of the labors of just one woman, though without the insight and passion of Hannah More, its sheer magnitude would never have been realized. Asserting the authorship of individual tracts was a secondary concern during the publication of the series and the bibliographical record has consequently become riddled with confusion, partly as a result of the misapplication of the work of scholars, such as Green and Spinney. Persistent and repeated errors in the reception and application of bibliographic scholarship that concerns the tracts most patently and substantially affects tracts whose authorship may be attributed to More herself.

This thesis has enumerated the current state of the bibliographical scholarship surrounding the *Cheap Repository Tracts*. Chapter Three listed

those tracts for which authorship can be considered unproblematic as well as those tracts for which authorship must be considered problematic and should not be attributed to any author, not least More, without further traditional and non-traditional authorship attribution study. Identifying the authors of individual tracts, and consequently those other authors who contributed to the series, was once described by G.H. Spinney as being an “impossible” problem to solve. This thesis has demonstrated that the disparate inroads made by scholars along with extant epistolary and manuscript evidence provide evidence as to the identity of at least some of the contributors to the *Repository*. This thesis has also shown that the use of non-traditional authorial attribution methodology along with traditional scholarship would be of great use in identifying the authors of all 127 tracts of the *Cheap Repository*. In addition, Appendix provides the basis for what could become an exhaustive index to the *Cheap Repository Tracts* providing both a descriptive bibliography and a listing of libraries which hold copies of the 1795-1798 tracts. Each entry of an efficacious *Cheap Repository* Index might adhere to the following template, which is based on that of the Index found in the Nicholas D. Smith’s *The Literary Manuscripts and Letters of Hannah More* (2008), to ensure the compilation of the most useful information for the purposes of scholarship:

1. Title and/or first line
2. Last, first (authorship attributed) [More, Hannah; Anonymous; More, Hannah (authorship attributed)]

3. Source and date of first publication (when known) and selected subsequent reprinting
4. Annotation: references to the work by More and contemporaries in printed and unpublished sources
5. Brief description of the original printing (including plate)
6. Location and call number/shelf mark of original printings

Essential scholarship that remains to be attempted includes, but is not limited to: (a) an Index to the *Cheap Repository tracts* as described above; (b) a comprehensive non-traditional authorial attribution study of the *Cheap Repository* -- This non-traditional study would initially attempt to confirm whether everything attributed to [Z.] is the work of Hannah More, and then, to seek authorial attribution of the whole *Cheap Repository* beginning with those possible authors suggested by other scholars; (c) a concordance to the *Cheap Repository Tracts*; and (d) a critical annotated bibliography of primary and secondary works by and about Hannah More. Above all, accuracy in scholarship is desirable and establishing a definitive bibliography of the *Cheap Repository* tracts will assist scholars in their examination of these highly influential pieces of late eighteenth-century literary and popular culture.

APPENDIX

Table A.1 *Cheap Repository Tracts* Bibliography & Scholarship

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[1]	1795. March 3	<i>The Apprentice's Monitor; or Indentures in verse, shewing what they are bound to do. Proper to be hung up in all shops</i> [Green 64; DLB - 3]	[single sheet] (Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795). [Spinney 314; BL]	William Watson; with Path to Riches [Green 64] S.Hazard, 1795 [Kress] <i>The Apprentice's Monitor; or Indentures in verse, shewing what they are bound to do. Proper to be hung up in all shops. Together with The Golden Rule in verse.</i>	Harvard - Goldsmiths'-Kress no. 16442.3. Oxford – BOD Vet. A5 b.133 (5) British Library – GRC 1872.a.1.(111) and 1870.d.1.(82)	[Z.] [Spinney 314] [Green 65] [Kress]		[Spinney 310; Jones 272; Green 65; DLB;]
[2]	1795. March 3	<i>Babay. A true story of a Good Negro Woman</i> [Green 65; Spinney 314]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795) Green 65; [Spinney 314]	See Spinney for more info.		Not Signed, 1795 [Spinney 314]		

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[3]	1795. March 3	<i>The Book of Martyrs. An account of Holy men who died for the Christian Religion</i> [Green 66; Spinney 314]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795). [Spinney 314]	Bath: Hazard, Marshall, 1796 [Green 66] Published with <i>Turn the Carpet</i> .	British Library –	Not Signed, 1795 [Spinney 314]		
[4]	1795. March 3	<i>The Carpenter; or, the Danger of evil company</i> [Green 66; DLB-4]	[single sheet] (Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795). [Spinney 314; DLB]	J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1797. [Green 67] with <i>The Sorrows of Yamba</i> . Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Hazard, Binns () [Green 66] Dublin: Watson () [Green 66]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839 [Green 66] Special. 1819 [Green 66] Harvard -	[Z.] [1795, Spinney 314] [1795, Green 66]	1843HB (48)	[Jones 272; Spinney 310; DLB; Myers (282, n. 17)]
[5]	1795. March 3	<i>The Cock Fighter</i> [Spinney 315]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795).	<i>The Cock Fighter. A True Story. Also versified by that famous poet,</i>		Not Signed, 1795 [Spinney 315]		Mr Cooper?

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				<i>Mr. Cooper.</i> [1820; Green 67]				
				Hazard, Marshall, 1820 [Green 67]				
				Hazard, Marshall, White, 1820 [Green 67]				
[6]	1795. March 3	<i>Divine Songs, to which are added prayers for Children</i> [Spinney 315]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London. J Cottle, Bristol, 1795). [Green 69]	Part of Hazard's stock in trade and altered for use in the CR [Spinney 315]		Isaac Watts [Spinney 315]		Attributed to Isaac Watts
			Marshall, White, Hazard, 1795 [Green 69]	<i>Divine Songs attempted in easy language for the use of children. By J Watts D.D.</i> [Green 69]				There are many versions of the same tract with varied publication details in ECCO.

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[7]	1795. March 3	<i>Execution of MacLean, commonly known by the name of the Gentleman Highwayman</i> [Spinney 315]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795). [Spinney 315]	Execution of MacLean, the highwayman. (Advertised but not met with.) – presumably this means that Green had not seen a copy. [Green 69]	British Library -	Not Signed, 1795 [Spinney 315]		
[8]	1795. March 3	<i>The Gin-Shop; or, a Peep into a prison</i> [DLB - 5]	[single sheet] (Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795). [Spinney 315; DLB]	J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, (1795). [Green 71] with <i>Patient Joe</i> . Evans, Hatchard, Nisbet, Binns (1795) [Green 71] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Hazard, Binns with <i>Patient Joe</i> (1795) [Green 71]	<u>Collected Works</u> 1795, 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839 [Green 81]	[Z.] [Spinney 315] [Green 71]	1843HB (50)	[Spinney 315; Jones 272; DLB; Myers 272]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				With <i>Patient Joe, Dan and Jane</i> Evans, Hatchard, Nisbet, Binns (1796) [Green 81]				
[9]	1 795. March 3	<i>The History of the Plague in London in 1665, with suitable Reflections.</i> [Spinney 315; Green 75]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795)	Evans, Hatchard, Binns (1800) [Green 81]		Not Signed [Spinney 315]		Daniel Defoe [this is a reprint of a older non CRT]
[10]	1795. March 3	<i>The History of Tom White the Postilion</i> [DLB-6]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795). [DLB]	(Philadelphia: Published by B. Johnson, 1798) [DLB] The History of Tom White the Postboy (Dublin: Published by D.Graisberry, 1803)	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1818(CT) 11 different electronic reprints in ECCO	[Part I] [Z.] [Spinney 315] [Green 74]	1801 Works [Vol 5] (219-282) 1803 Works (Dub) (121-156) 1843HB (224)	[Spinney 315; Jones 272; DLB; Demers 113]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				<i>Tom White the Post boy - new title appeared in Works (1801).</i>				
[11]	1795. March 3	<i>The Horse Race, or the pleasures of the course</i> [Spinney 316]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795).	(Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800). Iss. 3	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798 [Green 76]	Not Signed [1800]		
[12]	1795. March 3	<i>Husbandry Moraliz'd; or, Pleasant Sunday reading for a farmer's kitchen . Part I</i> [Spinney 316]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795).	<i>Husbandry Moralised, or pleasant Sunday Reading to a farmer's kitchen. Part I.</i> (Marshall, Hazard, White, Hazard 1796) [Green 76]		Not Signed [Spinney 316]		
[13]	1795. March 3	<i>Life of William Baker, with his Funeral Sermon, by the Rev. Mr. Gilpin.</i> [Spinney 316]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R.	Wm. Watson & Son (Dublin, 1820) [Green 76]	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798, 1800,	Rev. Mr. Gilpin. [Spinney 316]		Attributed to Rev. Mr Gilpin

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[14]	1795. March 3	<i>The Market Woman, a true tale, or Honesty is the best policy. By Z</i> [DLB-7; Green 78]	White, London, 1795). [single sheet] (Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795). [DLB]	Dublin, 1800 Wm Watson (With: Path to Riches. Dublin: 1820) Ann Watson (With: Path to Riches. Dublin: 1820)	1806, 1827, 1839	[Green 77] [Z.] [Spinney 316] [Green 78]		[Spinney 316] [Spinney 316; DLB]
[15]	1795. March 3	<i>Murders. True examples of the interposition of Providence in the discovery and punishment of murder.</i> [Spinney 316]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795).	<i>Murders. True examples of the interposition of Providence in the discovery and punishment of murder. By that famous magistrate Mr. Justice Fielding</i> [Green 79] (Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White,		By that famous magistrate Mr. Justice Fielding [Spinney 316] [Green 79]		By that famous magistrate Mr. Justice Fielding [Spinney 316] Henry Fielding

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				London, 1795). [Green 79]				
				Hazard, Marshall, White, 1820 [Green 79]				
				As a chapbook (Stirling, 1799). [Green 79]				
[16]	1795. March 3	<i>A New history of a True Book...Part the first.</i> (broadside – 36 stanzas) [Spinney 316; Green 79]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795).	Wm. Watson (with: <i>The Beggary Boy</i>): Dublin, 1820 [Green 79]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1795 [vol 1]	Not Signed [Spinney 316]	See Spinney (316) for more info	
		<i>A New history of a True Book, in verse</i> (86 stanzas) [Spinney 316; Green 79]						
[17]	1795. March 3	<i>The Old Man, His Children and the Bundle of Sticks,</i> <i>a fable</i> [Spinney 316]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795).	With <i>Here and there; The honest miller of Gloucestershire; The election.</i> J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns (1798) [Green 73]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839 [Green 80]	[Z.] Green But Spinney states not in 1795 imprint. [Spinney 316]		[Green] Contested

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[18]	Entered 20/2/1795	<i>The Roguish Miller; or, Nothing got by cheating</i> [DLB- 8]	[single sheet] (Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795). [DLB; Green 83]			[Z.] [Spinney 317] [Green 83]		[Spinney 317; Jones 272; DLB; Demers 113]
[19]	Entered 20/2/1795	<i>The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain</i> [DLB- 9; Myers (273)]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795) [DLB; Spinney 318] New ed. Mar – May 1795. [Spinney 318]	Part 1. Marshall, White, Hazard, 1795 [Green 84] Part 2. Marshall, White, Hazard, 1795 [Green 84] J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800 [Green 84] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns, 1800	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798, 1807, 1812, 1818(CT), 1827, 1837 See Green [84] for many other languages and editions and Green [85] for tracts and works in response to or inspired by the Shepherd of Salisbury Plain.	None. Mar 1795 [Spinney 317] None [Phil.1800] [Z.] [Spinney 317 March-May 1795.]	1801 Works [Vol 5] (1-69) 1803 Works (Dub) (1-18) (no Z) 1843HB (190)	Spinney 317 "By Hannah More, but not signed Z in March 3 1795 ed. [Jones 272; DLB; Myers (268, 273); Saunders (12); Demers 114; Stott 170; Lloyd 102; Schantz 473;] This tract was not signed in some editions but is an example of a tract that is not only

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				[Green 84] Hazard, Marshall, White: Bath, 1820 [Green 84] Ann Watson: Dublin, 1820 [Green 83] (Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800). [DLB]				widely accepted to be by More but was acknowledged by More in letters, collected works and references in other signed works.
[20]	Entered 20/2/1795	<i>The Two Shoemakers</i> [DLB - 10]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795) [DLB; Green 91]	Marshall, White, Hazard, 1795 [Green 91] republished as <i>The History of the Two Shoemakers. Part I</i> (Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800).[DLB]	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1795, 1818(CT),	[Z.] [Spinney 318]	1801 Works [Vol 5] (69-218) 1803 Works (Dub) (38-120) 1843HB (201)	[Jones 272;DLB; Demers 112; Spinney 318]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[21]	Entered 24/2/1795	Two Soldiers. By S. [Spinney 318; Green 92]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795) [Spinney 318; Green 92]	Hazard, Marshall, White, Bath, 1820 [Green 91] Marshall, Hazard, 1796 [Green 92] J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800 [Green 92] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Hazard, Binns [Green 92] William Watson: Dublin [Green 92] Ann Watson: Dublin [Green 92]	Collected Tracts 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839 [Green 92] History of the Two Soldiers. 12mo, Warrington, 1820. [Green 92]	[S.] [Spinney 318] [Green 92]		Attributed to Sally More [Spinney 318; Myers (272)]
[22]	March 3 1795	Wonderful Escape from Shipwreck. An account of the loss of His Majesty's Ship Centaur.	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J.	Hazard, Marshall,	Collected 1795.	Not Signed [Spinney 318]		

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
		[Spinney 318]	Marshall & R. White, London, 1795) [Spinney 318; Green 94]	[Green 94] <i>The Shipwreck.</i> To which is added, <i>The execution of Wild Robert</i> Wm. Watson: Dublin, 1820 [Green 85]				
[23]	May 1795	<i>Lancashire Collier Girl</i> [Spinney 318]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795) [Spinney 318; Green 77]		<i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> (1795) <u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839 S.P.C.K 1832, 1833 [Green 77]	Not Signed [Spinney 318] [Green 77]		Jones 272; Myers (267). Stott claims that it was Thornton who reworked <i>The Lancashire Collier Girl</i> for publication in the <i>Gentlemen's Magazine</i> (1795). [Stott 178] CONTESTED Attributed to Henry Thornton [Stott 178]
[24]	Entered 4 May 1795	<i>Sunday Reading, Part One. On the Religious Advantage of the Present Inhabitants of Great Britain</i> [Spinney 318]	(Bath: S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795) [Spinney 318;	Marshall, White, Hazard, 1795 [Green 80]		Not Signed [Spinney 318]		

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[25]	June 1795. Entered 30 May 1795.	<i>Sunday Reading. The Beggary Boy. A Religious Parable.</i> [Spinney 319]	Green 80] (Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795) [Green 65; Spinney 319]	J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800 [Green 65] Another Edition, as above [Green 65]. William Watson, 1820. [Green 65]. J.Evans, Hatchard, Hazard [Green 65]. Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns [Green 65].	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798, 1807, 1812, 1827, 1837	Not Signed [Spinney 319]		Attributed to Henry Thornton [Stott 178]
[26]	June 1795. Entered 25 May 1795.	<i>The Execution of Wild Robert. Being a Warning to all parents.</i> [Spinney 319]	Single Sheet (Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R.	Evans, Hatchard, Nisbet, Binns ()	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> , 1795. [Spinney 319], 1798,	Not Signed [Spinney 319]		

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
			White, London, 1795) [Spinney 319]	[Green 70] Evans, Hatchard, Binns () [Green 70]	1800, 1806, 1827, 1839. [Green 70]			
			12 mo. With <i>The Carpenter</i> , 1795. [Green 70]	Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Hazard, Binns, with <i>Patient Joe</i> () [Green 70]				
				Watson. With <i>the Shipwreck</i> , Dublin, () [Green 70]				
[27]	June 1795. Entered 27 May 1795.	<i>The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain. Part II</i> [DLB-11; Spinney 319]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795) [DLB]	(Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800). Iss 2.	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1795, 1818(CT). See [19] for more details.	[Z.] [Spinney 319] [Z.] [1800]	1801 Works [Vol 5] (1-69) 1803 Works (Dub) (18-36) (no Z) 1843HB (190)	[Spinney 319; Jones 272;DLB; Myers (283 n. 22); Demers 114; Stott 170]
[8]	July 1795 Entered 29	<i>Sunday Reading. Daniel in the Den of Lions</i> [Spinney 319]	Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J.	J.Evans & Sons,	Collected 1795.	Not Signed [Spinney 319]		

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
	June 1795		Marshall & R. White, London, 1795) [Green 68; Spinney 319]	Hatchard, Binns [Green 68] <u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1803, 1809, 1827, 1836 S.P.C.K 1836.				
[29]	July 1795 Entered 29 June 1795	<i>Good Mother's Legacy</i> [Spinney 319]	Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795) [Spinney 319]		Collected CRT 1795.	[S.] [Spinney 319] [By S.] [Green 72]		Attributed to Sally More [Spinney 319; Myers (277)]
[30]	July 1795 Entered 19 June 1795	<i>Patient Joe, or, the Newcastle Collier</i> [DLB-12; Poems; Green 81]	[single sheet] (Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795) [DLB; Green 72].	Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns (1795) [Green 81] J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800 [Green 71 – two different editions with	<u>Collected Tracts</u> CRT 1795. 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839. S.P.C.K 1832, 1833. <u>Poems</u> (London: 1816)	[Z.] [Spinney 319]	In a letter to her sister "I have written a new ballad called the "Newcastle Collier" with which the Bishop of Durham is much pleased. (London: 1795) (Roberts, 430)	[Spinney 319; Jones 272; DLB; Demers 113;]
							<u>Poems</u> (329-333) 1843HB (50)	

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				the same details] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns (1800) [Green 72]				
				Wm. Watson, Dublin, 1800 [Green 72]				
				(Philadelphia: Printed & sold by J. Rakeshaw, 1808) [DLB]				
				Wm. Watson. With: <i>Lancashire Collier Girl.</i> Dublin, 1820. [Green 81]				
[31]	August 1795 Entered 30 July 1795	<i>Happy Waterman</i> [Spinney 319]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London,	Ann Watson, Dublin, 1820. <i>The Happy Waterman. To which is added a hymn of praise</i>	<u>Collected Tracts</u> Collected CRT 1795. 1798,			

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
			1795) [Spinney 319; Green 73]	<i>for an abundant harvest. By Z. [Green 73]</i>	1800, 1806, 1827, 1839 S.P.C.K. 1832, 1833 Religious Tract Society 1861, 1883			
[32]	August 1795 Entered 30 July 1795	<i>Sunday Reading. Hints to all Ranks of People on the Occasion of the Present Scarcity</i>	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795)	Watson, Dublin () [Green 73] <i>Hints to all ranks of people, on the occasion of the present scarcity. (Being taken from the story of our saviour's miraculous feeding five thousand persons with five barley loaves and two small fishes)</i> Marshall,	Collected CRT 1795.	Not Signed [Spinney 319]		

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[33]	August 1795 Entered 24 July 1795	<i>The Plow-Boys Dream</i>	[single sheet] (Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795). [Spinney 320; Green 82]	White, Hazard, 1795 [Green 73] <i>The plow boys dream</i> [Green 82] <i>The Ploughboy's Dream</i> [Stott 178] J.Evans & son, Hatchard, Binns. With: <i>Turn of the Carpet</i> , 1795 [Green 82] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns. With: <i>Turn of the Carpet</i> , 1795 [Green 82] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Hazard and Binns. With:	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1800	[M.] [Spinney 320] [Green 82] Roberts(ii,430) Not signed [1800]		Attributed to William Mason [Spinney 320; Stott 178]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				Turn of the Carpet, 1795 [Green 82]				
				(Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800). Iss. 3				
[34]	August 1795 Entered 24 July 1795	<i>The Riot; or, Half a loaf is better than no bread</i> [DLB-13; Poems; Myers]	[single sheet] (London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1795). [DLB; Green 83]	(Full title) <i>The Riot; or, Half a Loaf is better than no bread: in a Dialogue between Jack Anvil and Tom Hod; written in 1795, a Year of Scarcity and Alarm. To the tune of : A cobbler there was, & c. By Z.</i> [Green 83]	<u>Poems</u> (London: 1816) <u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> CRT 1795. 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839	[Z.] [Spinney 320] Roberts (ii,384) [Green 83]	Poems (334-340) 1843HB (49)	[Spinney 320; Jones 272; Harland 177; DLB; Myers (270), Saunders (12) ; Demers 112; Stott 182]
				J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800 [Green 83]				

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				Also: <i>The Riot; or, Half a loaf is better than no bread . with The Good Militia man, or that man that is worth a host and The loyal sailor, or no mutineering.</i> J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1798 [Green 83]				
[35]	September 1795 Entered 31 August 1795	<i>Dame Andrews, a Ballad</i> [Green 68; Spinney 320]	[single sheet] (London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1795). [Spinney 320]			Not Signed [Spinney 320]		
[36]	September 1795 Entered 31 August 1795	<i>Sunday Reading. Noah's Flood</i> [Spinney 320]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1795). [Spinney 320];	Hazard, Marshall, White, 1795. [Green 79] J. Evans &	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> CRT 1795. 1798, 1803, 1809, 1827, 1836. S.P.C.K	Not Signed [Spinney 320]		

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
			Green 79]	Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1795 [Green 79]	1832, 1836			
				Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns, 1795 [Green 80]				
[37]	September 1795 Entered 31 August 1795	<i>The Way to Plenty: or, the second part of Tom White</i> [DLB-14]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1795) [Spinney 320; DLB]	(Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800). [DLB] <i>The Way to Plenty; or The History of Tom White, the Post Boy</i> (Dublin: D.Graisberry, 1803)	Myers gives the alternative title [Myers (282, n. 19)] <u>Collected Tracts</u> CRT 1795. 1798, 1807, 1812, 1818(CT) 1827, 1837, S.P.C.K. 1832 1833 <u>Collected Tracts</u> 1795, 1798,	[Z.] [Spinney 320] [Green 74]	1801 Works [Vol 5] (219-282) 1803 Works (Dub) (121-156) 1843HB (224)	[Spinney 320; Jones 272; DLB; Myers (270); ; Stott 184]
[38]	October 1795 Entered 16	<i>Sunday Reading. The Harvest Home</i> [Spinney 320]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S.	J. Evans & Son, Hatchard,		[Spinney 320]		

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
	September 1795		Hazard, Bath, 1795) [Spinney 320; Green 73]	Binns (1795) (2 different editions) [Green 73] J.Evans & Co, Hatchard, Binns (1795) [Green 73] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns (1795) [Green 73]	1803, 1809, 1827, 1836. S.P.C.K 1832, 1836			
[39]	October 1795 Entered 18 September 1795	<i>The Honest Miller of Gloucestershire</i> [DLB-15; Myers]	[single sheet] (London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1795). [DLB; Green 76]	With <i>Here and there; The old man, his children, and the bundle of sticks; The election.</i> J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns (1798) [Green 73]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839 S.P.C.K. 1861	[Z.] [Spinney 321] [Green 76]	1843HB (56)	[Spinney 321; Jones 272; DLB; Myers (282, n. 15)]
[40]	October 1795 Entered 21 September 1795	<i>The Two Wealthy Farmers, or, the History of Mr. Bragwell. Part I</i> [DLB-16]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1795) [Spinney 321; DLB]	Hazard, Marshall, White [Green 92] (Philadelphia:	<u>Collected Tracts (all 7 parts of the Wealthy Farmers)</u> CRT 1795.	[Z.] [1795-Spinney 321] Not Signed [Dublin 18— (HRC)]	1801 Works [vol 4] (65-287) 1843HB (129) ALL 7 tracts – J.	[Spinney 321; Jones 272; DLB; Demers 110, 116]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref N o. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800). [DLB]	1798, 1807, 1812, 1827, 1837 [Green 93]		Evans & Sons, Hatchard, Binns [Green 93]	
				Alt Title: <i>The History of Mr Bragwell ; or, the Two Wealthy Farmers</i> [1843HB (129)]			J.Evans & Co Hatchard, Hazard [Green 93]	
							Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns [Green 93]	
							Ann Watson: Dublin, 1820 [Green 93]	
[41]	November 1795 Entered 23 October 1795	<i>Sunday reading. The Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard</i>	Marshall, White, Hazard, 1795 [Green 80]	J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1795 [Green 80]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1803, 1809, 1827, 1836	Not Signed [1800]	No copies known (1795) [Spinney 321]	
				Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns, 1795 [Green 80]	[Green 81]			
				(London: Sold by J. Marshall				

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				& R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796) Feb- May 1796. [Spinney 321]				
[42]	November 1795 Entered 29 October 1795	<i>The Sorrows of Yamba; or the Negro Woman's Lamentation. To the tune of: "Hosiers ghost." By Z</i> [Green 67; Green 83]	Marshall, White, Hazard, 1795 [Green 86]	(Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800). Iss. 3 J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1797. [Green 67] with <i>The Carpenter</i> . J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1797. [Green 86] with <i>The Carpenter</i> . Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns. [Green 86]	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> CRT 1795, 1798, 1807, 1812, 1827, 1837 [Green 86] Religious Tract Society Pamphlet, Newcastle, 1823	Not Signed [1800]		No Imprint viewed by Spinney [Spinney 321]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[43]	November 1795 Entered 31 October 1795	<i>The Two Wealthy Farmers; or, the History of Mr. Bragwell. Part II</i> [DLB-17; Green 92]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795) [DLB; Green 92]	(Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800). Iss. 2 Marshall, White, Hazard, 1795 [Green 92] (Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800). [DLB]		[Z.] [1795-Spinney 321] Not Signed [Dublin 18— (HRC)]	1801 Works [vol 4] (65-287) 1843HB (129)	[Spinney 321; Jones 272; DLB; Demers 110, 116; Myers 284, n. 32]
	Entered 13 November 1795	<i>The Idle Cobbler</i>	Spinney notes that while this is in the Stationers' Hall Registers this tract does not appear in published lists, and it was not reprinted in later editions. He considers that it might be an early version of <i>Two Shoemakers – part III</i> . Published March					

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
			1796 which was withdrawn. "Jack Brown, one of the Two Shoemakers typifies idleness" [Spinney 321].					
[44]	December 1795 Entered 3 December 1795	<i>A New Christmas Carol Called the Merry Christmas and Happy New Year</i> [Spinney 321]	Single Sheet. :With the carpenter (Marshall, White, Hazard, 1795) [Green 79]		Collected CRT 1795.		No copies seen [Spinney 321]	
[45]	December 1795 Entered 3 December 1795	<i>Sorrowful Sam; or, The Two Blacksmiths. By S</i> [Myers (282, n. 20); Green 86]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1795) [Spinney 321; Green 86]	J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800 Another Edit. J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800 Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns Wm. Watson: Dublin, 1820	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> CRT 1795, 1798, 1806, 1827, 1839 <u>[Green 86]</u>	[S.] [Spinney 322; Green 86]		Attributed to Sally More [Henry Thompson 276 ; Spinney 321; Myers (282, n 20)]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[46]	December 1795 Entered 3 December 1795	<i>Sunday Reading. The troubles of Life, being a familiar description of the troubles of the poor labourer; the little shopkeeper; the great tradesman; the sickly man; the disappointed lover; the unhappy husband; the widower; and, lastly, the child of sorrow. To which is added the Guinea and the Shilling. Sickness, sorrow, death.</i> [Spinney 321; Green 89]	(Bath: Sold by S. Hazard and J. Marshall & R. White, London, 1795) [Spinney 321; Green 89]	J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1798 [Green 89] J. Evans, Hatchard, Binns [Green 89] J.Evans & Co, Hatchard, Hazard [Green 89] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Hazard and Binns [Green 89]	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839 [Green 90]	Not Signed [Spinney 321]		
Collected Tracts	1795 [Green 67]	<i>Collected Tracts: The Carpenter, or the danger of evil company. The gin shop, or peep into a prison. The riot, or half a loaf is better than no bread: in a dialogue between Jack Anvil and Tom Hod. To the Tune of: 'A cobbler there was.' Patient Joe, or the Newcastle Collier. The execution of Wild Robert, being a warning to all parents. A new Christmas</i>	Marshall, White, Hazard, 1795. [Green 67]					

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
		<i>carol, called the merry Christmas and happy new year.</i>						
[47]	January 1796	[Green 67] <i>The History of Mary Wood The House-Maid; or, the Danger of false Excuses.</i> [Spinney 321]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796) [Spinney 321]	Hazard, Marshall, White, 1795 [Green 74]	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798[II], 1800, 1806 , 1827, 1839 S.P.C.K 1832, 1833	Not Signed [Spinney 321]		
[48]	January 1796 Entered 1 January 1796	<i>Robert and Richard; or the Ghost of poor Molly, who was drowned in Richard's mill pond. To the tune of : Collin's Mulberry Tree</i> [Spinney 322; DLB-18; Green 83]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796). [DLB; Green 83]	Marshall, White, Hazard, Elder, 1796 [Green 83] J Evans & son, Hatchard, Binns (with <i>the Story of</i> <i>Sinful Sally</i>) [Green 83] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns [Green 83]	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1806 , 1827, 1839	[Z.] [Spinney 322] Not signed in Green [83]	1843HB (47)	[Spinney 322; Jones 272; DLB]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[49]	Entered 1 January 1796	<i>Sunday Reading. Some New Thoughts for the New Year</i> [Spinney 322]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796)	Marshall, 1798 [Green 85] J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800 [Green 85] Ann Watson: Dublin, 1820 [Green 85] S.P.C.K. 1832, 1836	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1803, 1809, 1827, 1836	Not Signed [Spinney 321]		
50 Included in Spinney but not numbered	Entered 1 January 1796	<i>The Middle Way's the Best</i> [Spinney 322]	No copies known. One sent to Zachary Macauley and one to the Bishop of London.[Spinney 323]		Spinney suggests that this tract was “printed but suppressed before publication” [323] In a letter to Zachary Macauley (Bath: Jan 6, 1796) More states “the party of moderates is so small that	Not Signed [Spinney 322]	(Roberts ii, 462 January 6, 1796)	

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
					there is no such thing as issued the enclosed ballad from the <i>Cheap Repository</i> . One copy is for the Bishop, the other for your own eating (Roberts ii, 462).			
51	February 1796	<i>The Apprentice Turned Master; or, the Second Part of the Two Shoemakers: Shewing How James</i>	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796) [DLB; Green 91]	Hazard, Marshall, 1797 [Green 91]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1818(CT)	[Z.] [Spinney 323] [ECC0 – Dublin, 1800]	1801 Works [Vol 5] (69-218) 1803 Works (Dub) (38-120) 1843HB (201)	[Spinney 323; Jones 272; DLB; Myers (282, n. 20) ; Demers 112]
[50]	Entered 1 February 1796	<i>Stock from a Parish Apprentice Became a Creditable Tradesman</i> [DLB-19; Myers (282, n. 20)]		republished as <i>The History of the Two Shoemakers. Part II</i> (Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800). [DLB] Dublin, 1800				

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
52	February 1796	<i>The Story of Sinful Sally, told by herself, shewing how from being Sally of the Green she was first led to become SINFUL SALLY, and afterwards DRUNKEN SAL, and how at last she came to a most melancholy and almost hopeless End; being therein a Warning to all young Women both in Town and Country</i> [Green 87; Saunders (9)]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796) [Spinney 324; Green 87]	Watson: Dublin, 1820 [Green 91] J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binn. With: <i>The Hampshire Tragedy.</i> [Green 87] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns: Stirling, 1807 [Green 87] Watson: Dublin, 1820 [Green 87] Sold by John Evans and Co, undated. [Saunders (9), title from tract in Bodleian Library, Oxford.]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839. [Green 87]	Not Signed [Spinney 324]		attributed by Saunders as "being probably written by one of More's sisters". [Saunders (9)]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				<i>The Story of sinful Sally. The Hampshire Tragedy. The bad bargain; and Robert and Richard.</i> J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns [Green 87] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns [Green 87]				
53 [52]	February 1796 Entered 1 February 1796	<i>The Touchstone; or, the way to know a true Christian. Being a description of the character of our blessed Saviour with an inquiry whether we are like him. To which is added, An appeal first to infidels, and then to persons who call themselves by the name of Christians.</i> [Spinney 324; Green 89]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796) [Spinney 324; Green 89]	Marshall, White, Hazard, Elder, 1796 [Green 89] J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns [Green 89] John Evans, Hatchard, Binns [89]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1803, 1809, 1827, 1836 [Green 89]	Not Signed [Spinney 324]		Attributed to Zachary Macauley [Stott 178]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
54 [53]	March 1796 Entered 29 February 1796	<i>The History of Idle Jack Brown; containing the merry story of the mountebank, with some account of the bay mare Smiler. Being the third part of the Two Shoemakers</i> [Green 91]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796) [DLB]	Marshall, Hazard, Elder, 1796 [Green 91] republished as <i>The History of the Two Shoemakers. Part III</i> (Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800). [DLB]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1818(CT)	[Z.] [Spinney 324]	1801 Works [Vol 5] (69-218) 1803 Works (Dub) (38-120) 1843HB (201)	[Spinney 324; Jones 272; DLB; Demers 112]
55 [54]	March 1796 Entered 29 February 1796	<i>Sunday Reading. Onesimus; or, the Run-Away Servant Converted,</i> [Spinney 324]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796) [Spinney 324; Green 80]	<i>Onesimus; or, the Run-Away Servant Converted. A true story. Shewing what a wonderful improvement in his condition Onesimus experienced after he became a Christian. To which is added an affectionate</i>	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1803, 1809, 1827, 1836	Not Signed [Spinney 324]		

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				<p><i>address to all those unhappy persons both men and women, who, like Onesimus, have left their home and have got into a bad way of living, and who also have a mind to hear how they may get out.</i> [Green 80]</p> <p>Marshall, Hazard, Elder, 1796</p> <p>J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1796</p> <p>Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns, 1796 [Green 80]</p>				

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
56 [55]	March 1796 Entered 29 February 1796	<i>The Shopkeeper Turned Sailor, or the folly of going out of our element. Shewing what a clever man John the Shopkeeper was in his own business, and what a rash step he took in resolving to go upon the water. Part I</i> [DLB-21; Green 85]	Single Sheet (London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796) [Spinney 324; DLB; Green 85]	(Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800). [DLB] Also, published in four parts. <i>John the shopkeeper turned sailor, or the folly of going out of our element. In four parts</i> (no distinct or separate headings) J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800 [Green 85] See [106] for Demers argument that "Loyal Sailor" is the fourth part.	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1807, 1812, 1827, 1837 [Green 85] See [106] for Demers argument that "Loyal Sailor" is the fourth part.	[Z.] Spinney 324 (some imprints not signed) Only Part III signed Z [Green 85]		[Spinney 324; Jones 272; DLB; Demers 113]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
57 [56]	April 1796 Entered 1 April 1796	<i>The Conversion of St. Paul the apostle.</i> [Green 67; Spinney 325]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796) [Spinney 325]	Marshall, Hazard () [Green 67] J.Evans & Sons, Hatchard, Binns () [Green 67]	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798, 1803, 1809, 1827, 1836 [Green 67]	Not Signed [Spinney 325]		
58 [57]	April 1796 Entered 1 April 1796	<i>Jack Brown in Prison ... Being the fourth part of the History of the Two Shoemakers</i> [DLB-22]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796) [DLB]	republished as <i>The History of the Two Shoemakers. Part IV</i> (Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800). [DLB]	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1818(CT),	[Z.] [Spinney 325]	1801 Works [Vol 5] (69-218) 1803 Works (Dub) (38-120) 1843HB (201)	[Spinney 325; Jones 272; DLB; Demers 112]
59 [58]	April 1796 Entered 1 April 1796	<i>The Shopkeeper Turned Sailor, or the folly of going out of our element. Shewing what a clever man John the Shopkeeper was in his own business, and what a rash step he took in resolving to go upon the water.</i> Part II [Green 85]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796) [Green 85]	Marshall, White, Hazard, Elder [Green 85]	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798, 1807, 1812, 1827, 1837 [Green 85]	Not signed [Spinney 325]		[Demers 113]
60 [59]	May 1796 Entered 2 May 1796	<i>Sunday Reading. The General Resurrection. Part I. Being a description taken from scripture of some of the events which will come to pass at the end of the World.</i>	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath,	J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns () [Green 71]	Published with <i>Judgement Day:</i> Part II	Not Signed [Spinney 325]		

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
		[Green 71]	1796)	Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns () [Green 71]	(Evans) [Spinney 325] Collected 1798, 1803, 1809, 1827, 1836 [Green 71]			
				Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Hazard () [Green 71]	S.P.C.K 1832, 1836 [Green 71]			
				Wm. Watson & Son, Dublin. 12mo () [Green 71]				
61	May 1796	<i>The Hackney Coachman, or the Way to get a good fare</i>	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796). [DLB; Green 72]	<i>The Hackney Coachman, or the way to get a good fare. To the tune:- I wish I was a fisherman. By Z</i> [Green 72]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798 <u>Poems</u> (London: 1816)	[Z.] [Spinney 325] [By Z] [Green 72]	Poems (325-328) 1843HB (57)	[Spinney 325; Jones 272; DLB; Myers (273); Saunders (11)]
[60]	Entered 2 May 1796	[Poems; DLB-23; Myers]	Wm. Watson: Dublin, () [Green 72]	Differing Version				

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
62 [61]	May 1796 Entered 2 May 1796	<i>The History of Charles Jones, the footman</i> [Spinney 326]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796).	Marshall, White Hazard, 1796 [Green 72] <i>The History of Charles Jones, the footman.</i> <i>Written by Himself.</i> [Green 74]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798[II], 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839 S.P.C.K. 1832, 1833	Not Signed [Spinney 326]		
63 [62]	June 1796 Entered 31 May 1796	<i>The Cheapside Apprentice; or the History of Mr. Francis H....Fully setting forth the danger of playing with edge tools. Shewing how a gay life may prove a short one, and that a merry evening may produce a sorrowful morning. By S.</i> [Green 67]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796) Marshall, Hazard, 1796 [Green 67] J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800 [Green 67] Warrington: J.Evans & Co,	<i>The Cheapside Apprentice; or the History of Mr. Francis H****</i> [Spinney 326]	<u>Collected Works</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839.	[S.] [Spinney 326] [Green 67]		Attributed to Sally More [Spinney 326]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
64 [63]	June 1796 Not entered	<i>The Election. A quite new song. Shewing many which ought not to be dome. Being a new song very fit to be sung in all places where election is going on. To the Tune of: Dusky Night</i> [Green 69; Spinney 326]	Hatchard, Hazard, 1800. [Green 67] Single Sheet. No imprint (London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796). [Green 69]	J.Evans & son, Hatchard, Binns. With <i>Here and There</i> , 1798 [Green 69] With <i>Here and there; The honest miller of Gloucestershire; The old man, his children, and the bundle of sticks.</i> J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns (1798) [Green 73]	(Roberts ii, 479) <i>The Election. A quite new song</i> [Spinney 326] <u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839.	Not Signed [Spinney 326]		
65 [64]	June 1796 Entered 31 May 1796	<i>Sunday Reading. On Carrying Religion into the Common Business of Life. A dialogue between James Stock and Will Simpson, the shoemakers</i> [DLB-24; Green 91]	Marshall, White, Hazard, 1796 [Green 91]	Marshall, Hazard, Elder [Green 91] (London: Sold by J. Marshall	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1818(CT),	[Z.] [Spinney 326] [ECCO]	1801 Works [Vol 5] (69-218) 1803 Works (Dub) (38-120). This edition indexes the	[Spinney 326; Jones 272; DLB; Demers 112]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				& R. White, 1796). [DLB] <i>A dialogue between James Stock and Will Simpson as they sat at their work.</i> Philadelphia, 1800			<i>Two Shoemakers:</i> in six parts," part VI is the second part of the dialogue begun in part V. Part VI is not indexed separately by Spinney.	
				William Watson: Dublin, 1820 [Green 91]			1843HB (201)	
				Anna Watson: Dublin, 1820 [Green 91]				
				<i>The Two Shoemakers, part V</i> [Spinney 326]				
66	July 1796	<i>The Gamester. The story of poor Tricket the gamester,</i>	(London: Sold by	William		Not Signed		
	Entered 30	<i>showing hoe he first lost his place by gaming, and</i>	J. Marshall & R.	Watson & Son		[Spinney 326]		
[65]	June 1796	<i>then had well nigh been the death of his wife through</i>	White and S.	() [Green 71]				
		<i>the same cause, and how, lastly, his gaming was the</i>	Hazard, Bath,	<u>Collected</u>				
		<i>occasion of his being transported as a convict to</i>	1796). [Green 71;	<u>Tracts</u>				
		<i>Botany Bay.</i> [Green 71]	Spinney 326]	1798.				

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
67 [66]	July 1796 Entered 30 June 1796	<i>Sunday Reading. Look at home, or the accusers accused. Being an account of the manner in which our savior put to silence the scribes and Pharisees when they brought to him the woman taken into adultery.</i> [Spinney 326]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796).	(Marshall, White, Hazard 1795)	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798, 1803, 1809, 1827, 1836 S.P.C.K 1832, 1836 [Green 78]	Not Signed [Spinney 326] [Green 78]		
68 [67]	July 1796 Entered 30 June 1796	<i>Turn the Carpet; or, the Two weavers: a new song, in a dialogue between Dick and John. By Z.</i> [DLB-25; Spinney 326]	Single Sheet (London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796). [DLB; Green 90]	Watson: Dublin, 1820 [Green 90] <i>Turn the Carpet; or The Two Weavers: in a Dialogue between Dick and John</i> <u>Poems</u> (London: 1816)	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839 [Green 90] Religious Tract Society 16mo, 1861	[Z.] [Spinney 326] [Green 90]	Roberts (letter to Sarah More. London, 1795: 459) Poems (281-284) [1801 Works I] 1843HB (53)	[Harland 177; Spinney 326; Jones 272; DLB; Saunders 12; Demers 113]
69 [68]	August 1796 Entered 1 August 1896	<i>Betty Brown, the St. Giles's Orange girl, with some account of Mrs. Sponge, the Money-Lender</i> [Green 65; referred to in Myers (267); Saunders 10; Works V]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796) [Green 65; DLB] Marshall,	J.Evans & Co., Hatchard, Hazard, 1797 [Green 65] J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1818(CT), 1827, 1839 [Green 66]	[Z.] [Spinney 327] [Green 65]	1801 Works [Vol 5] (372-396) listed as <i>The History of Betty Brown the St Giles Orange Girl, with some account of Mrs Sponge the money- lender.</i>	[Spinney 327; Jones 272; DLB; Myers (267); Saunders 11; Stott 186]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
			Hazard, 1796 [Green 65]	[Green 65] .Evans & Sons, Hatchard, Binns, 1800 [Green 65] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns. [Green 65] John Evans, Hatchard, Binns [Green 65] (Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800). [DLB]	S.P.C.K., 1832, 1833 [Green 66]		1803 Works (Dub) (207-220) 1843HB (247)	
70 [69]	August 1796 Entered 1 August 1896	<i>Sunday Reading. The Grand Assizes; or, General gaol delivery</i> [DLB-27]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796). [DLB; Green 72]	<i>Betty Brown, the St. Giles's Orange girl</i> , etc. [Spinney 327; DLB-26]	<u>Collected Works</u> 1800, 1809, 1827, 1839	[Z.] [Spinney 327]	1801 Works [Vol 5] (322-359) 1803 Works (Dub) (185-194) 1843HB (241)	[Spinney 327; Jones 272;DLB]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
			Marshall, Hazard, 1796 [Green 72]					
			J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns () [Green 72]					
			Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns () [Green 72]					
71	August 1796	<i>John the shopkeeper turned Sailor; Part III</i>	Wm Watson: Dublin, () [Green 72] (London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796).		<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1807, 1812, 1827, 1837 [Green	Not Signed [Spinney 327]		[Demers 113]
[70]	Entered 1 August 1796							
72	September 1796	<i>Sunday Reading. Explanation of the nature of Baptism, designed especially for all those parents who are about to bring a child to be baptized.</i>	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796).	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1796) [Green 70]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1803, 1809, 1827, 1836. [Green 70]			
[71]	Entered 31 August 1796	[Green 70; Spinney 327]						

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				J.Evans, & son, Hatchard and Binns () [Green 70]				
				Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns () [Green 70]				
73 [72]	September 1796 Entered 31 August 1796	<i>The History of Mr. Bragwell; or the Two Wealthy Farmers. Part III</i> [DLB-28; Spinney 327]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1796) [DLB; Green 92]		republished as <i>The Two Wealthy Farmers or the History of Mr. Bragwell. Part III</i> (Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800). [DLB]	[Z.] [Spinney 327]	1801 Works [vol 4] (65-287) 1843HB (129)	[Spinney 327; Jones 272;DLB; Demers 110]
74 [73]	September 1796 Entered 31 August 1796	<i>A Hymn of Praise for the Abundant Harvest of 1796</i> [DLB-29]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796). [DLB]		<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798, 1807, 1812, 1827, 1837 S.P.C.K 1833 [Green 76]	[Z.] [Spinney 328] [Green 73; Green 76]	1843HB (55)	[Spinney 328; Jones 272; DLB]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
75 [74]	October 1796 Entered 30 September	<i>Sunday Reading. The History of the Two Wealthy Farmers, or a new dialogue between Mr Bragwell and Mr Worthy. Part IV</i> [DLB-30; Green 92]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796) [DLB; Green 92]	Marshall, White, Hazard, Elder [Green 92] republished as <i>The Two Wealthy Farmers; or the History of Mr. Bragwell. Part IV</i> (Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800). [DLB]		[Z.] [Spinney 328]	1801 Works [vol 4] (65-287) 1843HB (129)	[Spinney 328; Jones 272; DLB; Demers 110]
76 [75]	October 1796 Entered 30 September	<i>King Dionysius and Squire Damocles</i> [Spinney 328]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796)		<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798 [Green 77]	Not signed [Spinney 328]	1843HB (129)	
77 [76]	October 1796 Entered 30 September	<i>The Two Wealthy Farmers, with the sad adventures of Miss Bragwell. Part V</i> [DLB-31]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796) [DLB; Green 92]	Marshall, White, Hazard, Elder [Green 92] republished as <i>The Two Wealthy Farmers; or,</i>		[Z.] [Spinney 328]	1801 Works [vol 4] (65-287) 1843HB (129)	[Spinney 328; Jones 272; DLB; Myers(282, n. 18); Demers 110]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				<i>The History of Mr. Bragwell. Part V (Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800). [DLB; Myers (282, n. 18)]</i>				
78 [77]	November 1796 Entered 21 October 1796	<i>Black Giles the Poacher: With Some Account of a Family who Had Rather Live By Their Wits Than Their Work</i> [Green 66; Myers (279)]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796) [Green 66; DLB-32]	(J.Evans &Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800) [Green 66] Two parts in One, continuous: J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, () [Green 66] J.Evans & Co, Hatchard, Hazard. () [Green 66]	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1803(Dub), 1806, 1818(CT), 1827, 1839 S.P.C.K 1832, 1833	[Z.] [Spinney 328] [Green 66]	1801 Works [Vol 5] (397-478) 1803 Works (Dub) (221-248) 1843HB (251)	[Harland 177; Spinney 328; Jones 272; DLB; Myers (279); Saunders (11); Demers 114; Stott 188]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
79	November 1796	<i>The Hampshire Tragedy; shewing how a servant maid first robbed her master, and was afterwards struck dead for telling a lie. A True Story</i> [Green 72]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796) [Spinney 328 Green 72]	<i>Black Giles the Poacher . Part I</i> (Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800). [DLB 32] Marshall, White, Hazard, Elder, 1796 [Green 73] J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, With <i>Story of Sinful Sally</i> () [Green 73] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns, With <i>Story of Sinful Sally</i> () [Green 73]	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839.			

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
80 [79]	November 1796 Entered 1 November 1796	<i>Sunday Reading. Prayers to be used by a child or young person – By a Grown Person – By the Master or Mistress of a Sunday School – and by the Master or Mistress of a Family.</i>	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796) [Spinney 328; Green 82]	Marshall, White, Hazard, Elder, 1796 [Green 82]	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798, 1803, 1809, 1827 [Green 82]	[By Henry Thornton?] [Spinney 328]		[By Henry Thornton?] [Spinney 328]
81 [80]	December 1796 Entered 28 November 1796	<i>Sunday Reading. Bear ye one another's Burthens; or the Valley of tears: a vision</i> [DLB-33; Green 65]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; 1796) [Green 65; Spinney 329]	J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800 [Green 93] (London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; and J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797) [DLB; Green 65] J.Evans & Sons (Philadelphia: Benjamin Johnson, 1813). [DLB]	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839 [Green 65]	[Z.] [Spinney 329] [Green 65]	1801 Works [vol 4] (430-453) under the title <i>Valley of Tears</i> 1843HB (176)	[Spinney 329; Jones 272; DLB]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
82 [81]	December 1796 Entered 28 November 1796	<i>Black Giles the Poacher. With the history of widow Brown's apple-tree. Part II</i> [DLB-34; Green 65]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall and S. Hazard, Bath, 1796) [DLB]	(Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800). [DLB] Alternative Capitalisation in Myers: <i>Black Giles the Poacher: with this History of Widow Brown's Apple Tree</i> (283, n. 23)	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1818(CT)	[Z.] [Spinney 329] [Green 75]	1801 Works [Vol 5] (397-478) 1803 Works (Dub) (221-248) 1843HB (251)	[Harland 177; Spinney 329; Jones 272; DLB; Myers (283, n. 23); Saunders (11); Demers 114; Stott 188]
83 [82]	Entered 2 December 1796	<i>A New Christmas Carol for 1796</i>	Not seen [Spinney 329] possibly the same as <i>A New Christmas Hymn</i> which forms part of Vol.1 of 1798 uniform edition.		<i>A Christmas Hymn</i> 1843HB (54) 1798, 1803, 1809, 1827, 1837.		1843HB (54)	Watch the different Christmas hymns and carols – there are at least three, one published each year of the CRT.
84 [Not in Spinney]	1796/1798	<i>The Fall of Adam, our first parent with some account of the creation of the world. Shewing the happy state of man in paradise, and also the sin and misery which have entered since the fall. To</i>	J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 12mo, 1796	Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns ()	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1803, 1809, 1827,			

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
		<i>which are added some remarks respecting our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the second Adam and the only Saviour of this world.</i> [Green 70]		[Green 70] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Hazard () [Green 70]	1836			
85 [83]	January 1797 Entered 30 December 1796	<i>The Bad Bargain; or, The World set up to Sale</i> [Poems; Spinney 329]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; and J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797) [Spinney 329; Green 65]	Marshall, Hazard, Elder, 1796 [Green, 65] Watson, Dublin [Green 65] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns (With the Story of Sinful Sally) J. Evans, Hatchard, Binns (With the Story of Sinful Sally)	<u>Poems</u> (London: 1816)	[Not Signed] [Spinney 329]	Poems (285-290) 1843HB (46)	

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
86 [84]	January 1797 Entered 30 December 1796	<i>The Cottage Cook; or, Mrs. Jones's Cheap Dishes. Shewing the way to do much good with little money.</i> [Green 68]	Marshall, Hazard, Elder, 1796. [Green 68]	Collected Tracts 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839 (London: Sold by J. Evans & J. Hatchard and S. Hazard, Bath, 1797). [DLB] Marshall, White, Hazard, Elder, 1797. [Green 68] J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800. [Green 68] J.Evans & Co, Hatchard, Hazard, 1800. [Green 68] William Watson, Dublin, 1820.	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798, 1812, 1827, 1837. [Green 68] <i>The Cottage Cook; or, Mrs. Jones's Cheap Dishes</i> [DLB - 1] <i>A Cure for Melancholy: Showing the Way to Do Much Good with Little Money</i> [Myers (275, 282, n. 15)]	[Z.] [1797 Spinney 329] [1796 Green 68]	1801 Works [vol 4] (325-357) under the title of <i>Cure for Melancholy</i> . A footnote on the first page of the tract states: "This was first printed under the title of <i>The Cottage Cook</i> " (325) <i>Cure for Melancholy</i> 1843HB (167)	<i>Both Titles</i> [Spinney 329; <i>Cottage Cook</i> Jones 272; DLB; Myers (270); Saunders (3); Demers 114; Stott 171, 185; Lloyd 79] <i>Cure for Melancholy</i>

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				[Green 68] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns () [Green 68]				
87 [85]	January 1797 Entered 30 December 1796	<i>Sunday Reading: On the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper</i>	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; and J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797) [Spinney 329; Green 80]	Evans, Hazard () [Green 68] Marshall, White, Hazard, 1796 [Green 80] J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1796 [Green 80]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1803, 1809, 1827, 1836			
88 [86]	February 1797 Entered 26 January 1797	<i>The Good Militiaman, or the man that is worth a host; being a new song by Honest Dan the ploughboy turned soldier</i> [DLB-35; Green 71]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; and J. Elder,	Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns, 1796 [Green 80] (London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White and S. Hazard, Bath,	<u>Collected works</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839	[Z.] [Spinney 329] [Green 71]		[Spinney 329; Jones 272;DLB; Myers 270]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
			Edinburgh, 1797) [Spinney 329; Green 71]	1797). [DLB] J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns [Green 71] Alternative Title given by Myers <i>Good Militia Man; or, The Man That is Worth a Host</i> [Myers (269- 270)]				
89 [87]	February 1797 Entered 26 January 1797	<i>Sunday Reading: The Story of Joseph and his Brethren. Part I</i> [Spinney 330; Green 86]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; and J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797) [Spinney 329; Green 86]	Marshall, Hazard, Elder, 1796 [Green 86] Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns [Green 87]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1803, 1809, 1827, 1836 S.P.C.K 1832, 1836 [Green 87]			
90 [88]	February 1797 Entered 26 January 1797	<i>The Wonderful Advantages of Adventuring in the Lottery!!!</i> [Spinney 330]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; and J. Elder, Edinburgh,	Marshall, Hazard, Elder [Green 94] J.Evans & Son, Hatchard Binns [Green	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839 [Green 94]			

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
			1797) [Spinney 330; Green 94]	94] Wm. Watson: Dublin, 1820 Ann Watson: Dublin.				
Collected Tracts Collected Tracts		<i>Cheap Repository Tracts published during the year of 1795 forming Volume I Volume II: Collected Tracts</i> [Spinney 337]	London, 1797 London, 1797		ECCO			
91 [89]	March 1797 Entered 9 February 1797	<i>Dick and Johnny ; or, the last new drinking song.</i>	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; and J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797) [Spinney 330]	Reprinted in April 1797 as pt 1, of 94. May have been initially issued as single sheet. [Spinney 330] Single Sheet, 1795 [Green 69] Marshall, White,		Not Signed [Spinney 330]		See [96]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
92 [90]	March 1797 Entered 27 February 1797	<i>The Hubbub ; or, the History of Farmer Russel the hard-hearted overseer.</i>	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; and J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797) [Spinney 330; Green 75]	Hazard, Elder, 1796 [Green 69] <i>Hubbub, or the history of farmer Russell, the hard- hearted overseer. By S.</i> [Green 75]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839	[S.] [Spinney 330] [Green 76]		Attributed to Sarah [sic] More [Spinney 330] *by Sarah, Spinney was referring to Sally More
93 [91]	March 1797 Entered 27 February 1797	<i>Sunday Reading. Joseph in Prison. Part II</i>	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; and J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797) [Spinney 330]					
94 [92]	April 1797 Entered 22 March 1797	<i>Sunday Reading. Joseph delivered out of Prison. The story of Joseph... Part III</i>	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; and J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797) [Spinney 330]					
95 [93]	April 1797 Entered 16 March	<i>Tawny Rachel; or, The Fortune Teller: With Some Account of Dreams, Omens, and Conjurors.</i> By Z [Spinney 330;DLB-36 Alt Title]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S.	J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1800,	[Z.] [Spinney 330] [Green 88]	1801 Works [Vol 5] (478ff)	[Harland 177; Spinney 330; Jones 273;

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
	1797		Hazard, Bath; J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797) [DLB; Green 88]	[Green 88] J.Evans & Co. Hatchard, Binns [Green 88] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns [Green 88] William Watson: Dublin, 1820 [Green 88] republished as <i>The Fortune Teller</i> (Philadelphia: Published by B. Johnson, 1798). [DLB- 36] <i>Tawny Rachel; or, The Fortune Teller: With</i>	1806, 1818(CT), 1839 S.P.C.K 1832, 1833 [Green 88]		1803 Works (Dub) (249-260) 1843HB (258)	DLB; Myers 279; Saunders (9); Demers 114; Stott 189]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				<i>Some Account of Dreams, Omens, and Conjurors</i> [Myers (279); Saunders (9) [1801 Works V]				
96 [94]	April 1797 Entered 31 March 1797	<i>The True Heroes; or, The Noble Army of Martyrs.</i> Part 2 of <i>Dick and Johnny; or the last new drinking song</i> [Spinney 331; Myers (273)]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; and J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797) [Spinney 330; Green 90]	With: <i>Turn the carpet.</i> J Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns [Green 90] May have been initially issued as single sheet.	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1837. [Green 90]	Not Signed [Spinney 330]	1843HB (54)	[Spinney 331; Jones 273;DLB; Myers (275); Saunders (3)]
97 [95]	May 1797 Entered 25 April 1797	<i>Sunday Reading. Joseph and his Brethren. Part IV,</i> [Spinney 331]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; and J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797) [Spinney 331]					

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
98 [96]	May 1797 Entered 25 April 1797	<i>The Sunday School</i> [Spinney 331; DLB - 2; Myers]	(London: Sold by J. Evans & J. Hatchard and S. Hazard, Bath, 1795). [DLB]	Marshall, White, Hazard, Elder, 1796 [Green 87] J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Hatchard, Binns [Green 87] J.Evans & Co, Hatchard, Hazard [Green 87] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Hazard, and Binns [Green 87]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1812, 1827, 1837.	[Z.] [Spinney 331]	1801 Works [vol 4] (358-386) Poems (261-263) 1843HB (172)	[Spinney 331; Jones 273; DLB; Demers 114; Stott 104 & 171]
99 [97]	May 1797 Entered 25 April 1797	<i>The Two Gardeners</i> [Spinney 331; DLB-37; Poems]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797) [DLB]	Marshall, 1796 [Green 91]		[Z.] [Spinney 331]	<u>Poems</u> (London: 1816) 1843HB (51)	[Spinney 33; Jones 273;]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
100 [98]	June 1797 Entered 27 May 1797	<i>The Judgment Day, in which a true and just account of the manner in which the scriptures teach that we and all mankind are to be tried on the great day of judgment. Showing plainly who shall go away and who shall go away to everlasting death, and who to life eternal – with a fear words of encouragement to fearful Christians</i> [Green 68; Spinney 331]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797)	John Evans, Hatchard, Binns, 1791 (?) [Green 77] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns, 1791 [Green 77] Some tracts have the spelling, <i>judgement</i>	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1803, 1809, 1816, 1827, 1839. S.P.C.K 1832, 1836 [Green 77]	[Z.] [Spinney 331] Not signed [Green 68]		[Spinney 331 ; Jones 273; DLB; Myers (275); Saunders (3)]
101 [99]	June 1797 Entered 27 May 1797	<i>The History of Hester Wilmot; or the Second part of the Sunday School</i> [Spinney 331; DLB-38]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797) [DLB]	Marshall, White, Hazard, Elder, 1796 [Green 88] J.Evans & Co. Hatchard, Hazard [Green 88] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1812, 1818(CT), 1827, 1837 [Green 88]	[Z.] [Spinney 331]	1801 Works [vol 5] (283-321) 1803 Works (Dub) (157-183) 1843HB (233)	[Spinney 331; ; Jones 273;DLB; Demers 114; Stott 104, 115, & 171]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				[Green 88]				
				(Philadelphia: Sunday and Adult School Union, 1818). [DLB]				
				Part i and ii of the second part of <i>Sunday School</i> . (continuous pagination) J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns [Green 88]				
102	June 1797	<i>Sunday Reading. The Servant Man turned</i>	(London: Sold by	Marshall,	<u>Collected</u>	[Z.]	1801 Works [Vol 5]	[Spinney 331 ;
	Entered 27	<i>Soldier; or, the Fair weather Christian. A Parable.</i>	J. Marshall & R.	White,	<u>Tracts</u>	[Spinney 331]	(350-372)	Jones 273;
[100]	May 1797	<i>By Z</i>	White; S.	Hazard, Elder,	1798, 1807,	[Green 83]		DLB; Myers
		[Spinney 331; DLB-39]	Hazard, Bath; J.	1796 [Green	1812,		1803 Works (Dub)	275; Saunders
			Elder,	84]	1818(CT)		(195-206)	(3)]
			Edinburgh, 1797)		1827, 1837			
			[DLB]	John Evans,	[Green 84]		1843HB (243)	
				Hatchard,				
				Binns, 1800				
				[Green 84]				

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
103 [101]	July 1797 Entered 26 June 1797	<i>The History of Hester Wilmot; or the New gown. Part II. Being a continuation of the Sunday School</i> [Spinney 331; DLB-40]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall; S. Hazard, Bath; J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797). [DLB; Green 88]	Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns. [Green 84] Marshall, Hazard, Elder, 1796 [Green 88] J.Evans & Co, Hatchard, Hazard [Green 88]	<u>Collected Works</u> 1798, 1812, 1818(CT), 1827, 1837	[Z.] [Spinney 331]	1801 Works [vol 5] (283-321) 1803 Works (Dub) (157-183) Poems (264-268); 1843HB (233)	[Spinney 331; Jones 273; DLB; Stott 104, 115, & 187]
104 [102]	July 1797 Entered 26 June 1797	<i>The Lady and the Pye; or Know thyself</i> [DLB-41; Poems]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; J.	Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns [Green 88] William Watson: Dublin, 1820 [Green 88] Lady and the Pie: or, Know thyself [1843HB (52)]	<u>Collected Works</u> 1798, 1800 1806, 1827	[Z.] [Spinney 331] [Green 77]	<u>Poems</u> (London: 1816) [1843HB (52)]	[Spinney 332; Jones 273; DLB]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
			Elder, Edinburgh, 1797). [DLB]	Marshall, White, Hazard, 1797	1839 <u>Poems</u> (London: 1816)			
			J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1798 [Green 72]					
			Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Hazard, Binns () [Green 72]					
105	July 1797	<i>Sunday Reading. The Strait Gate and the Broad</i>	(London: Sold by	Marshall,	<u>Collected</u>	[Z.]	1801 Works [vol 4]	[Spinney 332]
	Entered 26	<i>Way, being the second part of the Valley of Tears</i>	J. Marshall & R.	White, Hazard,	<u>Tracts</u>	[Spinney 332]	(430-453) under its	
[103]	June 1797	[DLB-42]	White; S.	Elder [Green	1798, 1800,		own title <i>Strait Gate</i>	
			Hazard, Bath; J.	93]	1806, 1827,		<i>and Broad Way.</i>	
			Elder,		1839 [Green			
			Edinburgh,	Howard &	93]		1843HB (182)	
			1797). [DLB]	Evans,				
				Hatchard,				
				Binns [Green				
				93]				
				J.Evans & Co,				
				Hatchard,				
				Hazard				
				[Green 93]				
				Special. 1819				
				[Green 93]				

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
106 [104]	August 1797 Entered 31 July 1797	<i>Sunday Reading. The Explanation of the Ten Commandments. Part I.</i> [Spinney 332]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797). [Spinney 332] (London: Sold by J. Marshall & R. White; S. Hazard, Bath; J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1796). [Green 70]	J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns () [Green 70] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Hazard, Binns () [Green 70]	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1878 [?], 1803, 1809, 1827, 1836. [Green 70] S.P.C.K. 1832, 1836 [Green 70]	Not signed [Spinney 33 2] Not signed [Green 70]		
107 [105]	August 1797 Entered 31 July 1797	<i>The History of Mr. Fantom, the new fashioned philosopher and his man William</i> [Spinney 332; DLB-43]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall; S. Hazard, Bath; J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797) [DLB; Green 75]	(Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800). [DLB]	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1819, 1827, 1839 S.P.C.K. 1831	[Z.] [Spinney 332] [Green 75]	1801 Works [vol 4] (1-64) 1843HB (120)	[Spinney 332; Jones 273; DLB; Myers (273); Demers 116]
108 [106]	August 1797 Entered 31 July 1797	<i>The Loyal Sailor; or No Mutineering. Being a song fit to be sung on board of all his majesty's ships; giving an account of the late awkward affair at Portsmouth, with the increase of pay then agreed to on all sides, by a sailor supposed to be on board:</i>	(London: Sold by J. Marshall; S. Hazard, Bath; J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797)	(Marshall, Hazard, Elder, 1796) [Green 78]	<u>Collected</u> <u>Tracts</u> 1798, 1806, 1827, 1839	Not signed [Spinney 332]		[Demers - argues that this tract is Part IV of John the

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
		<i>and also of that most melancholy and dreadful mutiny which happened afterwards at the Nore and which caused so much astonishment throughout this loyal nation. In which song it is futher represented how this honest sailor was giving away half his rations to his wife Nell, and was also promising part of his pay to her and the children, when a strange fleet hove in sight; and he instantly prepared for action. To the tune of: The hardy tar</i>		(J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns. With: the riot, 1798) [Green 78]				shopkeeper turned sailor 113]
109 [107]	September 1797 Entered 31 August 1797	<i>The History of Diligent Dick; or, Truth Will Out, though it Be Hid in a Well</i> [Myers (284 n.34)]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall; S. Hazard, Bath; J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797)		<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839	[S.] [Spinney 332] [Green 74]		Attributed to Sally More [Spinney 332]
110 [108]	September 1797 Entered 31 August 1797	<i>Sunday Reading. The Pilgrims: An allegory</i> [DLB-44]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall; S. Hazard, Bath; J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797) [DLB; Green 82]	J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800 [Green 82] Wm. Watson. Dublin: 1800 [Green 82] (Philadelphia: Printed & sold by Kimber, Conrad, 1808). [DLB]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1807, 1812, 1827, 1837 [Green 82]	[Z.] [Spinney 332] [Green 82]	1801 Works [vol 4] (387-414) 1843HB (176)	[Spinney 332; Jones 273; DLB] More and John Newton were discussing this tract and John Bunyan's <i>Pilgrim's Progress</i> in letters from March 5, 1797 [Roberts, volIII, 4-7]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
111 [109]	October 1797 Entered 30 September 1797	<i>Dan and Jane; or Faith and works. A tale</i> [Green 68; DLB-45; <u>Poems</u>]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall; S. Hazard, Bath; J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797). [DLB]	Green has 1796 as publication date. Evans, Hatchard, Nisbet, Binns () [Green 68] J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns. With <i>Patient Joe</i> , 1800 [Green 68] William Watson, with <i>Lancashire Collier Girl</i> , Dublin 1820 [Green 68]	<u>Poems</u> (London: 1816) <u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839 [Green 68, 81]	[Z.] [Spinney 332] Green [68, 81]	<u>Poems</u> (149-154) 1843HB (31)	[Spinney 332; Jones 273; DLB; Demers 110]
112 [110]	October 1797 Entered 20 September	<i>Sunday Reading. The Explanation of the Ten Commandments. Part II.</i> [Spinney 332]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall; S. Hazard, Bath; J. Elder,		See [104] for more details	Not signed [Spinney 332]		

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
176			Edinburgh, 1797).					
	113 [111]	October 1797 Entered 30 September 1797	<i>The Two Wealthy Farmers; or the Sixth part of the history of Mr. Bragwell and his two daughters</i> [Spinney 332;DLB-46]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall; S. Hazard, Bath; and J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797). [DLB; Green 92]	<i>The Two Wealthy Famers. Part VI</i> [Jones 273]	[Z.] [spinney 332]	1801 Works [vol 4] (65-287) 1843HB (129)	[Spinney 332; Jones 273; DLB; Demers 110]
	114 [112]	November 1797 Entered 30 October 1797	<i>Sunday Reading. The Explanation of the Ten Commandments. Part III.</i> [Spinney 333]	London: Sold by J. Marshall; S. Hazard, Bath; J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797).	See [104] for more details.	Not signed [Spinney 333]		
	115 [113]	November 1797 Entered 19 October 1797	<i>The Two Wealthy Farmers; or, the Seventh and last part of the history of Mr. Bragwell and his two daughters</i> [DLB-47; Green 93]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall; S. Hazard, Bath; and J. Elder, Edinburgh, 1797). [DLB; Green 93]	<i>The Two Wealthy Famers. Part VII</i> [Jones 273]	[Z.] [Spinney 333]	1801 Works [vol 4] (65-287) 1843HB (129)	[Spinney 333 ; Jones 273;DLB; Demers 110]
	116 [114]	November 1797 Entered 30 October 1797	<i>The Plum-Cakes: or, the Farmer and his three sons</i> [DLB-48; Poems]	(London: Sold by J. Marshall and S. Hazard, Bath, 1797). [DLB]	J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1798 [Green 72; 82] Howard & Evans, <i>Poems</i> (London:	[Z.] [Spinney 333] [Green 82]	<i>Poems</i> (269-274) 1843HB (52)	[Spinney 333; Jones 273; DLB; Demers 110]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
117		<i>Tis All for the Best</i>	J. Hatchard, London; S. Hazard, Bath	Hatchard, Hazard, Binns. With: <i>the Gravestone</i> , 1800 [Green 82] J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800 [Green 89]	1816)	[Z] [Green 89] [ECCO]	1801 Works [vol 4] (288-324) 1843HB (162)	Schantz 473 states: though the tract itself does not credit More with authorship, <i>'Tis All for the Best</i> is credited to More by Foster, <i>An Errand of Mercy</i> , 293. [copy examined notes that it was entered at Stationer's Hall but Spinney does

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
								include this tract as one entered at Stationer's Hall]
Collected Tracts	Entered 11 November 1797	<i>Volume III: Collected Tracts</i> [Spinney 337]						
118	1798	EVANS 'Authorised' <i>Here and There</i> [Green 69; 1843HB (56)]	J.Evans & son, Hatchard, Binns. With <i>The Election</i> . 1798 [Green 69]	<i>Here and there, or this world and the next. Being suitable thoughts for the new year. By Z.</i> [Green 73]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839.	[Z] [Green 73]	1843HB (56)	
				J.Evans & Co, Hatchard, Hazard, 1800 [Green 73]				
				Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Hazard, Binns, 1800 [Green 73]				

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				With <i>The Old Man, his children, and the Bundle of sticks; The honest miller of Gloucestershire; The election.</i> J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns (1798) [Green 73]				
119	1798/1800	<i>The Death of Christ, or tract for Good Friday.</i>	John Evans, Hatchard, Binns (1800)	Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns () [Green 68]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1803, 1809, 1827, 1836. S.P.C.K. 1832, 1833			
120	1798 1800 [Green 81]	<i>Parley the Porter: An allegory; shewing how robbers without can never get into an house unless there are traitors within. By Z</i> [Harland 178; Green 81]	J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800 [Green 81]	J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, Bulgin, 1800 [Green 81]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839.	[Z] [Green 81]	1801 Works [vol 4] (454-480) 1843HB (186)	Harland [178]; Schantz 473
				J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Hazard, 1800 Howard &				

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
121	1798 1800 [Green 66]	<i>The Black Prince, a true story; being an account of the life and death of Naimbanna, an African King's son, who arrived in England in the year 1791, and set sail on his return in June 1793.</i> [Green 66]	Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800 [Green 66]	Evans, Hatchard, Binns, 1800. Wm Watson: Dublin, 1820 Religious Tract Society 1861 Howard & Son, Hatchard, Binns [Green 66]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839.	[Z] [Green 68]		
122	1798 [Green 79]	<i>A New Christmas Tract, or the right way of rejoicing at Christmas. Shewing the reasons we have for joy at the event of our Saviour's birth. In which also a description is given of the dreadful state the world was in before his coming; with some remarks suited to the times in which we live.</i> [Green 79]	Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1798 [Green 79]	Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns [Green 66] Christian Knowledge Library. No. 24, 1806. [Green 66] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns, 1798 [Green 79]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1803, 1809, 1827, 1836. S.P.C.K. 1832, 1836			

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
123		<i>The Foolish Traveller; or, A good Inn is a bad Home</i> [Poems]			<u>Poems</u> (London: 1816)		Poems (275-280) 1843HB (44)	
124	1798	<i>The Gravestone, being an account (supposed to have been written on a gravestone) of a wife who buried both her children in one day, and who from that time became a very devout Christian. With a suitable address to those who may be attending a funeral.</i> [Green 72]	J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns (1798) [Green 72] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Hazard, Binns () [Green 72]	Published with <i>The Lady and the Pye, or Know thyself</i> and <i>The Plum Cakes, or the farmer and his three sons.</i> [Green 72]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839			
125	1798 (?)	<i>Path to Riches and happiness</i> [Green 81]	W. Watson and Son, 1800	Ann Watson, Dublin: 1820 <i>To which are added: The apprentices monitor or indentures in verse; and, the market woman, or honesty is the best policy: A true tale.</i> William Watson, Dublin: 1820		By Benjamin Franklin [W. Watson and Son, 1800]		A tract with the same title by Benjamin Franklin appears to have been abridged. Tract has been reprinted with original tracts from the CRT but as yet there is no evidence of where this tract fits into the CRT.

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
126	1798	<i>The Thunderstorm, or the history of Tom Watson, the unnatural son, being a warning to all parents.</i> By Z. [Green 88]	<i>Parents.</i> J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns <i>Children.</i> J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800 [Green 88]	One edition uses the word “parents,” while others may say “children” [Green 88] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns William Watson: Dublin, 1820 Ann Watson: Dublin, 1820	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839 [Green 89] Narratives for a Christian household, 1860 [Green 89] Religious Tract Society, 16mo 1861, 8vo 1863 & 1864 [Green 89]			
127	1798	<i>Dialogue the Second. On the duty of carrying religion into our amusements.</i> By Rev. Mr Gilpin	Howard, Evans, Hatchard, Hazard [Green 91]	<i>Various pagination and in five and six parts.</i> J. Evans & Co, Hatchard, Hazard [Green 91]	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1807, 1812, 1827, 1839 [Green 92] S.P.C.K 1832, 1833			Rev. Mr Gilpin [Green 91]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns [Green 92]				
				Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Hazard & Binns [Green 92]				
		Unapproved Tracts! <i>According to Spinney the following were issued by Marshall alone (imprint No.8) and do not belong to the Cheap Repository Proper [Spinney 333]</i>						
[115]	1797 December	<i>Delays are Dangerous; or the return of John Atkins</i> [Spinney 333]	Bristol: Marshall [Spinney 333]					
128 [116]	1797 December	<i>Richard and Rebecca; or a receipt for domestic happiness</i> [Spinney 333]	Bristol: Marshall [Spinney 333]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 83]				
129 [117]	1797 December	<i>The Widow of Zarephath</i> [Spinney 333]	Bristol: Marshall [Spinney 333]	Marshall, 1796 [Green 94]				
130	Entered 30 Nov 1797.							
[118]	1798 January	<i>The Affectionate Orphans</i> [Green 64; Spinney 333]	Bristol: Marshall [Green 64]					
131	Entered 1 Jan 1798							

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[119] 132	1798 January Entered 1 January 1798 (Green 64)	<i>Ananias and Sapphira. Sunday reading..</i> [Green 64; Spinney 333]	Bristol: Marshall [Green 64; Spinney 333]					
[120] 133	1798 January Entered 1 January 1798 (Green 64)	<i>The Good Aunt</i> [Spinney 333]	Bristol: Marshall [Spinney 333]		Marshall, 1797 [Green 71]			
[121] 134	1798 February Entered 31 January 1798	<i>The History of Sampson</i> [Spinney 333]	Bristol and Bath: Marshall [Spinney 333]					
[122] 135	1798 February Entered 31 January 1798	<i>The Wanderer, A Fable</i> [Spinney 333]	Bristol: Marshall [Spinney 333]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 94]				
[123] 136	1798 February Entered 31 January 1798	<i>The Wreck</i> [Spinney 333]	Marshall , 1796 [Spinney 333; Green 94]					
[124]	1798 March	<i>The Fatal Choice</i> [Spinney 333]	Marshall , 1798 [Spinney 333]					

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
137	Entered 28 February 1798		Marshall, 1797 [Green 69]					
[125]	1798 March Entered 28 February 1798	<i>The History of St Peter the Apostle</i> [Spinney 333]	Marshall [Spinney 333]					
[126]	1798 March Entered 28 February 1798	<i>The Wife Reformed</i> [Spinney 333]	Marshall [Spinney 333]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 94] William Watson: Dublin, 1820 [Green 94]				
[127]	1798 April Entered 2 April 1798	<i>Betty Gillis, or honesty rewarded</i> [Green 66; Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1798. [Spinney 334]					
[128]	1798 April Entered 2 April 1798	<i>Easter Monday</i> [Spinney 334]	Marshall 1796 [Green 66] Marshall, 1798. [Spinney 334]					
[129]	1798 April Entered 2 April 1798	<i>The Sower. A Parable.</i> [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1797. [Green 69] Marshall, 1798. [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 86]				
[130]	1798 May Entered 1 May 1798	<i>Jeremiah Wilkins; or the error repaired.</i> [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1798. [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 76]				

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[131]	1798 May Entered 1 May 1798	<i>The Mistaken Evil. A true story.</i> [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1798. [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 78]				
[132]	1798 May Entered 1 May 1798	<i>The Unfruitful Fig-Tree. A Parable</i> [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1798. [Spinney 334]					
[133]	1798 June Entered 1 June 1798	<i>The Distressed Mother</i> [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1798. [Spinney 334]					
[134]	1798 June Entered 1 June 1798	<i>Eli the High Priest</i> [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1798. [Spinney 334]					
			Marshall, 1797 [Green 69]					
[135]	1798 June Entered 1 June 1798	<i>The Murder in the Wood</i> [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1798. [Spinney 334]					
[136]	1798 July Entered 3 July 1798	<i>David, the Chosen of God.</i> [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1798. [Spinney 334]					
			Marshall, 1796 [Green 68]					
[137]	1798 July Entered 3 July 1798	<i>Elisha; or, the only two ways of subduing our enemies, either by kindness or the sword.</i> [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1798. [Spinney 334]					
			Marshall, 1797 [Green 69]					

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[138]	1798 July Entered 3 July 1798	<i>The Good Step-Mother</i> [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1798. [Spinney 334]		<i>The Good Stepmother</i> (Marshall, 1797) [Green 72]			
[139]	1798 August Entered 2 August 1798	<i>The History of John the Baptist</i> [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 72] Marshall, 1798. [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 74]				
[140]	1798 August Entered 2 August 1798	<i>Never Fly from your Duty; or, the history of James Brown and John Simpson</i> [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1798. [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 79]				
[141]	1798 August Entered 2 August 1798	<i>Satan's Device; or the Devil no changeling. Being the history of Jack Flint the soldier, in four parts: Part I.</i> [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1798. [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 83]		S.S [Spinney 334]		
[142]	1798 September Entered 1 September 1798	<i>Madge Blarney, the Gipsy girl</i> [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1798. [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 78]				
[143]	1798 September Entered 1 September 1798	<i>Prophecies relating to Jesus Christ</i> [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1798. [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 82]				

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[144]	1798 September Entered 1 September 1798	<i>Satan's Device....Being the history of Jack Flint...Part II</i> [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1798. [Spinney 334]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 83]				
[145]	1798 October Entered 1 October 1798	<i>Sacred Biography. Part I. Adam a type of Christ.</i> [Spinney 335]	Marshall 1798 [Spinney 335]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 83]				
[146]	1798 October Entered 1 October 1798	<i>Satan's Device....Being the history of Jack Flint...Part III</i> [Spinney 335]	Marshall 1798 [Spinney 335]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 83]				
[147]	1798 October Entered 1 October 1798	<i>The Two Cousins; or, spare the rod and spoil the child</i> [Spinney 335]	Marshall 1798 [Spinney 335]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 90]				
[148]	1798 November Entered 5 November 1798	<i>The Honest Publican, or; the power of perseverance in a good cause</i> [Spinney 335]	Marshall 1798 [Spinney 335]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 76]				
[149]	1798 November Entered 5 November 1798	<i>Reflections on Our Late Glorious victory at the Mouth of the Nile</i> [Spinney 335]	Marshall 1798 [Spinney 335; Green 82]					

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[150]	1798 November Entered 5 November 1798	<i>Satan's Device....Being the history of Jack Flint...Part IV</i> [Spinney 335]	Marshall 1798 [Spinney 335]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 83]		[S.S.] [Spinney 335]		Stott suggests that More believed that S.S. was "high Calvinist" William Huntington, for whom the initials meant 'sinner saved' [Stott 150]
[151]	1798 December Entered 1 December 1798	<i>The Parish Nurse</i> [Spinney 335]	Marshall 1798 [Spinney 335]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 81]				
[152]	1798 December Entered 1 December 1798	<i>Sacred Biography. Part II. Abel a type of Christ</i> [Spinney 335]	Marshall 1798 [Spinney 335]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 83]				
[153]	1798 December Entered 1 December 1798	<i>True Happiness</i> [Spinney 335]	Marshall 1798 [Spinney 335]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 90]				
[154]	1798	<i>Friendly Advice in a letter from Heartwhole to Dame Nicholls at HighWood Almshouses on her fears of the French invasion</i>	Marshall 1798 [Spinney 335] Marshall, 1797					Spinney notes that this tract was not

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
		[Spinney 335]	[Green 71]					entered at Stationer's Hall and is dated on the basis of an internal reference to the Mutiny of the fleet having taken place the previous year. [Spinney 335]
[155]	January 1799	<i>Domestic Contrasts; or the different fortunes of Nancy and Lucy. Part 1.</i> [Spinney 335]	Marshall 1799 [Spinney 335] Watson. Dublin () [Green 69]		<i>Domestic Contrasts; or the different fortunes of Nancy and Lucy. Part 1. By W. Marshall 1797 [Green 69]</i>	[W.] [Spinney 335]		
[156]	January 1799	<i>New Year's Day; or, gratitude for blessings received.</i> [Spinney 335]	Marshall 1799 [Spinney 335]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 79]		[S.S.] [Spinney 335] [Green 79]		
[157]	January 1799	<i>Virtue Triumphant; or, the history of Queen Esther.</i> [Spinney 335]	Marshall 1799 [Spinney 335]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 94]				

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[158]	1799 February Entered 6 March 1799	<i>Domestic Contrasts; or the different fortunes of Nancy and Lucy. Part II.</i> [Spinney 335]	Marshall 1799 [Spinney 335] Watson. Dublin () [Green 69]			<i>Domestic Contrasts; or the different fortunes of Nancy and Lucy. Part II.</i> By W. Marshall 1797 [Green 69]		
[159]	1799 February Entered 6 March 1799	<i>Sacred Biography. Part III. Enoch a type of Christ</i> [Spinney 335]	Marshall 1799 [Spinney 335]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 83]				
[160]	1799 February Entered 6 March 1799	<i>The Sorrows of Hannah: a ballad. To the tune of: The lamentation of Mary Queen of Scots. Addressed to her husband then under sentence of transportation for a first act of dishonesty, to which he had been tempted by extreme indigence.</i> By F. [Spinney 335; Green 86]	Marshall 1799 [Spinney 335]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 86]		F. [Spinney 335]		
[161]	1799 March Entered 15 March 1799	<i>Cicely, or the Power of Honesty</i> [Green 67; Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1799 [Spinney 336] Marshall, 1797 [Green 67] Marshall and Hazard [Green 67]					

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[162]	1799 March Entered 15 March 1799	<i>Domestic Contrasts; or the different fortunes of Nancy and Lucy. Part III.</i> [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1799 [Spinney 336] Watson. Dublin () [Green 69]			W. [Spinney 336] <i>Domestic Contrasts; or the different fortunes of Nancy and Lucy. Part I.</i> By W. Marshall 1797 [Green 69]		
[163]	1799 March Entered 15 March 1799	<i>The Good Parish Priest; or, the drunken carpenter reclaimed.</i> [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1799 [Spinney 336] Marshall, 1797 [Green 72]					
[164]	1799 April Entered 4 April 1799	<i>The Humble Reformer; or, neighborly chat.</i> [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1799 [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 76]		A.R [Green 76]		
[165]	1799 April Entered 4 April 1799	<i>The Judgement awaiting undutiful children. Illustrated in the history of Absalom.</i> [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1799 [Spinney 336]	(Marshall, 1797) [Green 76]				
[166]	1799 April Entered 4 April 1799	<i>The Miraculous Supply; or, the Widow sustained in the time of famine.</i> [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1799 [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 78]		S.S [Spinney 336] [Green 78]		
[167]	1799 May Entered 15 May 1799	<i>A Dream</i> [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1799 [Spinney 336] Marshall 1797 [Green 69]					

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[168]	1799 May Entered 15 May 1799	<i>The Parable of Ten Talents</i> [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1799 [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 81]				
[169]	1799 May Entered 15 May 1799	<i>Sweep Soot O! ; or, some account of little Jem, the chimney sweeper, and his benefactress. By W</i> [Spinney 336 (without W); Green 88]	Marshall, 1799 [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 88]		W [Green 88]		
[170]	1799 June Entered 13 June 1799	<i>The Happiness of Britain</i> [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1799 [Spinney 336]			S.S. [Spinney 336] By S.S. [Green 73]		
			Marshall, 1797 [Green 73]					
[171]	1799 June Entered 13 June 1799	<i>The History of Fanny Mills. Part I.</i> [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1799 [Spinney 336]					
[172]	1799 June Entered 13 June 1799	<i>The Shropshire Rector ; or, rational devotion.</i> [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1799 [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 85]		W [Spinney 336]		
[173]	1799 July Entered 4 July 1799	<i>Cottage Prayers. Being intended as a second part to the Shropshire Rector.</i> [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1799 [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 85]				
[174]	1799 July Entered 4 July 1799	<i>The History of Fanny Mills.; or, no one too young to do good. Part II.</i> [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1799 [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 74]		L. [Spinney 336] [Green 74]		
[175]	1799 July Entered 4 July 1799	<i>The patient Father; or, the young sailor's return.</i> [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1799 [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 81]		S.S. [Spinney 336] [Green 81]		

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[176]	1799 August Entered 5 August 1799	<i>The Bean Feast</i> [Spinney 336]	Marshall, 1799 [Spinney 336]			S.S. [Spinney 336]		
[177]	1799 August Entered 5 August 1799	<i>The Deceitfulness of pleasure; or, some account of my lady Blithe.</i> [Spinney 336]	Marshall 1796 [Green 65] Marshall, 1799 [Spinney 336]					
[178]	1799 August Entered 5 August 1799	<i>The Divine Model ; or, the Christian's exemplar.</i> [Spinney 337]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 69] Marshall, 1799 [Spinney 337] Marshall, 1797 [Green 69] Watson, Dublin () [Green 69]			A.R. [Spinney 337]		
[179]	1799 September Entered 17 September 1799	<i>The Baker's Dream, or death no bad change to the poor and good, by M</i> [Green 65]	Marshall 1799 [Spinney 337] Marshall 1796 [Green 65]			[M.] [Green 65] [M.] [Spinney 337]		M. but not to be attributed to William Mason [Spinney 337]
[180]	1799 September Entered 17 September 1799	<i>The History of Jonathon Griffin and William Peterson. Pointing out an asylum to the destitute.</i> [Spinney 337]	Marshall 1799 [Spinney 337]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 74]		A.R. [Spinney 337] [Green 74]		

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[181]	1799 September Entered 17 September 1799	<i>Old Tom Parr. A true story. Shewing that he was a laboring man and the wonder of his time, and how he was brought up to London by the earl of Arundel, 1635, in which year he died, aged 152, according to some historians; others say in his hundred and sixtieth year; but all agree that he had lived through the reign of ten different sovereigns.</i> [Green 80]	Marshall 1799 [Spinney 337]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 80] Short Title: <i>Old Tom Parr. A true story etc</i> [Spinney 337]				
[182]	1799 October Entered 7 October 1799	<i>The Contented Cobbler.</i> By S.S [Green 67]	Marshall 1799 [Spinney 337] Marshall, 1797 [Green 67]			S.S. [Green 67] [Spinney 337]		
[183]	1799 October Entered 7 October 1799	<i>Noah</i> [Spinney 337]	Marshall 1799 [Spinney 337]	Marshall 1797 [Green 79]				
[184]	1799 October Entered 7 October 1799	<i>The Saturday School</i> [Spinney 337]	Marshall 1799 [Spinney 337]					
[185]	1799 November Entered 21 November 1799	<i>An Address to the Aged Poor;</i> by A.R. [Green 64]	Marshall 1799 [Spinney 337] (Marshall) 1796 [Green 64]			[A.R.] [Green 64]		

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
[186]	1799 November Entered 21 November 1799	<i>The History of Jenny Froth and Polly Goodchild ; or pride and humility. Being the second part of the Second part of the Saturday School.</i> [Spinney 337]	Marshall 1799 [Spinney 337]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 84]				
[187]	1799 November Entered 21 November 1799	<i>Richard's Address to his Lucy on the first return of their wedding-day.</i> [Spinney 337]	Marshall 1799 [Spinney 337]	Marshall, 1797 [Green 82]				
		Additional Tracts - UNVERIFIED						
	Pre 1816	<i>The impossibility Conquered : or, Love your neighbor as yourself,</i>					1843HB (45)	
	Pre 1816?	<i>The Ploughman's Ditty, being an answer to that foolish Question, What have the Poor to lose? A Question frequently asked during the Alarm of Invasion. To the tune of: He that has the best wife</i> [Green 82]		Special, 1819 [Green 82]	<u>Poems</u> (London: 1816)		Poems (317-320)	
	Pre 1816	<i>Will Chip's True Rights of Man, in opposition to the New Rights of Man: Written for the Volunteers of Somersetshire, when there was an Alarm of Invasion on that Coast. By a Journeyman Carpenter</i> [Poems]			<u>Poems</u> (London: 1816)		Poems (321-325)	
	1819 [Green 90]	<i>The True Rights of Man, or the contented spitalfields weaver.</i> [Green 90]	Special, 1819 [Green 90]	<i>Will Chip's true rights and the delegate should be compared</i>				

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				with this tract to determine whether they are all the same.				
	1800	<i>The Delegate , with some account of James Dawson, of Spitalfields</i> [Green 69]	Evans, Hatchard, Binns, Bulgin, 1800 [Green 69]					
			Special, 1819 [Green 69]					
	1819 [Green 64]	<i>An Address to the meeting at Spa Fields</i> [Green 64]	Special, 1819 [Green 64]					
	1819 [Green 70]	<i>Fair Words and Foul Meanings</i> [Green 70]	Special, 1819 [Green 70]					
	1819 [Green 70]	<i>The Fortunate Farthing. A New Song</i> [Green 70]	Special, 1819 [Green 70]					
		<i>The History of Samson</i>	Marshall, 1797 [Green 75]					
	1819 [Green 78]	<i>The Loyal Subject's political creed, or what I do and do not think</i> [Green 78]	Special, 1819 [Green 78]					
	1819 [Green 78]	<i>The Market House orator, or the loyal weaver</i>	Special, 1819 [Green 78]					
	1819 [Green 82]	<i>The Private Virtues of public Reformists, or a continuation of the history of Mr Fantom. Suited to present times.</i>	Special, 1819 [Green 82]					
	1800	<i>Path to Riches and happiness</i> [Green 81]	W. Watson and Son, 1800	Ann Watson, Dublin: 1820		By Benjamin Franklin		A tract with the same title

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
				<i>To which are added: The apprentices monitor or indentures in verse; and, the market woman, or honesty is the best policy: A true tale. William Watson, Dublin: 1820</i>		[W. Watson and Son, 1800]		by Benjamin Franklin appears to have been abridged. This tract has been reprinted with original tracts from the CRT but as yet there is no evidence of where this tract fits into the CRT.
		<i>The Thunderstorm, or the history of Tom Watson, the unnatural son, being a warning to all parents. By Z. [Green 88]</i>	<i>Parents.</i> J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns <i>Children.</i> J. Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns, 1800 [Green 88]	One edition uses the word “parents,” while others may say “children” [Green 88] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Binns	<u>Collected Tracts</u> 1800, 1806, 1827, 1839 [Green 89] Narratives for a Christian household, 1860 [Green 89]			

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	Cheap Repository Title	Original Cheap Repository Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
		<i>Dialogue the Second. On the duty of carrying religion into our amusements. By Rev. Mr Gilpin</i>	Howard, Evans, Hatchard, Hazard [Green 91]	William Watson: Dublin, 1820 Ann Watson: Dublin, 1820 <i>Various pagination and in five and six parts.</i> J. Evans & Co, Hatchard, Hazard [Green 91] J.Evans & Son, Hatchard, Binns [Green 92] Howard & Evans, Hatchard, Hazard & Binns [Green 92]	Religious Tract Society, 16mo 1861, 8vo 1863 & 1864 [Green 89] <u>Collected Tracts</u> 1798, 1807, 1812, 1827, 1839 [Green 92] S.P.C.K 1832, 1833			Rev. Mr Gilpin [Green 91]

Table A.1 Continued

Ref No. [Spinney]	Spinney Dating	<i>Cheap Repository</i> Title	Original <i>Cheap Repository</i> Publication	Reprints and alternative titles	Collected Tracts and Holding Libraries	Signed? Attribution on Tracts Vers.	Acknowledged by More?	Attribution made to More
CONTESTED TRACTS – Incorrectly Attributed								
	1794 [Stott 145]	<i>A Country Carpenter's Confession of Faith with a few plain remarks on the Age of Reason in a letter from Will Chip, in Somersetshire to Thomas Pain [sic], Stay-maker, in Paris</i> [Saunders (12)]	London, 1794 [Stott, 145]					[Saunders (12);] Stott however argues that this was a "scurrilous" imitation of More's <i>Village Politics</i> . [Stott 145]

Table A.1 Continued

Key to Abbreviations:

1800	Philadelphia: Printed by B. & J. Johnson, 1800 (available on Proquest)
1801 Works [vol]	More, Hannah. <i>The Works of Hannah More</i> . 8 vols. London: Cadell & Davies, 1801
1803 Works (Dub)	More, Hannah. <i>Tales for the Common People</i> . The Works of Hannah More. Vol. 3. 8 vols. Dublin: D. Graisberry, 1803. Appears to be an edition that mirrors 1801 works.
1818 Works	More, Hannah. <i>The Works of Hannah More</i> . 19 vols. London: Cadell & Davies, 1818.
1830 Works	More, Hannah. <i>The Works of Hannah More</i> . A New Edition. Vol 2. 11 vols. London: T. Cadell, 1830.
1834	More, Hannah. <i>The Works of Hannah More</i> . A New Edition. 6 vols. London: T. Cadell & Davies, 1834.
1835CF	More, Hannah. <i>The Complete Works of Hannah More</i> . Boston and New York: Munro & Francis and Charles Francis, 1835.
1843HB	More, Hannah. <i>The Complete Works of Hannah More</i> . First Complete American Edition. New York: Harper & Brothers, Cliff Street, 1843.
1856	More, Hannah. <i>The Complete Works of Hannah More</i> . New York: J.C. Derby, 1856.
Demers	Demers, Patricia. <i>The World of Hannah More</i> . University Press of Kentucky, 1996.
DLB	Dictionary of Literary Biography Entry. E.M.G Smith. "Hannah More" <i>Dictionary of Literary Biography, Volume 158: British Reform Writers, 1789-1832</i> . A Brucoli Clark Layman Book. Edited by Gary Kelly, University of Keele and Edd Applegate, Middle Tennessee State University. The Gale Group, 1996. pp. 223-233.
[Dublin 18—(HRC)]	<i>Cheap Repository</i> . Dublin: Sold by William Watson, No.7, Capel-Street, printer to the Cheap Repository for Religious and Moral Tracts, and by the booksellers, Chapman and hawkers, in town and Country., [18--] Held at Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin. [8 Tracts Bound].
Foster	Foster, Charles I. <i>An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front, 1790-1837</i> . Chapel Hill, 1960.
Green	Green, Emanuel. <i>Bibliotheca Somersensis</i> . Vol. 3. 3 vols. Taunton: Barncott and Pearce, 1902.
Harland	Harland, Marion. <i>Hannah More</i> . Literary Hearthstones: Studies of the Home-Life of Certain Writers and Thinkers. New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1900.
Lloyd	Lloyd, Sarah. "Cottage Conversations: Poverty and Manly Independence in Eighteenth Century England." <u>Past and Present</u> 184.August (2004): pp 69-108.
Myers	Myers, Mitzi. "Hannah More's Tracts for the Times: Social Fiction and Female Ideology." <i>Fetter'd or Free?: British Women Novelists, 1670-1815</i> . Eds. Mary Anne Schofield and Cecilia Macheski. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1986. 264-84.
Poems	More, Hannah. <i>Poems, with a New Introduction by Caroline Franklin</i> . 1816 Ed. London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1996.

Table A.1 Continued

Saunders	Saunders, Julia. "Putting the Reader Right: Reassessing Hannah More's <i>Cheap Repository Tracts</i> ." <i>Romanticism on the Net</i> .16 (1999)
Schantz	Schantz, Mark S. "Religious Tracts, Evangelical Reform, and the Market Revolution in Antebellum America." <i>Journal of the Early Republic</i> 17.3 (1997): 425-66.
S.P.C.K.	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
Stott	Stott, Anne. <i>Hannah More: The First Victorian</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
Thompson	Thompson, Henry. <i>The Life of Hannah More with Notices of Her Sisters</i> . London: T. Cadell, Strand; and W. Blackwell and Sons, Edinburgh, 1838.

Holding Libraries and Electronic Copies

As far as possible the notation will indicate internal library reference for the copy of the tract. If the notation does not refer to the original publication this will be noted.

Harvard	British Library
Oxford	William Andrews Clark Memorial Library
John Ryland University of Manchester	

Collected Tracts

1797 [I]	<i>Cheap Repository Tracts published during the year of 1795, Forming volume I.</i> (Bath: Sold by J. Marshall, S. Hazard, and Elder), London, 1797 [716pp]
1797 [II]	<i>Cheap Repository Tracts published during the year of 1796, Forming volume II.</i> (Bath: S. Hazard, and Elder (Edinburgh)), London, 1797 [716pp]
1798	<i>Cheap Repository tracts for Sunday reading. To which are added, some prayers for individuals and for families.</i> London : sold by F. and C. Rivington; J. Evans; J. Hatchard; and S. Hazard, Bath, 1798.
1798[ST]	<i>Cheap Repository Shorter Tracts.</i> London, 1798 [482pp]. (London: F&C Rivington, J Evans, J. Hatchard, and S. Hazard, Bath), 1798
1799	<i>Cheap Repository Shorter Tracts.</i> London, 1798 [482pp]. (London: F&C Rivington, J Evans, J. Hatchard, and S. Hazard, Bath), 1798 New Edition: London, 1799[494pp].
1800	<i>Cheap Repository Shorter Tracts.</i> London, 1798 [482pp]. (London: F&C Rivington, J Evans, J. Hatchard, and S. Hazard, Bath), 1798 New Edition: London, 1800 [489pp]
1818(CT)	<i>Stories for the Middle Ranks of Society, and Tales for the Common People. By Hannah More.</i> 2 Vols. (London: T Cadell), 1818

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